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ARTICLES

Review on the downfall of Konbaung Dynasty: A Case Study of Myingyun-MyingonDaing Rebellion and Its Effects

Aye Mon Kyi*

Ⅰ. Introduction

Alaungmintaya found Myanmar Kingdom and it was known as Konbaung Dynasty in Myanmar History. Konbaung period was from 1752 to 1885 and 11 kings had been ruling for 133 years. During Konbaung period,there were three Anglo-Myanmar wars broke out and Konbaung Dynasty downfall due to the third Anglo-Myanmar war in 1885. The immediate cause was teak trading. Many scholars criticized the weakness of foreign relation of King Mindon and Thibaw and also pointed out mass killing by the King Thibaw and Queen Supayalat. It was mostly either left/ neglect or forgot to discuss about Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. They may be think it is not necessary to discuss for down fall of Konbaung. But it was found that the research paper entitle "*Imperialist Stratagem and Heir Apparents*" and "*Triangle Relation*"which were conducted by Daw Ni NiMyint using French documents discussed about Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion and how Prince Myinggun and Prince NyaungYan were playing

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political activity under their refugee life in the British and French and how the British and French made a plan for Myanmar to became a protectorate country. The Heir Apparents those who were living as asylum in the British and France territory and it was a great opportunity for the British and France under this circumstance. It can be said that these papers were focus on macro level and pointed out the imperialist stratagem. Finally many scholars concluded for the down fall of Konbaung Dynasty that the wave of Imperialism as Sunami hit from Europe to Asia so that Myanmar could not stand as feudal society and down fall Konbaung Dynasty. All of events and comments were quite true but it is necessary to examine carefully past events. There were many controversial facts about third Anglo-Myanmar war. This paper pointed out the King Mindon's false political strategic due to the lack of awareness on external threat with the giving the best example of Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. British noticed the weakness of feudal administration system and it paved the way to the down fall of Konbaung Dynasty.

1.1. British–Myanmar Relation after the Second Anglo–Myanmar War

King Mindon (1853-1878) ascended the throne on 17 February 1853. He became a King without peacefully and ascended the throne by seizing the throne at the time of confusion and conflict inside the palace. On the other hand Lower Myanmar was under the British rule after he became a King. At the beginning of King Mindon's reign, the British did not recognized Myanmar as a sovereign country. For example, King Mindon sent the mission on 4 April 1853 with the aiming to demarcate the boundary area to take back Bago province which was lost not because of losing war but was taken by the British at the time of internal turmoil(Tint 1975, 19-22). Lord Dalhousie did

not comply with the demand of King Mindon. He also included in the proclamation the ominous warning which said:

> Hostilities thus renewed, if your Majesty shall venture to provoke them, can have but one termination … the entire subjugation of the Burmese power and the ruin and exile of yourself and your race… (Ingaleikkape)

The negotiation talks came to an end on 10 May 1853. When a peace mission was sent again on 20 September 1854, Lord Dalhousie responded by saying "As long as that sun shines, Pegu will remain British"(HtinAung 1967, 236). These responses were a clear indication that the Myanmar Kings was not recognized as a sovereign King by the British. According to this situation the King and his ministers felt that they were threatened by the British so King Mindon and his ministers including Crown Prince consider seriously to get back the lost territories. King Mindon believed that he would get back if he used appeasement policy to the British. He decided to raise foreign policy to restore his prestige. Therefore he tried to get diplomatic relation with France, Italy and Germany. King Mindon sent his diplomatic mission to France for three times in 1854,1856 and 1858(KhinHla Han 2004, 106-107;MaungMaung Tin 2004, 166; KhinMyaKyu 1979, 72). Myanmar diplomatic mission was received by the French Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugine at St. Cloud Palace in Paris in 1856. The Crimean war was just over at that time and French were celebrating for the war. The Myanmar delegation was very pleased as they were received cordially by the French(Ni NiMyint 2004, 138). But the French foreign policy toward Myanmar was not government level because they did not wish to be confrontation with the British by putting their interest in Myanmar(Ingaleikkape*)*. However the French government did not forbid his merchants in Yangon to do economic

cooperation so as to exploit in the economic field. It can also be assumed that French were showing their interest to make diplomatic relation with Myanmar.

Crown Prince Kanaung and Yaw Atwinwun U Pho Hlaing who is a secretary (Atwinwun) prefer to raise a more powerful armed force and to build industrialized and modernized country. As a first step of Crown Prince Kanaung, Myanmar youths were sent foreign countries as state scholars. It was nearly one hundred Myanmar youth to study in India, France and Italy. It was found that the state scholar who was called Maung Bin successfully translated "Mathematic" (Firing of Cannon) by Olinthus G. Gregory from English to Myanmar(MaungShwe Bin) It was used as a guide in the making of weapons and firearms. It was found that there were over fifty factories before he was assassinated(Kyan 2005, 146). These factories include firearms factory, cannon factory, saw mill, rice mill and sugar mill. A Frenchman Calarnet was hired and appointed to serve as mechanic at the firearm factory from 1862-64. The Myanmar arm was also reorganized with the help of the French and Italian training officers. In the past the Myanmar army was organized by gathering the citizens from the respected towns and villages just before the time of war and it was the system of emergency organization of troops and these troops were sent to the battle. But Crown Prince Kanaung tried to discard this system and made efforts to establish a well organizedarmy(Phone Kyaw 1965, 71). In this way Crown Prince Kanaung tried to establish a modern, industrialized country and it could be said that his efforts were quite successful. At first the British merchants in Young were making a fun of Crown Prince Kanaung's factories which were established with the purpose of becoming a industrialized country. But after a few years they came to realize the effectiveness of Crown Prince Kanaung's endevours and so they warned the British government about the situation in Upper Myanmar which required careful attention. The

situation in Upper Myanmar was significantly improvement in just over ten years. There were 152 employees at the gun factory which was running well(MaungMaung Tin 1975, 179). This factory produced 2000 firearms per year(MaungShwe Bin, 180).

On the other hand, King Mindon promoted paddy cultivation reparing old dams and building new dams. Efforts were also made to improve the irrigation system(Kyaw win 1978, 132-141). Therefore the people of Upper Myanmar no longer depend on Lower Myanmar for consumer goods such as rice, sat and fish paste just within a period of ten years. In this way, King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung harmoniously tried to prevent the danger of British colonialism. and it can be seen that Myanmar significantly improved and was recognized as sovereign country. In a letter dated on 20 March 1866 from the French Foreign Minister, Myanmar was invited to come and participate in the International Trade fair to be held in Paris, France in 1867 (Vivian Ba 1965, 18). It was a kind of achievement for unity among ministers, Counsellors, Crown Prince and King Mindon.

1.2. Myingyun–MyingonDaing Rebellion

It was suspected about the assassinating of Crown Prince Kanaung that he was assassinated in 1866 by Prince Myingun. Myanmar Kingdom nearly outreached the way into industrialized and developed country. Moreover it could be imagined that Konbaung Dynasty would not fall down if the Myanmar took part the World Trade Fair because Myanmar Governor became understand imperialism trade and they might change monopolized economic system and feudal society and economic system would be totally changed. One is true that the British did not want Myanmar as a sovereign state as well as being a stability and peace country. It can be seen how and when second Anglo-Myanmar war broke out in the past.

Previously they were not interested in the inland part of Myanmar but after they took Yakhine and Taninthayi region they became much interested to occupy Myanmar as their colony. But the British were well aware of the manpower and firepower of Myanmar as they have already experienced in the first Anglo-Myanmar war. Moreover they noticed the characteristic of Myanmar feudal and political culture but they did not understand very well Myanmar political culture. So it can be said that they might wait for a good opportunity to expand their territory into Myanmar rather than making war with the feudal Myanmar. The Governor General of India Lord Dalhousie already had plans to colonize the whole of Indian Empire and the coastal region of Myanmar. During the reign of King Bagan, the court was split into two factions: one group was led by the brother of Chief Queen and the other group was led by Prince Mindon. The King was not interested in the affair of the country he was interested only in gambling and other pleasures.

The country became unstable; the economy of the country also became poor so the people were wishing for a change.[1] Under these circumstances, Prince Mindon and Prince Kanaung secretly left the palace to make a rebellion against the king. While the Princess were revolting against the king to seize the throne, the British were also provoking to wage the second Anglo-Myanmar war so there was no peace and stability inside the country. In fact there was no serious problem between the British and Myanmar to fight this second Anglo-Myanmar war. King Bagan had complied with the demand of the British as much as he could(Khin Lay Khine 1998). But the British had already made plans to colonize Myanmar and the situation of Myanmar was a good opportunity to invade Myanmar and also because

[1] The British believed that they were welcomed by the people in Myanmar especially in Lower Myanmar. So Lord Dalhousie said that he had saved the Bago province previously a territory of Hanthawaddy from the Cruel Myanmar King when he was criticized for waging an inglorious war(D. P, The Annexation of Upper Burma, Singapore, Eastern University. 1960. 21-22)

the war in Punjub was over, the British took this opportunity to wage the second Anglo-Myanmar war without any serious problems between the two sides. The British annexed the Bago(Pegu) region after the Second Anglo-Myanmar War. Actually the affair with the British envoy during the reign of King Thayawaddy was reasonable enough to wage a war. King Tahyawaddy told Mr. Burney, British envoy that he refused to accept the Yandabo treaty as this treaty was not made during his reign. From the political point of view, this was reasonable enough to make a war. But the British ignored this incident as they were waging a war with the Afghan at that time. The situation inside Myanmar was not stable at the time of the second aggression war and the British just took this opportunity to wage a war without any serious reason. This was just a stratagem of imperialism. Therefore the British did not want Myanmar became peace and stability country.

One is sure that the British were well aware of internal affairs during the reign of King Mindon. Firstly, they noticed that the attitudes of King Mindon and Prince Kanaung were not the same and they had different opinions to communicate with the British since the King tried to get back lost territories with sending mission. It was found that there was a clash between King Mindon and his brother Prince Kanaung at the beginning of King Mindon's reign. For example, while King Mindon was trying to get back lost territories by means of sending peace mission, the British were facing guerilla warfare of the resistance fighters. So the British accused the Myanmar King as a supporter of these resistance fighters(Woodman 1962, 167). Crown Prince had tried to persuade King Mindon to drive out the British by military means as he was not pleased with responses of the British(HtinAung 1965, 53). Similarly Crown Prince Kanaung made some preparations by sending troop of 6000 soldiers headed by MyingaungGyiMahaMinkaungKyaw (Head Officer of Cavalry troop) to Taungoo as a precaution against the British invasion. King Mindon recalled MyingaungGyi to capital by

issuing a royal order in Much 1854(MaungMaung Tin 2004, 128). Moreover it was found that Thomas Spears sent an order on behalf of him to the British as follows:

> His Majesty disclaims any connection with the bands of robbers now said to be infesting the country below Prome and to show that he is sincere in his assertion should any of these robbers take refuge in his territories, after having committed depredations in the territories held by the British, he will sufficient proof being given, see that they are punished(Woodman 1962, 169).

King Mindon was aiming for a better relation with the British. On the other hand, Crown Prince Kanaung gave more consideration for the patriotic resistance fighters. It can be:

> The King's brother Prince Kanaung welcomed organized resistance to the British and showed his sympathies were with MyatHtoon, Maung Bo and MaungKhoungGyee. He entertained ideas of renewing the war with Britain…(Woodman 1962, 169)

These different responses by King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung became a good opportunity for the actuate British to intervene in the affairs of Myanmar.

Moreover the British were well aware of another internal affair which is the appointing the post of Crown Prince. When King Mindon ascended the throne, he had many adults sons such as Prince Thonze[2], PrinceNyaung Yan and Nyaung Oak[3], Prince Myingun and MyingonDaing[4] TPrincePyinsi and Malun[5] and Prince Mekhara.[6] On

2) Son of KhunHnitYwasaMibaya (KonMarDewi)
3) Son of MyaukShwe yay Mibaya(Second Rank, OhnMarDewi)
4) Son of ShweYaySaungMibaya (First Rank,YadanaDewi)
5) Son of MyauksaungtawMibaya (PabaDewi)
6) Son of DutiyaMyaukSaungtawMibaya(Second Rank, NandarDewi)

the other hand there was his brother who was of great help in his effort to seize the throne. Without Prince Kanaung, King Mindon could never achieve the throne so he had to recognize the royalty of his brother. Under this difficult and complex situation, King Mindon had appointed his brother Prince Kanaung as the Crown Prince. Most scholars in Myanmar agreed that King Mindon had chosen his brother as his successor to the throne because he believed in his brother's ability and competence. These scholars reference to the royal order of the King issued on 20 July 1860 which was as follow:

> Ministers, interior ministers, counselors, the officers of Crown Prince and services altogether 300 members had to serve dutifully and loyalty to me as well as they had to pay respect and royalty to the Crown Prince(Woodman 1962, 203).

By this royal order, King Mindon asked for loyalty and faithful service from all his ministers, counselors and all servants. It can be assumed that there surely must be a reason for King Mindon to issue this order. King Mindon must have second thoughts as to the matter of appointing his brother as Crown Prince. Mya Kay Tu had mentioned in his NandhalaeHmattan (Record of the Tradition of the Court) as follows:

> King Mindon changed his mind and he discussed the Hluttaw ministers after shifting to the Yadanapon capital whether he should put his son Malun as a Crown Prince. Kanaung knew about this information so he avoided to meet his brother did not attend the Hluttaw(Mya Kay Tu 1971, 255).

Therefore it can be assumed that King Mindon had issued the above mention royal order as a political stratagem which instructed all the royal servants to pay respect and royal to the Crown Prince besides

serving the King so that his brother Prince Kanaung could have some satisfaction and comfort.

1.3. The Rebellion and Its Effect on the British–Myanmar Relation

It could be found that sending diplomatic mission to minor feudal countries to gain information concerning the internal affairs of these countries was one of the political stratagems of the imperialists. During the time of the reign of King Badon, a British diplomatic mission led by Michael Symes arrived at the capital to take the opportunity by trying to intervene in the palace dispute as regards to choose a successor to the throne. The instruction of the British Governor General of India was as follows:

> He was instructed to inform secretly to the heir apparent that if the royal conflict occurred in the palace the British would support military aid to the heir apparent(Hall 1955, 141).

According to the above event, it could be said that there might be some involvement by the British in the Palace Intrigue which occurred Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. Among the King Mindon's sons, Prince Myingun was well known for his ambition to become a King. He was an arrogant and aggressive person but he was also said to be a man of courage and an expert in fighting. He was also beloved and respected by all his brothers and sisters. There were many records which mentioned about Crown Prince Kanaung and Prince Myingun. In these records, Prince Myingunhad a bad feeling to the Crown Prince Kanaung because he wanted to be a Crown Prince as he being an elder son of King. Moreover Crown Prince gave a punishment to Prince Myingun because of eating beef which was prohibited by the King. Similarly, Crown Prince prohibited the Princes to go and stay their fief.

Therefore Prince Myingun bitterly hate to the Crown Prince Kanaung(Tin 1965, 211; HtinAung 1965, 59; MaungMaung Tin 2004). According to these records, many scholars concluded that the British instigated Prince Myingun to revolt against Crown Prince Kanaung because he resented Crown Prince and it was easy to persuade to revolt against. For example, the relative of Crown Prince Kanaung said that Colonel Sladen and Dr. Marks instigated Prince Myingun to revolt against Crown Prince Kanaung(OttamaBuddhi 1969, 46). Nobody suspected to King Mindon for the Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. In fact, it was not because of the British stratagem but also the King Mindon's false political strategic.

There was no doubt about the British stratagem to stimulate Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion and the trace was found in Myingun's dairy which was expressed in "Htoon Daily Newspaper by Dr. Ba Chit who is Prince Myingun's personal secretary. It was mention as follows:

> …I had expected that the british were a people of high standard. But they tried to make use of me and made exploitations for their own benefit. They had no generously and goodwill toward me.

Colonel Sladen was at the summer palace when the rebellion broke out on 2 August 1866 and he had to escape from there with the help of Prince Myingun. Therefore while Prince Myingun was staying at Saigon as a political refugee, Colonel Sladen came to see the prince as his life savior during the palace revolt(Ba Chit 1957, 5). Moreover rebellion fail Colonel helped Prince Myingun and his brother to escape the British territory. Therefore most people assumed that there might be secret connection between Prince Myingun and Colonel Sladen and that Colonel sladen might have involved in the palace revolt. According to the report of Bago Commissioner to the Secretary of

Yangon, it was true that Prince Myingun got some support from the Colonel Sladen and Major Phayre.[7] Though it was true that Prince Myingun took some support from Colonel Sladen, Colonel Sladen was not directly involved in the palace revolt. In fact, King Mindon might be said to be the most responsible person in this palace rebellion. One can be proved that the rumours were spreading inside the palace and around the capital that the British encouraged the prince to rebel against the King but King Mindon still put his trust in Colonel Sladen and accepted Colonel Sladen's advice.[8] It was a question that King Mindon could trust to Colonel Sladen, WHY? The reason is that King Mindon's misused political strategic among his son and brother with purposes to get good relation with British for getting back his territories and to protect his position. Crown Prince Kanaung did not like King Mindon's appeasement policy to the British so he did not want Crown Prince Kanaung influence over the administration affairs.

Because of Crown Prince's ability and competence, he was popular among the ministers and counselors and he became more powerful than King Mindon at Hluttaw. King Mindon was well aware of his brother's military capability since they revolted against King Bagan. The King was now quite doubtful of the effort of Crown Prince Kanaung such as the strengthening of the army(MaungMaung Tin 1975, 179; MaungShwe Bin), the establishment of the weapon factory and purchasing of weapons from foreign countries(Kyan 2005, 146).

Moreover taking advice of KinwunMingyi, crown Prince Kanaung

7) Political Administration Report, Acc. No. 759, Series 1/1, National Archive Department.

8) There was another rebellion broke out after the Myingun rebellion in1867. Prince Badine who was a son of Crown prince Kanaung and he revolt against the King after his father assassination by Prince Myingun. The troop of prince badine were defeated in the final battle on6 August 1866. Prince Badine together with his followers Taingdasamaung Thant, TaungdwinsaMaungMyint and TaungpyonsaMaungPyu were arrested and put in prison. They were sentenced to death on 15 May 1867. (MaungMaungTin,KBZ,III,243)When Colonel Sladen heard this news, he urged the King to withdraw the death sentence. King Mindonwithdraw the order of execution so as to comply with the advice of colonel Sladen. (E. C. V Foucar, They Reign in Mandalay,47)

wanted to introduce a new system of government. He also tried to make efforts to transform the country into a modernized, industrialized country(HtinAung1965, 58). King Mindon wished to make some reforms in the administrative system but he did not want to abolish monarchical administration. He could not accept any efforts which might threaten his power. On the other hand, King Mindon was worried about his son Prince Myingun because he showed his discontent by behavioral action as well as verbally(OttamaBuddhi 1969, 123). It can be said that King Mindoncreated having misunderstanding between Prince Myingun and Crown Prince. Therefore King Mindon did not suspect to Colonel Sladen for Myingun-Myingon Dain rebellion. There were many suspension documents in Myanmar Historical records. It was found that When King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung fled to Shwebo (Yadantheinga) for against King Bagan, Prince Myingun was left at the palace and he was living with King Bagan. Prince Myingun was adopted son of King Bagan and he was very much beloved by King Bagan. Therefore he was awarded the title of MinhlaKyawswaby King Baganand he became Made Myosa at the age of his youth(Ba Chit 1957, 5).

During the reign of King Mindon, Prince Myingun believed that he should be awarded a title which was much superior to the title awarded to King Bagan (his uncle). But King Mindon conferred the title to Prince Myingun which was same title. Therefore Prince Myingun did not satisfy this situation. King Mindon became knew Prince Myingun's feeling through the monk called AshinKawthala. When King Mindon became aware of his son's discontent he allowed his son to attend the night time royal audience so as to please his son Prince Myingun. King Mindon aroused misunderstanding between the Crown Prince and his son Prince Myingun by telling his son that he had an enemy who was very close to him and that his son was the only reliable person to protect him from this enemy. Prince Myingun assumed that the enemy

of his father would be Crown Prince Kanaung(Ba Chit 1957, 5).

It was a question why Prince Myingun assumed that the enemy of his father is Crown Prince. One might be the information from Colonel Sladen. Second is that there was power struggle between conservative group (King Mindon) and reformist group (Crown Prince Kanaung and Yaw Atwinwun) at the Hluttaw. It was found that King Mindon became doubtful to Crown Prince Kanaung when he purchased weapons(HtinAung 1965, 59). In fact it may be the British interfere between King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung because they did not want Myanmar build industrialized and modernized country. Moreover collecting weapons was not good condition to them and it would be costly if it was necessary to fight for annexation Upper Myanmar. Thus the British persuade King Mindon to believe them and made misunderstanding to Kanaung's effort. On the other hand the relation between Crown Prince Kanaung and Colonel Sladen was not very good at their very first meeting(HtinAung 1967, 243). Moreover it was found in the British documents that Crown prince Kanaung had urged King Mindon to refuse signing treaties with the British(ViVianba 1971, 36). The British therefore noticed Crown Prince Kanaung would seize the throne. So it can be assumed that they made efforts to arouse misunderstanding between the two brothers. But King Mindon who was wise and far-sighted was doubtful of his brother not because of British deception; there were other factors to arouse suspicious. Westerners who had met with Crown Prince Kanaung had made remarks that Crown prince Kanaung was capable of establishing an industrialized country and that was more intelligent and had better qualifications than King Mindon(Ni Ni Myint 2004, 178).

Moreover, in his Yazadhamathingaha treatise, U HpoHlaing had mentioned that crown Prince Kanaung was the leader of the people during Yadanapon period. Among these remarks, one can guess the ability of Crown Prince Kanaung who was actively trying to make

efforts for the development of the country. It can also be said that because of these facts, King Mindon became less powerful. Therefore King Mindon became doubtful of his brother and he made arrangements so that his son would be on his side in case some problem arose. Moreover Crown prince Kanaung who was very actively was making efforts for the development of the country was not very willing to follow King Mindon's appeasement policy toward the Brtish. So Crown Prince said that to follow the King's wish would be to invite danger from the British and that he should manage all the state affairs in the future to prevent the danger of British invasion(OttamaBuddhi 1969, 46).

It was probably that King Mindon who wished to be on good terms with the British was not very pleased with the ability and leadership of Crown Prince Kanaunf. Likewise the British had noticed the ability of Crown Prince and were keeping watch on him with great care. Therefore from the British point of view, trust and understanding between the two brothers King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung would not be beneficial for them. So they tried to involve in the palace affair by reporting Crown Prince Kanaung's effort to equip the army with modern arms to the King Mindon but their reporting was not from the positive point of view. In official repot of British government as regards to Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion, it was stated that Crown Prince Kanaung was assassinated by Prince myingun as he was plotting seize the throne and that Mandalay revolt of 1866 was also due to the fault of assassinated Crown Prince(Ni NiMyint 2004, 179). According to above statement it can be assumed that the report made by the British to King Mindon might surely arouse his brother.

Prince Myingun got married with Princess TaungNyohtikeKhaung Tin, daughter of Crown prince Kanaung on 5 July1864 and this should be taken into serious consideration. It was mostly said that Prince Myingun resented Crown Prince Kanaung because he was not

appointed as Crown Prince. So here a question should be asked. What is the real motive of Prince Myingun who went on to marry the daughter of his uncle whom he resented? It was found that King Mindon seemed not very pleased and he made some kind of remark hinting that his son had accepted the marriage as he wished to become a king(Ba Chit 1957). Therefore it can be said that King Mindon tried to arouse misunderstanding between Prince Myingun and Crown Prince.

After the rebellion Prince Myingun sent a letter to his father in which it was said that he had defeated the Crown Prince and Commander of Crown Prince with his glory and power and that he was ready to follow his father's Orders(MaungMaung Tin 2004). According to this letter,it can be assumed that Prince Myingun had been expecting the support of King Mindon Moreover it can be assumed that Prince Myingun assassinated the Crown Prince as he knew well his father was quite suspicious of Crown Prince Kanaung and would like to remove him. King Mindon might have no intention for such an outcome as the death of his brother but it is certain that he aroused misunderstanding between his son and brother by mean of political stratagem. Finally Crown Prince who was the target of the colonial British was assassinated as expected by the British. Crown Prince Kanaung was regarded as an obstacle by the British in their plan to colonized Myanmar but King Mindon did not seem to notice the strategy of the British. He made efforts to arouse misunderstanding between his son and his brother and his son Prince Myingun became a pawn of the British. The death of Crown Prince Kanaung was great loss for the country as the country was just on her way to become an industrial country with the effort of Crown Prince Kanaung.

Ⅱ. Discussion

To sum up Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion, the fundamental cause is that there were two factions in the palace: King Mindon's conservative group and Kanaung's reformist group and it was great opportunity for the British. Myingun-MyingonDaing revolution had not come to a conclusion. There were two factors which supported to down fall of Konbaung Dynasty. Firstly, it made great lost to build developed and industrialized country due to the Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion. Moreover political and economic situation turned back to bad. As a consequence of Myingun rebellion and Badine rebellion, people became decreased in Upper Myanmar. For example, about half of a total of 186 households in Thabyewa village near the town of Meikhtila fled to lower Myanmar(Keith 1910).

It was first migration of people from Upper Myanmar to Lower Myanmar. Population decreased led to poor economy. Therefore King Mindon requested the heads and assistant heads of monastic associations to recall the people who run away to the British territory. He issued an order in which it was that those who came back to Upper Myanmar would have remission of capitation tax(Ameindaw). Moreover Prince Pyinsi, Prince Singu, Prince Malun and MyaDaungMyosaThadoMingyi MinhlaSithu[9] were killed in this accident. In fact, it was a time when Myanmar need much human resources for the development of the country but King Mindon lost these human resources. It was a beneficial factor for the British or they came to get more manpower and human resources. About the population increase in Lower Myanmar and development of agriculture, it was found that after the opening of the Suze canal the rice trade made much profit so the population gradually increased in British Burma including Lower Myanmar. So the migration from Upper Myanmar and India gradually

9) He was one of the resource person for the King and one of the Hluttaw ministers.

increased in delta region in1869(Andrus 1956, 1014). In fact the rise in popular in delta region could be said to be a consequence of the Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion.

On field survey to the village in Maubin Township, Kyaitlattownship, NgathaingChaung Township, villagers were asked to tell about the historical background of their village. It was learnt that these people had fled from the Upper Myanmar during the time of internal instability to Lower Myanmar and they had settled down in places which could be quite convenient for them and later villages were established. As for example, it was learnt that some of the people who fled from Upper Myanmar during the time of the revolt had reached a place in Maubintownship and started to settle down. Then the population gradually increasedand village was established which came to be known as Nggagyigayet village in Maubin township.

It was also found that the village pagoda was built in the year 1878. From these interviews with these villages, it was quite probable that the people fled from Upper Myanmar during the time of the palace revolt and started to establish villages in Lower Myanmar. Likewise, in the interview with U HlaThein who was at the age of 74 at the time of interview 2004, it was learnt that his grandfather was a trader making business trip in big boat (painkaw) up and down along the Ayeyarwaddy Diver. During one of his downstream trip carrying goods from Upper Myanmar he took a rest near a place which was now established as Kyonsoak village. While he was resting he heard about the news of the palace revolt in Mandalay. So his grandfather decided not to return to Upper Myanmar and then started to settle down in that place. Later population in that area gradually increased and the place was established as a village under the jurisdiction of the British Municipal Administration. Up to these days, the descents of the great grandchild of King Mindon and KhunHnitywasa grandchild of Prince Thonze are still living in Maubin township and there was also an old dilapidated

monastery which was known as ThonzeminKyaung (monastery)(Aye Mon Kyi 2008). There was an evidence to confirm the factslearnt from the interview with the villagers and that was as follows:

> I may here remark that their detention of the steamer caused very general satisfaction and comfort to the European Community at large and even to much (worrisome)Burmese traders flocked to me for advice and eager demand to be admitted inside my enclosure in order to ensure for themselves, as they said, protection and safety (Political Revolution).

According to the above statement together with the interviews with the local people, it could be assumed that Sladen and Myanmar traders might have some connection and it was also very probably that people from Upper Myanmar fled to Lower Myanmar at the time of palace revolt. The British had tried to attract immigrants from Upper Myanmar by promising remission of capitation tax for the first two years, it was not very successful. Nobody would be willing to leave his mother country when the country is in a state of stability and economy was good. Therefore British might have arranged plans to stop the coordinated effort of King Mindon and Crown Prince Kanaung for the development of the country. So prince Myingun and MyingonDaing made a revolt against the King due to the playing of British political disintegration in royal affairs. This was situation the British were expecting and it can be said that British had achieved their goal.

Secondly, the revolt of Prince Badine came to an end with suppression; Prince Myingun was still frequent disturbances. The British did not hand over to the King Mindon and they sent him to India with giving reason which was that he was plotting to take over Yangon(Ni NiMyint 2004, 172). Another King Mindon's political strategic was that he did not appoint Crown prince again after

assassinating of the Crown PrinceKanaung and he gave a reason not to occur rebellion again. It could not be decided whether King Mindon's plan is Right or Wrong which is that he divided Upper Myanmar three part and he choose three of his sons: Nyaung Yan, Thonze and Mekhara to rule. It was possible that King Mindon paid attention to have stability and peace in the internal affair until the last day of his reign and became aware of the British colonialism and it was difficult to prevent so he made a plan not to occupy Upper Myanmar easily and they had to negotiate with three of his sons. However his ministers did not agree his suggestion and they nominated the Prince Thibaw. Finally King agreed to appoint Prince Thibaw as a Crwon Prince in 1879. In fact it was found that Myingun was supported by most of Myanmar and they wanted him became a king while King Mindon was terminally ill. The British also considered to appoint Prince Myingun but they waited to watch the situation. A British commissioner in India said that he was ascended the throne by the arrangement of British government. It might be British stratagem because Myingun had many supporters to plot the throne at that time. The British and France became rivalry to occupy Upper Myanmar without waging a war because Prince Myingun and Nyaung Yan were under their protection and they hold a potential trump card in their hand. On the other hand KinwunMingyi and Shin Phyu Ma Shin also secretly contact with Prince Myingun and Prince Nyaung Yan to ascend the throne. According to these situations, King Thibaw could not afford to control well having peace and stability country and could not make possible solution to protect the country. It can be concluded that the origin of Myingun-Myingon Dain rebellion pave the way of down fall of Konbaung.

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<Abstract>

Review on the downfall of Konbaung Dynasty: A Case Study of Myingyun-MyingonDaing Rebellion and Its Effects

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This study reexamines a covert factor of the colonization of Myanmar kingdom, drawing on the case of Myingyun-MyingonDaing Rebellion broke out in 1866. It criticizes that existing discussions on the downfall of the Konbaung dynasty are preoccupied with post-colonialism. These researches were focus on macro level and pointed out the imperialist stratagem and many scholars concluded for the down fall of Konbaung Dynasty that the wave of Imperialism as Sunami hit from Europe to Asia so that Myanmar could not stand as feudal society and down fall Konbaung Dynasty. All of events and comments were quite true but it is necessary to examine carefully past events. There were many controversial facts about third Anglo-Myanmar war. This paper has pointed out the Kings Mindon's false political strategic due to the lack of awareness on external threat with the giving the best example of Myingun-MyingonDaing rebellion.

Key Words : King Mindon, Crown prince Kanaung, Prince Myingyun, Rebellion, Anglo–Myanmar Relation

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▣ 연구논문 ▣
ARTICLES

The 'Southeast Asia Phenomenon' in Korea Viewed Through Thai Food*

YOON Jinpyo**

Ⅰ. Introduction

Culture has the unique all-inclusive characteristic of being an assembly of what humans think, have, and do, but it is also a concept of specific connotation where numerous cultures in different regions and eras are created and developed by human groups. It is difficult to define a clear boundary of culture's time and space, but it is important to basically view culture from a mutually-different perspective. Thus it can be said that having a perspective of cultural diversity and relativity is the starting point of understanding culture. Culture is developed, learned, and passed down by a certain group, and the subject of its comparison of it the diversity and relative differences. The subject of a lot of research has been the background that forms the origin of a culture, and the contents that compose the characteristics of a culture. Among countless cultural phenomena, food can be argued to be the one that displays the most basic lifestyle of mankind, as it is directly related to human's living and surviving. Food culture

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makes up basic lifestyle culture, along with housing and clothing, but it is regarded to be the most unique aspect of culture of them all. Since food is known for its diversity, it can be the most effective pathway to enjoying another's culture. In addition, it provides the easiest approach for a person in a certain culture to enter a different culture through meaning and action, and nurture skills as well as attain an esthetic attitude related to other cultures(Hannerz 1996a).

As interchange among mankind expands widely beyond national borders, and the so-called wave of globalization expands ever more fiercely, interest in transnational cultural phenomenon is growing. Transnationalism is the concept that reflects how transnational networks beyond national borders are being formed and transnational cultural fusion is taking place more and more in today's world. Kivisto(2001) suggested the international expansion of capitalism, growth of transnational NGOs, the emergence of transnational citizens, popular culture fusion, and so on as the causes of activated transnationalism. The social and cultural aspect of transnationalism is mainly focused on the transnational migration phenomenon, and thus its main interests are in the topics of the move towards a transnational society and attendant identity issues. As international human movements and material interchange has expanded, culture is being recognized as something to be universal for all mankind despite being developed by certain groups(Hannerz 1996b).

Korean popular culture such as TV drama, movie, K-pop, and so on continue to be greatly popular and are gaining great interest in Southeast Asia. Also, numerous types of Korean products are widely distributed and consumed all over Southeast Asia. This phenomenon has been called the 'Korean Wave' and is currently under the limelight. Concurrently, recent Korean popular media has been showing more and more programs with Southeast Asians or those that introduce Southeast Asian food, institutions and customs. It is becoming more

frequent to come across a Southeast Asian in everyday life. Discussions on Southeast Asian culture have emerged and a certain image of it has been created and communicated in Korean society as well; not only through migrant labor and international marriage, but also through the increasing number of Southeast Asians frequenting Korea for various purposes. In the other direction, there are an increasing number of Koreans visiting Southeast Asia for the purposes of investment, trade, travel or relocation.

As such, social and cultural aspects related to Southeast Asia one can experience in Korean society are becoming a new social phenomenon. These 'Southeast Asian Wave' phenomena that react to the 'Korean Wave' are to be categorized as the concept of 'Southeast Asia phenomenon' in Korea. 'Southeast Asia phenomenon' will be used as a general term that encompasses all Southeast Asia related phenomena experienced and recognized in Korea. Aspects of this 'Southeast Asia phenomenon' in Korea include migrant labor, retirement relocation, popular culture, food, tourism, international marriage, studying abroad, corporate investment and so on.

Amidst the recent 'Southeast Asia phenomenon' in Korea, as aspect of the flow of transnationalism, food is becoming more meaningful as the bridgehead of transnational cultural fusion. Food is unique in each country and at the same time is a cultural product with transnational characteristics. Thai food began to spread out into the rest of the world in the 1970s, as Thailand's tourism industry started to develop. The unique scent and flavor of Thai food due to its use of numerous kinds of herbs and spices was perhaps the reason that made it one of the most characteristic and popular cuisines of the East along with Chinese food. The Lonely Planet, an international travel publication, conducted a preference survey with travel agencies around the world and the results selected Thai food as one of the 4 World Foods along with French, Italian, and Chinese food. Thai government statistics say

that there are as many as 13,149 Thai restaurants around the world as of August 2009.

This study uses a transnational perspective on food as its basis and desires to explain the phenomenon of Thai food culture going beyond national boundaries, even reaching Korea, by tracing the origin and past routes of Thai food. The characteristics and types of Thai food that form the base of Thai food culture will be reviewed and the inducement and strategy of how Thai food moves over borders to expand its influence will be mainly dealt with. Also, the status of Thai food in Korea will also be reviewed through the opening of Thai restaurants while a survey will show what Koreans think of and react to Thai food. Lastly, the related prospect of Thai food becoming a transnational cultural phenomenon in Korea will be explored.

II. Origin of Thai Food

2.1. Characteristics of Thai Food

Thailand has a land space two and-a-half times bigger than the Korean peninsula and a population of 66 million. Boasting a long history and culture based in Buddhism, it is located in the center of Southeast Asia. The four main regions- Central, southern, northeastern, and northern – all have distinctive topography and characteristics; with central and southern beaches, mountains in the northern region, the Chao Phraya River that cuts across the country vertically, and the Mekong River in the northeast region all constituting the beautiful nature of Thailand. Buddhist temples dispersed all around the nation and numerous kinds of festivals are the highlight of Thai culture. Being blessed with affluent natural resources leads to the diverse and rich food culture of Thailand. A huge tourist destination that represents

Southeast Asia, Thailand's food receives international acclaim for both its flavor and diversity. Food represents its country and is also a representative cultural product. In that sense, Thai food acts as a cultural spearhead which represents and promotes Thailand.

Thai food is hailed as one of the 4 World Foods with French, Italian, and Chinese food for itsdiversity and unique flavor. Thai food, along with Chinese food, represents the taste of the East and is known for its mixed, stimulating 'sour, sweet, spicy, and salty' flavors. The distinctiveness lies in having not only spiciness but also a sweet and sour flavor strong enough to be stimulating. The reason for such diverse flavor is Thai food's use of lots of herbs and spices. It is a common characteristic of Southeast Asian food, but various herbs and spices attained from tropical plants that grow in this region can be said to be the basis of Thai food's diversity and the background of its colorful flavors. Herbs like lemongrass, basil, mint, coriander, Kaffir Lime leaf and Morning Glory and spices such as chili, garlic, pepper, cinnamon and dried clove buds are used in various ways to create the unique Thai food taste and scent (Wang Young-ho et al. 2009, 24-26). There are a lot of Thai dishes that make your tongue burn with spiciness. Chili is an important ingredient for such dishes. It plays a pivotal role of deciding the flavor of Thai food with many other food ingredients or on its own. Chili creates the unique Thai food flavor and scent as it mixes with major Thai food ingredients such as coconut oil, lemongrass, lime leaf, sugar, salted fish, and so on.

A typical Thai meal has a big bowl of rice on the dining table and each family member takes a portion of rice from it with other dishes. They share not only side dishes but also rice. Thai people usually have three meals a day, with at least two rice meals. In the morning they have a rice noodle dish for breakfast and a noodle type dish for lunch as well. Dinner is the most important meal of the day, usually consisting of salad, vegetable dish, and curry dish. These main dishes

are also always served with rice. Thai people use a spoon and fork, and chopsticks mainly for eating noodles. For dessert they mainly eat cake or jelly made with various fruits, beans, coconut oil, and so on. All Thai people eat rice as a main staple, cooking it or making noodles with it. Rice is also used in powder form to make curries and other sauce-based dishes thicker and also in batter when deep-frying meat or seafood. It is recorded that Thailand cultivated rice as early as B.C. 3000, which is before even China and India. Thailand was able to cultivate rice on the fertile land created by the Chao Phraya River which cuts across the country vertically. Currently Thailand is the second largest rice exporter in the world.

There are numerous kinds of Thai rice but they can be categorized into two major types. Whereas people in the Northern and Northeastern region prefer short, elastic rice with lots of starch, people in Central and Southern Thailand prefer long, dry rice scented with jasmine. Rice is often the main ingredient used for meals, often cooked as fried rice or a rice dish with toppings for lunch. Rice is also used as an ingredient for various desserts such as pudding, crackers, cakes, and so on. Rice noodles make up a big part of Thai cuisine. Noodles with various flavors and texture have been developed. A lot of noodle dishes are served with beef, chicken and duck, fish, seafood, tofu, and vegetables. There are hot ones with broth and cold noodles as well as fried or stir-fried noodles too. Along with countless types of noodles there are also simpler noodle dishes with many types of sauces that are often made for breakfast, dinner, or a snack.

One of the things one could point out as a characteristic of Thai cuisine is the development of professional cooking and the culture of eating out. There are especially a great number of restaurants that specialize in one certain dish in Thailand. Staking all in one certain dish means confidence in flavor, and also that customers seek out such expertise. This obsession with professional cooking has been an

important background in the international dispersion of Thai food. Thai people prefer to eat out rather than to cook at home. It's difficult to prepare meals inside the house due to the hot weather, but whatever the cause this has created a very active food culture of street food and food courts. It is reckoned that such traits have also provided the background for Thai food to be marketable internationally.

Thai food also developed through interchanges with geographically close countries that share their borders with Thailand. It has a lot of similarities with the food of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, countries that are also located along the Mekong River. Areas around Northern Chiang Mai have dishes similar to Burmese curry soup. Food of the Southern region, close to Malaysia, was much influenced by Muslim cuisine. In addition, Thai dishes in the 4 regions have developed according to different geographical traits. The Northeast region, known as Isaan, is surrounded by highlands and the Mekong River. It was the first place in Thailand to have cultivated rice but irregular precipitation leads to inconsistent harvests and therefore makes it the most barren land in Thailand. Due to such conditions, the Northeast region shows its strength in strong flavored foods like salted fish and chili, both of which serve the purpose of storing ingredients for a long time. Kai Yang, a classic chicken roast, is chicken roasted with garlic, salted fish, coriander and lemongrass dipped in chili sauce. Somtom, originating in the Northeast region is now a representative Thai salad. It is made with chopped green papaya and chili, peanut, tomato, dried shrimp, and crab all blended together. This dish was developed by adding numerous ingredients and spices. This area is also famous for frying or cooking various insects and frogs. Northern Thailand has a very different food culture when compared to the South and Central region. The mountainous terrain and cool weather allowed for a rich amount of fruit and vegetables. The curry in Northern Thailand is greatly influenced by Myanmar, tastes spicy and does not use coconut

milk. Kang Hang Lae, a Chiang Mai curry, is the representative dish. Another distinctive Northern dish is a complete rice meal called KanTok. KanTok is composed of 5 side dishes, 1 or 2 sauces, and sticky rice. Kap Mu, fried pork rind, Pat Pack Lu Am, stir-fried vegetables and noodles with oyster sauce, Mikrob, fried thin noodles, Kai Tot, fried chicken, Kang Hang Lae, a type of Northern curry are just some of the dishes that are included in this meal.

Central Thailand is a vast plain, an internationally-known rice cultivating area with the capital Bangkok at its core and Chao Phraya River flowing into the ocean. An abundance of water and developed irrigation facilities allow it to focus on various tropical fruit and vegetables. This region is also the area where fish, shrimp and crab are farmed with river water. Being an integral area in Thailand's history, classic Thai dishes were developed here while food from all over the country competed and was improved in this region, too. Red and green curry dishes, soup dishes such as Tom Ka Kai, Tom Yam, Kang Jut, and various salads – Yams – represent the Central region. Influenced by Chinese and Japanese food (suki), this area has also developed many fusion foods. Southern Thailand is a long, narrow area with a lengthy coastline that begins from the Isthmus of Kra, reaching the Malaysian border and therefore is influenced more by the ocean than other regions. With the strongest influence of Malaysian traditions and food evident, the South is famous for fresh seafood dishes. There are seafood barbeque dishes cooked with various spices as well as dried seafood, salted shrimp, salted fish, etc. The Southern region also is a palm tree growing area. There are lots of dishes cooked with palm tree coconut milk and the hot weather has led to the creation of numerous strong flavored foods.

2.2. Introducing Representative Thai Dishes

[Som Tam]

This sweet and sour dish originated in the Isan region in Northeast Thailand. It is a kind of pickled salad, in some ways similar to kimchi. The ingredients vary but the most common dish, Som Tam Thai, includes papaya, dried shrimp, peanut, tomato, lime, sugar, and salted fish. If small, black fresh water crab or ocean flower crab is also included the dish becomes Som Tam Poo.

[Yam WunSen]

This is a sweet and sour cellophane noodle dish. Using cellophane noodles known as Wunsen in Thai, this Japchae-style salad also uses tomato, onion, and peanuts. You can add seafood to make Yam WunSen Tale, and pork to make Yam WunSen Mu.

[Ho MokPla]

This dish is made with minced fish meat wrapped in banana leaf with coconut milk and steamed soft fish meat. This dish is very popular among Thai people for its balance between its

rich coconut milk flavor and banana leaf scent.

[Tom Yam Kung]

A symbolic dish that represents Thai food culture, this dish is a stew that combines sour, salty, sweet, and spicy flavors. ‘Tom’ means to boil, while ‘Yam’ means sour and ‘Kung’ refers to the main ingredient, shrimp. With seafood it becomes Tom Yam Tale and with chicken it is called Tom Yam Kai. Other supplementary ingredients include strawmushroom, lemongrass, coriander, lime leaf, chili, dried ginger, tomato, and coconut milk.

[KhaoPhat]

‘Khao’ means rice, and ‘phat’ to stir-fry. This dish literally means stir-fry noodle rice. Depending on the ingredients that are fried with the rice the dishes are called KhaoPhat Kung (shrimp), KhaoPhat Kai (chicken), KhaoPhat Moo (pork), KhaoPhatNeu (beef), KhaoPhatTalay (seafood) and KhaoPhat Poo (crab). KhaoPhat uses salted fish called ‘Pick Nam Pla’ with sauce made with finely chopped bird’s eye chili (known as phrikkhi nu in Thailand), which brings out the spicy yet refreshing flavors.

[Kwetiaw]

This is the most common street rice noodle in Thailand. Depending on the thickness the noodles are categorized into 'SenMee (thinnest noodle)' 'SenLek (middle thickness noodle)', and 'SenYai(thickest noodle)'. The more broth there is, the thinner the noodle should be. When there is broth it would be Kwetiaw Nam, and mixed noodles without broth is called Kwetiaw Hang. A variety of toppings are used including pork, fish cake, chicken breast, and seafood. The dish is seasoned according to personal taste. Seasonings include the sweet sugar 'Nam Tan', chili powder 'Prick Pon', 'Nam Som Prick' – chili with vinegar, and the sour red chili-pepper paste with vinegar, 'Nam Prick Si Lat Cha'.

[Phatthai]

A stir-fry rice noodle dish cooked with numerous vegetables and shrimp with peanut powder sprinkled on top. The sweet tasting phatthai is balanced by the inclusion of bean sprouts, chives, fresh spring onions, and cucumber.

[PuPhatPhong Curry]

'Pu', meaning crab, this dish is crab fried in curry. The dish includes crab meat, coconut cream, curry, and vegetables such as celery, onion, spring onion and garlic. This is a representative Thai seafood dish. With seafood like squid, clam and shrimp it becomes Tale Phong Curry.

[Pla La Prick]

'Pla'means fish; this dish is deep fried fish mixed with hot sauce created with chili garlic in starch syrup. Breams are usually is used for the fish. In celebration meals this dish becomes the main seafood dish.

[PlaNeung Si Yu]

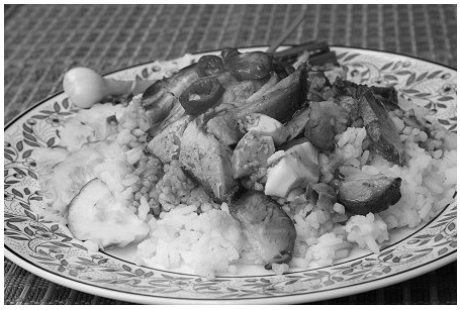
This is steamed fish seasoned with soy sauce. The inclusion of spring onions and ginger really brings out the true flavor of the fish in this dish. Sea bass and saw-edged perch are usually used as the fish.

[Phat Pack PungPaiDaeng]

Morning Glory fried with minced pork, oyster sauce, and garlic. This dish is pungent and salty as it uses Thai soybean paste. It goes well with rice and many Koreans like it as a side dish when they visit Thailand.

[Kai Paht Mae Ma]

Chicken stir-fried with cashew nuts, which are grown in abundance in southern Thailand. Chicken breast is fried in batter, then stir-fried with onion, carrot, small green onion, garlic, and cashew nuts. This dish shows excellent an excellent contrast between the sweet flavor and nutty cashew nuts.



[Kao Mu Daeng]

'Kao' means rice while 'Mu' is pork and 'Daeng' is the color red. With garlic, pepper, soy sauce, and brown sugar, this sweet baked pork on rice dish is popular for lunches in street restaurants and food courts.

[Suki]

Known as Thai style shabu-shabu, suki is meat broth containing vegetables, seafood, meat, noodles and various other ingredients. Ingredients are lightly cooked in the pot before eating. The dish didn't originate in Thailand but it became greatly popular for its use of various seafood and vegetables that are freshly blanched. The left-over broth at the end is made into porridge (Kao Tum) by adding and boiling rice in it.

III. Thai Food Routes

3.1. Thai Food Attraction

Thai people and Koreans visit each other's country by the millions each year. Since hitting the peak of 1.37 million in 2003, roughly 800,000 to 1.2 million people from both countries visit one another every year. Koreans take up 85~90% of this number and this is because Thailand is one of the most popular holiday destinations for Koreans. Thailand became an attractive country to Koreans due to the low cost, the proximity to Korea, and its tourism resources. In the world, after Japanese and Chinese, Koreans visit Thailand most frequently. On the other hand, Korea is the 5th most frequently visited country by Thais, following ASEAN member countries, China, Hong Kong, and Japan. As both countries have more and more visitors, it is only natural that each other gets more opportunities to enjoy each other's cuisine. With more opportunities to visit one another, it is expected Koreans who've experienced Thai food will wish to try Thai

food again after returning to Korea.

<Table 1> Visitors from Korea and Thailand to one another

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Koreans visiting Thailand	351	447	582	1,292	754	662	1,093	1,084	884
Thais visiting Korea	88	73	74	78	103	113	129	147	161
Total (1,000 people)	439	520	656	1,370	857	775	1,222	1,231	1,045

Source: Tourism statistics from Korea Tourism Organization and ASEAN Statistical Yearbook 2008

According to the 2007 Thailand Tourism Office's statistics, foreigners who visited Thailand spent on average 4,120 baht (about 150,000 won) each day, of which 17% was spent on food. The sour, spicy, and sweet flavor of Thai food created with spices and herbs tends to be more addictive than other cuisines. The reason why people have strong preference/dislike for Thai food is also due to spices and herbs in large part. People who like Thai food tend to enjoy stimulating flavors. Also, there are an increasing number of people who buy the spices and sauces used in Thai food to cook their own according to personal tastes.

Another attraction of Thai food is that it is considered to be good for dieting. While being low in both fat and calories, Thai food also includes spices and herbs that enhance your health functions.. As these facts came to be known Thai food became known as a characteristically healthy food. With the perception of being good for your health, Thai food enjoys great popularity in Europe, North America and Japan as an option for eating out, after being adjusted slightly to local tastes.

3.2. Globalization Strategy of Thai Food

The great interest in Thai food led to an aggressive promotion of Thai food and an international promotion strategy by the Thai government.[1] The Thai tourism industry is highly related to the spreading of Thai food. Foreigners visiting as tourists naturally experience Thai food and have opportunities to familiarize with it. The direct and indirect value created by the tourism industry in Thailand amounts to $35.5 billion (2007) which is around 14.6% of their GDP. This is the greatest amount and percentage among all Southeast Asian countries. People who work for the tourism industry also surpassed 4 million in 2007, taking up 11% of all the working population. The Thailand tourist balance, which shows the influence of the tourism industry, shows profits of $4.7 billion in 2000 and $10.3 billion in 2007. This shows how the Thai tourism industry is of great importance in its overall economy, acting as a foundation for the Thai food industry to enter international markets.

Thai food is well known for going outside domestic tourism industry boundaries and pursuing an aggressive world market strategy. With the Thai government at its center, related businesses and public organizations are working together to systematically nurture the food industry and spread out internationally. The Thai government supports the world promotion of Thai food by assisting the two core institutions; Department of Commerce's DEP (Department of Export Promotion) and Ministry of Industry's NFI (National Food Institute). The DEP is in charge of marketing and PR for Thai restaurants launching all over the world, as well as the task of improving the skills of Thai chefs. Founded in 1996, the NFI is in charge of Thai

[1] In 2008, 3,960,000 Korean travelers (33%) visited China, 2,380,000 (20%) visited Japan, 880,000 (7%) visited Thai, and 760,000 (6%) visited the U.S. On the other hand, 3,330,000 Thai travelers (65%) visited ASEAN member countries, 610,000 (12%) visited China, 290,000 (6%) visited Hong Kong, 170,000 (3.3%) visited Japan, and 160,000 (3%) visited Korea in 2007.

food quality, safety, standardization and development of new dishes. Thai food's globalization strategy is based on these two organizations working hand in hand; DEP leading the launch into world markets and NFI supporting it.

The two organizations develop various measures and systematically carry out such plans to promote Thai food all over the world such as the opening and maintenance of Thai restaurants abroad. The concept that represents this world market launch strategy is the policy called 'Thai Kitchen to the World'. 'Thai Kitchen to the World' encompasses systematically assisting businesses whereby the government and private industry work together to develop the Thai food industry domestically and internationally. The purpose of this project is to strengthen the competitiveness of the Thai food industry and carry out activities such as; ①founding 'the Center for Thai Kitchen of the World', ②customer research, ③Thai food PR, ④Thai food skill development, ⑤chef relocation cooperation, ⑥restaurant business support, ⑦financial support, ⑧food related R&D, ⑨strengthening food safety standards and food export competitiveness. The Center for Thai Kitchen of the World was established as a one-stop service institution for Thai food related businesses entering world markets. With the service that connects market information and businesses together, it also manages the database of registered chefs. This institution's website (www.thaifoodrestaurant.com) acts as Thai food related portal that shows all of the above information.

This project sets a goal country and focuses on customer research and market management. The U.S. and Canada in North America; England, Germany, and Scandinavian countries in Europe; Japan in Asia; Australia and New Zealand in Oceania, as well as new markets in the Middle East, China and India are the currently set targets. It also regularly participates in international food fairs such as Anuga (Germany), SIAL (France), and FooDEX (Japan) to promote Thai

food internationally and holds Thai food fairs like ThaiFEX and Thai festivals in many countries. Thai food franchise businesses are also being undertaken.

What is distinctive about the Thai Kitchen to the World project is that it has a Thai restaurant certification system. The standardization of Thai restaurants is promoted with the certification mark 'Thai Select'. Thai food is categorized as traditional food (divided into quick service and table service) and modern cuisine (divided into quick service and table service) and certification marks are given after a thorough inspection of each category's standards of food and chefs, as well as restaurant management. As of August 2009 there are 13,149 Thai restaurants abroad, of which 1,179 have attained the Thai Select mark.

Thailand has set up a training course for overseas Thai chefs to develop and transfer Thai food skills, in which experts are dispatched to regularly train ingredient management and cooking methods. Also, a Thai Food Center is set up in 5 target countries and alliances are formed with professional cooking schools such as Australia's TAFE and England's Tameside College. Such systematic Thai food promotion policies have resulted in Thailand's food related exports to grow from 480 billion baht in 2003 to 780 billion baht in 2008, with a high growth rate of 10.8%/year.

IV. Thai Food in Korea

4.1. Status of Thai Food in Korea

An online search shows there seems to be around 50 Thai restaurants opened in Korea. Major Thai restaurants displayed in [Table 2] shows that they are mainly located in Seoul. As it is in the

early stages of Thai food's introduction to Korea it seems that opening in marketable Seoul and other metropolitan areas would be advantageous for business. Most restaurants that were interviewed answered that they prefer the Seoul region due to the better supply of Thai ingredients and chefs.

<Table 2> Major Thai Restaurants in Korea

Business Name (Franchise)	Store	Contacts	Homepage	Address
After the Rain	2	3446-9375 (Cheongdam)	http://www.atrain.co.kr	Art Building 4th Floor, 92-16, Cheongdam-dong, Seoul
Kuetio	1	516-0995 (Nonhyeon)	http://www.kuetio.kr	39-10, Jamwon-dong, Seocho-gu, Seoul
Lanna Thai	2	782-8284 (Yeouido)	http://www.lannathai.co.kr	Lotte Castle Ivy, 43-4 Yeoeuido-dong, Youngdeungpo-gu, Seoul
Little Thai	1	3783-0770~1	http://www.littlethai.co.kr	Finance Building B1, Mukyo-dong, Jung-gu, Seoul
Sala Thai	4	2146-2407 (Jamsil)	http://www.thai-suki.co.kr	Lotte Castle Gold Plaza 2nd Floor, 7-18, Shincheon-dong, Songpa-gu, Seoul
Sukho Thai	1	(031) 223-5522 (Suwon Ingye)	http://sukhothai.co.kr	1114-10 Ingye-dong, Paldal-gu, Suwon-si, Gyonggi
Sawasdee	1	(02) 363-7897 (Sinchon)	http://www.sawasdee.co.kr	1st Floor, 5-31 Changchun-dong, Seodaemun-gu, Seoul
Ahan Thai	1	(02) 783-2204 (Yeouido)	http://ahanthai.co.kr	Jinmi Paragon Building B1, no.13, Yeoeuido-dong, Youngdeungpo-gu, Seoul
Thai Orchid	3	(02) 792-8836	http://www.thaiorchid.co.kr	3rd Floor, 737-24 Hannam-dong, Yongsan-gu, Seoul
Pattaya	4	(02) 798-4888 (Itaewon)	http://www.ipattaya.co.kr	no. 116-14 Itaewon-dong, Yongsan-gu, Seoul
Wang Thai	1	749-2746~7	http://www.wangthai.kr	Younghwa Building 3rd Floor, no. 176-2 Itaewon-dong, Yongsan-gu, Seoul
Kokasuki Family	1	(051)701-0801 (Busan Haeundae)	http://www.cocasuki.co.kr/	313-10 Songjeong-dong, Haewundae-gu, Busan

Business Name (Franchise)	Store	Contacts	Homepage	Address
Baan Khanitha	1	(02) 479-1818	http://www.baankhanitha.com	237-1 2nd Floor, Pungnam2dong, Songpa-gu, Seoul
Siam Thai	1	(02) 323-4201		407-21 2nd Floor, Seogyodong, Mapo-gu, Seoul
Golden Thai	1	(02) 461-8089		Seoul Songpa-guBangi-dong 171-4 Palace Building 1st Floor
Hello Thai	1	(051) 731-5033		Dongchon Building 3rd Floor, 626-2 Wu-dong, Haewundae-gu, Busan
Seabilly	1	(02) 332-4800 (Entrance of Hongik University		408-7, Seogyodong, Mapo-gu, Seoul
Buddha's Belly	1	796-9330 (Itaewon)		673, Itaewon2dong, Yongsan-gu, Seoul

Source: Naver Directory, Menupan.com, Wingbus Foodie (Searched on March 31st, 2010)

The Thai restaurants in Korea consist of franchises and privately owned restaurants. Broadly speaking, privately owned restaurants show the will to promote unique flavors based on personal interest and experience whereas franchises provide somewhat standardized Thai dishes to popularize Thai food. Most franchises are supplied with Thai chefs but privately owned ones used more Korean chefs than Thai chefs. A lot of dishes were Thai dishes made to suit Korean taste, especially those that were not too strong or too sugary. This led to stir-fried noodle dishes and fish not really differing a great deal from Chinese food. The price range was researched to be about 10,000 per person for noodles or stir-fried rice noodles and 1-2 dishes for lunch and about 20~30,000 won per person for dinner consisting of 3-4 dishes.

Thai restaurants in Korea with the Thai government's Thai Select certification from 'Thai Kitchen to the World' are shown in [Table 3]; there are 7 of them - After The Rain(2), Sala Thai(3), and Thai

Orchid(2). These restaurants have the official certification of meeting Thai government standards after surprise visitations and inspections by the Thai embassy in Korea and related organizations.

<Table 3> Thai Restaurants in Korea with Thai Select Certification

The Following 7 Restaurant

Restaurant Name	Address	City	Country	Year Received Thai Select
After The Rain Restaurant (Ahnkook Branch)	117 Hwa-Dong , Jongrogu	Seoul	Korea	-
After The Rain Restaurant (Chungdam Branch)	4th Floor , Art Building , 92-16 , Chungdam-Dong , Gangnam-Gu	Seoul	Korea	-
Sala Thai (Bundang Branch)	Polaris Building 3rd Floor , 15-3 , Jong Ja-Dong , Bundang City , Seongnam , Kyungido	Seoul	Korea	
Sala Thai (Jungdong Branch)	Hyundea Department 8F , 1164 , Jung-Dong , Wonmi-Gu , Buchun-City , Kyungido	Seoul	Korea	
Sala Thai (Jamsil Branch)	2F 7 - 18 Lotte Castle Gold Castle Plaza Shincheon - Dong Songpa - Gu	Seoul	Korea	-
Thai Orchid (Itaewon Branch)	3F , 737-24 , Hannam-Dong , Youngsan-Gu	Seoul	Korea	-
Thai Orchid (Lotte Branch)	12F , Food Court , Lotte Department Store , Sogong-Dong , Jung-Gu	Seoul	Korea	-

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4.2. Thai Food Preference Survey

From December 2009 to April 2010, 219 adult males and females living in Seoul were surveyed on their recognition and preferences for Thai food. The subjects were selected as people who live in Seoul as Thai restaurants are mainly located in Seoul and therefore they have more opportunities to experience Thai food.

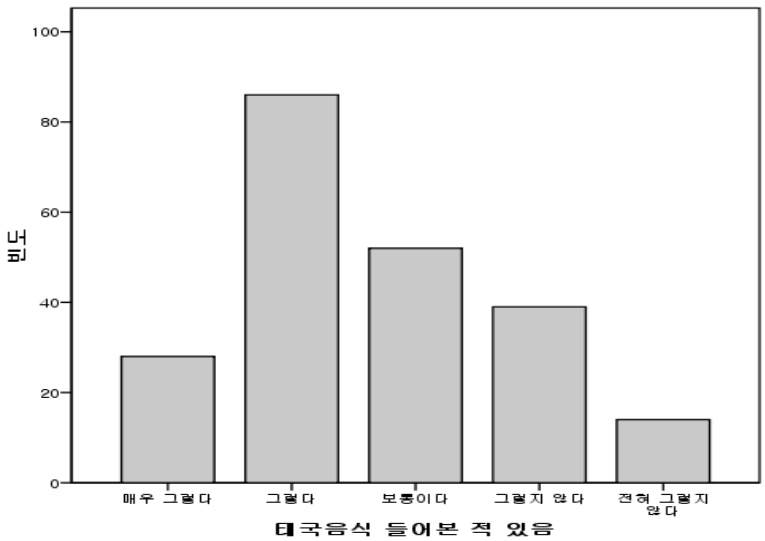
Gender	Number of responses	%
Male	92	42
Female	127	58
Total	219	100

Among 219 survey subjects, 92 were male (42%) and 127 were female (58%). Ages ranged from 16 teens (7%), 71 in 20s (32%), 68 in 30s (31%), 39 in 40s (18%), and 25 over 50s (12%). Those in their 20s and 30s were our main subjects as they were thought to be more interested in Thai food.

Age	Number of responses	%
Teenagers	16	7
Twenties	71	32
Thirties	68	31
Forties	39	18
Over fifties	25	12
Total	219	100

First, to the question of having heard of Thai food, 76% answered that they have, while 24% answered that they have not. Thus it can be said that 3 in 4 Koreans have heard something about Thai food.

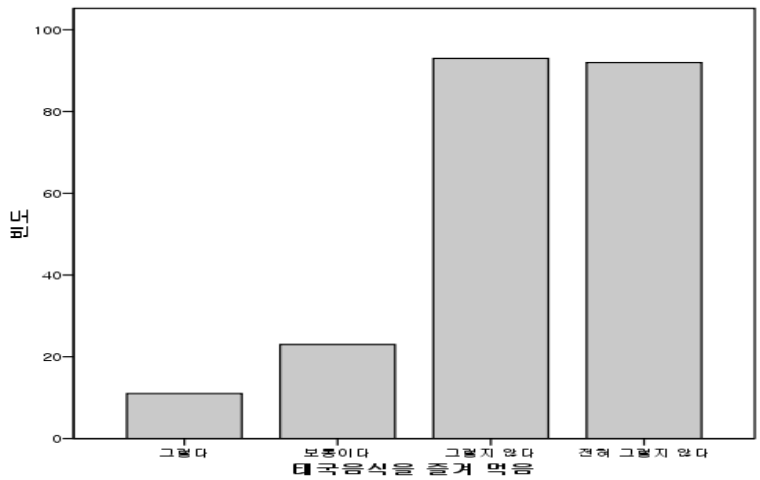
<Figure 1> I have heard of Thai food



① Very much so ② Yes, I have ③ I think I have ④ Not really ⑤ Never

To the question of having enjoyed Thai food, 16% answered “Yes, I have. Very much so” while 94% answered “Not really” and “Never”. 42% of those surveyed answered “Never”, which shows that Thai food is known to Koreans but has not been enjoyed by them. This could be because of the strong Thai flavors with spices and herbs not appealing to the conservative Korean palate which doesn’t react well to unfamiliar flavors.

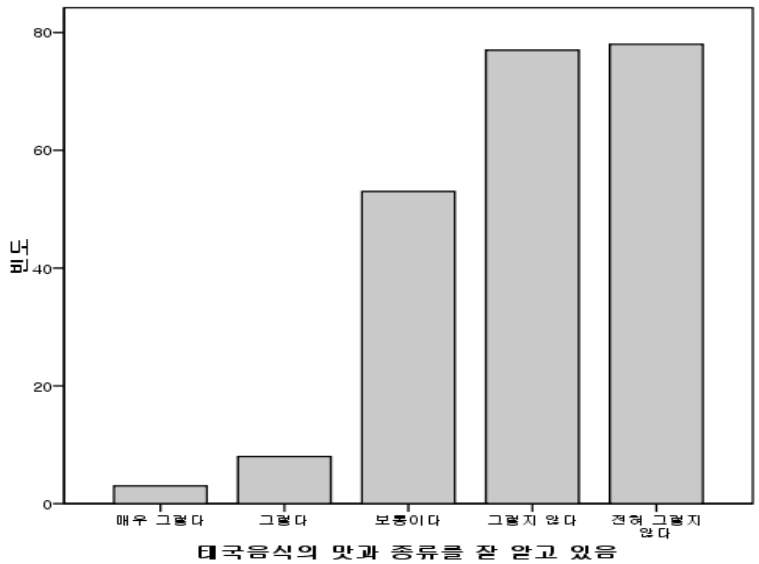
<Figure 2> I enjoy Thai food.



①Very much so ② Yes, I have ③ I think I have ④ Not really ⑤ Never

As for the question of knowing the tastes and kinds of Thai food, 29% answered positively and 71% answered negatively. It is natural that Koreans who do not enjoy Thai food answer more negatively with regard to the question of knowing the tastes and kinds of Thai food.

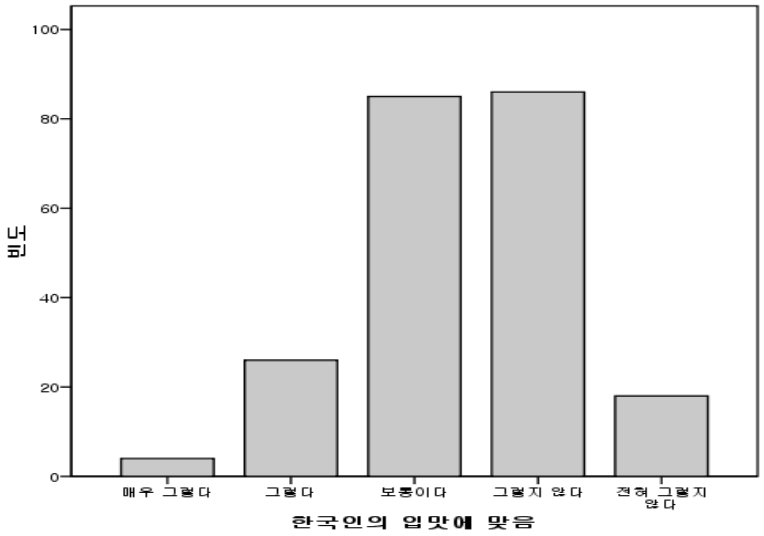
<Figure 3> I know much about the flavor and types of Thai food.



①Very much so ② Yes, I do ③ So-so ④ Not really ⑤ None at all

When asked whether Thai food suits Korean tastes, 14% answered positively, 47% answered that it didn't and 39% answered "to a certain extent". It seems that Thai food isn't so familiar to Korean people.

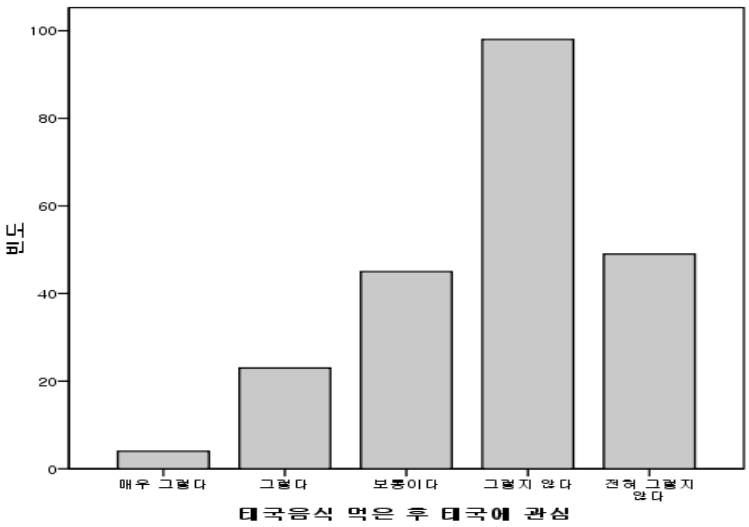
<Figure 4> Thai food suits Korean taste more than other countries' cuisine.



①Very much so ② Yes, it does ③ So-so ④ Not really ⑤ Never

Only 12% answered positively to the question of having more interest in Thailand after trying Thai food while 88% said not really or no. The effect of increasing interest in Thailand after trying Thai food seems to be not so great. Also, only 13% of people answered positively to the question of having a better image of Thailand after eating Thai food while 87% answered not really or no. The overwhelming effect that the food brings about doesn't seem to be present.

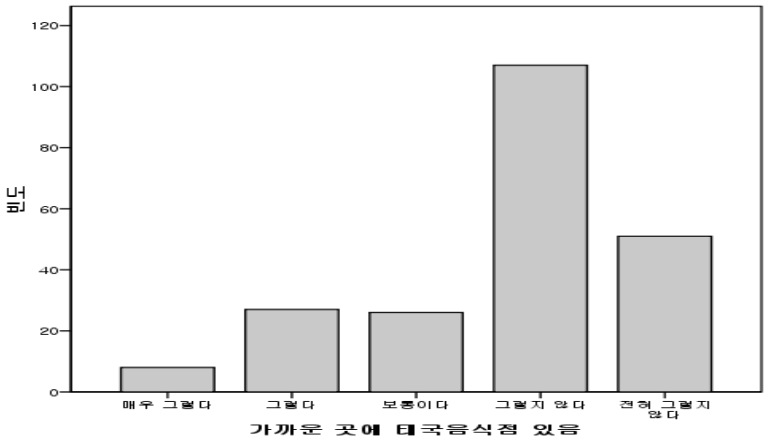
<Figure 5> I came to be interested in Thailand after eating Thai food.



①Very much so ② Yes,it did ③ So-so ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

To the question of having a Thai restaurant near their home, 28% answered positively while 72% answered no. This shows that the environment of approaching Thai food easily isn't in place yet. Even though the survey was conducted in Seoul area where Thai restaurants are located, the results show a lack of environments to experience Thai food means that the opportunity to experience Thai food is limited.

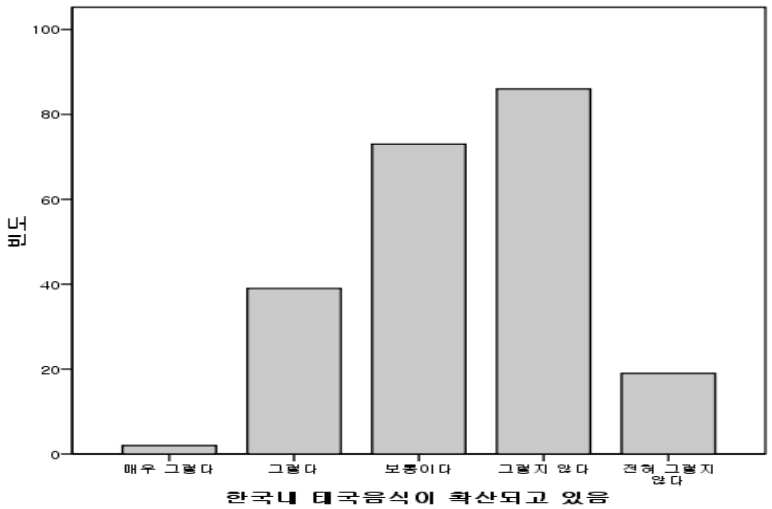
<Figure 6>There is a Thai restaurant near my house, work, and school.



①Many ② Kind of ③ Some ④ Rarely ⑤ Not at all

As to the question of whether Thai food is spreading in Korea, 33% said somewhat, while 48% answered no and 19% said yes. It is possible to predict that Thai food will not expand its influence in the future if the current situation of not being widely known is maintained.

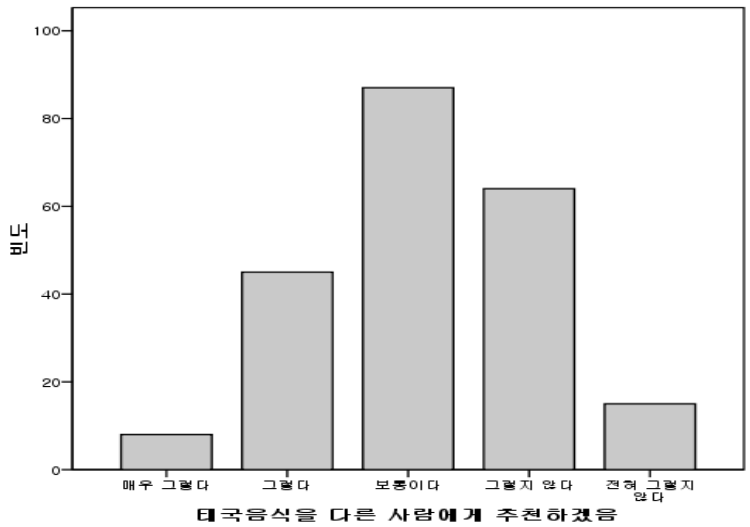
<Figure 7> Thai food is spreading out in Korea.



① Very much so ② Yes, it is ③Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

25% answered yes to the question of whether they would recommend Thai food to other people while 40% remained neutral and 35% said they wouldn't. In relation to the high percentage of people not enjoying Thai food, Koreans can be said to have reservations in recommending Thai food. It seems that Korean regard Thai food as a somewhat eccentric food that they can try once or twice when eating out.

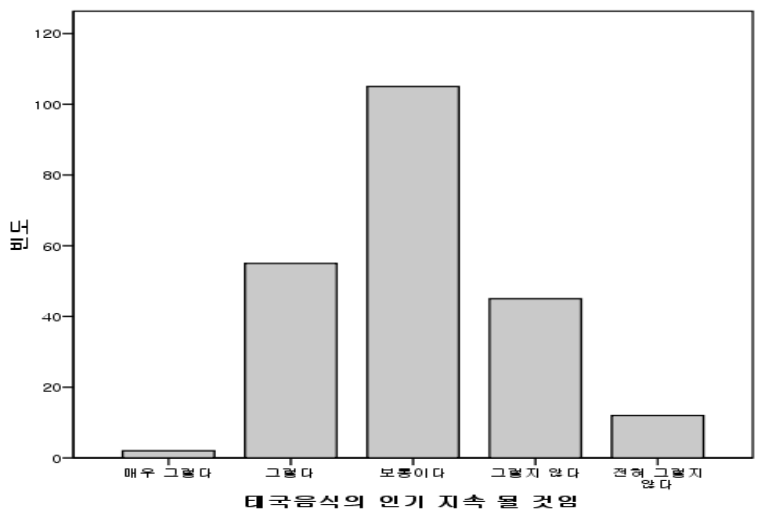
<Figure 8> I would like to recommend Thai food to other people.



① Very much so ② Yes, I would ③Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

To the question of Thai food's outlook in Korea, 26% answered it would be popular while 48% remained neutral and 26% answered negatively. The answers were bipolarized into positive and negative opinions.

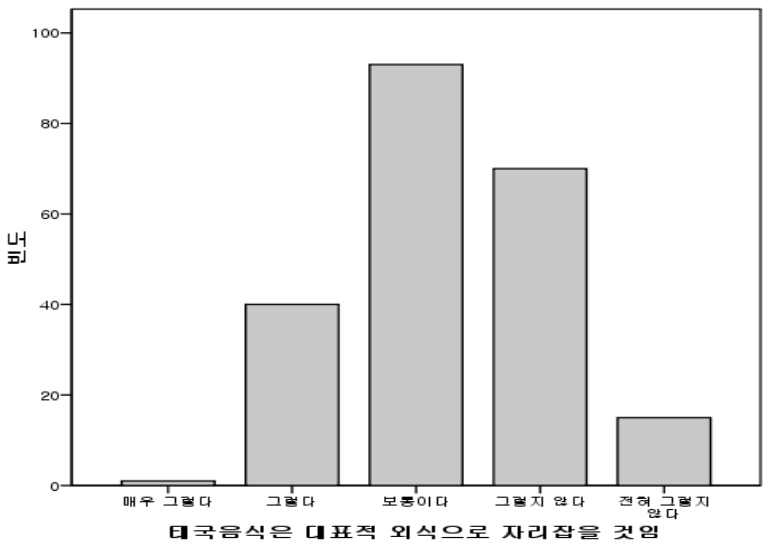
<Figure 9> Popularity of Thai food in Korea will continue on.



① Positively ② Yes it will ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

19% answered that Thai food has a future of being a regular eating out option while 42% said maybe and 39% answered no. Koreans tend to regard Thai food as a once-in-a-while special meal while maintaining a negative attitude when it comes to seeing it as a regular eating out option.

<Figure 10> Thai food in Korea will become one of the main eating out menu.



① Positively ② Yes, it will ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

Lastly, the main route of finding out about Thai food was broadcasting (36%); 23% of those surveyed accessed it through family and friends, 8% through the Internet, 1% through newspapers and magazines, while 30% said they had no special route. Many people answered that they saw a TV program related to Thailand, got interested in Thai food or went to restaurants when it was suggested by friends or family.

4.3. Outlook of Thai Food in Korea

As shown by the survey results above, the current status of Thai food in Korea is no more than a special eccentric foreign food to

Koreans. It does not have a familiar attractive element. Even with the surge of mutual visitors from and to Korea and Thailand and the popularity of Thai food increasing all over the world, it seems that Thai food remains to be unfamiliar to Korean tastes. With Koreans tending to be closed off to other cultures and a conservative taste tending to insist on only our traditional food may be a reason as to Thai food not being particularly popular. But Thai food, full of strong Southeast Asian traits, is pushing aggressively into the Korean market in a short period of time and is carrying out various endeavors to suit Korean tastes. As a major part of the ‘Southeast Asia phenomenon’ in Korea, Thai food is expected to contribute greatly to cultivate Korea’s cultural diversity as it familiarizes itself with other cultural elements and goes through the process of localization.

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[Appendix] Survey on Thai Food for Koreans

1. I have heard of Thai food.
① Very much so ② Yes I have ③ I think I have ④ Not really ⑤ Never

2. How did you mainly come to know about Thai food?
① Newspapers, magazines ②Family·friends③ Broadcasting ④ Internet ⑤ Advertisement ⑥ No specific means

3. I enjoy Thai food.

4. Thai food suits Korean taste more than other countries' cuisine.
① Very much so ② Yes It does ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Never

5. There is a Thai restaurant near my house, work, and school.
① Many ② Kind of ③ some ④ rarely ⑤ Not at all

6. Thai food is spreading out in Korea.
① Very much so ② Yes It is ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

7. I know much about the flavor and types of Thai food.
① Very much so ② Yes I do ③ So-so ④ Not really ⑤ None at all

8. I came to be interested in Thailand after eating Thai food.
① Very much so ② Yes It did ③ So-so ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

9. The image I had about Thailand improved after experiencing Thai food.
① Very much so ② Yes It did ③ So-so ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

10. I would like to recommend Thai food to other people.
① Very much so ② Yes I would ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

11. Popularity of Thai food in Korea will continue on.
① Positively ② Yes it will ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

12. Thai food in Korea will become one of the main eating out menu.
① Positively ② Yes it will ③ Maybe ④ Not really ⑤ Not at all

13. What is the Thai dish you like the most/remember most well? (multiple answers are allowed)
①Phatthai(Thai style stir-fry noodle), ②KhaoPhat(Thai style stir-fry noodle rice), ③ Tom Yam Kung(Thai style shrimp soup), ④ Kang Ki Yeo Wan(chicken green curry), ⑤Som Tam(green papaya salad) ⑥ Yam WunSen(cellophane noodle salad), ⑦PuPhatPhong curry(crab curry stir-fry noodles), ⑧Kwetiaw (Thai style rice noodle), ⑨Suki(Thai style stew)

A. What is your gender? ①Male ② Female
B. What is your age? ( )
C. Which industry do you work in?
① Manufacturing ② Technical post ③ Management, office work ④ Self-employed ⑤ Agriculture/fishing industry ⑥ Public officer ⑦ Housewife ⑧ Unemployed ⑨ Salesperson ⑩ Education/research post ⑪ Student ⑫ Other (_____)
D. What is your marital status?
① Single ② Married

<국문초록>

태국음식을 통해 본 한국에서의 '동남아현상'

윤진표
성신여대 정치외교학과

본 연구는 초국가주의 개념을 바탕으로 한국에서의 '동남아현상' 중의 하나로 태국음식의 한국 내 전파와 적응을 설명하기 위한 목적으로 수행되었다. 본 논문은 태국문화의 다양성을 구성하는 태국음식의 기원과 특징 및 태국음식이 국경을 넘어 확대되는 동기와 전략에 대해 살펴보았다.

한국에서 태국음식의 위상에 대해 알아보기 위해 한국내 태국식당의 현황을 조사하고, 한국인들의 태국음식에 대한 인식과 반응을 알아보기 위해 설문조사를 실시하였다. 설문조사의 결과는 태국음식의 세계적인 인기와 한국과 태국간의 인적교류의 증가에도 불구하고 태국음식이 아직은 한국인들에게 낯설고 크게 매력적으로 다가가지 못하고 있는 것으로 파악되었다. 그렇지만 한국내 동남아 현상의 확산을 나타내는 주요상징으로서 태국음식은 단기간에 한국사회에 비교적 빠른 속도로 전파되고 있고, 한국인들의 입맛에 맞추어 나가려는 다양한 노력이 이루어지고 있다는 사실도 확인되었다.

이러한 연구결과를 바탕으로 본 연구는 초국가적 문화의 확산으로서 한국내 태국음식이 '동남아현상'으로 친숙해지고 현지화 하는 단계를 통해 태국음식이 한국의 문화적 다양성을 발전시키는 데 많은 기여를 할 수 있을 것으로 기대한다.

주제어 : 태국음식, 한국, 동남아현상, 음식문화, 초국가주의

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ARTICLES

Bali's Tourism Policy and Determinants for Korean Tourists in Selecting Bali as Tour Destination*

CHOI Kyung Hee**

Ⅰ. Preface

The World Tourism Organization has estimated in its long-term forecast stated in the『Tourism 2020 Vision』that the number of global tourists will have grown from 560 million people in 1995 to 1 billion people in 2010, and 1.56 billion people by 2020, at an annual average rate of growth of 4.1%. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) has estimated that the value of economic effects of travel and tourism will increase from 6.201 trillion USD in 2005 to 10.678 trillion USD in 2015. Such a number was calculated based on growing demand in the travel and tourism sector at an annual average rate of 4.6%, and it is forecast that approximately 214 million jobs will be created in this sector, accounting for 8.3% of total jobs in overall industries (Jo, Myeonghwan 2009, 23). Commensurate with the global increase in demand for tourism, the number of Korean tourists to overseas countries steadily increased

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from 5.5 million people in 2000 and 6.08 million in 2001 to 13.7 million in 2012. In the year 2009, the number of Korean tourists to overseas countries decreased to 9.4 million due to the impact of the global economic crisis. But after finishing the global economic crisis, Korean tourists to overseas increased. Indeed, the amount of Korean tourists to overseas in 2012 is equal approximately to number in the 2007. The trends in the number of Korean tourists visiting Southeast Asian countries are as follows:

<Table 1> Number of Korean Tourists Visiting Southeast Asian Countries

Year	Indonesia (people)	Thailand (people)	Vietnam (people)	Philippines (people)	Singapore (people)	Malaysia (people)	Southeast Asia Total	Total Number of Korean Tourists
2000	-	448,207	-	-	-	-	448,207	5,508,242
2001	-	553,441	-	-	-	-	553,441	6,084,476
2002	218,155	717,361	-	-	-	-	935,516	7,123,407
2003	190,630	695,034	-	-	-	-	885,664	7,086,133
2004	246,545	910,891	-	-	360,870	91,270	1,609,576	8,825,585
2005	263,356	816,407	317,213	-	364,192	158,177	1,919,345	10,080,143
2006	298,228	1,092,783	421,804	581,981	454,661	189,464	3,038,921	11,609,879
2007	337,246	1,083,652	486,374	653,310	463,610	224,867	3,249,059	13,324,977
2008	337,146	888,344	449,239	611,629	423,011	267,460	2,976,829	11,996,094
2009	255,548	618,227	362,115	497,936	271,982	227,312	2,233,120	9,494,111
2010	293,336	805,445	495,902	740,622	360,615	264,052	2,959,972	12,488,364
2011	303,802	1,014,292	535,700	925,204	414,864	263,428	3,457,290	12,693,733
2012	303,256	1,169,131	703,401	1,031,155	345,223	283,977	3,836,143	13,736,976

Source: Korea Tourism Organization(http://korean.visitkorea.or.kr 2013/7.31)

Koreans visiting Southeast Asian countries as a proportion of the total number of Korean tourists visiting overseas countries accounted for 22.52%, 23.70%, 27.23% and 27.92% in the years 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012, respectively. The number of Korean tourist visiting Southeast Asian Countries has increased steadily. Among Southeast Asian Countries, the best visiting countries in Korea people are Thailand and Philippine as we see table 1.

However, as mentioned above, the economic impact of travel and tourism can be very powerful. In addition, tourism delivers not only an economic impact but 'cultural spillover effect'. As such, the movement of a billion people leaving their homes and experiencing new tourist attractions in 2010 had an astonishing 'cultural spillover effect'. Especially, it is not that hard to expect that the demand for tourism will steadily grow in the 21st century, as people are constantly interested in how to make good use of their leisure time.

This thesis is intended to analyze the cultural exchange between Korea and Southeast Asia through tourism in such a context. Recently, a new social phenomenon related to Southeast Asian people and culture, called 'Southeast Phenomenon' has been noted in Korean society, and 'Southeast Asia tour', which is Koreans' direct experience of Southeast Asian culture, is considered to contribute to establishing images of Southeast Asian culture. This thesis is intended to research Bali's tourism policy and Koreans visiting Bali. As this thesis is a research on the interaction between Bali and Korea, it intends to identify how the mutual cultural understanding and recognition between Korea and Bali has been generated, what attractiveness and tourism policy of Bali draws Korean tourists, and why Korean tourists themselves select Bali as their tourism destination, as well as the experiences they have while staying there.

Internationally, research on Bali has a long history. So far, such researches include, a cultural anthropological research on Bali's culture (Bateson and Mead 1942; Covarrubias 1946; Geerts 1959, 1973, 1980, Adrian 1989, Hitchcock 2004), a research on inter-relationship between Bali's culture and tourism, and Bali tours (Picard 1996, 2003; Minca 2000; Dunbar-Hall 2001; Wesner, Hitchcock and Putra 2007); Bali tours and terrorism; research on issues existing in Bali such as inequalities between social classes and genders (Gehrmann 1994; Cukier, Norris and Wall 1996; Ostrom

2000 Putra and Hitchcok 2006; Baker 2007); a research on Bali's kings (Hanna 2004) and so on. Although research on tourism has been conducted broadly in multi-dimensional terms in Korea, research on travel in Southeast Asia has not been widely conducted yet. The research on images of Southeast Asia reflected on Koreans' Southeast Asia tour (O, Myeongseok, 2006), Malaysian Muslims' Korea tour (Han, Huijo 2009), the research on tourism resources in Tengger, located in East Java in Indonesia (Hong, Seongi and Kim, Jaeeun 2008), the research on Southeast Asia marine tours focusing on the satisfaction of Korean tourists visiting the Philippines (Jeon, Donghwan 2008), and the research on Korean migrants engaged in the tour business related to Angkor Wat in Cambodia (Chae, Hyeonjeong 2009) are all examples of research on tourism in Southeast Asia. However, research on the relationship between Korea and Southeast Asia is still insufficient compared to the reality. Especially, research that seeks out the relationship between Korea and Southeast Asia in terms of 'tourism' is very rare. The research on Bali's funeral culture (Kim, Geungseop 1999), the recently conducted research on how local residents establish and reinforce their identity through their tourism business (Shin, Seongwon 2010a), and the research on Bali dance as a tourism product (Shin, Seongwon 2010b) can be named as few examples of such research.

The questions this research intends to raise are as follows. First, what historic, institutional and political changes has Bali undergone to become one of the world's best tourism destinations? Second, by what factors are Koreans affected most when they select Bali as their tourism destination, and how are the images of Bali established? Third, what correspondence or non-correspondence does the intent of establishing an image of a 'peaceful multicultural island' have with regard to the images Korean tourists have about Bali established through their tour? Through the research on these subjects, it is

necessary to analyze whether the reason that Koreans select Bali as their tourism destination is based on the tourists' internal factors or based on Bali's various characteristics, charms, and features that attract Korean tourists. Furthermore, the research intends to identify the inter-relation between them. Fourth, this research intends to explain what effects Koreans' Bali tour experience may have on multiculturalism in Korean society, and what meaning such experiences have in the concept frame of 'Southeast Phenomenon'. For such research intents, the literature research on Bali tourism sites, a qualitative research through the interview for the field survey on Bali's tourism policy, and a quantitative research through questionnaire survey on 97 Korean tourists visiting Bali were conducted.

Ⅱ. Theoretical Frame: Transnationalism and Pull-Push Factor Approach

It was in the early 1970s when the tourism phenomenon came to be regarded as an independent research subject or field of study (Go, Dongwoo 2009, 240). What is tourism? Tourism can be defined as "one of the leisure activities in which an individual leaves his or her residence with an intent of return and visits overseas countries or other regions, seeing, hearing, understanding and enjoying tourism attractions therein."[1] It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that

[1] In terms of the concept of leisure, tourism and travel, the concept of leisure is a generic term for activities performed in non-working hours and free time. Comparing the concepts of leisure and leisure activities, leisure provides an opportunity in which leisure activities or plays can occur, in other words, free time, and leisure in developed countries is mostly allocated with leisure activities. Therefore, leisure is the necessary condition of leisure activities. Tourism is a type of leisure activity, and both the nationals' domestic tourism and overseas tourism are incorporated into the concept of leisure. Tourism is essentially a form of travel. The differences of travel and tourism are as follows. A traveler is not required to return to the starting point. And unlike tourism, where a person or a group of

movement and pleasure, which are fundamental factors of tourism, are incorporated into this definition (Jo, Myeonghwan 2009, 30). Therefore, the more the freedom of movement is provided, the more the desire of tourism can be fulfilled, and the pursuit of pleasure through tourism functions as an opportunity to increase cultural exchange, mutual understanding and mutual recognition. When discussing transnationalism as a new cultural discourse (Kim, Yeongmin 2009) in such aspects, it can be said that the discourse on tourism, which is one of the most important driving factors in transnationalism, is essential.

The pursuit of pleasure through cultural experiences can be better grafted from the understanding of tourism from an oriental rather than a western perspective.[2] The term "GwanGwang (tourism)" was originated from the phrase of 'GwanKukJiGwang(觀國之光) (See the light of the country)' in the 'Book of Changes (周易, a Chinese classic on divination)', which was written about 2,500 years ago. The phrase means that visiting a country is like "seeing the true virtue of its king through the country's culture." And such insight is not common on ordinary people, but can be only found in wise scholars. According to the concept of 'GwanKukJiGwang', tourism is neither just seeing the physical sunlight nor seeing the cultural spirit light of a nation, but rather observing the culture of a nation with discernment or insight. So, the original meaning of tourism is

people move from one place to another place with a particular purpose, relying on means of transportation, travelling can be conducted without a particular purpose or motive (Cho, Myeonghwan 2009, 30-32). In other words, tourism is an act of human seeking pleasure with the purpose of returning (Cho, Gwangik 2009, 76).

2) Son, Daehyeon has pointed out that the term of tourism used in the Western countries can't incorporate the semantics of tourism. The term tourism was first introduced in the Webster dictionary in the 17th century. Tour was originated from a Latin word 'tornus', which is commensurate with the English word 'tour'. In other words, the term of tour means 'make a turn (such as a package tour)'. Therefore, the term 'GwanGwang (tour)' from 'GwanKukJiGwang (See the light of the country)' can't be translated into tour or tourism. He has also claimed that the term 'GwanGwang', which has originated from the east, is comprehensive and insightful enough to be used as an international term. (Son, Daehyeon 2009, 768)

'to observe'[3] (Son, Daehyun 2009, 769). Therefore, as it can be said that the observation based of discernment or insight through tourism contributes to the enhancement of mutual understanding of different cultures, Koreans' understanding of Southeast Asian culture through Southeast Asia tour can be interpreted as the cause and consequence of 'Southeast Phenomenon' as a transnational social-cultural phenomenon.

2.1. International Tourism as Cultural Phenomenon Based on Transnational Movement

Transnationalism was introduced in the 1990s from the movement that sought a new multiculturalism, raising drawbacks of the existing multiculturalism. First of all, multiculturalism was introduced to criticize the fictitious of the homogeneity in a national culture and provide the basis of transnational culture (Turner 1993). So, multiculturalism had been discussed as an alternative measure to assimilation policies, in the policy which approaches immigration from the ethnicity point of view. However, multiculturalism couldn't develop the explanation of the characteristics, process, causes and results of a space in which various cultures exchange, giving rise to the concept of transnationalism. However, transnationalism and multiculturalism are co-related concepts and a transnational multicultural phenomenon within a border or beyond the border can be comprehensively interpreted only when their inter-relation is fully understood.

3) The 'way of seeing', in other words, observation method, includes very opposite concepts such as precise and rough, thick and light. Different 'way of seeing' has different connotations. 'Sightseeing' refers to walking as playing and 'strolling' refers to walking aimlessly without any particular purpose. 'Observation' is an act of watching things carefully and 'investigation' is an act of verifying things by touching them. As mentioned above, there are several classifications in the way of seeing, which are sightseeing, strolling, observation and investigation (Son, Daehyeon 2009, 769)

Transnationalism is a discussion basically premised on various kinds of racial migration, and is a discussion of a phenomenon based on various racial migrations across the border of a nation.[4] The most typical social phenomenon transnational movement is a transnational racial migrations - labor migration, marriage migration, student migration, retirement migration, and so on – and diaspora is considered to be the oldest type of racial migration. Issues of refugees, the most tragic type of racial migration, are also included in this discourse. Stephen Castles categorizes the types of migration into permanent migration, settler model, temporary model and refugee movement (Stephen Castles 2002). Whatever classification system is used, transnational movement should be premised on the historical and political process of the establishment of modern nation states yet multinational movement existed in ancient and medieval times, the meaning of transnationality hereto is clearly defined. Therefore, as the third world has a general feature of having established nation states after a colonial era, the transnational discussion of the third world cannot help being connected to post-colonialism/decolonization discussions. In addition, it can be said that the establishment and expansion of the global economic system which was clearly visualized after the 1970s contributed to the acceleration of the transnational ethnic or racial movement across the world. Consequently, human, ethnic or racial movements between the first, second, and third world quantitatively increased. As a long-term movement, there is labor migration, marriage migration and retirement migration, while studying abroad and tourism can be classified as short-term movement phenomena. A periodical migration phenomenon can be possible as well. Steven Vertovec summarizes 6 major characteristics

[4] Transnationalism activities are classified into economic discussions with regard to corporate capital beyond national borders and market network, political discussions that handle such issues as transnational political activities or reflection of migration communities' opinions on political decisions and socio-cultural discussions that deal with cultural activities and events.

of transnationalism (Steven Vertovec). First, a social construction in which an individual's position functions as a contact point in a transnational social circuit, crossing the borderline. Second, the new form of consciousness stimulated by the identification with more than one nation. Third, the new form of cultural identification and restoration that are characterized as cultural mix, hybridity and bricolage. Fourth, capital flow established by a multinational corporation that enables globalization. Fifth, political participation enabled by technological development such as the press and media. Sixth the construction of a new concept about a place that is near and yet so far (Kim, Yeongmin 2009, 94). This research is going to focus on the above 6 characteristics as follows: Transnational movement is the driving force of new cultural phenomena of cultural mix, hybridity and variants, and is the starting point to establish a transnational community.

The thesis intends to regard international tourism as a transnational movement phenomenon. Although the movement through tourism is a short term migration phenomenon, such short-term movement often becomes the motive for long term stay or migration. First, the drastic changes associated with tourism was started with the emergence of the wealthy middle class with financial resources and time for tours in Europe in the 1840s, and the development of railway systems, as well as the development of the aviation industry after the end of World War II (Urry 1990). In other words, the development of tourists with financial capability and the development of transportation and communication necessary for movement were very important factors to promote tourism. In addition, since the launch of group tour[5] products and tourism

5) The first organized tour was conducted in 1838 by transporting residents of Wadebridge village in England to Bodmin village for tourism purposes. The reason those tourists visited Bodmin village was to see the scene of the hanging of two murderers (Boorstin 2004: 132).

package products in the 1840s, overseas tourism had become a huge industry by the middle of the 20th century (Boorstin 2004, 136). Especially, the dramatic development of commercial aviation, transportation and communication industries after the 1970s has provided the infrastructure that has further developed international tourism. As mentioned above, a billion people moved during the year of 2010 for tourism purposes, and that figure is expected to reach 1.56 billion in 2020. The biggest impact from the tourism movement by such a large number of people would be the experience of other cultures as the basis of the 'culture of your own (national culture). Transnational movement beyond borders enables various cultural experiences and functions as a path for the recognition of cultural diversity.

As summarized hereto, tourism is a leisure activity intended for pleasure. Why do people pursue pleasure through leisure activities such as travel? What is it that people intend to achieve ultimately? It is because leisure travel involves a series of free choices and what we seek as a result of such choices is eventually happiness (Go, Dongwoo 2009, 250). Research on the relationship between leisure and happiness don't simply claim that the frequency or amount of leisure determines the happiness. The more important thing is the quality of leisure experience, and in order to be satisfied through leisure activities and let such satisfaction become an important factor of individual happiness, people should maximize their personal abilities through leisure activities, accept the opportunities of challenges, should be able to enjoy the activities and even further, should be able to experience high quality pleasure. (Go, Dongwoo 2009, 250). After all, if the ideology of tourism is freedom or peace, the true nature of tourism can be said to be cultural activities and cultural contact. The outstanding charm of tourism lies on the cross-cultural experience(Son, Daehyeon 2009, 769)[6]. The joy from cross-

cultural experience is not only the connection with primitive emotional and physical phenomenon, but also the experience of expansion to new cultural sectors in the process of encountering a different culture, and interacting with people having a different cultural basis. This interaction and the culture are the major principles of tourism (Son, Daehyeon 2009, 770). Therefore, international tourism as a transnational movement phenomenon acts as a cause that generates socio-cultural phenomenon, and it can be said that the experiences, understanding and memories which Koreans have gained through their Southeast Asia tour, will be fundamental not only of the 'Southeast Phenomenon' recently occurring in Korea's society, but of the mutual recognition and understanding of both Korean and Southeast Asian culture.

2.2. Tourism Pull and Push Factor Approach

The analysis frame of this thesis is the interaction between the pull factor, which is Bali's tourism policy, and the push factor, which is Korean tourists' choice. Such a pull and push factor model is derived from the sociological, geographical, ecological environmental, cultural anthropological, and psychological approaches[7] to existing tourism. The sociological approach to tourism regards tourism as a part of social activities and analyzes tourism and the effects of tourism on such a basis (Choi, Seokho 2009, 128). The first subject in the sociological approach to tourism is the 'tourists', who are the

[6] Tourism combines the guest, the subject of tour activity, with the host who greets the tourist. Therefore, tourism sometimes combines economics and culture in a special manner, or sometimes mediates between modernity and tradition or global and local. Also, tourism is one of the methods to integrate central developed countries and peripheral less-developed countries. In the process of such a bundle, combination, mediation and integration, some subjects may benefit from tourism but such tourism activities may lead to environmental degradation, community disorganization or increase crime (Choi, Seokho 2009, 127).

[7] The economic approach to tourism will be excluded in this thesis as such an approach does not have any relation to the purpose of it.

subject of tourism activities. In other words, it is a question about the subject of tour activities.[8] The second subject for the sociological approach to tourism is the relationship between tourists and the local residents. In this sector, research deals with the interaction among people, recognition and attitude. It also deals with what interaction occurs between the tourists and the local residents, whether there is a meeting and how the recognition and attitudes towards each other are.[9] The third subject for the sociological approach to tourism is research on the tourism system. The tourism system consists of various action groups such as airline companies, travel agencies, hotel chains, the government and non-governmental tourism organizations (Choi, Seokho 2009, 136). Tourism geography as a geographical approach to tourism is an academic field that researches each stage of tourism activities. The academic direction that tourism geography pursues in the current tourism phenomena is ‘focusing on research on the place and space in which people feel pleasure.’ Geographical tourism research basically identifies various phenomena related to tourism activities and this academic field can be defined as a part of geography that performs analysis, using unique research methods of geography’s own, on the characteristics of a tourism site in which tourism activities are conducted and the tourists’ relation therewith (Lee, Seunggon 2009, 158). The ecologic environmental approach to tourism investigates under what relation

8) This could be described as a tourist seeking fantasy (Boorstin 2004), or could be stated as a tourist who pursues authenticity in a motivated manner through escaping a mundane existence (Choi, Seokho 2009, 132). The study on tourists originated from a sociological interest to explain the modern society itself is an effort to explain or interpret tourists from a more pluralistic perspective, and it enables the typology of tourists. Cohen has classified the type of tourist's experience and role in terms of both novelty and familiarity among experiences between the tourist’s daily life and the environment of tour sites (Choi, Seokho 2009, 133).

9) It deals with tourists’ attitude toward the local residents and whether tourists think of them positively or negatively. And it also claims that local residents’ attitude against tourists move in stages from excited, through indifference, and annoyed to hostile (Choi, Seokho 2009, 135).

and effect people perform their activities in an ecological environment as tourists (Kim, Namjo 2009, 181). As the destruction of the ecological system has emerged as a significant issue for mankind, this academic sector researches such subjects as the concept of ecologic environmental tourism, the expansion of ecologic environmental tourism, the relation between the ecological system and tourism activities. The cultural anthropological approach to tourism tries to understand a tourism phenomenon in a specific region not only as a tourism phenomenon itself but the relationship with economy, religion, family and others (Lee, Jinhyeong 2009, 216).[10] The question about how a tourism experience is different from experiences in the sectors of everyday life, in other words, the question about the true nature of tourism experience is one of the subjects in which tourist anthropologists have been interested so far (Lee, Jinhyeong 2009, 227). The existing subjects that try to explain a tourism phenomenon in terms of psychology include motive, attitude, personality, decision, experience, post satisfaction and others (Go, Dongwoo 2009, 253). Through such existing approaches to tourism, this thesis is planning not only to analyze what human charms Bali tourism sites have by means of the sociological approach and the cultural anthropological approach to Bali, but to research what natural charms Bali tourism sites have using the geographical approach and the eco-environmental approach as well as how Bali applies such charms to its tourism policy. In terms of the analysis of Korean tourists visiting Bali, the psychological approach to tourism will be necessary to ascertain the motives for Koreans

10) As tourism anthropologists has come to be interested in the socio-cultural changes resulting from the acculturation between Western and non-Western society, they have come to pay attention to such phenomena that local culture is changed and commercialized in the process that a particular region is developed for a tourism site. A number of monographs published in the Hosts and Guests, which is recognized as the first theory manual and casebook in the tourism anthropology field, discuss about the acculturation and cultural commercialization in local communities resulting from tourism (Lee, Jinhyeong 2009, 223)

traveling to Bali.

Such academic approaches can be explained using the pull-push factor approach method to find out why Korean tourists select Bali as their tourism destination. Graeme Galloway who conducted research on visitors to Ontario Park in Canada identified their psychological push motives and analyzed the sensation seeking activities, developing the pull-push factor theory more precisely (Galloway 2002). Galloway has specified socio-demographic characteristics such as age, income, education, gender and profession, and psychological factors such as necessity, personal value and personality as the push factors, and has specified objective, geographical and social features as pull factors. David Klenosky connects the pull-push factor theory to a mean-purpose model, and he explains how the purpose of travel is realized or fulfilled through the various means in the travel destination by presenting the consumer preferences according to which an individual determines his travel or which affect him to perform travel activities, and provide him motives, or the pull factors that attract a tourist when he makes a consumer decision or determines the destination. In other words, by presenting the characteristics and motive force of the destination. In summary, the push factor in tourism is those related with the traveler's needs and wants. Escape, rest and relaxation, adventure, dignity, health and social interaction are such examples. On the other hand, the pull factors of tourism are the characteristics, charms and features of the travel destination. Sunlight, beach, sports facilities, exotic atmosphere and cheap airfares are such examples. The mean-purpose theory explains the correlation between pull factors and push factors (Klenosky 2002, 385). Such an approach leads to the discussion about how the characteristics and charms of the travel site are reflected on tourism products, or whether tourism products are satisfactorily consumed through tourism activities. That

is the reason why this thesis focuses on Bali's tourism policy.

Ⅲ. Bali as a Tourism Site and Bali's Tourism Policy

Bali was first discovered in 1597 by a European whose name was Cornellius de Houtman during his journey around the world. Later Bali became known to the world when Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), a royal Dutch shipping company arrived on the island in 1920.[11] Especially, the island was opened to the public from 1924 and Bali has been renowned as one of the world's best tourism sites in the world through the 20th century.[12] The island has been forecasted several times to be the 21st century's best island destination. The unique beauty of Bali's culture starting from the 1920s has been exemplified in the various epithets it has been given such as "The Island of Paradise", "The Island of the Gods", "The Island of a Thousand Temples", "The Morning of the World", "The Last Paradise on Earth" and so on.

11) All the islands belonging to Indonesia came to be subject to colonial governance by the Dutch government in 1908 and such colonial governance continued until 1942 when Japanese troops invaded. The reason why the early colonial government promoted the development of Bali as a tourism site in a motivated manner was not only because of economic benefits, but also politically legitimizing the Dutch colonial government (Nagahuchi 1990),

12) The awards Bali has won as a tourism site so far are as follows. 1998-2001 Favorite Island (Conde Nast Traveller Magazine, London), 2001 Favourite Holiday Destination (Time Magazine), 2002 Asia Best Island (Conde Nast Traveller Magazine, London), 2003 Runner-Up Favourite Island (Conde Nast Traveller Magazine, London), 2004 Favorite Island (Conde Nast Traveller Magazine, London)/ World's Best Asia (Travel + Leisure Magazine, New York) 2005 Favorite Island (Conde Nast Traveller Magazine, London)/ World's Best Island (Travel + Leisure Magazine, New York)/ Asia Spa Capital The Year (Asia Spa Magazine, Hong Kong) / 2006 Asia Best Holiday Destination (Smart Travel Asia)/ World Island Destination (Travel + Leisure Magazine, New York)/ 2007 Asia's Best Holiday Destination (Smart Travel Asia)/ 2007 Asia Spa Capital of The Year and Baccarat, Asia Spa Award 2007 (Asia Spa Magazine, Hong Kong), 2008 Best Exotic Destinations Luxury Travel Reader's Awards 2008 (Luxury Travel Magazine London), 2009 The Best Spa Destination of the World 2009 (Senses Magazine, Germany) (Bali at a Glance 2010).

3.1. Tourism Policy from the Beginning prior to Democratization

Bali is one of 33 states of Indonesia[13] and Bail's tourism policy starts from the dual relationship with the central government and the local government. Bali regional government's development policy has formed the subsystem of the national development policy and the tourism policy is arranged through the consultation between the central government and the local government. Such a system was introduced after Indonesia was founded as a modern nation state when it achieved independence in the year of 1945. However, it is obviously true that Bali was first developed as a tourism site by the Dutch colonial government. The Royal Dutch shipping company started systematically developing the islands of Java, Sumatra and Bali as tourism sites in 1924.[14] Tourists who visited Bali in the early days consisted of European artists, including writers, painters, authors and even scientists. Stories of Bali were spread through the writing and paintings made by Europeans after their visits, as well as oral transmission. It is widely regarded that the Dutch government's tourism policy had contributed to the reinforcement of Bali's culture until the occupation of the Japanese army in 1942 (Adrian 1989, 176). Of course, Bali was not always peaceful during the period from the 1930s to 1950s. Although there were several disturbances and rebellions in the aforementioned period, Bali was still widely known as 'Paradise Bali'.

13) Bali is a relatively small island among those belonging to Indonesia, accounting for only 0.29% of the total area of Indonesia. The population of Bali is 3,479,800. The core sectors of Bali's economy are the hotel and restaurant industry, agriculture and services, which accounts for 28.98%, 19.41% and 15.86% of total regional production respectively. It can be said that Bali is a tourism industrial complex.

14) Especially, right after the development of the sea route to Bali, the royal Dutch shipping company constructed two roads connecting Singaraja with Denpasar and built its own hotel in Denpasar.

After achieving independence, President Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, mentioned Bali in his address in 1950, saying "The entire world is eyeing Bali," putting emphasis on the role of Bali in that time of establishing Indonesia's national basis. Such an attitude was also related to his background. As he was born to a Javanese father and Balinese mother, he thought that Javanese and Balinese culture should take a central role in Indonesia's traditional culture. So, he intended to develop Balinese culture as the basis for national culture. President Sukarno wanted to create Indonesian culture which contained modern elements but yet was authentic (Adrian 1989). According to the above information, it can be said that the discovery of Bali Island contributed to the development of Balinese culture considering that even Indonesia's first president highly appreciated Balinese culture and wanted to develop it to a level of ethnic culture in a nationalistic way even though Balinese culture was discovered and developed by the Dutch colonial government.[15)]

However, President Sukarno's development strategy for Bali failed to be accomplished by him due to the political situation. Though during the reign of President Suharto, the president who succeeded Sukarno, Bali has made a lot of growth over under the new order system, many problems and controversial issues were generated commensurate with such growth. First, the Indonesian government identified the tourism industry as a source to acquire foreign currencies after suffering from the first and second oil shock in the 1970s. In other words, the tourism industry came to be regarded as one of the nation's core industries that could be substituted for its oil or rubber industries or forestry (Ambara 1998). An interesting thing was that Bali's tourism development strategy was switched over to mass tourism according to the advice from a

15) After European and Indonesian artists came to live together in peace in 1950s, Balinese art started to feature both Western and native aspects and be stabilized as the art market concept was established.

French tourism expert in 1971. Such a shift in development strategy consequently provided opportunities to overcome the disproportionate concentration in the development centering on the southern area of Bali such as Sanur, Kuta, and Nusa Dua, and to expand the development across the island. So, by the 1980s, Bali tourism was booming and significant advances associated with tourism infrastructure were achieved during this period (Ambara 2010). In summary, Bali tourism policy acted as the core factor of Indonesia's development strategy during the reign of President Suharto. In 1957, there were only 3 hotels in Bali, which were the Sindhu Beach hotel in Sanur, the Kuta Beach hotel in Kuta and the Bali hotel in Denpasar. President Sukarno continued quantitative expansion through a development-oriented approach to tourism, securing international support to build infrastructures such as hotels, airport and roads which were necessary for the development of the tourism industry in Bali. The groups against the development strategy had a plan for 'cultural tourism.' The emphasis on culture and art was the cornerstone of Bali tourism strategy developed by the Dutch (Picard 2003, 109).[16] In the period of Suharto's new order, Balinese culture was required to be just an asset, which means, the economic aspect was emphasized. Balinese culture in this period was required to contribute to Indonesia as one of Indonesia's international tourism developments and one of Indonesia's ethnic cultural developments (Picard 2003, 109). In addition, through the 1990s, Balinese – religion, tradition and culture – was combined with tourism, forming a Balinization (Picard 2003).

At the same time, in such a period of accelerated development, negative issues in Balinese society emerged. First, Bali was often used as a showcase to demonstrate Indonesia's development, and

16) Their opinion was that Bali has its own culture and it is valuable and can be refined well. So, they claimed that Balinese culture should not only be developed but also protected (Picard 2003).

was cited as the case of development to justify the new order system in the reign of President Suharto. Second, problems of cultural and environmental degradation in Bali through tourism were raised. Third, the problem of economic disparities was presented. Despite the growth in the total production of Bali, economic disparities between regions or social classes within Bali were getting worse. For example, small stall vendors on beaches or streets didn't benefit from the development of Bali's tourism industry, keeping their heads above the water (Baker 2007). Even economic inequality between genders had deepened (Cukier, Norris and Wall 1996).

In such a situation, Indonesia's democratization provided another significant change to Bali's tourism policy. After democratization, there was a period of confusion and controversy in Bali over tourism in Bali. A seminar was held in the Research Center for Culture and Tourism at Udayana University in Bali in 1999 on the subject of 'sustainable tourism, the Balinese perspective', and this seminar suggested the direction of Bali's future tourism policy. Bali's tourism policy before democratization was determined by Jakarta and conducted in accordance with the 'capital-oriented tourism development policy' arranged by foreign capital, doing harm to Balinese people in the process. The seminar pointed out that such a tourism policy couldn't be continued on a long-term basis and suggested that Bali's tourism policy should pursue sustainable tourism through not only an economic approach but ecological and socio-cultural approaches (Picard 2003, 111). As a result, Indonesia's tourism policy for Bali switched over from a 'capital-oriented development strategy' to 'a sustainable development strategy', and the authority and responsibility of Bali tourism policy was handed over from the central government to the local government.

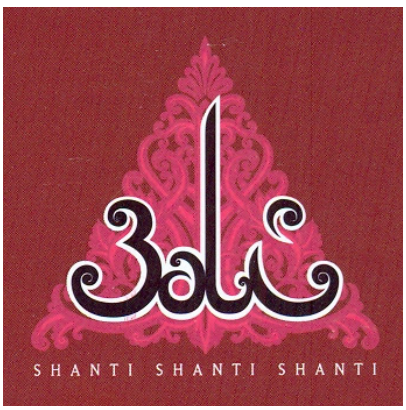
3.2. Autonomous Local Government System and Balanced Development Strategy

One of the results of Indonesia's democratization is the introduction of the autonomous local government system. It was announced in 1999 and the system was practically implemented in 2001. The introduction of autonomous local government system brought a significant change to Bali's tourism policy. The department in overall charge of Bali tourism in Bali's regional government is Dinas Pariwisata Provinsi Bali (which means Bali Government Tourism Office, and it will be referred to as DPPB henceforth), which handles the overall business related to Bali tourism including development of tourism products, promotion, marketing and infrastructure establishment (Ambara 2010). DPPB's activities commenced in 1979, but were reinforced in 2001 when the autonomous local government system was introduced.[17] In addition, the implementation of the autonomous local government system granted autonomy not only to the local government but to counties and councils. Therefore as the Bali regional government has autonomy, 8 counties and 1 city in Bali Island came to have their own autonomy in the tourism industry. Such changes in the national organization caused changes to Bali's tourism policy, and as a simple example of such changes, the DPPB currently holds a meeting with representatives of 8 counties and the city representatives once a month to arrange its tourism policy (Ambara 2010). So, together with such changes after democratization, the direction of Bali's tourism policy has changed from 'capital-oriented tourism' to 'community-based tourism', seeking sustainable development and tourism that is beneficial to Balinese people. In 2001, I Gde Pitana[18], the new representative of

17) DPPB's current organizational system is comprised of director, secretary, marketing department, tourism resources department, research and development department and control department (Ambara 2010).

DPPB declared that it would stick to such a tourism policy (Picard 2003, 113).

The international symposium held in Bali in 2001 represented the contents of Bali's tourism policy whose direction had been changed. The key contents of the symposium were held on the subject of 'Conserving Cultural Heritage for Sustainable Social, Economic and Tourism Development' are the protection of Balinese cultural heritage and natural environment and the promotion of harmonization and balance for sustainable development beneficial to all Balinese people with regard to space, time and environment in the context of regional, national and transnational expectations (Picard 2003). The following description demonstrates how such a concept stated above is actualized.



The figure shown in the left is the symbol of Bali. This symbol is referred to as Tri Hita Karana, meaning harmonized relationship. Each apex of the triangle refers to god, nature and human beings and the triangular shape represents the harmony and balance among god, nature and human beings. The 'Shanti Shanti Shanti' written in Sanskrit under the triangle means 'peace'. Therefore, Bali's image strategy set forth to people around the world is a peaceful life through harmony and balance. Bali's detailed tourism policy is established based on this concept. For example, the height of a building or structure to be constructed is strictly limited to 50m according to the basic principle of the

18) Pitana is a tourism expert who earned a doctoral degree at Australian National University and served as the secretary general of the 'culture and tourism research center' at Udayana University. He is also regarded as an influential person in a critical time.

harmony between nature and humans. An interesting thing is that there is a provision of Bali's construction regulations that applies to every building and structure, which specifies that every house to be constructed in Bali shall contain the following three elements. The first one is a family temple, which is for the harmony of god and humans. The second one is Lumbung(Covarrubias 1946, 80) in Indonesian, a pavilion which is installed in the house to seek harmony among people. The last one is a garden which represents the harmony between nature and humans (Ambara 2010).

As mentioned above, the initial development of Bali tourism was biased. The development was concentrated on the southern part of Bali Island. The city of Denpasar is located in the middle of the southern part of Bali. Although Denpasar is currently the most modernized city in Bali, it was the place where Balinese traditional culture remained most even at the time when the development was initiated, and the fact that such a place has become the center of Bali's contemporary tourism site should be paid attention to (Nagahuchi 1990, 62). Tourism sites in the southern part of Bali were developed mainly in Kuta, Sanur, Nusa Dua beach and Ubud. Such biased development caused a controversy over the balanced development for the western, eastern and northern parts of Bali Island. In 1993, the Bali regional government divided the island into 21 tourism districts[19] based on its regulations (Ambara 1998). However, the Bali government excluded 6 districts among the existing 21 districts and rearranged them into 15 districts (Picard 2003).

Here are examples of balanced development through the revised

[19] Badung Region: Nusa Dua, Kuta, Tuban (2) / Denpasar Municipality: Sanur (1) / Gianyar Region: Ubud, Lebih (2) / Tabanan Region: Tanah Lot, Bedugul, Soka (3) / Buleleng Region: Air Sanih, Kalibukbuk, Batu Ampar (3) / Jemberana Region: Gilimanuk, Candikusuma, Palasari, Perancak (4) / Bangil Region: Kintamani (1) / Klungkung Region: Nusa Penida (1) / Karangasem Region: Candi Dasa, Abang, Tulamben (3) (Ambara 1998, 4)

Bali tourism concept development and regional cooperation. A tour guidebook may be the best option which facilitates identifying Bali's tourism resources, tourism products and tourism system at a glance. DPPB publishes a variety of tour guidebooks, and the *Bali at a Glance* (the first one from the left) and the *Bali, Calendar of Cultural Events 2010* (the third one from the left) are the noteworthy ones. The fourth image contains the picture of a page of the book shown in the third image, and the page provides information of religious, art and cultural events held in January. The production procedures of such brochures are managed by a task force team in the DPPB, and it takes several months to complete the production of a brochure. Team members determine the direction for a brochure through discussion and perform tasks such as collecting informative materials and photos, and printing brochures. The team is comprised of stakeholders of Bali's tourism industry, encompassing people engaged in various industries such as hotel personnel or catering personnel, officials working in county offices, artists, people of various religions, researchers, professors and other intellectuals (Wiranatha 2010).

The first category of the contents in *Bali at a Glance* is entitled 'Amazing Bali'. It contains the following information ① The

introduction of temples located in each district in Bali; such as Batur temple, ② The introduction of villages in which people can experience Balinese rural culture or art in the concept of living in harmony; such as Ubud or Jatiluwih village, ③ Introduction of meditation and yoga as a thrilling spiritual sensation ④ Introduction of legong dance, Kecak dance, Balong and Rangda dance, Gamelan show, Wayang Kulitk and Balinese opera Arja as remarkable art and culture ⑤ The introduction of tours in the art center in which people can experience the kindness and warmth of Balinese people, ⑥ Introduction of coastal tourism in which people can experience a tour on the beach and an undersea exploration. It also introduces little-known beautiful beaches outside Kuta and Sanur as well as various marine sports such as surfing, wind surfing, rafting, diving and snorkeling.

The second category is named ‘Memorable vacation’, and provides the following information:

① Introduction of museum tour ② Introduction of historical buildings and structures including Taman Ujung located in Karangasem, which was constructed by King Karangasem from 1919 to 1921 and the cave in Gianyar in which an elephant statue is located ③ Introduction of MICE-meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions as well as introduction of places in which such events can be held ④ Introduction of golf, spa and wedding ceremonies ⑤ Introduction of edutainment parks, which are parks featuring both educational and entertainment functions; for example a zoo that has birds, butterflies, elephants, and so on. ⑥ Introduction of culinary journey. It introduces various traditional Balinese foods such as seafood cuisine, pork barbecue which is famous in Ubud and duck cuisine as well as foreign restaurants such as French, Italian, Moroccan, Japanese, Thai, German, Indian, Greek, Middle East, Russian restaurants and cafes.[20] ⑦ Introduction of the Hard Rock

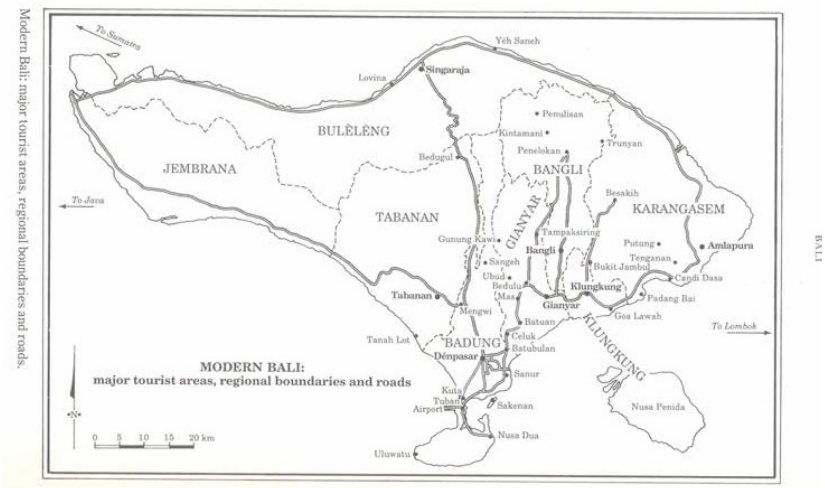
Café located in Kuta beach ⑨ Introduction of Bali's traditional art market and souvenir shops, traditional market and modern market ⑧ Introduction of souvenirs such as Balinese peanuts, Balinese coffee, Balinese salak, Balinese beer, Balinese wine, and so on. The third category introduces annual Bali events, including Bali Art Festival.

Through an overview of the contents stated above, it can be perceived that Bali tour is like a compression of various contemporary tourism approaches. As people can enjoy the pleasure of travel through not only socio-cultural and artistic experience but eco-environmental and educational activities as well as various amusement facilities and leisure sports, tourists can fulfill their various desires in Bali tourism sites. An interesting thing here is that the social members of Bali determine the concepts and businesses necessary for the operation of Bali's tourism policy through mutual consultation and cooperation (Wiranatha 2010). So, it can be said that Bali's tourism policy stance based on sustainable tourism and communities is established and determined through such consultation and cooperation.

As stated above, Bali is divided into 1 city and 8 counties, and it should be mentioned that not only the DPPB but the city and counties produce brochures separately. The brochures produced by Denpasar city, called Dinas Pariwisata Kota Denpasar, features more various information. As this brochure provides information of all events held in the Depasar district during the entire year, it is considered as a must-have item for tourists.

20) Unfortunately, the introduction of Korean foods and Korean restaurants are not included in this book. Moreso, there are brochures are prepared in English, Chinese and Japanese, but a Korean version is not yet available.

Bali has 8 counties, which are Buleleng, Jembrana, Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, Klungkung, Bangli and Karangasem. The map of Bali Island is provided below.



Reference: Adrian Vickers, 1989, "Modern Bali: major tourist areas, regional boundaries and roads" *Bali: a Paradise created*, p. 174. Berkley and Singapore: Periplus Edition

In order from large to small, these counties and the city can be listed starting from Buleleng followed by Jembrana, Tabanan, Karangasem , Bangli, Badung, Gianyar and Denpasar. Among them,

Buleleng, Jembrana and Tabanan are located in the northern alpine region, and forest accounts for a large portion of these counties. Major tourist attractions of each county are as follows.

<Table 2> Tourist attractions of each county (museums, parks, temples, zoos, markets, art centers, historical places, beaches, rivers)

No	Denpasar City	No	Badung Regency	No	Gianyar Regency	No	Buleleng Regency
1	Meseum Bali	1	Museum Bali	1	Goa Gajah	1	Pulaki
2	Museum Le Mayuer	2	Museum Lemayur	2	Gn. Kawi Tampak Siring	2	Lovina, Kalibukbuk
3	Taman Budaya	3	Taman Budaya	3	Gn. Kawi Sebatu	3	Air Panas Banjar
4	Serangan	4	Serangan	4	Tirta Empul	4	Air Sanih
5	Prasasti Blanjong			5	Wenara Wana Ubud	5	Air Terjun Gitgit
6	Pura Maspahit	No	Bangli Regency	6	Yeh Pulu	6	Makam Jaya Prana
7	Bali Orchid Garden	1	Penulisan	7	Taman Burung	7	Air Panas Banyuwedang
8	Ps. Kumbasari/ Badung	2	Pura Kehen	8	Rimba Repti	8	Taman Nasional Bali Barat
9	Pasar Badung	3	Penelokan Batur	9	Bukit Jati	9	Pura Madue Karang
10	Pasar Kreneng	4	Desa Truyan	10	Alam Sidan	10	Pura Beji
11	Museum Sidik Jari	5	Toya Bungkah	11	Wisata Gajah Taro	11	Pura Dalem Jagaraga
12	Mon. Bajra Sandhi	6	Desa Penglipuran	12	Lembah Sungai Ayung	12	Kaliasem
13	Taman Fesival Bali			13	Museum Rudana	13	Link. Danau Buyan
14	Hutan Bakau			14	Rafting	14	Pelabuhan Buleleng
				15	Museum Neka	15	Gedong Kertya
				16	Bali Zoo Park		
No	Klugkung Regency	No	Karangasem Regency	No	Jembrana Regency	No	Tabanan Regency
1	Kerta Gosa	1	Puri Karangasem	1	Bunut Bolong	1	Tanah LotT
2	Museum Semarajaya	2	Besakih	2	Pantai Medewi	2	Ulun Danu Beratan
3	Goa Lawah	3	Tirta Gangga	3	Rambut Siwi	3	Bedugul
4	Jungut Batu	4	Tenganan	4	Pantai Delod Berawah	4	Kebun Raya Bedugul
5	Nusa Penida	5	Padangbai	5	Pantai Baluk Rening	5	Candi Puputan Margarana
6	Rafting Unda	6	Jemeluk	6	Bendungan Palasari	6	Alas Kedaton
7	Kawasan Nusa Penida	7	Telaga Waja	7	Gilimanuk	7	Air Panas Penatahan
		8	Tulamben	8	Sangkar Agung	8	Puri Anyar Kerambitan
		9	Yeh Malet	9	Museum Gilimanuk	9	Puri Gede Kerambitan
		10	Candi Dasa	10	Pantai Perancak	10	Museum Subak
		11	Bukit Putung	11	P. Candi Kusuma	11	Jati Luwih
		12	Taman Ujung			12	Taman Kupu-kupu

Reference: Bali Tourism Statistics 2008 (Prepared by Bali Government Tourism Office)

The number of foreign tourists visiting those tourist attractions was recorded as 2,227,237 in 2003, 3,108,447 in 2004, 3,367,147 in 2005, 3,731,945 in 2006 and 4,179, 433 in 2007 (Bali Tourism Statistics 2008). Although there are a number of positive changes resulting from the change of tourism concept in Bali and the expansion of county offices' autonomy and authority after democratization and autonomous regional government system, new problems such as competition among counties over development and difficulties in the arrangement of policy and legal conflict among counties have also emerged.

3.3. Analysis of Current Bali Tourism Status and Characteristics

The current status of Bali as a world class tourism site and the characteristics of foreign tourists visiting Bali will be analyzed in this chapter. The trends of foreign tourists visiting Bali are shown below.

<Table 3> Number of Foreign Tourists to Bali from 1969 to 2009

Year	No. of Tourists	Year	No. of Tourists	Year	No. of Tourists	Year	No. of Tourists
1969	11,278	1980	146,644	1991	555,939	2002	1,285,844
1970	24,340	1981	158,926	1992	738,533	2003	993,029
1971	34,313	1982	152,364	1993	885,516	2004	1,458,309
1972	47,004	1983	170,505	1994	1,032,476	2005	1,386,449
1973	53,803	1984	189,460	1995	1,015,314	2006	1,260,317
1974	57,456	1985	211,244	1996	1,140,988	2007	1,664,854
1975	75,790	1986	243,354	1997	1,230,316	2008	1,968,892
1976	115,220	1987	309,294	1998	1,187,153	2009	2,229,945
1977	119,095	1988	360,415	1999	1,355,799		
1978	133,225	1989	436,358	2000	1,412,839		
1979	120,084	1990	490,729	2001	1,356,774		

Reference: Bali Tourism Statistics 2008. (Prepared by: Bali Government Tourism Office)

According to the data above, the number of tourists visiting Bali has increased drastically 197 times over the last 30 years, standing at 2.2 million in 2009 from approximately 110 thousand in 1969. In this situation, the trends of tourist numbers have also changed slightly. The growth rate was recorded as -9.86% from 1978 to 1979, -4.13 in 1982, -3.51% in 1998. The growth rate continued staying in the negative territory into the 21st century, recording -3.97% in 2001, -5.23% in 2002, -22.77% in 2003 and -9.10% in 2006. Such decreasing trends were affected by the world economy, by which is meant the global economic crisis. Another factor that affected the decreasing trends was related to safety. As everyone knows, the tourist growth plunged to -22.77% after the terror explosion occurring in Bali in 2002, and the terrorist attack has significantly affected international tourism (Putra and Hitchcok 2006). According to a person from the Balinese tourism authority, the number of tourists visiting Bali has been gradually growing since 2007 and Bali's economic conditions were excellent for the last 3 years. Besides, not only foreign tourists but Indonesian people visit Bali for tourism purposes. A total of 86,067 Indonesian people visited Bali in 1969, which was 8 times greater than the number of foreign tourists at that time. And even as of 2008, the number of domestic tourists visiting Bali was 6,234,497, 3.16 times greater than that of foreign tourists visiting Bali, which amounts to 1.968,893 people.

Reviewing the number of monthly tourists visiting Bali during the period from 2004 to 2009, it can be noticed that tourists' visits were recorded highest between June and September. People can visit Bali by air or ship, and the ratio of people visiting Bali by air over by ship was 1,383,231 to 3,218 in 2005, 1,257,177 to 3,140 in 2006, 1,662,905 to 1,949 in 2007 and 1,963,449 to 5,443 in 2008. In addition, the countries that have direct flights to Bali are Japan, Australia, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, China, United Kingdom, Germany,

France and United States. The existence of direct flights to Bali is related to the ranking of foreign tourist numbers by country. Among the number of tourists visiting Bali using direct flights. Japan takes the top spot fairly consistently, followed by Australia, Taiwan and Korea. It has been reported that China has taken Korea's spot from 2008. The country that shows the sharpest rise in the number of tourists to Bali is China. The number of Korean tourists visiting Bali by year was 80,273 in 2004, 78,146 in 2005, 89,911 in 2006, 134,454 in 2007 and 132,559 in 2008 (APWM[21] 2009). Vacationing accounts for 89 to 94% of foreign tourists' intent of visiting Bali, and business trip takes the second spot, followed by attending meetings or gatherings (APWM 2009, 74-75).

Bali's tourism system refers to government or non-government tourism organizations including hotels, restaurants, golf courses, airline or ferry companies, travel agencies, amusement facilities, and Bali's tourism system as of 2008 is classified as follows.

<Table 4> Bali's Tourism System

No.	Type of Corporation	Number
1	Accommodation	2,079
2	Restaurant /Rumah Makan	1,655
3	Travel Agent	483
4	MICE(Meeting, Incentive, Conference, Exhibition)	15
5	Travel Agent Branch	83
6	Tour Operator Agent	6
7	Tourism Consultant	6
8	Impresariat	3
9	Tourism Information	10
10	Bar	537
11	Tourism Water Sport	172
	전체	5,049

Reference: Bali Tourism Statistics 2008. (Prepared by: Bali Government Tourism Office)

21) APWM refers to Analisa Pasar Wisatawan Mancanegara, which was surveyed and published by the DPPB in 2009.

It can be said that the number of hotels has increased dramatically in Bali from 3 in 1957 to 2079 presently. In addition, as stated above, such rapid development of tourism system has caused the problem of environmental degradation since the late 1980s, and such problems have acted as a significant consideration point for Bali's revised tourism policy after Indonesia's democratization.

<Table 5> Job distribution and Days of Stay of Foreign Tourists Visiting Bali

No	Country	Professional		Management		Government official		Soldier		Office worker		Housewife		Student		Retiree		Others	
		%	Day	%	day	%	day	%	day	%	day	%	day	%	day	%	day	%	day
1	Japan	27.58	7.68	18.32	7.10	4.00	7.79	-	-	26.95	6.59	8.84	7.95	8.21	8.21	2.11	8.90	4.0	12.26
2	Australia	43.82	11.34	13.93	10.42	3.15	13.57	1.57	11.43	6.52	11.17	6.07	10.33	12.13	10.69	5.39	12.63	7.42	12.09
3	Korea	41.33	5.48	17.86	5.40	3.06	5.0	1.02	5.0	17.86	4.97	8.16	5.75	9.18	5.39	-	-	1.53	5.67
4	Malaysia	29.47	6.71	26.49	5.18	5.30	4.75	0.33	7.0	7.28	4.86	6.95	5.57	13.25	6.08	4.97	7.00	5.96	5.11
5	Taiwan	38.06	6.27	20.52	6.04	3.73	7.50	0.37	6.00	17.91	5.85	5.60	5.87	8.96	6.54	1.49	8.25	3.36	7.67
6	China	39.37	7.76	25.98	6.33	4.72	8.50	-	-	14.96	6.63	5.51	7.57	6.30	7.88	0.79	5.00	2.36	13.00
7	UK	53.57	11.77	17.14	10.46	0.71	7.00	-	-	9.29	11.31	2.14	7.33	8.57	17.83	5.00	23.71	3.57	12.40
8	Germany	38.82	13.37	25.66	12.56	1.97	13.33	0.66	6.0	4.61	10.71	5.26	16.75	13.82	11.67	5.26	16.31	3.90	13.67
9	France	39.27	12.72	23.56	12.31	2.62	10.40	1.57	9.0	6.81	14.23	2.62	13.00	7.85	14.20	6.81	17.69	8.9	21.88
10	US	43.48	11.70	15.22	12.79	3.26	7.00	-	-	4.35	10.75	4.35	11.25	13.04	12.83	8.7	21.50	7.61	16.00

Reference: Analisa Pasar Wisatawan Manzanegara 2009 (Prepared by Dinas Pariwisata Provinsi Bali)

According to the survey on foreign tourists who visited Bali from 10 major countries, people aged 25 to 44 accounted for the largest portion. 70 to 90% of these tourists stay at hotels yet only 59.78% of tourists from the US stay in hotels, showing the lowest rate among these 10 countries. Tourists from the US stay in various accommodation facilities. Tourists from Australia, European countries and the United States stay in Bali for a relatively longer period compared to those from Asian countries, who usually stay in Bali for 6 to 7 days. Of course such results may come from the fact that the distance from European countries or the United States to Bali is farther than that from Asian countries. However, considering the fact that Australian tourists stay more than Asian tourists even though the distance from Australia to Bali is shorter than that from Asian countries, such

results may be attributable to the travel style of western people.

<Table 6> Foreign Tourists' Frequency of Visit to Bali and Daily Travel Expenses

No.	Country	Once		Twice		Three times		More than 3 times	
		%	USD	%	USD	%	USD	%	USD
1	Japan	55.79	184.28	26.11	183.29	6.95	163.74	11.16	105.47
2	Australia	42.47	158.89	24.27	147.30	9.89	140.86	23.37	128.41
3	Korea	80.61	171.42	14.29	175.25	4.08	222.16	1.02	170.00
4	Malaysia	55.96	164.42	23.18	162.88	8.61	174.56	12.25	131.22
5	Taiwan	64.18	157.28	21.64	188.70	6.72	210.87	7.46	166.14
6	China	68.50	180.58	17.32	211.30	8.66	166.77	5.51	144.58
7	UK	79.29	137.18	10.71	131.60	3.57	161.93	6.43	130.88
8	Germany	65.13	137.80	21.71	192.69	4.61	156.49	8.55	153.83
9	France	73.82	105.20	17.80	152.39	5.24	95.73	3.14	102.07
10	US	55.43	136.81	23.91	163.60	5.43	66.37	15.22	127.13

Reference: Analisa Pasar Wisatawan Manzanegara 2009 (Prepared by Dinas Pariwisata Provinsi Bali)

The interesting thing in the table shown above is that the daily travel expenses of Asian tourists are higher than those of European tourists and especially Korean and Chinese tourists' daily expenses are remarkably high. Surprisingly, although usually the daily travel expenses decrease as tourists visit Bali more often, Korean tourists show an opposite trend. Korean tourists' such trend is, as analyzed in the upcoming chapter of Korean tourists' characteristics, attributable to the fact that Korean tourists show a high expectation of shopping activities and prefer shopping tourism. Australia takes the No.1 spot in the number of tourists who have visited Bali 3 times or more, followed by the United States, Malaysia and Japan. It is also a noticeable aspect that Korea is ranked in the lowest spot.

Ⅳ. Research on Korean Tourists to Bali

4.1. Research Method and Target

In order to perform research on Korean tourists who select Bali for their tourism destination, 4 questionnaire items have been prepared. The questionnaire items are "First, what media affected you most when you chose Bali as your tour destination?", "Second, what elements affected your decision to select Bali as your tour destination?", "Third, what do you think are the pros of Bali and the most attractive features of Bali based on your experience in Bali?", "Fourth, what is your impression of Bali?". An interval scale ranging from 1 to 7 points was provided for the answers to the questions. The interval scale was classified into "Not affected at all" for 1 to 2 points, "Somewhat affected" for 3 to 5 points and "Affected very much" for 6 to 7 points. The survey was conducted from February 10 to 28, 2010 and surveyed 97 Korean tourists visiting Bali in that period. The characteristics of these 97 respondents are as follows.

<Table 7> Respondent Composition

	Respondent	Total	
		No.	%
Gender	Male	37	38.1
	Female	48	49.5
	Missing value	12	12.4
	Total	97	100.0
Age	20s	13	13.4
	30s	23	23.7
	40s	25	25.8
	50s	23	23.7
	60s	3	3.1
	Missing value	10	10.3
	Total	97	100.0

According to the survey results by DPPB, the gender ratio of Korean tourists in Bali is 50:50; people aged between 25 and 34 accounts for 63.78%; those from 15 to 24 accounts for 17.86%, and those from 35 to 44 accounts for 15.82%. Therefore, a total of 97.46% of Korean tourists in Bali is accounted for by people aged from 15 to 44. 53.06% of Korean tourists in Bali use package tourism products and the remaining 46.94% of them don't use package tourism products. 80.61% of them are on their first visit to Bali, and 14.29% and 4.08% of them are on their second and third visit, respectively. Only 1.02% of Korean tourists have visited Bali more than 3 times (APWM 2009, 17-18).

4.2. Analysis Results of Questionnaire Answers

The answers to the first question show what media and path affect the decision of selecting Bali as the tour destination.

(N, %)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Missing	Total
a. TV drama shows	16	15	10	17	21	7	10	1	97
b. Movies	35	21	9	14	9	5	3	1	97
c. Information via the internet	10	5	16	24	15	19	7	1	97
d. Travelogues of friends and acquaintances	10	7	11	29	20	15	2	3	97
e. Recommendations from travel agencies	21	21	17	19	13	2	3	1	97
f. Articles in newspapers and magazines	17	18	28	17	10	5	2	0	97
g. Relatives or acquaintances resident in Bali	42	20	10	9	7	4	3	2	97

q1. Elements affecting the selection of Bali as tour destination	N	Average
a. TV drama shows	96	3.7604
b. Movies	96	2.6667
c. Information via the internet	96	4.1875
d. Travelogues of friends and acquaintances	94	4.0106
e. Recommendations from travel agencies	96	3.0000
f. Articles in newspapers and magazines	97	3.0825
g. Relatives or acquaintances resident in Bali	95	2.4000

As the source of information of Bali, TV drama shows gained the most points, while movies were given as the answer of "Not affected

at all" most. The answers of "Somewhat affected" and "Affected very much" were concentrated on the information from the internet and travelogues from friends or acquaintances. It has been found that recommendations from travel agencies don't affect the decision to travel to Bali at all, while articles in newspapers or magazines affect Korean tourists' decisions somewhat. Therefore, it has been analyzed that the approach to information via the internet (average of 4.1) and travelogues from friends and acquaintances (average of 4.0) show the most significant effects when selecting a tour destination as shown in the graph below.

The second question is to identify in detail the elements that affect the respondents' decisions of selecting Bali as the tour destination.

q2. Major determinants when selecting Bali as tour destination	N	Average
a. Beautiful natural scenery	96	5.0208
b. Sunny weather and beaches	95	5.2316
c. Comfortable shopping facilities	95	3.8000
d. Comfortable accommodation facilities	95	4.4947
e. Convenient transportation	94	3.4681
f. Cheap airfares	94	3.3936
g. Cheap travel expenses	93	3.3226
h. Various cultural and artistic features	95	4.0632
I. Observation of the local residents' unique living style	92	3.6087
j. Delicious foods	92	3.6739
k. Various tropical fruits	91	4.0659
l. Wind surfing	89	2.9775
m. Underwater exploration	89	3.0337
n. Mountain biking	89	2.3034
o. Geographical proximity	88	2.2614

The survey results has implicated that the element which affects most the determination of selecting Bali as the tour destination is Bali's natural and geographical environment, because the answers of "Somewhat affected" with an average score of 5.0 were provided to 'Beautiful natural scenery' and that with an average score of 5.2

were given to ‘Bali’s sunny weather and beaches’. In addition, the answers of “Somewhat affected” with an average score of 3.3 to 3.8 were given to Bali’s tourism system such as shopping facilities, aviation safety and travel expenses, while the attractiveness of accommodation facilities such as hotels was rated with an average score of 4.4, ranked at mid-to-upper levels. Korean tourists visiting Bali gave relatively generous points to Bali’s various cultural and artistic features and local residents’ lives, which would imply that such features act as the determinants of tourism for Koreans. However, the survey results show that Korean people don’t select Bali as their tour destination for activities such as wind surfing, underwater exploration or mountain-biking. Also, Koreans don’t think that Bali is geographically close to Korea. To conclude, the biggest factor for Korean people to determine Bali as their tour destination is Bali’s beautiful natural environment such as sunny weather, beaches and mountains.

The third question was intended to survey the pros and charms of Bali identified by Korean tourists who have visited Bali.

q3. Charms of Bali Tour	N	Average
a. Beautiful natural scenery	82	5.1951
b. Comfortable shopping facilities	90	4.6556
c. Comfortable accommodation facilities	91	4.7143
d. Convenient transportation	90	3.7667
e. Cheap airfares	90	3.5444
f. Cheap travel expenses	88	3.4659
g. Various cultural and artistic features	92	4.0000
h. Observation of the local residents’ unique living style	91	3.6264
I. Delicious foods	91	3.5275
j. Various tropical fruits	91	3.8352
k. Wind surfing	90	2.9000
l. Underwater exploration	90	2.9222
m. Mountain-biking	89	2.3596
n. Geographical proximity	84	2.2976

According to the analysis results, Bali's beautiful natural environment was scored an average of 5.0 in terms of satisfactory tour factors, ranked at mid-to-upper levels commensurate with the No.1 determinant in deciding Bali as the tour destination. The results above show that Korean visitors to Bali enjoyed most their shopping activities more than any other experiences, were satisfied with staying in luxury hotels. Then they were interested in the Balinese culture and art as well as local residents' lives. Their satisfaction of experiencing various tropical fruits was ranked higher than that from local residents' lives. This result also suggests that Korean tourists don't want to enjoy adventures through their tour in Bali. The bar graph prepared to show the satisfaction level of Korean tourists visiting Bali demonstrates that there is no item that is rated as "Very Satisfactory," which suggests that Koreans are generally not very satisfied with their tour in Bali.

The fourth question is to identify what impressions Korean tourists visiting Bali have.

q4. Balis' Image	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Missing	Total
a. Beautiful Nature Scenery	0	0	10	**26**	**24**	18	14	5	97
b. Peaceful	0	4	16	19	**25**	16	12	5	97
c. Mysterious	0	8	**23**	**29**	12	12	8	5	97
d. Cultural life in harmony between tradition and art	0	7	**23**	**32**	12	10	7	6	97
e. Blend of Hindu and Modern western life	3	9	**30**	**22**	13	8	6	6	97
f. Blend of tradition and contemporary	8	11	**30**	**23**	11	4	4	6	97
g. Blend of East and West	7	13	**28**	**21**	14	5	3	6	97
h. Kind People	1	8	**23**	**23**	15	17	5	5	97
i. Not easy to adopt due to cultural difference	3	20	**27**	**25**	7	9	0	9	97
j. Not modernized and undeveloped city	4	11	**19**	**18**	20	8	0	7	97
k. Inconvenient	4	12	20	**23**	**22**	7	1	8	97

Impressions of Bali that Korean tourists with experience of visiting Bali have can be listed according to average scores from high to low, as follows: Beautiful natural scenery → Peaceful →

Mysterious → People are kind → Cultural life in harmony between tradition and art → Blend of Hindu and modern western life → Not modernized and undeveloped → Uncomfortable → Blend of East and West → Blend of tradition and contemporary → Not easy to adapt due to cultural differences. The survey results have shown that Korean tourists who visit Bali have high expectations about Bali's beautiful natural environment all the time and those who have visited Bali have received such impressions of Bali as having a beautiful natural environment, a peaceful, mysterious culture and kind people. However, impressions such as blend of tradition and contemporary or blend of East and West were scored an average of 3.5 out of 7, which can't be said to be a high score.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

Bali tourism can be said to be an international social phenomenon as a term 'the Bali syndrome' has been generated (Minda 2000). This means that Bali has charms and strengths that attract tourists around the world. Not only tourists around the world but Korean tourists are also attracted by the charms of Bali that are described as 'exotic', "peaceful', 'mysterious' or 'beautiful', which are more or less measurable. It has been widely recognized that there are three basic factors why Bali takes center stage as a world class tourism site, which are beautiful natural environment, unique culture and kind residents. Especially Balinese residents and Balinese culture are very important factors to attract tourists, and it can be said that such a unique and fascinating cultural atmosphere is originated from multicultural factors generated from the blend of Indonesia's traditional indigenous culture, modified Hindu culture and Western modern culture, which provide charms that make even Asians feel

"neither too close nor too far". Tourists visiting Bali from various countries with various cultural backgrounds come to feel not only comfortable but tension as well because both homogeneous and heterogeneous cultural factors are incorporated in Bali's culture in parallel.

Such characteristics of Bali may be characterized as a "transnational social field." The transnational social field is a concept introduced by Peggy Levit in 2004, and it focuses on the occurrence of a space called 'society' that is based on the 'transnationality' which is established after overcoming the methodological nationalism of society. The transnational social field has utilized the concept of Bourdieu's field, citing Bourdieu's opinion which points out the limit of understanding social relationships as a concept structured by power and which claims that the border between fields is flexible and a field is generated by people who participate in the struggle of social status. However, Bourdieu's field has limitations as he only considered the relationship within an individual country, and the concept which claims that such a social field can be established transnationally is the transnational social field. To conclude, contemporary society featuring high transnational movement creates a single social field by combining two societies called 'inflow country' and 'mother country'. In addition, the dimension of social field in the contemporary society exists regionally, nationally, transnationally and globally (Levitt 2004).

In such a context, Bali functions as a transnational social field. Based on the transnational movement beyond borders, termed international tourism, Bali, as an inflow country, enables tourists, in which ethnic or national culture of their own as a mother country is incorporated, to experience the diversity of culture as well as transnational culture. Bali is a transnational social field featuring

flexible characteristics established not by the society based on the existing concept of power, but by people participating in the space. The reason why Korean tourists come to recognize Bali as a transnational social field is because of the freedom existing in Bali's society in which multiculturalism, openness to other cultures and diversity are allowed. The experience of transnationalism or multiculturalism is a new phenomenon to Koreans, so such experiences through Bali tourism can be an opportunity to generate a transnational phenomenon in Korea’s society similar to the “Southeast phenomenon." Even more, Korean tourists visiting Bali come to have impressions of Bali through the contact of transnational multiculturalism that is pursued by Bali itself, rather than have fixed impressions of it beforehand. Of course, as revealed in the survey analysis results, although Koreans don’t make efforts to understand, recognize or collect knowledge of Bali in a motivated manner, Koreans' Bali tour itself acts as an important chance to ensure the experience of transnational multiculturalism for Koreans.

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<Interviews>

I Gusti Ngurah Putu Ambara. (Head of Tourism Resource, Bali Government Tourism Office), was interviewed on February 16 and 18, 2010
Ir. Agung Suryawan Wiranatha. (Consultant: Green Tourism Training & Certification, Tourism Planning & Research) was interviewed on February 20, 2010

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<국문초록>

발리 관광정책과 발리행 한국인 관광객의 선택요인에 관한 연구

최경희
주아세안대표부 선임연구원

발리는 '신들의 섬', '세계의 아침', '지상의 마지막 낙원' 등의 이름을 갖고 있는 세계적으로 유명한 관광지이다. 본 논문의 목적은 이러한 세계적으로 유명한 여행목적지인 발리 관광을 통해 한국인은 동남아에 대해 어떤 인상을 갖게 되는가를 연구하고자했다. 최근 한국과 동남아 사이에 인간의 이동이 빈번해짐에 따라 문화교류 및 교차가 발생할 것을 전제로 하여 '한국 속 동남아현상'의 원인과 경로, 결과 등을 연구하는 배경 가운데, 특히 초국가적 단기이동으로서 관광을 통해 문화교류 및 교차에 대한 이해를 높이고자 한 것이다.

우선 관광목적지로 유인하는 요인에는 사회적, 지리적, 생태환경적, 문화적, 심리적 등등 다양한 요인들이 있고, 이러한 유인요인들을 매력적인 관광상품으로 개발하여 세계인들을 더 많이 유치하는 데는 관광정책에 달려있다. 무엇보다 민주화 이후 발리관광정책은 천해의 자연 및 지리조건은 물론 발리가 보유하고 있는 독특한 힌두문화, 그리고 발리를 신, 인간, 자연의 조화와 그 속에서의 평화를 체험할 수 있는 공간으로서 그 목적을 갖고 있다. 이러한 관광전략을 '지속가능한 그리고 공동체에 기초한 발전' 전략이라고 볼 수 있다.

설문지 경험분석을 통해 한국인이 발리에 도착하기 전까지 발리를 관광지로 선택하는데 영향을 준 미디어는 TV 드라마가 제일 크고, 인터넷, 여행정보지 그리고 지인 등의 순으로 나타나고, 한국인이 발리를 관광지로 선택하는 가장 큰 요인은 뜨거운 태양과 해변, 아름다운 자연환경임을 알 수 있었다. 또한 발리에 도착하여 발리에 대한 매력으로 느끼는 요소는 첫째가 역시 자연환경에서 주는 만족도가 제일 높고, 흥미로운 특징으로 볼 수 있는 것은 두 번째 요소가 편리한 숙

박시설 즉, 잘 갖춰진 호텔에 대한 만족도가 2순위, 쇼핑이 3순위 그리고 다양한 문화와 예술이 4순위이다. 그리고 마지막으로 발리에 대한 이미지도 역시 자연환경에 대한 이미지가 가장 많은 영향을 차지하고 있고, 평화로움 그리고 신비로움 등이 발리에 대한 이미지로 자리잡고 있음을 알 수 있었다.

결국 초국가적 단기이동으로 한국인 발리행 관광을 통해 동남아적 자연환경과 문화에 대한 체험은 갖게 되지만, 단기이동의 한계로서 문화교류와 교차가 실질적으로 발생하는 것은 아니라고 볼 수 있다. 그러나 발리는 초국가적 문화의 장으로서 한국인을 포함하여 세계인과 함께 문화교류 및 교차의 장으로서 기능하고 있다고 볼 수 있다.

주제어 : 초국가주의, 인간이동, 발리 관광, 관광정책, 유인요인, 선택요인, 힌두문화, 조화와 평화, 지속가능한 발전전략, 발리이미지

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ARTICLES

Intermarriage Migration and Transnationalism: Filipina Wives in South Korea*

KIM Dong Yeob**

Ⅰ. Introduction

This study aims to explain the causes of the transnational behaviors of Philippine women who married Korean men to settle down in Korea from the institutional aspects of society, market and state in the era of globalization. It attempts to focus on one aspect of the 'Southeast Asian Phenomenon'[1] that appear as intermarriage migration in Korea. This has a meaning to consider the long-term effects of Southeast Asian immigrant women through intermarriage and their families on Korean society. Immigrants' arrival and the context of the early stage of integration have a decisive effect on their own future and their child's life (Portes and Macleod 1996). Therefore, it is necessary to establish proper policies through a study more detailed than the present, with regard to the early stage of the immigration phenomenon

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1) 'Southeast Asian Phenomenon' is not a concept clearly defined from an academic perspective. It refers to Southeast Asian social and cultural influence which becomes visualized in Korean society.

in Korea.

The main focus of this study is Philippine immigrant women who married Korean men to settle down in Korea. They started to marry Korean men to settle down in Korea through religious connections since the 1980s. They have increasingly immigrated through intermarriages in the 2000s. According to statistics presented by the Korean Immigration Service, the number of Philippine immigrant women who lived in Korea through intermarriage at the end of 2009 was 6,157, taking the third place following China (55,874) and Vietnam (30,014). In the case of Japanese, Mongolian and Chinese spouses (including Korean Chinese) who make up the majority of intermarriages in Korea, the issue of intermarriage does not seriously stand out because of the similarity in outward appearance between Koreans and them. On the other hand, in the case of Southeast Asian women from Vietnam or the Philippines, intermarriages are highly magnified because of a slight difference in outward appearance between Koreans and them. There is a long tradition of and many different routes to intermarriage in the Philippines. A study on Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage has an important function from a theoretical perspective as a comparative case study because it can examine the differences between the previous trends of intermarriages with Westerners and the recent trends of intermarriages with East Asians.

The intermarriage migration of Southeast Asian women who consider Japan, Taiwan, and Korea to be their destination countries is an unusual type of immigration which appears in East Asia. In particular, it has attracted theoretical and political attention in that it has a great deal of influence on social transformation in the destination countries. There are many different studies on intermarriage migration in progress which is in itself a reflection of this interest. Many studies are under way in many different fields in the Korean academic world. There are some studies which introduced intermarriage cases that

Japan and Taiwan had previously experienced, similar to the intermarriage phenomenon now being experienced by Korea (Hwang, DG 1993, 2006; Kim, YT & Seol, DH 2005; Park, DS 2008), There are also studies on the causes and ways to immigrate to Korea through intermarriage (Kim, HJ 2007; Kim, HM et al. 2008) and on the awareness and responses of Korean society to intermarriages between Southeast Asian women and Korean men (Im, HB 2007; Kim, JR 2008; Kim, SJ & Kim, EI 2008; Kim, GS & Jang, YJ 2009). However, mainstream research on intermarriage migration in the Korean academic world are studies that identified many different problems which appeared in the process that immigrant women through intermarriage adapting to Korean society and presented policy implications based on that process (Yun, HS 2005; Kim, MJ et al. 2006; Kim, ON 2006; Kim, IS et al. 2006; Chae, OH & Hong, DG 2006; Han, GS 2006; Kim, MJ 2007; Kim, HJ & Eun, SK 2007; Park, JH & Jung, JK 2007; Seol, DH & Yun, HS 2008; and Nam, IS & Jang, HS 2009). As second-generation of intermarriage couple reach school-age and their school and society adaptation problems started to become a social issue, there are a number of studies in progress (Jeong, EH 2004; Kim, GS 2006; Kim, MJ 2008; Lee, CH 2008; Choi, HS 2009). A large number of theses and dissertations on intermarriage have been published. All the things reflect the size and the scope of interest in this field and much more studies are expected to be pursued in the future.

The studies mentioned above, however, did not deal directly with the transnational behaviors of immigrant women through intermarriage in a macroscopic perspective, which is a topic of this study. However, it is possible to find out the transnational behaviors of immigrant women through intermarriage, by the cases dealt in most of these studies. Even if it was in a microscopic perspective, the study conducted by Lee, Yong-gyun (2007) analyzed the characteristics of

social and cultural networks organized by immigrant women through intermarriage, based on two communities such as Boeun and Yangpyeong, to deal with the problems regarding the integration into Korean society through transnational networks.

There is a variety of foreign literature on intermarriage migration and many different cases have been introduced in terms of the ideal and the reality in intermarriage and from a gender-sensitive perspective (Mullan 1984; Constable 2005; Romano 2008). In particular, Cahil presented meaningful data with comprehensive analysis based on the cases of Philippine immigrant women marrying Australian, Japanese, or Swiss men (Cahil 1990). The journal published by the Scalabrini Migration Center located in Manila has dealt with the problems related to East Asian immigration in earnest even though the problems are not specialized in intermarriage.[2] Piper and Roces cover Asian women's immigration problems in relation to globalization from different perspectives (Piper & Roces 2003). Women in Action, a magazine published by the International Women's Human Rights Organization collected and introduced many cases of women's human rights violations related to intermarriage in many Asian countries (Women in Action 2007, No. 3). There are also various writings in which the transnationalism related to immigration and settlement is theoretically dealt with (Gordon 1964; Portes and Walton 1981; Portes 1994, 2000, 2003; Hannerz 1996; Portes and Zhou 1993; Robinson 2001; Kivisto 2001; Pasco 2002; Guarnizo et al. 2003). In particular, the two books co-edited by Portes and Rumbaut (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Rumbaut and Portes 2001) deal with second generation immigrants in earnest as a study on the transnational phenomenon to attract many scholars' attention. However, most of the theoretical discussions on immigration and settlement had taken place to largely deal with the difficulties of

[2] The name of the journal published by this center is *The Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* (APMJ).

assimilation, which were created due to racial differences in the destination countries such as the USA, Canada, or Australia.

If the existing studies are classified by academic discipline, it is shown that the issue of intermarriage migration has largely been dealt with from anthropological or sociological perspectives. The individual case study mainly dealt with in existing studies has some significance in that it emphasizes many different problems and brings about policy implications. However, it has certain limitations in understanding and explaining phenomenon comprehensively. Therefore, it is required to have much more systematic understanding and explanation for the causes and the flow of immigration and many different phenomena in the destination country, which were revealed in many case studies. This will provide many important implications to theoretical discussions on immigration and adaptation, on which much progress has previously been made. In particular, intermarriage migration which appear in East Asia and the resultant problems of social adaptation have an important influence in expanding the existing theoretical category in that the discussion on immigration and adaptation have largely been dealt with based on the context of destination countries. Today's issue of immigration and adaptation can be approached from a new viewpoint under discussion on transnationalism which appears from the background called globalization.

This study seeks to answer the following questions: first, what are the background factors which cause Philippine women to immigrate to Korea through intermarriage?; second, what types of transnational behaviors appear in the process that they settle down in Korean society?; third, what are the causes which lead to their transnational behaviors?; lastly, what types of meanings does transnationalism give to them and their families? There are the behavioral approaches which observe doers' behaviors and the institutional approach which focuses on the systems influencing doers' behaviors as research methods of

immigration and settlement. The institutional approach is a viewpoint that the system exerts a strong influence on doers' thoughts, emotions, and behaviors. It is understood that "human behaviors are usually made within the institutional framework socially allowed and individuals' motives are not intuitively given, but socially obtained." (Ahn, CS 2000, 107). It is necessary to note the institutional changes in the originating and destination country which give cause for immigration to analyze intermarriage migration from this institutional perspective. In particular, the intermarriage migration phenomenon in East Asia coincides with the flow of globalization in time. The direction of this flow changes the correlations among market, society, and state in individual nation-states will give important implications in understanding the intermarriage migration phenomenon in East Asia.

This study conducts a field survey in the Philippines. It focuses on the awareness of Filipinos/Filipinas about intermarriage migration to verify and supplement the perspectives presented in the existing case studies. It visits civil organizations and national institutions and investigates their perspectives and attitudes to intermarriage migration to examine institutional aspects. As for an investigation into Korean society, in this case the destination country, it attempts to make use of a lot of literature and policy data rather than a field research because many scholars have already conducted many such case studies. This study is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1 briefly covers the topic, purposes, importance of the study, research trends, and methodological problems. Chapter 2 introduces the research framework which presents the logical flow of the study with conceptual discussions. Chapter 3 introduces the real conditions and the transnational behaviors of Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage. Chapter 4 presents analytical discussions on the causes of their transnational behaviors. Chapter 5 discusses policy implications, study limitations, the necessity of future research with the summary of the study.

Ⅱ. Concepts and Theoretical Discussion

2.1 Intermarriage, Immigration, and Transnationalism

The role sharing between men and women in a modern concept of marriage makes women depend on their husbands' economic capital.[3] Thus, marriage is related to the sharing and distribution of economic resources. This was one of the reasons that a law against interracial marriage existed in the USA until 1967 (Pasco 1991). Marriage is not only included in culture in a broad sense but also contains an aspect called a social institution under the control of law as a 'complex whole of life'. In other words, it can be viewed as a social behavior made by a personal decision. 'Intermarriage' is a concept built based upon the premises of nationality, however 'immigration' bases its background on weakening of national identity, in other word, the globalization.

As for interracial marriage representing a general image of intermarriage, there is Kalmijin's exchange hypothesis that "a man or a woman who holds a socially prominent position marries a person who is thought to be racially, but not socially, prominent position, thus exchanging their resources through marriage." (Jeon, KS et al 2008, 23 re-quoted) But, this hypothesis does not fully explain all the

[3] Women's motives and expectations in marriage in modern society are based on the gender division of labor which a man takes responsibility for family support and a woman takes charge of housework and family relationships after marriage. 'Romantic love' has an ideological meaning which make a woman accept her roles voluntarily (Sarsby 1985; Kim, MJ et al. 2006: 169 re-quoted). According to a survey related to intermarriage, Hawaii women tend to regard men as "people who provide them with materials needed in life" and express racial and class hierarchy in the limits of choice in their propensity of marrying men of other races except Hawaii men (Pasco 1991: 9). There is no big difference in the standards for the selection of foreign men between Korean and Hawaii women. Considering the order of foreign men who Korean women married the most in 2007, Japan (39.4%) takes the first place, followed by China (26.6%), the United States (14.4%), Canada (4.0%), Australia (1.7%), Pakistan (1.4%), England (1.3%), and France (1.2%). The number of marriages with Chinese had rapidly risen since 2003. Japan and the United States overwhelmingly formed about 80% up to 2000 (Jeon, NP 2008: 16). This point presents an important implication to the rationality of the individual who decides intermarriage.

phenomena of intermarriage. It is not easy to establish a comprehensive theory because marriage is related to complicated problems such as a union between a man and a woman and family formation. Cheon, Kyung-soo et al. state that it is hard to explain interracial marriage from a perspective at the economic, educational, religious or cultural level (Jeon, KS et al 2008). They also point out that it is necessary to consider how capitalism meets distinctive regional cultures and simultaneously creates new regional cultures.

Immigration can be viewed as "a way that immigrants, objects of labor exploitation contribute to the continuance of economic governance structure and the behaviors by which they overcome their limits" (Zolberg 1983, 1058). Portes and Borocz (1989) see that labor migration phenomena results from changes in consumption patterns in a peripheral society as a voluntary behavior. They state that the consumption patterns are spread from the center and increasing transnational connections realize this through immigration because there are insufficient conditions in a peripheral society. It is considered in economic sociology that "economic behaviors are socially oriented (Woolcock 1997, 212)." In other words, social norms, values, and relations, structures determine not only the types of the purposes which people pursue but also strategies and resources needed to realize the purposes.

Immigration is considered to be one of the important causes which transform a society. The causes of immigration can be explained in many different ways. When the market and the state drive the flow of immigration due to demographical imbalance, individual rationality about economic expectations, strategies for family and community survival, and institutional causes, the causes of immigration are explained based on social capital (Castles 2002). The Push-Pull model of immigration focuses on the causes and the flow of immigration through an analysis of the internal factors of the two countries. In

addition, the Center-Periphery theory aims to identify the immigration process as a system and discover many different variables, affecting the formation and the maintenance of the system. In general, all of the existing immigration theories are based on the world view with the scope (territory) of the country which has isolated political areas as the center. It is assumed that immigrants' origin countries which suffer indiscriminately from poverty tend to go into high-wage areas. The assimilation process has also a limit which does not consider the differences in originating countries (Portes and Borocz 1989). These limitations brought about a new trend of research by which immigration problems were covered from a new perspective, namely a transnational perspective.

Glick Schiller defines transnationalism as a process by which immigrants construct a social area connecting their originating country and destination country (Schiller 1997). Kivisto explains the appearance of transnationalism as the process that racial fusion occurs and the immigrant community is formed when human resources move from a non-industrialized country to a country which is stable politically and successful industrialized (Kivisto 2001). The main causes to revitalize transnationalism are the global spread of capitalism, the growth of transnational non-governmental organizations (NGO), the appearance of post-national citizens, and the fusion of popular cultures. Transnationalism appears as a form of social composition crossing the boundaries as a personal position functions as a point of contact at a transnational social circuit.

Portes describes one of transmigrants' characteristics as being that transmigrants cross national boundaries to form a density network in order to pursue economic achievements and social and political stability (Portes 1997). More people have gradually lived a dual life through this network. They are easily acculturated to accepting other cultures without difficulty with bilingual skills. They have mutual

residences in the two countries, pursue political, economic, and cultural understanding in their two residences, and actively participate in the improvement of problems in their originating countries. On the other hand, Castles states that the members of the transnational community have a contradictory or fluid identity in contrast to the long-held national identity (Castles 2002). Transnational individuals and groups attempt to discover creative ways to change or adapt to their social environments. He has observed that they mainly pursue strategies for everyday life, not political or social behaviors and the survival factors which occur in a national and transnational social space work together.

Transnational behaviors can be divided into political, economic, and social-economic activity. These transnational behaviors appear in a private or a public area. The transnational behaviors in a private area are mainly made in the economic field and appear as the form of maintaining organic relations with families and relatives in the originating country for the purpose of remittance or business. There are also activities to revitalize personal networks between the originating and the destination country through exchange visits and introductions. The transnational behaviors in a public area are shown as the activities that an individual or a group performs to improve the political or the economic environment in the originating country. On the other hand, social and cultural transnationalism is shown in many communal activities to maintain the social and cultural identity of their country of origin.

These transnational behaviors are closely related to the purpose and the background of immigration which immigrants experience individually, and the level of human and physical capital which they own when they immigrate. When they immigrate with lots of human and physical capital, they have a high possibility of being involved in transnational activities in a public area. On the contrary, when they

immigrate with less capital, they tend to focus on transnational activities in a private area. In addition to immigrants' personal environment, the living environment in the destination country has also a large effect on the types of transnational behaviors. Portes (2003) maintains that there is no transnational behavior when immigrants are free from discrimination due to the fact they are scattered and do not socially stand out. He states that transnational behaviors increase when they are discriminated and concentrated in one area in the destination country. Transnational cultural activities or citizens' coalitions are not only places to find comfort against outside discrimination but also a resource of resistance to protect human dignity from outside threats.

One of the reasons why immigrant women through intermarriage take on aspects of transnationalism is that they maintain constant relationships with their families and relatives in the country of origin after immigration. However, it is doubted whether their relationships with families in their country of origin can last after they put down the roots of a new life in the destination country after intermarriage migration and to second or third generation immigrants. As mentioned above, intermarriage and transnationalism are considered to have both of those aspects. Transnational behavior is a constructive phenomenon to pursue social responsibility, affiliation, and changes in the origin country as overseas citizens living at a long distance. At the same time, these behaviors inculcate new efficacy and pride in immigrants to contribute to the integration into the political system in the destination country (Guarnizo et al 2003). In particular, Portes imparts a new meaning to transnationalism as a solution for the class which is not properly integrated in the mainstream society and thus at risk of downward assimilation.

2.2 Conceptual Framework for Transnational Behaviors: Market, Society, and State

Transnational behavior originates from the context related to immigrants' immigration and settlement. The context of immigration, namely the discussion at the institutional level which influences the causes of immigration and the settlement process can provide the macroscopic viewpoint useful in understanding individual immigrants' transnational behaviors. Today in the era of globalization, a nation-state still plays an important role in immigration. However, many private actors are included in the complicated system such as a company or a family. Unofficial efforts are shown by the fact that immigration behavior cannot properly be controlled by the state. Therefore, it is necessary to change viewpoint from the internal causes of a nation-state to the internal factors of the international system. It is required to have a macroscopic approach to international political economy, which focuses on the relations with other international movements such as capital, technology, institutions, and cultural innovation rather than immigrants' immigration and adaptation to change viewpoints (Portes and Borocz 1989).

Intermarriage migration which has appeared in East Asia in the era of globalization can be understood and explained in the framework of the roles of market, society, and state and their related agencies, which is presented by Polanyi[4]. Polanyi argues that the market, society, and state maintain a cooperation-tension-contradiction relationship among them. He defines the most preferential entity is the society among them

4) According to Polanyi, the market continuously guarantees consumer freedom, directs changes in demand, influences producers' income, and plays a role of an accounting means in many different ways. The society is a place of new civilization including state and market and the system which decides which is much fairer and reproduce. The state plays a role in changing the economy more socially friendly as it guarantees the free market activities with its autonomy and does many social and legislative activities at the same time to protect the society (Ahn, CS 2000).

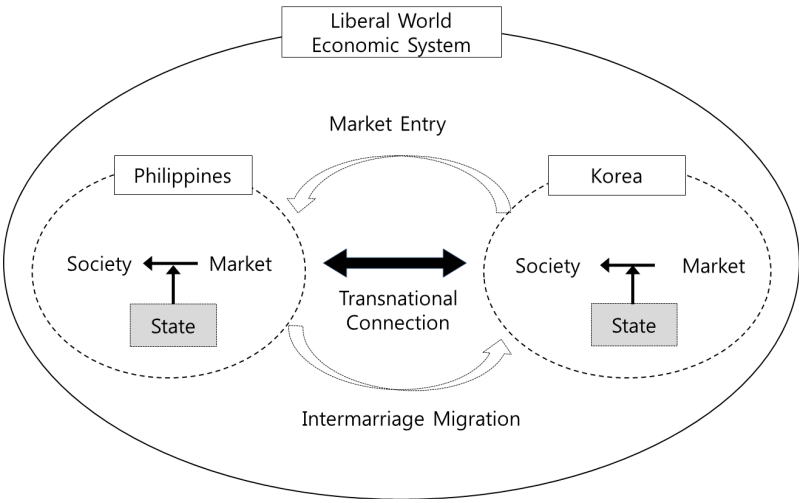
and the rest can be adjusted and reformed by social integration or ultimately destroyed by society. Even though it guarantees freedom, society throws humans at the front of the natural law of the jungle when there is no proper control. Even though state intervention and interference are needed, the principles of freedom are denied and humans are tied up with the chains of control when they are excessive. Polanyi does not see the market and state as being in confrontation with each other. He defines the state as a self-regulating entity which plays a role in adjusting a contradiction, a tension, or a conflict which occurs between the market and society at a neutral and middle position, an opposition axis in relation to the relationship between the two (Ahn, CH 2000).

Polanyi diagnoses that the market removed itself as one of the entities controlled by society to become an independent economic system in the liberal market economy in the 19th century and additionally came to have the power to regulate and control all of the other social institutions[5] (Ahn, CS 2000). Of course, it cannot be said that today's circumstances completely coincide with the liberalism of the 19th century, as diagnosed by Polanyi. However, there are some aspects that the flow of globalization representing neoliberalism has something in common with the liberalism in the 19th century. Globalization is a phenomenon by which the world is integrated into a single mode of production and individual countries and areas are integrated into the global economy. The market-dominant trend is magnified in the relations among market, society, and state in an individual nation-state amid the wave of globalization. Globalization changes the inclination of a state to a more liberal bias and enables it to function in the direction in which the logic of the market economy is

[5] The market was hidden as a part of society without an independent economic system itself. Its function was just some peripheral parts in a variety of economic life. Instead, the production and distribution activity of important goods were made by non-market principles such as customs, religion, and violence, not through the market (Polanyi 1994).

maximized. Even though members' freedom is expanded in a society, state protection and controls are left more weakened than before. The market is no longer under social control and functions according to an independent logic that captures market and state in the logic. The capacity of control becomes weakened at the borders, the boundary lines of individual nation states and exchanges that transcend the borders of the market and society are made more freely. These changes rapidly change the cultural environment of an individual nation-state and weaken existing social bonds and integration.

<Figure 1> Conceptualization: Intermarriage Migration and Transnationalism



This study relates the phenomenon of Philippine women immigrating to Korea through intermarriage to the effect of globalization. It understands the main cause of intermarriage migration as a pattern of regular immigration behavior by which immigrants choose immigration as a strategy to achieve an expected increase in the level of consumption, resulting from the expansion of the liberal market economy. However, immigration is chosen in the direction that a close contact between specific markets occurs in the globalized economic

system and its way is made in the form of meeting the mutual needs of the markets. Even though the state controls the realization of immigration, the role of the state is limited in the liberal market economy. The study considers that the circumstances of the origin country and the policies and the social and economic context of the destination country exert important influences on immigrants' adaptation process and transnational behaviors appear as a means to overcome this. The discussion mentioned above is schematized in [Figure 1].

Ⅲ. Transnational Behaviors of Philippine Immigrant Women through Intermarriage

3.1 Current Status of Intermarriage migration

According to statistics released by Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), the number of Philippine people who married Korean men or women was 809 in 2008 and the fifth largest number, following the United States (8,333), Japan (4,142), Australia (1,348), and Canada (1,011).[6] The number of Philippine people who marry Koreans has gradually increased since 1997. This trend is in contrast to the case in other countries where inter-marriage with Koreans is decreasing. In the other hand, according to the statistics published by Korea National Statistics Office (KNSO), the number of Philippine women who married Korean men was a total of 1,174 up to 2000, exceeded 1,000 every year since 2006, and amounted to 1,857 in 2008. In the early stages, Philippine women married Korean men and immigrated to Korea through a marriage arrangement program which a religious

6) There may be some differences with practice and with the statistical figures released in Korea because this means only the registered number.

organization started in the 1980s.The 'Project to Marry off Single Farmers' started to attract public attention after the late 1990s. As popular advertisements in which the nationalities of prospective international brides were indicated, intermarriage with Philippine women started to emerge in Korean society.

The propensity of Philippine immigrant women for intermarriage is shown differently according to their partners' nationalities. As shown in [Table 1], Philippine women who immigrated to Korea through intermarriage show a similar propensity with women who immigrated to Japan and Taiwan, but some differences from women who immigrated to Western countries. The age range and the education level of Philippine women who marry East Asian men including Korean men is relatively low by comparison to Philippine women marrying westerners. Most women got married for the first time. It is assumed that Philippine women's intermarriage migration is not limited to a specific class or category and becomes a potential source of various intermarriages.

[Table 1] The Propensity of Philippine Immigrant Women through Intermarriage by their Partners' Nationalities

Spouse's Nationality	Woman's Average Age	Man's Average Age	College Graduation (%)	First Marriage (%)
America	32.9	44.3	67.1	84.2
Canada	32.0	39.2	78.2	83.6
Australia	30.1	44.9	66.3	79.8
Japan	27.7	43.4	33.0	91.8
Taiwan	28.9	33.6	59.0	97.0
Korea	27.2	37.6	50.0	97.6

Source: (Kim, Jeong-suk 2009, 10), Reorganized

As shown in Kim's case study (intensively interviewing 7 Philippine women who married Korean men and were awaiting departure to Korea), the younger a marriage immigrant is, the more her intermarriage

is driven by other external factors, not by her own decision (Kim, JS 2009). It can be assumed that intermarriage migration in East Asia tends to be decided by economic reasons of surrounding people, not by personal preferences. The choice of a marriage partner seems to be much closer to a vague pursuit of an ideal through limited information.

[Table 2] Home Environment Comparison of Immigrant Women through Intermarriage by Nationality in Korea (as of 2004)

	Nationalities of Immigrant Women through Intermarriage			
	China	Vietnam	Philippine	Japan
Age Difference between a husband and wife	7.4	17.1	12.1	1.8
Spouse's First Marriage (%)				
- Her first marriage and her husband's second marriage	6.9	26.6	28.8	6.8
- Her second marriage and her husband's second marriage	46.2	1.2	0.5	5.7
Immigrant Woman's Education Level (%)				
- Below Middle School Graduation	48.0	50.1	6.7	4.3
- High School Graduation	45.3	45.3	49.8	36.3
- Above College Graduation	6.7	4.6	43.5	59.4
Husband's Occupation (%)				
- Professional/Management/Clerical Work	23.7	20.0	21.9	46.2
- Service/Sales	32.2	21.8	20.2	18.6
- Competence/Skills	25.0	24.7	27.1	13.3
- Agricultural & Fishery/Simple Labor	13.9	30.2	26.4	3.7
- Others	5.2	3.3	4.4	18.2
Residential Area after Marriage (%)				
- Seoul and Gyeongi Area	60.9	22.2	31.9	31.2
- Metropolitan City	14.6	17.6	14.3	7.0
- Other places in Korea	24.2	50.2	51.6	15.9
- Abroad	0.3	0.1	2.3	45.8

Source: (Kim, 2006) [Table 1~5] Reorganized

As shown in [Table 2], there are certain differences in the living environment between Philippine women who immigrated to Korea through intermarriage and Chinese or Japanese counterparts, but there are similarities with their Vietnamese counterparts who also come from Southeast Asia in that the average age gap between spouses is relatively wide and most women marrying were getting married for the

first time. Conversely, Philippine women have a relatively high level of education compared with Vietnamese women. In addition, their husbands engage in farming and live in areas outside of the capital and main metropolitan areas.

In most cases, the causes of Philippine women's intermarriage migration are simply explained as 'the product of colonial history', 'a means to escape from economic poverty', and 'a measure of family support'. However, many other factors such as 'fortuitous factors', 'religious factors', and 'expectations in and illusion of marriage' work to get married in multiple ways (Amante 2009; Yun, HS 2005). In particular, it is a reality that the diversity of intermarriage has increased more and more in that dating opportunities between men and women has increased through the development of material civilization and the expansion of exchanges. The excessive simplification of the causes of Philippine women's intermarriage migration has the risk of distorting their nature. It can be said that a useful approach is to draw a macroscopic view within the limit that the diversity of individual cases is accepted and to apply it within a limited extent.

3.2 Transnational Behaviors

The transnational behaviors of Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage appear in various aspects. The most general transnational behaviors are the activities to build relationships with their families in a private area and maintain a constant relationship through regular or irregular remittances, contact by telephone, or through the internet. There are exchanges through reciprocal visits between family members and extended visits for baby birth or patient care. The transnational behaviors in a private area make up a very important part of Philippine women's transnational behaviors. They tend to participate in communal activities to achieve personal goals. In

particular, they participate in communal activities to adapt to Korean society or find economic activity. It is a general tendency that they build a community through religious activities or the activities of civil organizations. They also build a community through internet sites or blogs.

There are many different cases by which immigrant women's communities are connected into transnational activities in the economic area in Korea. Kim, Min-jeong et al's analysis concludes that Philippine immigrant women participate in social labor because they have difficulties in approaching their husbands' economic resources and need to send money to their families in the Philippines (Kim, MJ et al 2006).The social activities that they participate in because of economic necessity are made through churches or informal meetings due to the limits of their assimilation into Korean society and shortly connected to transnational behaviors. There is no denying that Philippine immigrant women's communities exist for many purposes such as emotional exchanges including cultural sharing and the formation of emotional sympathy and mutual information exchanges. However, it is also to be considered that their meetings are used as practical channels to do business, look for work, or exchange information about Korean life rather than to merely pursue pastimes or kill time. However, Philippine immigrant women's living environment in Korea prevents them from doing their transnational communal activities. In other words, they are subject to restrictions due to many different causes such as the large distances between their residences, living in a rural environment, and the relationship with their husbands' families (Kim, HJ & Eum, SK 2007).

One of the transnational activities in which some purposes of the private area are included is exchange activity on the internet. They deal with many comprehensive topics from personal stories to Korean society and culture, and current events while using these exchanges

online. Philippine immigrant women who express themselves and make mutual exchange of opinions with others on these sites are judged to be people who have lots of human capital such as computer skills and an adequate level of English competency to write. They can do this kind of activity because they have husbands with specialized jobs and better living environments in a large city. Their activities are viewed to be those to introduce Korea, their destination country and share many different experiences and emotions in a foreign country rather than economic activities.

The transnationality of immigrant women through intermarriage influences even the families in Korea. The transnational behaviors through intermarriage migration are expanded to the family members in Korea in the following forms: a husband can immigrate to settle down in the Philippines, using the network of his wife's relatives; children are sent to the Philippines or abroad to study English; a retirement plan is made to enjoy an old age comfortably at lower expense (Yun, HS 2005; Kim, MJ et al 2006). Immigrants' transnational propensity produces the results of spreading transnational behaviors to not only themselves but also people around them. In other words, the transnationality of immigrant women through intermarriage provides them with an opportunity that their partners in the destination country overcome their economic limits instead of themselves. This phenomenon can be seen as a transnational behavior in an extended sense not covered in the existing transnationalism. It also shows many more dynamic aspects in terms of social change. In particular, the aspect which heavily influences changes in the destination society is magnified. It is necessary to examine the political, economic, and institutional causes inherent in this phenomenon.

Ⅳ. Institutional Background of Intermarriage Migration and Transnational Behaviors

4.1 The Roles of the Market

Many existing studies point out economic causes as the main reason of intermarriage. Kim, Min-jeong et al explain, "The reason that immigration becomes the main motive, excluding love, of marriage is because of the big difference in economic status between Korea and the originating country in the global economic order." This argument results from the application of the unilateral immigration pattern from underdeveloped to developed country without distinguishing between marriage and labor immigration. Even though a medium called marriage is involved in intermarriage migration, there is a tendency to understand its meaning as a subordinate element of immigration. It is necessary to examine the market activities in the interrelations between market, society, and state, which are contextual elements around intermarriage migration, in particular the roles of the market which influence the outflow and inflow factors to understand intermarriage migration in a comprehensive way. This study attempts to explain the reasons why intermarriage migration to a specific country among many countries with different economic statuses has increased significantly.

There is a high unemployment rate, high employment portions in agriculture and services, and relatively low employment rates in the manufacturing and mining industry in the market structure of the Philippines.[7] It can easily be assumed that the consumption industry

[7] The employment rate by industry in 2007 was 36.1% in the agriculture industry, 9.5% in the manufacturing and mining industry, and 48.8% in the service industry. GDP by sector was 14.1% in the agriculture sector, 23.6% in the manufacturing and mining industry, 3.5% in the electrical/gas/water sector, 4.6% in the construction sector, 14.8% in the trade sector, 7.2% in the transportation/ communication sector, 5.4% in the finance sector,, 7.1% in the administration sector, and 19.7% in the other sectors (Asian-Korean Centre 2009: 22, 28). As shown in the above statistics, there is significant labor in the agriculture field with low

has developed in the Philippines without the need to use statistical figures, considering the size of shopping malls and the number of customers in large cities. The Philippines depends on the remittance sent from overseas Filipinos for a significant portion of finance which supports the nation's consumption industry during a time when there are not many sources of income which can be earned through good-quality jobs inside the country.[8] In other words, a market environment characterized by high unemployment rates, low-income, and high-price provides people with a motivation to go to a foreign country where a higher income can be more certain than in the Philippines. According to a survey conducted by a civil organization, most Filipino women who immigrated to Japan, Taiwan, and Korea through marriage were unemployed before immigration. A large number of Philippine women who immigrated to Korea through marriage responded overwhelmingly about the motivation for intermarriage migration with the answer, 'to get out of poverty' (Malibiran 2007, 26-27). This becomes a basis of the existing arguments that many of intermarriage migration are decided by economic causes. Moreover, it is guessed that Philippine women, in significant numbers, choose an intermarriage as the main motivation of immigration as a route away from the market situation in the Philippines.

On the other hand, overseas expansion has expanded in the Korean market since globalization policies were initiated in 1995.[9] The inflow

productivity and a low employment rate in the industrial field in proportion to its production scale.

8) As of the end of 2007, about 8.27 million Filipinos are resident abroad. Overseas Filipinos are divided into three categories, 3.69 million people are permanent residents, 4.13 million are temporary residents, and 0.9 million are irregularly resident. According to the statistics released by the Central Bank of the Philippines, The remittance sent from overseas Filipinos increased from 6 billion in 2000 to 16.4 billion dollars (Songco, 2009). That figure amounts to about 10% of the total 167.5 billion dollar GDP in 2008.

9) The total direct investment amount of Korean companies into the Philippines increased from 19.2 billion USD in 2004 to 40.7 billion USD in 2005, 60.9 billion in 2006, 108.3 billion in 2007, and 182.1 billion USD. The number of Koreans who visited the Philippines had also increased from 63,000 in 1998 to 204,000 in 2001, 481,000 in 2006, and 612,000 in 2008 (Asian-Korean Centre 2009, 72-73, 94).

of Korean capital and people into the Philippines has rapidly expanded since the 2000s. Korean people have taken first place in the number of foreigners who visit to the Philippines every year since 2006. Korean dramas which started to attract popularity in earnest since 2003 contributed to the improvement of familiarity with Korea among Filipinos along with the rapid increase in Korean products and people visiting the Philippines. Korean people who had visited the Philippines for overseas expansion of companies with their products, and many purposes and the popularity of Korean dramas broadcasted in the Philippines seem to provide Filipinos with the background which enables them to recall Korea as one of their destination countries of immigration. The entry of marriage agencies directly related to intermarriage seemed to result from the consideration of the potential supply available in the Philippines. The push factors of the Philippine market and the pull factors caused by the entry of Korean market forces into the Philippines seem to be the root causes of Philippine women's marriage with Koreans.

The roles of the market on Philippine women's motivations for intermarriage migration are shown in many existing studies and can be identified in a field survey conducted in this study. This study on intermarriage consisted of interviews with Philippine women belonging to three groups with different educational and economic levels.[10] The first group was composed of students who were very interested in Korean popular music (K-Pop).[11] They can be considered to belong to

[10] Socio-economic class in the Philippines is divided into four categories, AB class (the upper class), C class (the middle class), D class (the poor class), and E class (destitute poor class) according to many different standards such as level of income, ownership of a house, level of education, and ownership of amenities. According to the results of a survey conducted by a survey agency (Social Weather Station) in 1998, the top 2% of the whole population made up the AB class, the next 9% accounted for the C class, the following 73% for D class, and the last 17 % of the population made up the E class (Social Weather Report Survey, September 11 to 29, 1998). Since then, there have been no big changes in the social hierarchy in the Philippines though there is a phenomenon that D class is moving downwards toward E class during an economic crisis.

[11] This interview was held with 9 members of a K-Pop fan club at the University

the middle and upper class according to social and economic classification in the Philippines. They were cautiously questioned about marriage with foreigners, Koreans in particular, during conversations. They mainly answered the reason for marrying a foreigner would be for, "economic reasons, namely desires to get out of poverty and to support their family." However, they had favorable impressions of Koreans and were interested in Korean language study and food to approach Korean culture actively. They also expressed their intentions to study in Korea when they got a chance. They answered "yes" to a question whether they had any intention to marry Korean men after they went to live in Korea and make dates with them. It is supposed that Korean culture that they encounter in dramas motivated them to want to immigrate to Korea. The ways to realize this aim vary according to each person's situation. For example, students may choose Korea as the place to continue their studies.

The second group was composed of women belonging to the poor class according to the social and economic classification in the Philippines. The two women interviewed in this study were those who worked in a field where they can easily meet foreigners.[12] They actively desired to marry foreigners. They answered "It is the most important thing to love each other" to the question, "What is the most important thing to consider in intermarriage?" However, they avoided a clear answer to a question about the detailed explanation of love needed for intermarriage. They also expressed an intimate connection with material benefits, saying that their partner "is generous to my family." When they responded to a question about nationality preferences

of the Philippines (Center for International Studies, UP, Diliman) on February 3, 2010. An interview with a student called A was held at a hotel coffee shop (Shangrila Hotel, Pasig City, MM) on February 6, 2010.

12) This interview was held with a 26 year old woman called Z and a 23 year old woman called F at a hotel (Seoul Condo, Makati City, MM) on February 13, 2010. Another interview was held with a 19 year old woman called A, who worked at a restaurant/bar Mindoro Island on February 14, 2010.

for intermarriage among the United States, Germany, Korea, and Japan, all of them preferred Americans to others. After the United States, Z answered in order: Germany, Korea, and Japan, while F answered in order: Japan, Korea, and Germany. They evaluated American men as people who loved and treated their partners very well and were generous with money. They answered to that they have heard that "Filipino women are treated as slaves if they marry Korean or Japanese men" to the question of whether or not they had ever heard of those who married Japanese or Korean men. They answered that they thought that they would not themselves get into such a situation when asked about the reason why they still wanted to marry Japanese or Korean men in spite of the horrible stories they had heard. They seemed to keep material compensation from intermarriages in mind. In this context, they seemed to think, "The reality that housework forced for nothing is no better than slavery." A who was interviewed in Mindoro Island honestly answered, "I want to marry a foreigner because I hope to change my life and expectations in order to support my family" to a question about the main reason for intermarriage.

The last group was composed of the poorest women who worked as maids at the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy in the Philippines.[13] They wanted to marry a foreigner if possible and preferentially preferred Westerners such as Americans and Germans to other nationalities.[14] They responded differently to Korea and Japan through other people's stories or their experiences. They tended to decide their preference between Koreans and Japanese based on their personal or indirect experiences. It is indirectly implied that the Korean Wave played a certain role in increasing their possibility of marrying Korean men. Even though they negatively responded to the impression

13) This interview was held with a 22 year old woman called C and a 21 year old woman called M at a hotel (Seoul Condo, Makati City, MM) on February 12, 2010.

14) Their racial preferences for white people seem to indirectly express their envy of mixed-race, especially white mixed race, people in the Philippines (Hall, 2000).

that ‘Women from the Philippines tended to marry foreigners because of money’, they partly admitted it, giving other people’s examples. Both of them answered they would choose Korean men to a question of who they might choose to marry between a 55 year old poor Korean man and a 25 year old middle-class Filipino man when they loved both equally. Their answer can be understood in view of their economic conditions. It can be interpreted that it is more realistic to meet old foreigners than to meet middle-class Filipino men in reality.

From all the interview content, the main reason for Filipino women’s intermarriage migration have been generally seen to result from ‘the economic motivations of the lower class’ as shown in the existing study cases.[15] However, it is difficult to simplify that the reason why Korean men are magnified as Philippine women’s partners, in contrast to previous preferences in the past for Western and Japanese men, is just economic difference. It needs to be considered that this phenomenon is supported by the complementary position of mutual markets and the increase in exchanges, which facilitate many types of contact. Immigration characterized by many types of complex activities such as love, marriage, and family formation cannot be simplified by economic reasons. In particular, it cannot be denied that the expansion of curiosity and interest, not simply economic reasons has brought about an increase in contacts and the opportunities of intermarriage has consequently expanded. It is viewed that the potential population for intermarriage exists in large numbers with a high preference for intermarriage in Philippine society where there is no aversion about intermarriage and the white skin color of children born through intermarriage becomes an object of envy.[16]

15) This perception appears more clearly in conversations with the family or surrounding people, not the potential person directly involved in an intermarriage. The author talked with many types of people about Filipino women’s intermarriage during the survey period and found out that an intermarriage was commonly recognized as ‘a choice made by economic necessity’ rather than ‘romantic aspect’.

4.2 The Choice of Society and the Roles of the State

There are some limitations in explaining intermarriage migration only with the roles of the market. Even though the expansion of mutual market exchanges between specific countries increases the possibility of marriage completion, intangible systems such as social customs and systems such as immigration law still play an important role in realizing this possibility. Therefore, it is necessary to closely examine how Korean and Philippine society recognize intermarriage and what type of policies they approach it with.

Low-income people tend to choose an intermarriage as a means for upward mobility in the Philippine social situation because a clear economic hierarchy exists within the Philippines that cannot be overcome within the existing environment. It is important how civil organizations that protect and represent neglected social groups approach the issue of intermarriage because they are the social spokesperson who can influence national policies on behalf of society. This study conducted a field survey for civil organizations that mainly dealt with the issues of foreign immigration in the Philippines to examine their perspectives on intermarriage. In general, they did not recommend intermarriage migration like labor immigration actively. On the other hand, they did not approach intermarriage migration from a negative perspective as in the case of human trafficking. J, executive director of the "Coalition Against Trafficking in Women", a female

16) The author had many opportunities to talk with Southeast Asians about their thoughts on intermarriage during a visit to Brunei via Malaysia (February 7 to 9, 2010). There was an opportunity to talk with a Chinese Malaysian mother accompanied by her 25 year old daughter who returned to her homeland after studying in England. She answered, "She will not oppose it" to a question about her intermarriage. The author felt that she kept an attitude to accept other cultures willingly during conversation. Moreover, he found out that many young college students who he met in Brunei did not have any aversion about an intermarriage. Even though more systematic studies would be needed in the future, he viewed that the Philippines was not a country that particularly preferred intermarriages to other countries and Southeast Asians had a considerably more liberal attitude to accept intermarriages willingly.

trafficking protection organization, said, “The issue of intermarriage migration to Asian countries like Japan, Taiwan, and Korea has not been dealt with in Philippine civil society. Some people are interested in conducting research into intermarriage migration.”[17] It was also identified that the issue of intermarriage migration was not dealt with in terms of human rights violations through an interview with a person who was involved in the Kanlungan Center Foundation Center for Migrant Workers, saying that he had never dealt with immigrant women through intermarriage. He said, “It is due to the fact there are not many cases reported.”[18] Skin color mixed through intermarriage has been recognized to represent higher social class in the Philippines which of course has a colonial history. Therefore, intermarriage seems to be connected to a kind of privilege and widely accepted in Philippine society. This social acceptability enables them to choose an intermarriage easily as a means to solve their economic problems.

It is understood that the Philippines carries out policies under the direct and indirect influences of the market controllers. It is one of the reasons that the Philippines is called ‘a weak state’ or ‘a state captured by capital’ (Hutchcroft 1998). An outflow of people is not a desirable phenomenon for the Philippine government. But, it is difficult to have a justification to control it because overseas expansion is one of the people’s survival strategies. In particular, it can easily be understood that the government has actively promoted people’s overseas expansion, considering the fact that the remittance sent from foreign countries has a profound effect on the Philippine market economy and connected to the interests of the Philippine market controllers. A dual citizenship law and ‘Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act’ were

17) This interview was held with Executive director Jean Enriquez in an office of a civil organization (Coalition Against Trafficking in Women-AP) located in Quezon City on February 5, 2010.

18) This interview was held with Aladin Daiega, a civic activist in an office of a civil organization (Kanlungan Center Foundation. Center for Migrant Workers) located in Quezon City on February 12, 2010.

passed in 2002 and 2003 respectively, to improve a sense of belonging to the Philippines for Filipinos who lived abroad. However, the policy to protect Filipinos who advance abroad still remains at the level of human rights protection. As there were many cases of intermarriage migration being connected to illegal acts such as human trafficking, the Philippine government planned the Anti-Mail-Order Bride Law, RA6955 in 1990 to stipulate that "an individual, corporation, alliance, or other different organizations which have or operate businesses for marriage arrangement are illegal". Filipinos perceive that an intermarriage broker business is not illegal in Korea because "Korean people are not the victims of intermarriage (Abante 2009)." Women who immigrate to foreign countries through intermarriage are supposed to have counseling for human rights protection at an institution designated by the state. Even though the counseling is conducted at a private organization, the counseling content is said to be provided by Commission on Filipinos Overseas (CFO), a governmental institution.[19)]

On the other hand, the negative perception about intermarriage is dominant in Korea because of a social custom that much importance is placed on blood (Jeon, KS et al 2008). Nevertheless, intermarriage is regarded as one of the choices in modern Korean society because of its relation to the intensifying process of the liberal market economy. The intensification of the liberal market economy drew in parts of society, which had previously existed outside of the market, into the market area. Even though marriage had already been included in the market area a long time ago, it was not very long until the intermarriage market hit its stride. The intermarriage market which started to expand in earnest in the late 1990s increased explosively in the mid-2000s.

19) There are two counseling institutions designated by the government, St. Mary Euphrasia Foundation-Center for Overseas Workers (SMEF-COW) and People's Reform Initiative for Social Mobilization, Inc. (PRISM). The author visited the SMEF-COW in Quezon City to have interviews with Cristi, an administrative staff member, about the purpose, methods, and response to counseling provision on February 4, 2010.

People neglected in the Korean marriage market entered the intermarriage market with a higher possibility of marriage, in spite of social prejudices and costs, and the market expanded to meet this demand. Public interest in foreign brides who appeared in Korea society has radidly increased since 2005.[20] This social interest appeared through many different activities of civil organizations.

Many civil organizations approach intermarriage to minimize side effects, protect marriage immigrants' human rights, and support their settlement instead of opposing the solution of people neglected from marriage. Many civil organizations related to immigrant women have done activities independently or through networks. They do activities to let the reality and the values of multiculturalism become widely known because from their point of view immigrant women are exposed to sexual and racial discrimination and the main causes are based on Korean people's narrow-minded perceptions about intermarriage. Moreover, they are also involved in activities to change the law in order to prevent the commercialization of women and the high-handedness of marriage brokers, frequently shown in the intermarriage broker business. Civil organizations have conducted many different approaches to present policy directions so that the issue of intermarriage can be approached much more in term of human rights, criticizing national policies for immigrant women through intermarriage by insisting they are too simply focused on adaptation and assimilation into Korean society (Han 2007, 41-2).

It is viewed that national policy related to intermarriage migration in Korea lacks consistency. The marriage issue of people neglected from the marriage market, in particular single farmers, low-income people in urban areas, disabled people, or divorced men who failed in marriage life due to many different reasons became a serious social

20) As a result of searching mass media articles related to intermarriage, the related cases had rapidly increased from a total of 1,067 up to 2000 to 1,546 in 2005 and 4,152 in 2006 (Lee, HY & Kim, WJ 2007: 19).

problem of Korean society beyond the individual level. The government tends to ignore this inflow of foreign spouses on the basis that this social problem cannot be solved internally.[21] It has made efforts to solve the problems related to the inflow of foreigners and social integration through institutional devices to give permanent resident status or citizenship. It took measures to prevent fraudulent marriages purely for the acquisition of citizenship. It amended the nationality act in 1997 so that immigrants can acquire citizenship when they have lived in Korea for more than two years after marriage or have lived more than one year in Korea since their marriage has been more than three years in foreign countries. The existing policies and programs are based on cultural integration and assimilation into Korean society. In particular, this prerequisite applies to foreign spouses from underdeveloped countries. They should acquire citizenship through naturalization in order not to have status-induced disadvantages and must give up their own citizenship within six months after they acquire Korean citizenship (Kim, DS 2006). As social interest in the discrimination of international spouses has recently been put under the spotlight due to the increasing number of foreign spouses, an act exceptionally allowing them to have dual citizenship was also passed.

4.3 Transnationalism as a Survival Strategy

Portes (1997, 814) maintains, "The formation of transnational

[21] According to "The Status of the Policy to Support Intermarriage Expenses For farmers and Fishermen" published by Choi, Sun-Yeong, a National Assembly member affiliated with the Democratic Labor Party, three provinces and about 60 cities and counties carried out marriage broker businesses which supported intermarriage expenses in 2007. 26 local governments enacted related ordinances. The support expense was between 2 and 8 million won per man. The budget appropriated amounted to a total of 2 billion 848 million won (Hankyoreh Daily, June 8, 2007; Kim, MJ 2007: 218 re-quoted). Choi pointed out that the activities of the local government, under the overall umbrella of the state, were done with the cooperation of the central government.

communities is induced by the power which intends to improve economic globalization. People who are locked into globalization and market strategies learn the ways of using new skills to form transnational communities." He mentions that the development of traffic and communication technologies, which facilitates remote network access, enables immigrants to do transnational activities. Marriage immigrants face a variety of problems in the adaptation process in the destination country after their bold decision to immigrate and the realization of immigration.

Even though they legally settle down, Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage become the targets of social prejudice for the reason that they come from a relatively undeveloped country in the hierarchical order of the globalized market economy. Most of them immigrated with insufficient initial human and physical capital, and networks, which are useful in integrating into mainstream Korean society. They generally expect to share their partners' economic capital to realize their intentions when they choose their intermarriage because of economic reasons. As seen in various cases, most Filipino women who immigrated to Korea with financial intentions tend to meet people neglected in Korean society. This fact is clearly revealed in a survey conducted by the Ministry of Health and Welfare in 2005. It showed that 52.9% of the international families in Korea live in absolute poverty. The economic resources and background which can be provided by their partners who live together in Korea are very limited. In particular, an impersonal and unequal relationship may be established within the family when a husband pays fees to an intermarriage broker for an arranged marriage. The linguistic, cultural, and living-environment barriers which they face in Korea, serve to marginalize them even more (Dureobang 2005).

The economic situation of Korea, the destination country, does not provide them with an environment conducive to the upward economic

mobility of the intermarriage family. Considering the occupational clusters that most Korean husbands who married Philippine women work in are farming or simple labor, the prospect for upward mobility is not bright. The reality of Korean society, with the intensification of social polarization and the intergenerational transmission of poverty have gradually been structured in the liberal market economy, casts a bleak outlook on the future of the intermarriage family. These familial and social conditions seem to force Philippine immigrant women to seek to realize their initial goals of intermarriage migration, in their own ways.

Portes states that transnational behaviors are not the exclusive property of poor and neglected classes and appear among people who have high human resources such as a high level of education, a long experience in the destination society, and a high job position (Portes, 2003). Their transnational behaviors usually appear in a public area. They display active political activities in both their origin and destination country. In particular, they actively participate in political, economic, and environmental improvement activities in their originating country. However, in most cases, Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage face the reality of a marginal and isolated life for them in Korea as they have tended to marry Koreans and immigrate to Korea on the basis of their own decisions or other people's advice. Most of them experience conflicts due to the reality that their hopes they wished to be fulfilled through their difficult decision called intermarriage fade away because of unexpected circumstances in Korea. As marriage means the start of a new life through family formation and the birth of children, they engage in economic activities as a survival strategy. In this situation, it is viewed that the structural limits in Korea and transnational identity lead them to find their activity areas in transnational connections.

In the case of intermarriage migration, as opposed to family

immigration through labor immigration, the destination country and society tend to force immigrants' social assimilation. Faist maintains that it is necessary to give constant attention to attract immigrants to adapt to the culture of the destination country themselves, considering the continuance of transnational cohesion over time (Kivisto 2001, 569, re-quoted). This is the aspect which should be considered in the application of assimilation and multi-cultural policies for marriage immigrants. It must be considered that the multi-cultural policy for second and third generation immigrants can trigger artificial otherness and lead to downward assimilation that can further hinder social integration much more, when we consider the reality of the Korean situation which doesn't have obvious racial or skin differences, compared to European countries or the United States that have a historical context of immigration. Therefore, the proper support policy based on assimilation policies can be seen to be more desirable. In other words, it is desirable to develop and present models to give prominence to the advantages of transnationality and strengthen and apply the potentials implicit in their transnational identity without emphasizing the differences.

It is considered that the transnational behaviors of Philippine immigrant women through intermarriage appear in the process that they overcome contradictions and barriers inherent in the life after immigration. This phenomenon can be seen as a transnational behavior in an extended sense not covered in the existing transnationalism. It also shows another dynamic in terms of social change, particularly in the destination country. While the existing discussion on transnationalism focused on immigrants' personal lives and changes in the originating country, this study focused on transnational behaviors related to intermarriage migration in view of the choices made as survival strategies and changes in the destination country. As the 'Southeast Asian Phenomenon' that appears in the form of intermarriage

migration in Korea has a strong tendency of downward assimilation in discriminative circumstances, 'transnationalism' has an important meaning as one of immigrants' survival strategies and national policies.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

This study contemplated the causes of the transnational behaviors shown in the process of Philippine women had adapted to Korean society. Their transnational behaviors were in sharp contrast to the behavior of so-called 'world citizens' who crossed national boundaries to have dignified jobs with multi-language skills and a deep understanding of different cultures in the era of globalization. On the contrary, their behaviors were regarded as one of survival strategies of people isolated from the liberal market economy. They overcame the fear of uncertainty to choose marriage immigration to Korea more developed than the Philippines with the expectation that they could enjoy material riches not available in the Philippines or have the opportunities for employment that could bring them wealth. On the other hand, Korean husbands usually chose intermarriage, enduring cultural differences, social prejudices, and costs in consideration of the situation that they had difficulties in finding suitable spouses in Korea. In general, an individual tends to marry a foreigner for many different reasons and purposes. The intermarriage between Philippine women and Korean men seems to be inherent in much more fundamental backgrounds such as social necessities that came out of the Philippine and Korean market structure and the institutional supports or cooperation of the government to realize intermarriage.

Theoretical discussions about immigration all the while had largely been developed based on labor immigration into Western society. Many theories such as assimilation, multiculturalism, and transnationalism

had been discussed in the context of an immigration country. The issue of intermarriage migration as a type of immigration can have a meaning of broadening the prospects in the theoretical discussion of immigration. Furthermore, it can give systematic understanding and policy implications regarding the problems of intermarriage families which appear as a new phenomenon in their destination countries.

This study has certain limitations from many different aspects. In particular, it can be pointed out that the study on immigrants' transnational behavior in Korea depends on some existing research and there were neither deeper investigations nor an in-house analysis in this study. More research on the cases of other countries as well as the Philippines is needed from a comparative perspective to understand transnational behaviors of immigrant women through intermarriage who settle down in Korea, more systematically and comprehensively.

According to Portes (2003), there are several reasons to pay attention to transnational behaviors even though they are a phenomenon caused by a minority. First, it can be an alternative for social, economic, and political adaptation of the immigrants who cannot be accounted for under the traditional assimilation model. Second, activities transcending borders are very important to the development of the origin country even though they are sporadic. Third, the results of this phenomenon and the types of behaviors shown in many different countries are not fully understood. In other words, he stated that continuous study was needed to decide whether immigrants' transnational behaviors might just be limited to first generation immigrants or passed down to their children and could be used a tool that enables second generation immigrants to integrate into the main society successfully.

Immigration issues tend to be basically identified as an economic decision caused by the law of supply and demand. However, Portes and Borocz (1989) paid attention to social characters of immigration.

The network established through the movement and contact of population is a structure which makes immigration last for a long time. They saw that the contact transcending space, family ties, and accumulated new information and benefits were as important as economic calculations in maintaining circular movement between nations. In this sense, it remains an important topic for future research, that is, the issue about what kinds of effects the continuance and maintenance of intermarriage migration currently happening in East Asia will have on the birth of a new regional identity, namely the birth of a new East Asian Community.

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<국문초록>

필리핀 국제결혼 이주여성의 초국가적 행태에 관한 연구

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본 연구는 필리핀 국제결혼 이주여성들이 한국사회에 적응하는 과정에서 나타나는 초국가적 행태의 원인을 국가, 시장, 사회의 상호작용을 중심으로 고찰하였다. 자본주의적 시장경제체제 하에서 시장의 역할은 확대되고, 국가의 시장통제와 사회보호는 약화되며, 사회는 이러한 환경에 적응하기 위한 선택을 하게 된다. 지구화의 영향으로 교류와 접촉의 기회가 증가함에 따라 국제결혼의 가능성이 다양한 수준으로 확대된 것은 사실이다. 그러나 국제결혼이주를 선택하는 많은 수의 필리핀 여성들은 시장경제체제의 소외계층에 속하며, 이들을 맞이하는 한국 남성들도 많은 경우 국내 결혼시장에서 소외된 계층에 속한다. 이들의 초국가적 행태는 지구화 시대에 국경을 넘나들며 다양한 외국어 능력을 갖추고, 타국 문화에 익숙하며, 품위 있는 직장을 가진 '세계시민'의 그것과는 대조적이다. 오히려 시장경제체제 하에서 소외된 사람들의 생존전략의 하나로 볼 수 있다. 기존의 초국가주의 논의가 이주자 개인의 삶과 출신지의 변화에 초점을 두었다면, 본 연구의 국제결혼이주와 연관된 초국가적 행태는 생존전략으로서의 선택이라는 측면과 정착지 사회의 변화에 초점을 두었다.

주제어 : 동남아현상, 국제결혼이주, 필리핀신부, 한국, 초국가주의, 하층동화

동남아지역원 연구윤리규정
The Research Ethics of ISEAS/BUFS

제정 2009년 02월 27일
개정 2010년 06월 07일

제1장 총 칙

제 1 조 (목적) 본 연구윤리규정(이하 윤리규정이라 칭함)은 동남아지역원(이하 지역원이라 칭함) 관련자가 연구 활동과 교육 활동을 통해서 이러한 역할을 수행하는 과정에서 지켜야 할 연구윤리의 원칙과 기준을 규정함을 목적으로 한다.

제 2 조 (적용대상) 이 규정은 지역원이 발행하는 학술지를 포함한 모든 출판물에 기고하거나 지역원 주최의 학술대회에서 발표하는 연구자에게 적용한다.

제 3 조 (윤리규정 서약)

① 지역원과 관련된 연구자는 본 윤리규정을 준수하기로 서약해야한다.

② 지역원의 제반 출판물의 원고모집 또는 학술발표대회 기획안을 공고할 때 윤리규정을 함께 공시하여야 하며, 이와 관련된 연구자는 원고를 투고한 시점에 이 규정을 준수하기로 서약한 것으로 본다.

제2장 연구관련 윤리규정

제1절 저자가 지켜야할 윤리규정

제 4 조(표절) 저자는 자신이 행하지 않은 연구나 주장의 일부분을 자신의 연구결과이거나 주장인 것처럼 논문이나 저술에 제시하지 않는다. 타인의 연구결과를 출처를 명시함과 더불어 여러 차례 참조할 수는 있을지라도, 그 일부분을 자신의 연구결과이거나 주장인 것처럼 제시하는 것은 표절이 된다.

제 5 조(출판업적)

① 저자는 자신이 실제로 행하거나 공헌한 연구에 대해서만 저자로서의 책임을 지며, 또한 업적으로 인정받는다.

② 논문이나 기타 출판업적의 저자(역자)나 저자의 순서는 상대적 지위에 관계없이 연구에 기여한 정도에 따라 정확하게 반영하여야 한다. 단순히 어떤 직책에 있다고 해서 저자가 되거나 제1저자로서의 업적을 인정받는 것은 정당화될 수 없다. 반면, 연구나 저술(번역)에 기여했음에도 공동저자(역자)나 공동연구자로 기록되지 않는 것 또한 정당화될 수 없다.

제 6 조(연구물의 중복 게재 혹은 이중출판) 저자는 국내외를 막론하고 이전에 출판된 자신의 연구물(게재 예정이거나 심사 중인 연구물 포함)을 새로운 연구물인 것처럼 출판(투고)하거나 출판을 시도하지 않는다.

제 7 조(인용 및 참고표시)

① 공개된 학술자료를 인용할 경우에는 정확하게 기술하도록 노력해야 하고, 상식에 속하는 자료가 아닌 한 반드시 그 출처를 명확히 밝혀야한다.

② 다른 사람의 글을 인용하거나 아이디어 또는 사진 자료를 차용(참고)할 경우에는 반드시 각주(후주)를 통해 인용 여부 및 참고여부를 밝혀야하며, 이러한 표기를 통해 어떤 부분이 선행연구의 결과이고 어떤 부분이 본인의 독창적인 생각・주장・해석인지를 독자가 알 수 있도록 해야 한다.

제 8 조(논문의 수정) 저자는 논문의 평가과정에서 제시된 편집위원과 심사위원의 의견을 가능한 한 수용하여 논문에 반영되도록 노력하여야 한다.

제2절 편집위원이 지켜야할 윤리규정

제 9 조(책임) 편집위원은 투고된 논문의 게재 여부를 결정하는 모든 책임을 지며, 저자의 인격과 학자로서의 독립성을 존중해야한다.

제10조(공평한 취급) 편집위원은 학술지 게재를 위해 투고된 논문을 저자의 성별, 나이, 소속기관은 물론이고 어떤 선입견이나 사적인 친분과도 무관하게 오로지 논문의 질적 수준과 투고 규정에 근거하여 공평하게 취급하여야한다.

제11조(공정한 심사의뢰) 편집위원은 투고된 논문의 평가를 해당분야의 전문적 지식과 공정한 판단능력을 지닌 심사위원에게 의뢰해야한다. 심사의뢰 시에는 저자와 지나치게 친분이 있거나 지나치게 적대적인 심사위원을 피함으로써 가능한 한 객관적인 평가가 이루어질 수 있도록 노력한다.

제12조(비밀유지) 편집위원은 투고된 논문의 게재가 결정될 때까지는 심사자 이외의 사람에게 저자에 대한 사항이나 논문의 내용을 공개하면 안 된다.

제3절 심사위원이 지켜야할 윤리규정

제13조(성실한 심사) 심사위원은 학술지의 편집위원(회)이 의뢰하는 논문을 심사규정이 정한 기간 내에 성실하게 평가하고 평가결과를 편집위원(회)에게 통보해주어야 한다. 만약 자신이 논문의 내용을 평가하기에 적임자가 아니라고 판단될 경우에는 편집위원(회)에게 지체 없이 그 사실을 통보한다.

제14조(공정한 심사) 심사위원은 논문을 개인적인 학술적 신념이나 저자와의 사적인 친분관계를 떠나 객관적 기준에 의해 공정하게 평가하여야한다. 충분한 근거를 명시하지 않은 채 논문을 탈락시키거나, 심사자 본인의 관점이나 해석과 상충된다는 이유로 논문을 탈락시켜서는 안 되며, 심사대상 논문을 제대로 읽지 않은 채 평가해서도 안 된다.

제15조(저자에 대한 존중) 심사위원은 전문지식인으로서의 저자의 인격과 독립성을 존중하여야한다. 평가의견서에는 논문에 대한 자신의 판단을 밝히되, 보완이 필요하다고 생각되는 부분에 대해서는 그 이유도 함께 상세하게 설명해야한다.

제16조(비밀유지) 심사위원은 심사대상 논문에 대한 비밀을 지켜야한다.

제3장 연구윤리위원회

제17조(연구윤리위원회의 구성과 의결)

① 연구윤리에 관한 사항을 심의하기 위하여 연구윤리위원회(이하 윤리위원회라 칭함)를 둔다.

② 윤리위원회는 지역원장, 편집위원장, 편집위원을 포함하여 5인 이내의 위원으로 구성한다.

③ 윤리위원회의 위원장은 편집위원장이 겸임하거나 윤리위원회에서 호선한다.

④ 윤리위원회는 재적위원 2/3의 찬성으로 의결한다.

제18조(윤리위원회의 권한)

① 윤리위원회는 윤리규정 위반으로 보고된 사안에 대하여 제보자, 피조사자, 증인, 참고인 및 증거자료 등을 통하여 조사를 실시하고, 그 결과를 지역원 운영위원회에 보고한다.

② 제14조 내지 제17조 위반이 사실로 판정된 경우에는 윤리위원장은 운영위원회에 적절한 제재조치를 건의할 수 있다.

제19조(윤리위원회의 조사 및 심의) 윤리규정 위반으로 보고된 관련자 또는 비관련자는 윤리위원회에서 행하는 조사에 협조해야한다. 이 조사에 협조하지 않는 것은 그 자체로 윤리규정 위반이 된다.

제20조(소명기회의 보장) 윤리위원회는 윤리규정 위반으로 보고된 해당 연구자에게 충분한 소명기회를 주어야한다.

제21조(조사 대상자에 대한 비밀보호) 윤리규정 위반에 대해 윤리위원회의 최종적인 결정이 내려질 때까지 윤리위원은 해당 연구자의 신원을 외부에 공개해서는 안 된다.

제22조(윤리규정 위반에 대한 제재의 절차 및 내용)

① 제18조의 규정에 따라 해당 연구자에 대한 윤리위원회의 보고나 제재 건의가 있을 경우, 지역원장은 운영위원회를 소집하여야 하고, 운영위원회는

제재 여부 및 제재의 내용 등 사후조치를 결정한다.

② 운영위원회가 제14조 내지 제17조를 위반한 해당 연구자를 제재하기로 결정한 경우에는 위반행위의 경중에 따라서 다음 각 호의 1에 해당하는 제재를 할 수 있다. 단, 이들 각 호의 제재는 병과할 수 있다.

1. 논문이 학술지에 게재되기 이전인 경우 또는 학술대회 발표 이전인 경우에는 당해 논문의 게재 또는 발표의 불허.
2. 논문이 학술지에 게재되었거나 학술대회에서 발표된 경우에는 당해 논문의 학술지 게재 또는 학술대회 발표의 소급적 무효화.
3. 향후 일정기간 지역원에서 발간하는 학술지 논문게재 또는 학술대회 논문발표 및 토론금지.
4. 기타의 제재.

③ 운영위원회가 제2항 제2호의 제재를 결정한 경우에는 그 사실을 공식적 연구업적 관리기관에 통보하며, 기타 적절한 방법을 통하여 대외적으로 공표한다.

④ 운영위원회가 제재를 하지 않기로 결정한 경우에는 그 사실을 지체 없이 윤리위원회와 보고자 및 피보고자에게 통지하여야한다.

제4장 보 칙

제23조(윤리규정의 개정)

① 윤리규정은 운영위원회의 의결로 개정한다.

② 윤리규정이 개정될 경우, 기존의 규정을 준수하기로 서약한 관련자는 추가적인 서약 없이 새로운 규정을 준수하기로 서약한 것으로 본다.

부 칙

이 규정은 2009년 2월 27일부터 시행한다.

부 칙

이 개정규정은 2010년 6월 7일부터 시행한다.

『수완나부미』 원고집필 원칙
The Suvannabhumi Manual of Style

Ⅰ. 원고 제출 및 게재

1.1. 제출 원고의 내용 및 성격

『수완나부미』에 제출하는 원고는 동남아시아 지역의 문화와 예술과 관련된 연구로 국한하며, 연구논문, 문화와 예술에 관한 에세이, 서평, 번역 등이어야 한다. 타 지역과 동남아시아 지역 간의 비교연구도 게재 가능하다.

본 학술지의 성격상 사진 자료를 포함하는 것을 권장하나, 사진은 저작권의 저촉을 받지 않는 것이어야 하며, 타인의 소유인 사진은 원고 제출자가 사전 사용허가를 득해야 한다. 사진을 제출할 경우에는 해상도는 반드시 300dpi 이상의 것이어야 한다.

제출 원고는 제출 시점에서 타 학술기관에 제출되거나 출판되지 않아야 하며, 제출 연구자는 본 연구소의 연구윤리규정을 준수해야 한다.

1.2. 학술지의 발간 시기

『수완나부미』는 매년 6월 30일과 12월 30일에 두 차례 발간한다. 원고는 연중 수시로 편집위원회에 제출될 수 있다. 매호의 원고는 출판일로부터 2개월 전에 접수된 것에 한한다. 원고 제출자는 논문게재신청서를 반드시 제출하여야 한다.

1.3. 제출 원고의 언어

『수완나부미』에 게재되는 원고는 원칙적으로 한국어 또는 영어로 작성되어야 하며, 한국어의 경우 영문초록, 영어 논문의 경우 한국어 초록을 첨부한다. 경우에 따라 동남아국가의 언어를 채택할 수 있으나 이 경우 영문초록을 첨부해야 한다.

1.4. 원고의 심사

제출된 원고는 소정의 비공개 심사를 거치며, 심사결과에 따라 게재 가, 수정 후 게재, 수정 후 재심사, 게재 불가로 판정된다.

1.5. 게재 판정의 연구자의 추가 제출사항

- 논문의 한글 및 영문 제목
- 저자의 한글 및 영문 이름
- 3~5 개의 한글 및 영문 주제어(key words)
- 한글 및 영문 저자소개문(소속, 직위, 연구경력, 이메일 주소 포함)

1.6. 원고 작성 원칙

원고는 이하의 원고작성 원칙에 따라 작성하여야 하고, 이 원칙에 따르지 않는 원고는 수정을 위해 저자에게 반환된다.

Ⅱ. 원고작성의 일반적인 원칙

2.1. 원고 분량

기본적으로 본문, 각주, 참고문헌을 포함하여 200자 원고지 180매 이내로 한다.

2.2. 원고 제출시 준수 사항

심사시 필자의 익명성을 유지하기 위하여 본문과 주석에 필자의 신원을 짐작할 수 있는 여하한 언급도 피한다.

2.3. 원고의 본문 번호

장, 절, 항의 번호는 “I, 1.1., 1.1.1.”의 예에 따라 순차적으로 매긴다. 표와 그림의 번호는 “<표 1>”과 “<그림 1>”과 같은 형식으로 순서를 매겨 삽입한다.

2.4. 각주의 원칙

각주는 부차적인 설명이 꼭 필요한 경우에 한하여 사용하며, 가급적 짧게 한다.

2.5. 본문과 각주의 출전 표시

본문과 각주에서 출전을 표시할 때는 괄호를 이용해 약식으로 언급하고, 완전한 문헌정보는 논문 말미의 <참고문헌>에 포함시킨다. 출전표시와 참고문헌에 대한 상세한 사항은 다음 III, IV를 보라.

2.6. 감사 및 기타 표시 사항

감사의 말이나 연구비의 출처를 밝힐 필요가 있을 경우에는 출판확정 논문에 한하여 제목 우측 상단에 별도의 각주 표시로 기재할 수 있다.

2.7. 저자의 소속 표시

저자의 소속 및 직위는 저자명 우측 상단에 별표(*) 각주로 기재하되, 공저인 경우에는 대표저자를*, 제2공저자를 ** 순으로 표기한다. 필요한 경우, 대표저자의 이름을 별표 각주에 다시 명기할 수 있다.

Ⅲ. 본문 속의 출전표시

3.1. 본문 속의 출전표시의 기본

본문 및 각주의 해당 위치에 괄호를 사용하여 그 속에 저자의 성(한글로 표기된 한국인명과 중국인명은 성명), 출판년도, 필요한 경우 면수를 적어서 표시한다. 또한, 본문 속에 출전표시를 한 문헌은 반드시 본문 뒤의 <참고문헌>란에 기재해야 한다.

3.2. 구체적인 예

- 저자명이 글(본문과 각주)에 나와 있는 경우는 괄호하고 그 속에 출판년도를 표시한다. 외국어 문헌의 경우는 괄호 속에 외국어로 표기된 성과 출판년도를 함께 표기한다.

  홍길동(2008)은..., 테일러(Taylor 2009)에 따르면

- 저자명이 본문의 글에 나와 있지 않은 경우는 성(한국어로 표기된 한국인명과 한자로 표기된 중국인과 일본인 등의 인명은 성명)과 출판년도를 괄호 속에 표기하여, 이것을 구두점 앞에 둔다.

  (홍길동 2008), (Moore 2008), (洪吉童 1962)

- 면수는 출판년도 다음에 콜론을 하고 한 칸을 띄고 숫자만 표기한다.

  (홍길동 2008: 12–14), (Evans 1997: 56)

- 저자가 2명 이상인 경우는 한 저자의 이름만 표기하고 한 칸을 띄운 다음 “외” (영문인 경우 “et al”)라는 말을 붙여 저자가 두 사람 이상임을 나타낸다.

  (홍길동 외 1991: 35–38), (홍길동 · 김기동 1991), (Evans et al 2003)

- 한 번에 여러 문헌을 언급해야 하는 경우에는 한 괄호 안에서 세미콜론으로 나누어 언급한다.

  (홍길동 1990: 18; Cuings 1981: 72; Weiner 1967: 99)

- 신문, 주간지, 월간지 등의 무기명 기사를 언급해야 하는 경우에는 지명, 발행 연연/월월/일일(월간지의 경우 발행 연연/월월), 면수를 괄호 안에 표기한다.

  (중앙일보 08/04/09, 6), 혹은 (신동아 09/05, 297)

- 간행 예정인 원고는 ‘미간’이나 ‘forthcoming’을 사용한다. 미간행 원고는 집필 년도를 표시한다. 연도가 나타나 있지 않을 경우 그 자리에 ‘n.d.’를 쓴다.

  Parker(forthcoming), 홍길동(미간), Taylor(n.d.)

- 기관 저자일 경우 식별이 가능한 정보를 제공한다.

  (동남아시아연구소 2008)

Ⅳ. 참고문헌 작성

4.1. 작성 기본원칙

참고문헌은 본문과 각주에서 언급된 모든 문헌의 자세한 문헌정보를 논문 말미의 <참고문헌>에서 밝힌다. 본문과 각주에서 언급되지 않은 문헌은 포함시키지 않는다.

4.2. 언어별 배치 순서

각 문헌은 한글, 일본어, 중국어, 로마자로 표기되는 구미어 문헌 순으로 배치한다.

4.3. 저자명의 배열 순서

저자명은 한글, 일본어, 중국어는 성을 기준으로 하여 가나다순으로, 로마자 저자명은 성, 이름의 형식으로 적고 성은 알파벳순으로 배열한다.

4.4. 항목의 기본적 배치순서

저자명, 출판년도, 논문제목 또는 저서명, 출판지와 출판사의 순서로 기재하며, 각 항목 사이는 마침표로 구분하되, 출판지와 출판사 사이에는 콜론(:)을 사용한다. 단, 한글, 일본어, 중국어에 있어서 저서명에 사용하는 이중꺽쇠(『 』) 뒤에는 마침표를 생략한다.

4.5. 동일 저자의 문헌

동일 저자의 여러 문헌은 출판년도순으로 배치하며 같은 해에 발행된 문헌이 둘 이상일 경우에는 글에서 언급된 순서에 따라 발행 연도 뒤에 a, b, c를 첨가하여 구분한다.

홍길동. 1999.『동남아시아의 소설』부산: 동남아지역원.
_____. 2001a.『동남아시아의 예술』부산: 동남아지역원.
_____. 2001b.『동남아시아의 문화』부산: 동남아지역원.

4.6. 구체적인 실례

4.6.1. 공통 원칙

○저서는 한글, 일본어, 중국어, 한문인 경우는 이중꺽쇠(『 』)로, 구미어인 경우는 이탤릭체로 표시한다.

○기타 언어인 경우 반드시 영문자로 표기하고 제목은 중괄호([ ])를 사용하여 [사용언어, 해석]으로 기재해야 한다.

Kala, U. 1977. *Mahayazawingyi* [미얀마어, 대왕통사]. Yangon: Sarpay Beikman.

○각 문헌의 나머지 줄은 다섯 칸 들여 쓰며, 같은 저자가 두 번 이상 나올 경우 역시 다섯 칸의 밑줄을 사용한다. (4.5.를 참조)

4.6.2. 저서

○저자 1인의 경우

최병욱. 2008.『동남아시아사: 전통시대』서울: 대한교과서주식회사.
Jessup, Helen I. 2004. *Art & Architecture of Cambodia*. London: Thames & Hudson.

○저자 2인 이상인 경우: 본문과 각주에서는 "저자 외"로 표시하지만 참고문헌에서는 공동저자 모두의 이름을 적어 준다. 단, 처음부터 책 표지나 안장에 "저자 외"라고 되어 있는 경우에는 그대로 표기한다. 영문에서는 "저자명 et al"로 표기한다.

소병국 · 조흥국. 2004.『불교 군주와 술탄』서울: 전통과현대.
박사명 외. 2000.『동남아의 화인사회: 형성과 변화』서울: 전통과현대.
Freeman, Michael and Claude Jacques. 1999. *Ancient Angkor*. Bangkok: Asia Books.

4.6.3. 편저인 경우

한글은 "편자명 편" 영문은 "편자명, ed(또는 편자가 2인 이상인 경우 eds)"로 표기한다.

오명석 편. 2004.『동남아의 지역주의와 종족갈등』서울: 오름.
Steinberg, David Joel, ed. 1987. *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

4.6.4. 편저 속의 글

○저자, 출판연도, 편저명, (편저자), 해당하는 페이지, 출판지, 출판사의 순서로 표시한다. 편저자가 없는 경우 생략할 수 있다.

김경학. 1977. 인도 농촌지역 연구의 실제.『인류학과 지역연구』최협 편. 161–182. 서울: 나남출판.
King, Victor T. 2006. Southeast Asia: Personal Reflections on a Region. *Southeast Asian Studies: Debates and New Directions*. Cynthia Chou and Vincent Houben, eds. 23–44. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

○같은 편저 내의 많은 글이 언급될 경우: 해당 편저의 완전한 문헌 정보를 제공한 후 저자의 글을 이에 관련지어 간략히 표시할 수 있다.

Chou, Cynthia and Vincent Houben, eds. 2006. *Southeast Asian Studies*: Debates and New Directions. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.

Hayami, Yoko. 2006. Towards Multi-Laterality in Southeast Asian Studies. Chou and Houben, eds. 65-85.

King, Victor T. 2006. Southeast Asia: Personal Reflections on a Region. Chou and Houben, eds. 23-44.

4.6.5. 역서의 경우

원저자, 번역본 출판연도, 번역서명, 역자, 출판지, 출판사의 순으로 표시한다. 한글이 경우 역자명 역, 영문인 경우 역자명, trans로 표기한다.

크리스티, 클라이브. 2004.『20세기 동남아시아의 역사』노영순 역. 서울: 심산.

Coed s, G. 1968. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*. Susan B. Cowing, trans. Honolulu: An East-West Center Book, The University Press of Hawaii.

4.6.6. 학위 논문

홍길동. 1992.『동남아시아 문화의 구조적 분석』부산외국어대학교 박사학위 청구논문.

Parker, John. 1988. *The Representation of Southeast Asian Art*. PhD Dissertation. Harvard University.

4.6.7. 학술지, 월간지, 계간지 등의 논문

저널의 권, 호는 각각 권(호)의 방식으로 처리하고, 논문이 해당되는 페이지를 반드시 표시해야 한다.

홍석준. 2002. 말레이 민족주의의 형성과 전개과정(1896-1941).『동남아시아연구』12(1): 81-108.

Egreteau, Renaud. 2008. India's Ambitions in Burma. *Asian Survey*. 48(6): 936-957.

4.6.8. 일간지, 주간지의 기명 기사와 칼럼

박장식. 2009. 부산의 미래 비전과 해외지역 연구.『부산일보』12월 4일.

Peterson, Thomas. 1993. The Economic Development of ASEAN. *Far Eastern Economic Review*. April 22: 23.

4.6.8. 인터넷 검색의 경우

○제작자, 제작연도, 주제명, 웹주소 (검색일: 연연연연.월월.일일, Accessed Month DD, YYYY)의 순으로 한다.

홍길동. 1996. 동남아시아의 현대 예술. http://taejon.ac.kr/kidong/kk0101.html. (검색일: 1998.11.20).

○인터넷에서 PDF파일과 같이 원문 그대로 수록된 논문이나 글이 아닌 html의 형식으로 다운로드한 경우에는 해당 페이지를 기재하지 않아도 된다. 다만, 인터넷 검색일은 반드시 표시해야 한다.

Hadar, Leon. 1998. U.S. Sanctions against Burma. *Trade Policy Analysis*. 1. http://www.cato.org/pubs/trade/tpa-001.html. (Accessed May 07, 2008).

<별표 1>『수완나부미』 발간 일정

	게재신청마감	원고제출마감	학술지발간
각권 제1호	3월 20일	4월 20일	6월 30일
각권 제2호	9월 20일	10월 20일	12월 30일

<Table 1> Deadlines of the Journal, Suvannabhumi

	Application	Submission	Publication
Number 1	March 20	April 20	June 30
Number 2	September 20	October 20	December 30

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