TRENDING NOW:
EMERGING ISSUES IN KOREAN STUDIES

2013 PHILIPPINE KOREAN STUDIES SYMPOSIUM
PROCEEDINGS
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*Director, Center for International Studies, University of the Philippines*  

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Appendices
Greetings from the Korea Foundation

On behalf of the Korea Foundation, it is my great honor and pleasure to extend our heartiest welcome to the participants of the 2013 Philippine Korean Studies Symposium.

I would like to express my special appreciation to the University of the Philippines-Diliman in that this symposium, which was also launched last year, holds its second year event to the display of increased interest by Korea-related research specialists in the Philippines.

Above all, the Korea Foundation strives to enhance awareness and understanding of Korea throughout the world and to foster cooperative relations in the international community. Since our establishment, the promotion of Korean Studies has been at the core of the Foundation’s efforts to implement a broad spectrum of programs and activities in order to build an infrastructure upon which we could realize collaborative relations with prominent academic institutions, such as the University of the Philippines-Diliman.

Of note, the Korea Foundation has been greatly encouraged by the Philippine’s fast-growing interest in Korea and the robust demand for Korean language education here. It was readily evident when hundreds of students and scholars attended and showed the great interests in Korea at the special lecture series of the Korea Foundation at the University of the Philippines and Ateneo de Manila University in August 2013.

In this context, the 2013 Philippine Korean Studies Symposium, which is entitled “Trending Now: Emerging Issues in Korean Studies,” is undoubtedly a most timely and significant gathering to promote the bilateral exchange of ideas and recent developments among the participants, which will lead to broadening the scope of Korean Studies scholarship in the Philippines and thus to further upgrading the standing of Korean Studies in the Philippines.

Finally, I would like to express my personal appreciation to Prof. Cynthia Neri Zayas, Director of Center for International Studies at the University of the Philippines-Diliman, and relevant staff members whose earnest efforts and thoughtful preparations have made possible this meaningful occasion.

Hyun-seok Yu
President
The Korea Foundation
MESSAGE

I am delighted to be here today, and honored to be in the company of great minds with laudable intentions. The venue could not have been more appropriate. Since its establishment over a century ago, the University of the Philippines has been the bastion of learning, the foundry of leaders.

Since this is a day where many personalities will be speaking, I will keep this short.

First, I would like to congratulate the institutions involved for making this symposium possible, namely, the UP Center for International Studies, The UP Asian Center, the Korea Foundation, and the Korean Cultural Center. I am proud to represent our government and its embassy here as we take part in this notable endeavor.

Secondly, I believe that much can be achieved when people with unity of purpose act as one. This is one such moment. Without doubt, the objectives of this affair will bring Korean studies to the fore, with the University of the Philippines taking the lead, as it should.

Finally, needless to say considering the fine lineup of speakers and organizers, I wish you all a successful symposium. We could expect nothing less.

Maraming salamat po!

H.E. Hyuk Lee
Ambassador
Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Philippines
MESSAGE

Good afternoon to all. We are happy to inform you that we went beyond the 200 expected participants for this conference. On the first day, we registered 236 attendees. The participants came from Miriam College, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, De La Salle University, UP Manila, New Era University, Ateneo de Manila University, University of Sto. Tomas, and of course the Korean Cultural Center.

As you know, the UP Center for International Studies has been promoting Korean Studies by encouraging students to participate in Korean-related activities and to enroll in our Korean Studies course.

Thank you very much for coming here and we wish that you would come in the next conference or workshop. It has been a pleasure to have you here.

I would like to pose a challenge because this will be a continuing meeting of students, faculties, staff and the public interested in Korean culture and society. Professor Djunkil Kim has told us that language is the key. If you want to study another culture, you have to communicate with the people in their own language. How nice would it be for you to visit Korea briefly and be able to practice what you have learned in the Philippines.

While studying the language, another way to enter their culture is by way of the various institutions that the Korean people have brought here to our country. For instance, English language schools run by Koreans abound, Korean stores and churches are here as well. Philippine-Korean associations are also active in promoting exchange between two peoples. Students and researchers, you do not need to travel to Korea for now to undertake a study about its people and culture. Here in the Philippines, surrounding UP Diliman, there is a thriving community. Perhaps after a year or two, you may embark on a field work in Korea with confidence after knowing Korean culture and society from your own original field work in the Philippines.

On behalf of the Center for International Studies, Asian Center, the Korean Cultural Center, the Korean Foundation, we would like to thank everybody for their attendance. 감사합니다 sa inyong lahat!

(Delivered as a Closing Remarks during the 2013 PKSS)

DR. CYNTHIA NERI ZAYAS
Director, Center for International Studies
University of the Philippines - Diliman
CHARLES K. ARMSTRONG  (Ph.D., University of Chicago), Korea Foundation Professor of Korean Studies in the Social Sciences in the Department of History and a former Director of The Center for Korean Research. A specialist in the modern history of Korea and East Asia, Professor Armstrong has written or edited numerous books on modern and contemporary Korea, including Tyranny of the Weak: North Korea and the World, 1950 - 1992 (Cornell, 2013), The Koreas (Routledge, second edition, 2013), The North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950 (Cornell, 2003). Professor Armstrong is also a frequent commentator in the US and international media on Korean, East Asian, and Asian-American affairs. Email: cra10@columbia.edu
Globalization and History

“Globalization” and its attendant adjective “global” have become among the most commonly used terms of the past twenty years in media, academia, and popular discourse. Although the term had been used earlier, taken up by social scientists and other scholars in the 1960s, “globalization” became widely used in the mainstream media in the latter 1980s, and especially took off after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s. But what is globalization? Most commonly, globalization is used in an economic sense: it refers to the expansion, acceleration and deepening of economic linkages across national boundaries and around the world through the increasingly free flow of goods, services, capital and labor. Beyond the economic dimension, globalization has also referred to the transnational movement of people through migration, and to the global flows of culture and ideas. This phenomenon is connected to and facilitated by the reduction in the power of the state, the rise of new transportation and communication technologies, and the unprecedented flow of information in the contemporary world. As such, globalization has touched every aspect of our lives, from the cars we drive to the food we eat. Individuals, societies and institutions throughout the world are connected together to a degree never-before-seen in human history.

The Republic of Korea has long articulated globalization as a goal and aspiration of the country. Going back to President Kim Young Sam’s drive for segyehwa (“globalization”) in the early 1990s and continuing to the current discussion of Korea’s global “brand,” the idea of Korea’s globalization as not only a fact, but as an aspiration – that Korea is at the forefront of globalization and strives to become ever more global – is constantly promoted by Korea’s government, businesses, and media.

But is globalization really something new? And is “global Korea” really unprecedented? Certainly the speed and scope of worldwide interconnectedness is greater than ever before. But historians can point out that the world has always been connected; in some ways, in fact, the world was more globalized at certain times in the past than it is today. For example, international trade at the end of the nineteenth century until the Great Depression was freer of restrictions and tariffs than it has been up to the present. Or, going farther back, we can see how the Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan and his descendants in the 13th and 14th centuries linked together Europe, Asia and the Middle East, facilitating trade and travel and cultural exchange, to a degree that would not be seen again until modern times.
The economist Andre Gunder Frank argued that globalization has been around for 5,000 years, since the days when ancient Sumeria and India traded with each other. Although most scholars would not trace globalization that far back, contemporary globalization has caused historians to pay attention to the kinds of long-distance connections that preceded our contemporary age, and we understand now that globalization is in fact not new. No culture and no civilization has ever developed in complete isolation; societies have always been linked at some level, and human history is one interconnected whole. This new understanding of mankind’s shared global history has also been influenced by the recognition that today we share urgent common global problems, such as climate change, natural resource depletion, and large-scale humanitarian disasters.

One of the most useful and concise definitions of globalization may be found in David Held’s book *Global Transformations*:

> Globalization can be taken to refer to those spatio-temporal processes of change which underpin a transformation in the organization of human affairs by linking together and expanding human activity across regions and continents.\(^2\)

Held historicizes globalization into four periods: pre-modern (from mankind’s earliest beginnings to 1500 A.D.), early modern (1500–1800), modern (1800–1945), and contemporary (since 1945) globalization.

Therefore, globalization as such is not new; such processes have existed since the beginning of human civilization. What is new is the rapid acceleration and intensification of these processes in the last one hundred years, and especially in the last fifty. And therefore “global Korea” is not at all a new phenomenon. Until recently, Korea has been seen by most observers in the West, and indeed by many Koreans, as having had a long history of isolation, creating a deep-seated “hermit kingdom” mentality. “Global Korea” is often understood as very new, indeed unprecedented in Korean history. But I will suggest here that, on the contrary, “global Korea” has been around for a long time, and that on the one hand, we can understand a great deal about the developments in Korea and more broadly in Asia today by looking into the past; and, on the other hand, the rise of “global Korea” makes us look into that past in new and different ways.

History is about the past, but the historian always lives in the present. The past itself does not change, but our perspective on it does. And as our perspective changes, we look back at the past differently and ask different questions. The great British historian E.H. Carr, in his book *What is History*, compared the historian to a fisherman. The sea may be the same, but the fisherman may catch completely different fishes, or none at all, depending on where he casts his line, what kind of
bait he uses, and so on. In this way, our understanding of Asian history has changed radically in the last several decades, not because the past has changed (obviously) but because changing circumstances in the present cause us to ask different questions about the past. For example, when Japan became an economic superpower in the late twentieth century, historians noticed the economic dynamism of pre-modern Japan in a way they had not done previously. Similarly, with the rise of China in recent years, Western historians have re-examined Chinese history to find the tremendous wealth and economic power of China going far back in its history, and today many historians think China fell behind the West fairly recently in history, around 200 years ago. Even India, long dismissed as having a religious and social structure that inhibited economic development, is understood and appreciated in new ways, and some of the roots of India’s current growth are being uncovered in its past. Similar re-evaluations of Southeast Asian history are currently underway. Throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth century, Western scholars saw Asia as unchanging and backward for most of its history, in contrast to the dynamic, progressive West. As Asia has become the region with the greatest economic growth in the world, our understanding of Asia’s past is becoming completely transformed. And as the world becomes “re-oriented” toward Asia, the history of the world is being rewritten and re-oriented as well. And in the case of Korea, this country’s history is being re-examined, re-thought, and re-interpreted because of the developments of the present day. From the vantage point of the present, we see things in the past we didn’t see before.

**Global Korea 1.0**

So when does global Korea begin? Some might say in the 1960s, or the 1990s, or even more recently. But a historian might find the beginnings of global Korea in the eighth century A.D., 1300 years ago, during the Silla Dynasty. Its representative figure could be Hyecho, the Buddhist monk who traveled to China and India in search of study and scripture. We could say that Hyecho was the first prominent “yuhaksaeng,” or overseas student from Korea. Korean Buddhist monks were among the first global Koreans, and Silla—a great sea-faring nation, with trading partners as far away as Arabia—was perhaps the most globalized Korean kingdom until the modern era. Goryeo too was deeply and extensively connected to regional and global developments, from the Mongol empire to the flow of technologies, ideas, and diseases from as far away as Europe. And early Joseon, from the establishment of the dynasty in 1392 until the late 1500s, was a state deeply integrated into a regional system of cultural, economic and political interaction centered on Ming China, and beyond that to the world. We can call this “**Global Korea 1.0**.”
The famous early Joseon map of the world, the HonilGangniYeokdaeGukdoJiDo ("Map of Integrated Lands and Regions of Historical Countries and Capitals") or Gangnido, the oldest extant world map in East Asia, reflects the world-view of Global Korea 1.0. It features a large and centrally located China, flanked by a Korean peninsula only slightly smaller, and a tiny Japanese archipelago almost off the edge of the map. This exemplifies the “classical” Korean view of Korea’s place in the world for over a millennium: China as the central civilization, Korea as nearly co-equal with China, and Japan as small and insignificant.

Global Korea 2.0
Korea became relatively “de-globalized” in the second half of the Joseon Dynasty, after the massive destruction of invasions from Japan in the late sixteenth century and the Manchus in the early seventeenth century. In the aftermath of these traumatic events, Joseon become much more inward looking and far less connected to the outside world than Korea had been previously. At the same time, European imperialism was embarking on an unprecedented expansion throughout the Americas and Asia. An expanding West encountered a relatively isolated Korea – a “hermit kingdom,” as Westerners called Korean then – in the late nineteenth century, with disastrous results for Korea in the short-term. Caught between a disintegrating China and a rising Japan, Korea was neither able to modernize nor maintain its sovereignty in an age of modern imperialism. US President Theodore Roosevelt essentially gave the green light to Japan to take over Korea in 1905, and Japan dominated Korea for the next forty years. And then, the end of Japanese colonial rule was followed in a very short time with the division of Korea and the horrors of the Korean War.

Even at this point, global Korea did not disappear; rather, Korea was connected to the world in new ways that expressed new developments in Korean history that would have profound implications for many years to come, up to the present. This might be called “Global Korea 2.0.” The period from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth is often seen as a “dark time” in Korean history, characterized by dynastic decline, foreign domination, national division, war and poverty. But it was also a time of tremendous change and development, when Korea was exposed to the Western-dominated world as never before, an exposure that created shock, dislocation, but ultimately a new Korea that could by end of the last century could thrive in that world.

One of the most far-reaching yet least examined elements of Global Korea 2.0 is the emergence of the Korean diaspora. The large-scale movement of people outside their place of origin, whether voluntary or forced, is very much part of the modern condition. It is also an integral part of Korea’s collision with modernity. The emergence of large communities of Koreans residing outside Korea proper is
almost exactly coterminous with the period of modern globalization, from about 1860 to 1945. It was a period of political confusion, economic transformation, imperial aggression, colonization, and war. Joseon, before the upheavals of the late nineteenth century was not hermetically sealed, as critics of the “Hermit Kingdom” might suggest, but the kingdom did place severe restrictions on movement in and out of the peninsula. No significant, self-identified community of Koreans existed outside the Korean peninsula before the second half of the nineteenth century. At the end of World War II, some 11 percent of the population of Korea resided outside the peninsula, and communities of hundreds of thousands of ethnic Koreans resided in three foreign countries: Japan, China, and the Soviet Union. A fourth Korean community, that of the United States, was much smaller than the first three until after the mid-1960s, but from that point onward it grew rapidly. Until by the turn of the millennium, Korean Americans had become the largest overseas Korean group. Smaller numbers of Korean immigrants and their descendants also live in Canada, Western Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere in the Asia-Pacific. An estimated seven million people of Korean descent live outside the Korean peninsular “homeland,” one of the largest diasporas in the world in proportion to the population of the country of origin. Almost all of this originates from the period since late nineteenth century, the period of Global Korea 2.0.

Korean division and economic development were also important aspects of Global Korea 2.0. In the mid-twentieth century, after more than a thousand years of unity, Korea became divided into rival state and remains so today. After a devastating war from 1950 to 1953, involving not only North and South Korea but the US and China as well, Korea was a ruined, flattened, and desperately poor country, seemingly one of the most unpromising places for economic development or even political democratization for that matter. Yet, as we all know, Korea was transformed from Third World backwardness to First World affluence in a single generation; by the 1990s Korea had joined the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and more recently joined the G-20 group of leading world economies. Korea is also a vibrant democracy and a major innovator in technology, business and culture. There are many reasons for this multi-faceted “miracle”; scholars will no doubt be discussing and debating over Korea’s rise to globalism for many years to come. But clearly the conditions for Korea’s takeoff have roots in Korea’s own past, and most immediately in the period we are calling Global Korea 2.0. Even more remarkable, however, was Korea’s ability to build on these early successes to become a global leader in the twenty-first century.
Global Korea 3.0

A third phase of global Korea begins with the emergence of an industrialized and prosperous Korea in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as Korea successfully attempted – for the first time in a century – to control its integration into the world to the country’s advantage. With “segyehwa” or globalization as an official slogan, the Republic of Korea articulated a new Korean globalization – Global Korea 3.0. This globalization took many forms. Most visible was Korea’s economic power and influence, as Korea moved up the ranks to becoming the thirteenth largest national economy in the world, host of the G-20 summit, a leader in many kinds of technology from green energy to mobile phones. More recently, Korea has become a much more visible leader in global politics and diplomacy, holding major diplomatic events such as the Nuclear Security Summit, and has sent international peacekeeping forces to trouble spots around the world, from East Timor to Cyprus to Afghanistan and Iraq. And of course, the most important diplomat in the world, the Secretary General of the United Nations, is a Korean. Finally, Korea, a major recipient of international development assistance just a few decades ago, has established its own international aid organization, the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), with aid projects across Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

But perhaps the most interesting expression of global Korea is the “Korean Wave” of popular culture. One of the most unexpected developments in Korea’s globalization at the turn of the twenty-first century was the success of its popular culture as an export commodity. Hallyu, or “Korean Wave,” was a term coined by Chinese journalists in the late 1990s to refer to the explosive growth in popularity of Korean films, television programs, pop music, and fashions throughout Asia, especially Japan, China, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Backed financially by major Korean companies and promoted by the government, the Korean Wave found fervent, even fanatical followers in the East Asian region and beyond. Housewives from as far away as Honolulu came on group tours to visit sites filmed in their favorite Korean soap operas. Korean actors became household names in Japan. South Korean pop bands outdid the biggest American acts in popularity in China, and when visiting the country received welcomes reminiscent of The Beatles in their heyday. Vietnamese schoolgirls tried to imitate the make-up and hairstyles of their favorite South Korean singers and actresses.

Clearly there was something about South Korean popular culture that struck a chord with young people across eastern Asia and the Pacific. This was the first time Korea has ever been a leader in cultural trends in the region, and the first instance of global success for Korean popular culture. In the second decade of this century, Hallyu in general and Korean pop music in particular (“K-Pop”) has exploded far beyond Asia to make major inroads into Europe, North America, and Latin
America. The biggest example of this is, of course the K-Pop star Psy, whose song “Gangnam Style” became the most visited video on YouTube to date in 2012. “Gangnam Style” put K-Pop in the global spotlight as never before, showing that Korea was now unquestionably an important player in the global pop culture industry.

Korea in Asia and the World

Korea’s globalization challenges many assumptions about how we have understood globalization until now, especially the idea that globalization is a strictly Westernizing or Americanizing phenomenon. Technological innovation, for example, is clearly no longer the monopoly of the West, as American users of Samsung televisions and LG cell phones know very well. Different regions of the world, East Asia for example, or Europe or Africa, are becoming more internally integrated and not simply oriented toward America. My favorite example of the way in which Korea’s globalization makes us rethink many of the assumptions about globalization in general, is in the area of culture. For a long time, cultural globalization was thought to be synonymous with the dominance of American culture. But the Korean Wave or “Hallyu” profoundly challenges this notion. Culturally, the world is not merely becoming Americanized: certain parts of the world, Asia in particular, having become significantly “Koreanized.”

However, the very success of Korea’s globalization has created problems that challenge the continued strength of this country economically, politically, socially and culturally. Most of these problems are shared with other advanced post-industrial societies; a few are distinctive to Korea. These challenges include the loss of social cohesion, the fragmentation of the family, and the demographic consequences of a rapidly aging society. Korea also faces growing economic inequality between the rich and poor; political disaffection among ordinary citizens, who often feel disconnected from the political and economic elites; and anxiety about the changing balance of power in Northeast Asia, including the rise of China, the relative decline of the US, and the problem of North Korea. Not least, the effects of the global economic downturn, especially the economic problems of the US, have profound consequences for the long-term prospects of the Korean economy.

Still, I remain hopeful. Korea has for a long time been the most underestimated country in the world, and I firmly believe Korea can face these challenges and overcome them. The Korea of the future will be stronger and even more globalized than before. Most importantly, Korea is integrated into an Asian region that is increasingly the leading region of the world. The twenty-first century is the Asian century. But Asia, the world’s most economically dynamic region, also faces many challenges and potential conflicts. Smaller Asian countries such as Korea and the
Philippines face particular challenges as the relations among the larger countries in the region are rapidly changing with the relative decline of the US, the rise of China and India, and the increasing self-assertion of Japan. Amidst these changes, the need for regional cooperation and defusing of tensions has never been greater. Two countries on the edge of eastern Asia with parallel histories of colonialism, American influence, and global integration, Korea and the Philippines have much in common and much to learn from each other. Global Korea is after all part of Global Asia, which includes Global Philippines. In a world increasingly integrated yet still fractious and unequal, regions become more and not less important. Globalization has always been an uneven process, and in our present historical moment a disproportionate amount of the dynamic energy of globalization can be found in Asia. Global Korea is not new, but in its current “3.0” incarnation Korea has taken a leading role in the region and the world unprecedented in its history.

ENDNOTES
KYUNG-SOO CHUN (Ph.D. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis), is a professor of the Department of Anthropology, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea. His research interest mainly deals with environmental issues, culture theory, and history of anthropology, colonialism and war. His recent publication includes "Osteology and Wartime Anthropology by Keijo School: Dream (?) and Solidarity of Imamura Yutaka", Empire and the HigherEducation in East Asia, eds. by Sakai Tetsuya & MatsudaToshihiko. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies (2013). Email: korancks@hotmail.com
I would like to share with you what I believe are some new ideas about the Korean family and kinship system. My familiarity with this system derives from the fact that in addition to having studied it as an academic discipline, I myself emerged from and am living in it as a Korean native.

Because of my research into, and personal experience with, Korean kinship, I have found that my own perspective has changed in several important ways from the traditional view of the subject. This change can be best illustrated by posing some anthropological questions. How do Koreans view themselves as connected to, or separated from, others in Korean society? What have been the organizing principles operating in the Korean family through history? Do the contemporary genealogical charts and books truly exemplify Korean ideas of family organization? Do ethnographic facts based on fieldwork fully support ancestor-centered genealogy?

On hearing the word “history,” one may wonder how ethnography and history may be combined. My own orientation, as you might guess, is not that of an orthodox functionalist dissecting a so-called primitive society of non-literate peoples. With Korea we are faced with a culture that, like other East Asian societies, is fully equipped with a literary tradition and long history. With respect to fashioning an anthropological inquiry using a methodology that is sensitive to a given society’s particulars, I myself have been persuaded of the importance of using historical data to interpret ethnographic facts. Furthermore, in many instances history can tell us considerably more than ethnography can. Just as importantly, a particular history indicates the direction an ethnographic population is heading – where it wants to be in the future.

Whenever we think of Korean kinship and family organization, a stereotypical scheme is posed as is illustrated in Figure 1. This scheme reflects the premise about Korean kinship and family that has stood since the 17th century. The diagram seeks to tell us about several different, but related, issues: male dominance, patriarchal rule, ancestor-centered family organization, patrilineal descent, rule of generation, clan and lineage as a corporate group, adoption behavior within a consanguineal circle, patri-virilocal rule of residence for a newly married couple, female members of the family not sharing up as independent individuals, etc.
Ch’on ("knot"), another aspect of Korean kinship, indicates the method of measuring kin distance. If one examines the concept, what is striking is how ego-centered the system is. In this regard, the notion of ego, the individual, needs to be recognized as an important factor in the formation of the person even in a framework dictated by an ancestor-centered kinship network. To my knowledge, this concept hardly exists with either the Chinese or Japanese. The idea of ch’on seems to belong exclusively to Korean kinship. What is even more striking is that, with ch’on, the individual ego is integrated within an ancestor-centered genealogical system. Hence, Korean genealogy theoretically is founded on both an ancestor-centered system and an ego-oriented one. Within the ch’on, each member of a minimal lineage has exclusive and very specific obligations and rights. These rights and duties include, wearing a mourning cloth, and participating in an annual ancestor ceremony with the lineage circle. When one has several different but related segments of a minimal lineage, that minimal group is transformed into a medium-sized lineage; extended in the same manner still further, the result is a maximal lineage claiming descent from a prominent ancestor. Amplified beyond this point is the clan tracing itself back to a mythical ancestor. Theoretically speaking, it is possible to calculate back to the 30th or 40th ch’on within the circle, or over a thousand years.
If we focus on the minimal lineage (Figures 2 and 3), we see that this group bears the responsibility for sponsoring the annual ceremonies to honor the deceased kin of lineage dead. Within an individually – or ego-oriented family, four generations observe the ceremonies; it thus appears that there is a different organizational principle at work. The general rule of the ancestor ceremonies shows how the Neo-Confucian tradition exerts a powerful influence over matters. Looking at Janelli’s work (Figure 4) on Twisongdwi Village is instructive. Residents of the village are acknowledged to be descendants of the upper class (yangban). Observing what happens to the ancestor ceremony when the father’s sister marries out of the family is revealing. In theory, during the ancestor ceremony the fourth ascending generation has to remain within the patrilineal stem under the requirements of Neo-Confucian ideology. In contrast with this, the behavior in both the family and the ancestor ceremony for someone beyond the patrilineal stem indicates a very different idea embedded in kinship organizational structure.
Let’s turn to another perspective based on my own ethnographic research. I was interpreting the ceremonial activities shared among brothers and sisters in a reciprocal manner, in terms of both a functional perspective and ecological adaptation. Once again, I was confronted with similar cases elsewhere in Korea, and I began to examine more carefully the historical documents on kinship networks and related data. I found somewhat different organizing principles from those of Neo-Confucianism were involved in the family system and in kin group dynamics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object of ancestral ceremony</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Object of ancestral ceremony</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Son, daughter-in-law</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Parents’ brothers</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Grandparent’s brothers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Mother’s parents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandmother</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Wife’s parents</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great-grandfather</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wife’s brothers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great-grandmother</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total numbers 165**

**TABLE 1 Object of Ancestral Ceremony and Numbers in Hasamian, Kije**
Ritual Statuses and Elapsed Generations (Janelli & Janelli 1982: 116)

Kwŏn Chŏng-su

Rituals Offered by Kwŏn Chŏng-su (Janelli & Janelli 1982: 117)

Kwŏn Hae-su

Rituals Offered by Kwŏn Hae-su (Janelli & Janelli 1982: 118)

FIGURE 4
Let me put my argument in a different aspect of historical document. The historical document explains a different organizing principle involved in Korean kinship. The diagram in Figure 5, going back as far as the 17th century, shows us Mr. Kim’s genealogy from eight great great grandfathers. To put it in another way, Mr. Kim counts 16 different stocks of family lines as ancestors. Observe that this genealogical chart is markedly different from the conventional chart (Figure 6). The shape of the “tree” is inverted; furthermore, the variables for calculating ancestors appear to be different.

The conventional ancestor chart is described as “ancestor-oriented; the other is labeled “ego-centered.” In some instances, the ego-centered chart expands 32 different stocks of ancestral lines. At this point in my research, it was necessary to reexamine the deviant cases and I returned to the village of Hasami [sp]. I was going to determine whether my hypothesis could be turned into a working theory, namely: if the supposedly deviant cases were not deviant but were in fact the norm, this would indicate that there must have been different organizing principles of kinship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>姓氏</th>
<th>祖父</th>
<th>父親</th>
<th>子孫</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>高</td>
<td>郭</td>
<td>郭</td>
<td>郭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>良</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>良</td>
<td>良</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>國</td>
<td>国</td>
<td>国</td>
<td>国</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Song 1980: 138)

**FIGURE 5**
grouping and family organization throughout Korean history. In addition, I needed to return to the historical documents to begin peeling away the accumulated layers of informants’ life histories, and I needed to take them seriously into account in order to determine whether the “deviant” cases from the ethnographic standpoint were truly deviant or were perceived to be “deviant” because the conventional perspective was inaccurate on these matters.

There are two historical documents describing the king’s genealogy and that of the royal family in general between the 1st century BC and the 10th century AD.: Samguk-sagi (三國史記) and Samguk-yusa (三國遺事), written in 1145 AD and in the 13th century, respectively. These documents enable us to study two different occurrences. First, from the accession of the 11th king (?– AD 247) through the 12th (AD 261) to the 13th (? – AD 284) shows a drastic change in procedures: namely, the surname Sôk (昔) discontinues at the 12th, and the next king’s surname is Kim (金).

The pattern of the succession from the 11th to the 12th demonstrates a brother relationship between the two bearing the same surname. The next pattern [line unfinished] – acknowledged in practical terms. The next portions of the genealogy give us a hint of how parallel cousin marriage within a family of the same surname would not be possible under the Neo-Confucian Chosun dynasty from the 14th century on.

The next dynasty, Koryo (10th-11th centuries) exhibits a truly odd format governing descent and marriage by the guidelines of Neo-Confucian practice (Figure 7). One of the interesting aspects of the pattern discernible in

FIGURE 6

FIGURE 7
Figure 7 is that it is a pattern of surname succession based on gender. The “K” in the first generation had three wives who did not share their surnames with each other (A, B, and C). In the next generation and beyond, all males share the surname “K.” However, all females do not have their father’s surname “K” but rather their birth mother’s surname or their grandmother’s surname.

Is the system a type of patrilineal descent? If it is, it is assuredly not the orthodox type. The royal family exhibits an endogamy. Women’s roles, even in the political sector, acquired different meanings during the later dynasty.

One thing we have to remember at this juncture is that the historical data have a certain limitation: they only involved the royal family. Notwithstanding, I would like to point out some salient features about the supposedly “deviant” cases that show, I believe, that different principles of structure and organization have been at work in the Korean family system throughout Korean history.

I now wish to provide another example of how historical factors at least to some degree have determined kin group activities, this one from the Koryo dynasty (Figure 8).

The politico-military cliques ruled a figurehead king for more than a hundred years during the Koryo dynasty. Two prominent examples of the kindred clique are centered around a power holder. Observe how the recruitment strategies of the clique bring in members from all different branches of consanguineal and affinal kin networks; recruitment even touches in-laws’ affinal relationships. To employ anthropological jargon, this reveals a typical kindred relationship structure with which to view the kin network, and it also serves as a model case of the ego-centered kin group. The notion of “kindred” is based mainly on an ego-centered kin network. This is not a corporate group with respect to lineage or of clan – that is, it is not a model representing ancestor-centered kinship. From the perspective of the people who have displayed the kindred clique in the Koryo dynasty or the role of the lineage was minor in the behavioral sector of the kinship network even if the
lineage existed. During the Neo-Confucian Chosun dynasty, the major role of the kin relationship was played by the kindred, but not according to lineage, and they had a very important role in the political sector as well as in ancestor ceremonies. This is not to say that patrilineal lineage did not exist in these times. For it did. However, it seemed to play a relatively minor role in kin grouping and dynamics.

Let us move on and examine the Chinese influence on kinship in the Chosun dynasty in terms of both ideology and behavior (Figure 10). Several Neo-Confucian thinkers of the Sung period (960 – 1279) discuss the lineal agnatic principle (宗法): “If there is no law guiding the lineal heir (宗子), the court will not have officials from generation to generation; without agnatic law, the descent group (族) disintegrates as soon as the lineal heir dies, and the family (家) is not transmitted to the next generation; if the lineal agnatic principle is established, that is, if they [sic] develop loyalty and righteousness, the state’s foundation is firm” (Deuchler, 1967). This idea was officially introduced into Korea in 988 AD, during the Koryo dynasty. However, it did not have a great influence on the Korean people in general during the first half of the Chosun dynasty, even though there are documents showing how the gentry class (兩班) was affected by the imported lineal agnatic principle in governing the family and kinship in relation for ancestor ceremonies.
Korean society has been dominated by the lineal agnatic principle; this has led to male superiority in kinship behavior. Consequently, lineage as a corporate and consanguineal kin group has been nourished by Neo-Confucian ideology, which renovates the traditional Confucianism and focuses on governing the state and the people.

This has been the dominant form of kinship in Korea since the Japanese invasion in the early 17th century (1592–1598). The essential and elementary form of the lineage does finally agglomerate the Tangnae (堂內) group as a minimal lineage which is an exclusive and extended family under a great great grandfather. This idea is still strong and active in terms of everyday life and ceremonial behavior in contemporary Korea in both rural and urban settings. Along with the lineal agnatic principles, the Chinese Chong (從) principle to count kinship distance from every generation’s ego-focusing on collateral relatives has been introduced (Figure 11). And this Chong system, which was foreign to Korea, has also been well amalgamated with the Korean Ch’on (寸) principle of
counting kin distance from the ego. Figure 12 is identical to Figure 10. In other words, at a glance we may see that modern Koreans still live under the governance of the age-old Neo-Confucian ideology imported from China.

![Figure 12](image_url)

**FIGURE 12**

There seems to be no doubt that the most typical pattern of Neo-Confucian ideology has been strong and persistent in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. The “Great Leader,” Kim Il’sung, is called, symbolically, and for practical reason, “father” by the people. The state itself looks like a big house and is also termed the “family-state” (Lee Moon 1978). In South Korea, people seem to enjoy being encapsulated inside the circle of one’s own lineage (claimed as inheritance of a certain former gentry class). The outdated fashion of the lineage system is being revitalized by interest in genealogical books and charts. Interestingly enough, the business related with genealogy has also been flourishing by following the recent boom in the Korea’s economic development.

From at least the beginning of the 19th century, the traditional Korean class system has been rapidly changing. At the same time genealogical records have been popular between the poor upper class and the rich lower one. This latter has occurred because the Neo-Confucian style of the genealogical chart was recognized as a symbol of the gentility in the Chosun dynasty. As a result, many Koreans possess their own genealogical charts which they believe evince prominent ancestors who, they claim, occupied high offices of government, although they do not know the identities of these purported ancestors. Hence, ironically enough, the tradition of both Neo-Confucian ideology and its related cultural apparatus have been more rapidly and widely superimposed upon the general population because of the disintegration of the former class system in contemporary times. In relation to the loosening and breakdown of the rigid class system, the ancestor-centered
format of the kinship networks nourished by the lineal agnatic principle seems to have finally become the dominant ideology determining how Korean kin and family relationships are viewed. The ancestor-based lineage system at last seems to have replaced the ego-centered kindred one.

In conclusion, as we examine Korean kinship and family relationships through history and through ethnography, two different organizational influences intertwine. As a result, Koreans are caught between the two in their kin group dynamics. Returning to the “deviant” cases of kinship pattern and ancestor ceremonies must be very much important and interesting issues of kinship and family dynamics in Korean history.

This then is my overriding concern, that of the Korean family system throughout history. The native Korean pattern seemed to be different from the Neo-Confucian pattern which was imported from China. The latter was superimposed on the former, from at least the 17th century. The Chosun government should have tried to rebuild and revitalize society along new organizational and ideological lines after a most destructive 7-year war, which was triggered by the Japanese invasion. Instead, the elite members of the dynasty erected a rigorous and strong program employing a Neo-Confucian ideology and importing a family and kinship system that was foreign to the native Korean, just as it was alien to the ancestor-centered model. These changes were promulgated effectively when administrators were sent by the central government to every corner of the peninsula. This great center trend still functions to heavily influence modern Korean life.

I thus find that there is a pendulum-like movement between ancestor-centered and ego-centered kin group dynamics throughout Korean history. To extrapolate specifically again to the modern situation, I can see how the pendulum has been moving towards the ego-centered system of relationships. The ideal of lineage and clan seems to be less and less functional to the urban and industrial setting, just as it does not appear to suit overseas immigrants. At the same time, women’s roles are becoming strong enough to transcend the role of maintainer of financial solvency within the circle of the family.

Koreans are living within the fence of the family no matter which way the pendulum swings. In other words, Koreans at every moment are very much interested in building the family as the primary group and model for kin networks within society. By the same token, the secondary group circling beyond the heir network has been shown to be standing on a weaker foundation, within a historical context.
REFERENCES

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Korean Studies in a Globalizing Asia

Area studies have generally pertained to particular geographical or cultural regions, and have usually been sub-categorized by national borders. Nowadays, however, as a wider range of people and cultures are crossing regional and national boundaries in ever greater numbers, it seems that in this era of globalization the value of area studies is being eroded.

Here I intend to consider the characteristics of Korean studies as a species of area studies which has emerged relatively recently, including an examination of some novel migration situations which are difficult to categorize within conventional area studies, in particular as Korean studies or Philippine studies. My discussion will lead to a reappraisal of the benefits of Korean studies in this globalizing Asia.

Area studies research paradigms were institutionalized after World War II, and have been dominated by the US, especially in so far as the Asian region is concerned. Korean studies was an offshoot of the broader regional area studies such as Asian studies or East Asian studies, and so arose rather later, starting in the 1970s, in US university institutions. For example, the Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa was established in 1972; the Korea Institute of Harvard University in 1981; and the Center for Korean Studies, University of California in LA in 1985. Hawaii, the 50th state of the union, surely became the first to host an academic institute for Korean studies because it has a significant population of Koreans and mixed Koreans. The mission statements of these institutions, taken from their homepages, are: “promoting interdisciplinary and intercultural approaches to Korean studies (UH)”, “being devoted solely to the support and development of Korean studies at the university (Harvard U)”, and “educating the American scholarly community and the broader American and Korean public about Korean civilization in all its diversity (UCLA).” Essentially, the characteristics of Korean studies in the US reflect the interests of the institutions or states concerned.

In Korea itself, the Academy of Korean Studies was originally established in 1978, which aims to “take on the task of overcoming the ethical confusion that has emerged alongside rapid industrialization.” Its original Korean name was “Academy for the Promotion of Korean Moral Culture”, but this changed in 2005 when it started an effort to internationalize Korean studies. The Korea Foundation,
the host institution for this symposium, was established in 1991 to “promote better understanding of Korea in the global community and strengthen friendships between Korea and the world” and also to stimulate the development of Korean studies abroad. As a result, Korean studies have expanded recently in many non-western counties, including the Philippines, though the principal focus has been on Korean language courses.

Meanwhile, Southeast Asian studies has been also introduced into Korea, beginning in the early 1990s, with academic associations and graduate schools pursuing area studies beyond the boundary of foreign language study. In the mid-1990s the Kim Young-Sam government, as part of its globalization policy, established grant programs for area studies conducted by Korean scholars. Thus, we can say that Korean society started to make a serious attempt to learn about foreign regions and cultures at about the same time as it began to promote Korean studies abroad, expanding beyond its existing narrow diplomatic circles of the US, Japan, and China.

Looking specifically at the relationship between the Philippines and Korea, more people have been travelling between the two countries for a wider variety of reasons, and this has created an impact on both societies. The number of Koreans visiting the Philippines was only 26,000 in 1992 but rose eightfold to 180,000 in 1997 (DOT; quoted from Miralao, 2007: 26). Similarly, the number of Filipino visitors to Korea increased from 23,221 in 1992 to 188,092 in 1997 (Korea migration service, www.moj.go.kr). During the 1990s, then, human flows and exchanges between the two countries increased at a similar rate, but subsequently there has been a significant divergence, with many more Koreans going to the Philippines than Filipinos coming to Korea. The number of Korean visitors to the Philippines reached 1,015,144 in 2012, but Filipino visitors to Korea fell back to 126,566 in the same year (www.visitmyphilippines.com and www.moj.go.kr). An analysis of the current discrepancy in visitor arrivals between the two countries can help shed some light upon the complicated characteristics of ‘multicultural’ societies and nations as they exist nowadays. This research will examine whether Filipinos in Korea or Koreans in the Philippines constitute valid research subjects for Korean studies, which can be broadly defined as the study of Korea and Koreans. This comparative discussion will hopefully allow us to trace the global in the local, and thus appreciate the contribution that Korean studies can make to the understanding of transnational dynamics in Asia.

Filipinos in Korea

Filipinos were one of the earliest migrant groups to come to Korea when, one year after the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the Korean government started to relax foreign travel restrictions for Korean citizens and also negotiated visa-free travel
agreements with some of its Asian neighbors including the Philippines. Compared with other Southeast Asians, the Filipinos seem to be engaged in a wider range of activities and have also immigrated through more diverse routes. This is perhaps a consequence of the particular historical and socio-cultural background of Philippine society, which allows many Filipinos to access the necessary information and resources to sustain emigration.¹

As of 2012, the number of Filipinos in Korea was 38,378, and Filipinos are the fifth largest national or ethnic group: after Korean-Chinese, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Americans. If naturalized Filipino-Koreans and their minor mixed children are also included, the broadest count for the Filipino ethnic group reaches 59,735 (Table 1).²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1 Numbers of Filipinos, Naturalized Filipino-Koreans and their Minor Children in Korea (2012)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Non-citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Foreign workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Marriage migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Overseas Koreans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Naturalized Citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. By marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other naturalized citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Minor children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.of foreign parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.of foreign/Korean parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.of Korean parents*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (A+B+C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Security and Public Administration, Korea. www.mopas.go.kr
*Children with a Korean parent who has divorced their foreign spouse and remarried a Korean.

These figures show that foreign workers (A1) are the largest category of Filipinos in Korea and most of them are males because Korean employers who apply through the EPS (Employment Permit System) favor young males over females. On the other hand, marriage migrants (A2+B1) are overwhelmingly female, because such marriages are mostly arranged matches sought predominantly by
Korean males, and underlying this is the much more generous stance taken by Korean society on the mixed marriages of Korean males compared to those of Korean females. In fact, marriage migrants and their children are the target group for ‘multicultural policies’ designed to deliver social welfare and educational services to them.

The composition and characteristics of Filipino groups in Korea implies the existence of ‘hub and spoke’ networks centered around naturalized Filipina Koreans with secure status who have lived in Korea for a long time, connecting them to diverse Filipino migrant communities and migration patterns (Kim, 2012). Among Filipina marriage migrants, there are also a few who are starting to gain access to the wider civil society of Korea, notably Anabel Castro, the first marriage migrant to become a policeperson (in 2008), and Jasmin Lee, the first naturalized Korean to become a congressperson (in 2012). As the minor children of intermarriages grow up, Korean society is changing to become literally a ‘multicultural society’. For instance, an 8 year-old Vietnamese-Korean boy who appeared in Psy’s celebrated *Gangnam Style* music video has been nicknamed ‘little Psy’.

Thus, the study of Filipino migrants and Filipino ethnic groups in Korea is crucial to understanding the transition which Korean society is undergoing into a ‘multicultural’ and ‘transnational’ community; and this transition can be readily observed in a variety of areas, including industrial organization and the labor market, demographic structure, marriage patterns and family relations, and even public education about national identity, etc.

**Koreans in the Philippines**

In 2012, the Philippines hosted the ninth largest group of ethnic Koreans and Korean expatriates, according to the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Table 2). Taking into account the massive emigration by Koreans to China, Japan, and the Soviet Union during the Japanese colonial period; and also that the US, Canada and Australia are nations created through immigration from other nations; the number of Koreans living in the Philippines is remarkable and surely significant for understanding how Korea is changing in a globalizing Asia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2,573,928</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>173,832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>2,091,432</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>156,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>892,704</td>
<td>Kazakhstan</td>
<td>105,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>205,993</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>88,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>176,411</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>86,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Korea <www.mofat.go.kr>
In fact, if we consider visitors to the Philippines, Korean nationals are the largest group, having overtaken the US in 2006 with 600,000 plus; and Korean visitor arrivals are continuing to increase, passing one million in 2011. This sudden conspicuous appearance of Koreans within Philippine society seems to have aroused a somewhat negative response, especially in 2007 when the number of Korean residents almost doubled from 46,000 to 86,800 in a single year. Fortunately, however, the ‘Korean Wave’ of pop culture has been well received in the Philippines, creating a positive impression of Koreans which has helped to counter the unfavorable atmosphere.

**TABLE 3 Number of Korean Visitor Arrivals and Korean Residents in the Philippines (1999-2012)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Visitor Arrivals</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Permanent residents</th>
<th>General residents</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Citizens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>133,068</td>
<td>37,100</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>85,707</td>
<td>29,122</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>207,957</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>66,304</td>
<td>29,545</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>303,867</td>
<td>86,800</td>
<td>785</td>
<td>55,974</td>
<td>31,316</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>489,465</td>
<td>115,400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>653,310</td>
<td>96,632</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>497,936</td>
<td>88,102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1,031,155</td>
<td>785</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>1,015,144</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Korea <www.mofat.go.kr>

In fact, the composition and profile of Korean residents in the Philippines are quite peculiar: permanent residents are few and there are also not many holding long-term visas. Actually the majority of Koreans in the Philippines occupy a status intermediate between temporary visitors and repetitive visitors. They typically stay for less than one year at a time, and they are remarkably diverse in terms of their motivation, employment, duration of residence, and lifestyle whilst in the Philippines. There are staff employed in quasi-diplomatic organizations like the World Health Organization and the Asian Development Bank, Korean
entrepreneurs and company personnel, self-employed shop owners, freelancers in various fields, pastors and missionaries, NGO activists, students enrolled in formal schools and private language institutes, mothers of minors, retirees, travelers and tourists, and even fugitives.

The number of Korean nationals holding an AEP (Alien Employment Permit) has also increased fourfold between 2000 and 2010, to around 2,800; outnumbering Japanese nationals since 2007 (Philstar, Oct. 19, 2010). However, the majority of Korean residents in the Philippines still have poorly defined future residential plans, and they also tend to associate primarily or exclusively with other Koreans in Korean communities. There are a few Koreans who have intermarried, and the resulting second generation of Korean immigrants could play a useful liaison role between the Koreans and the local Filipinos, but it seems they may not be close enough to the Korean communities.

So clearly there is ample scope for further research on Koreans in the Philippines, which could help to illuminate the complicated reality of how Asia is changing and contribute to a deeper understanding of both Korean and the Philippine societies from a comparative perspective. Just as with Filipinas in Korea, it would be especially worthwhile to study the people involved in intermarriage: in this case Korean women who have (or had) Filipino husbands, and their mixed children living in the Philippines. The founding group of Korean immigrants comprises of Korean women who met Filipino men in Korea during or immediately after the Korean War period (1950-1953) and returned with them to the Philippines. These women have then provided social spaces for subsequent Korean immigrants by running Korean restaurants or boarding houses. A contrasting group comprises of newly intermarried Korean women who were working in the Philippines when they met their Filipino husbands, since the turn of the century. One of the factors which distinguish these women from their predecessors is that they retain access to their relationships and resources in Korea, and they may even utilize them in shaping their lives in the Philippines.

So for a variety of reasons, we can see that gender is a very pertinent focus for understanding Koreans and Korean society by comparison with Filipinos and Philippine society. And more broadly, we can also try to comprehend the changes resulting from the globalization of Asia by investigating the complex and intricate ways in which gender relations are entangled in other social hierarchies.

**Revisiting Korean Studies**

As Schafer remarks: “Area studies had become an asset in search of a problem: an answer that was in large part invented for the bipolar *problematique* of the Cold War, and not the unfettered globalizations and multipolar tensions that became dominant after the Cold War had ended.” (Schafer, 2010:2). Notwithstanding the
apparently limited utility of the area studies toolbox in dealing with such a context, however, the recent revival of Korean studies, partly through the efforts of the Korean government, seems to be the outcome of precisely these ‘unfettered globalizations and multi-polar tensions’. Paradoxically, this promotion of Korean studies can be considered as the natural complement and consequence of the efforts made since the mid-1990s by Korean society to learn and understand the world outside of Korea.

It was not until research studies had finally escaped from the Cold War milieu that the true value of area studies could be recognized: as a superb comparative research methodology for analyzing local issues in global contexts or global issues in local contexts. Actually, Korean studies, as conducted by Filipino scholars, are apt to transcend the frameworks of academic hierarchies embedded in national ones and of national hierarchies embedded in academic ones. Moreover, area studies can be readily translated into interactive learning content for students and citizens within specific local communities of our globalizing world (Wesley-Smith and Goss, 2010). Thus, Korean studies by Asian scholars can perform a useful service in addressing the diverse demands of local institutions and communities from a globalized Asian perspective.

For example, gender and intermarriage, which I discussed briefly above, can be considered as an illustrative topic through which the complexities of the changes impacting local societies can be understood in terms of their relation to the global transition, the crucial role of governments and nationalist sentiment, and the imminent and pervasive ripple effects which will result from a multicultural society. And more practically, the research outcomes from such investigations can be usefully adopted to guide learning practices, both in academic classes and within local communities.

Korea is surely unrivalled, among Asian or any other nations, for the rapid transformation it has undergone. It has literally risen from the ashes after the Korean War, and it encompasses a great variety of contradictory characteristics: the traditional struggles with the post-modern, nationalism with cosmopolitanism, and Confucian “groupishness” with neo-Western individualism, among others. Developing a better understanding of Korean society is an expedient and fascinating approach to understanding the dynamics of Asia as a whole. And thus, while retaining the comparative perspective which constitutes the essence of area studies, we can and should also pursue Korean studies into a transnational context.
First of all, more than 300 years of colonial rule by Spain and then the US have westernized the way of life at least superficially, and English language skills are superior to those of other Asian countries. Underlying this is a historical context in which the indigenous culture was relatively gender-equal, with the two sexes enjoying a mutually complementary relationship and women actively participating in the socio-economic field prior to the colonial period. So the current society tends to be supportive of women working abroad, who are often separated from their children at home. Moreover, the government consistently pursues policies which strongly encourage migration to work overseas. Finally, the consumption levels and social status of many middle class families relies upon the support provided by the remittances of family members, so in this situation, someone always has to be working abroad.

There are two kinds of statistics which scholars can use for migration research in Korea. One is collected by the Korea Immigration Service <www.immigration.go.kr> which is an arm of the Ministry of Justice, and this data basically deals with ‘foreigners’ in Korea according to their visa types. Another is collected by the Local Administration Offices <www.laiis.go.kr> under the Ministry of Security and Public Administration <www.mopas.go.kr>, and this data includes not only foreigners who stay for more than 90 days but also naturalized foreigners and the children of foreign couples and intermarried couples.


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SUBJECTIVITY AND REPRESENTATIONS:
NEWS REPORTS IN THE INDEPENDENT
ON THE 1896 PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

Raymund Arthur G. Abejo

INTRODUCTION

This paper seeks to examine the perception of certain segment of Korean reformist intellectuals as represented by the Korean editors and writers of The Independent, in particular, and members of the Independence Club, in general. Mainly a historical study of the emergent Korean press, this paper presents the news from The Independent, which will show the insights and views of the Korean reformist intellectuals on the 1896 Philippine Revolution and Spanish-American War. There are about 100 articles in the English edition from 1896 to 1899, including editorials, telegrams and letters to the editor, and only 12 articles in the Korean edition. This paper will only discuss the articles from the English edition.

During its brief existence, The Independent served as a major exponent of reform and formation of Korean nationalist consciousness. Published bilingually, it carried articles on domestic and foreign news reports primarily to promote its reform agenda for the country and the Korean people. It is a revelation that news articles on the Philippine were printed among the world news in the pages of The Independent. This newspaper also covered news on the significant events of Filipino revolution against its Spanish colonizers, in the context of escalating antagonism between the United States and Spain in Cuba and the Philippines. The coverage of the 1896 Philippine Revolution, and Spanish-American War kept its Korean and foreign readers acquainted with a distant territory which up to that time had no significant contact and direct relations with Korea. As a consequence, the Philippines had been incorporated in the emerging imagining of the Korean nation in the context of the intricacies of international world order.

MODERNIST DISCOURSES AND KOREAN NATIONALISM

One of the important forces that transcended boundaries and that captivated the hearts and minds of Korean intellectuals, especially those belonging to the “enlightenment thought,” was Western liberalism. The opening of Korean ports in 1876 brought the yangban (scholar-officials) and jungin (middle-people) into direct contact with Western traders, missionaries and diplomatic officers that started living in Korea. A number of Korean intellectuals were inspired by the discourses of muminjeong gaehwa (civilization and enlightenment) and Social Darwinism that
influenced their perspectives on the plight of Korea and determined the types of reforms they proposed which were aimed to “civilize,” strengthen and protect Korea from foreign aggressions (cf. Schmid, 2002; Tikhonov, 2010).

From the ranks of this Korean modernist intelligentsia emerged the prime movers of the Independence Club. Founded on July 2, 1896 as a social club and later served as a political organization, the Independence Club espoused “democratic ideals” and “independent foreign policy” as its core objectives (C. Lee 1965, 58-61). The Independence Club and The Independent, its unofficial newspaper partner, shared these intellectual persuasion and ideals.

The publication of The Independent marked the initial efforts of Korean reformist intellectuals in their aspiration to modernize and strengthen Korea. Using both Korean vernacular in Hangeul and English languages, The Independent editors disseminated its nationalist vision along the lines of munmyeong gaehwa thought and “shaped the public discourse” about Korea and the world (Schmid, 2002: 24).

Another dominant discourse among the Korean reformist intelligentsia was Social Darwinism. Vladimir Tikhonov in his book Social Darwinism and Nationalism in Korea (2010) analyzed the origins of Social Darwinism’s influence in Korea from early 1880s as it was transmitted directly from the United States and through Japan. Social Darwinism provided Korean modernist-nationalists an alternative to Sinocentric worldview wherein China occupies the center of civilized world. Tikhonov (2010: 12) explained that Korean modern thinkers from a wide range of political persuasions viewed “Social Darwinism synonymous to the discourse of modernity.”

Likewise, a different worldview of East-West dichotomy within the logic of evolutionary struggle for “survival of the fittest” replaced the China-centered worldview. To survive in a hierarchical and unequal international arena, nations are required to modernize along European models. Tikhonov also contended that The Independent espoused Social Darwinism in its views on international relations – the fittest country conquers the “unfit” country (Tikhonov, 2010).

Instead of the Sinocentric dichotomy of civilized-barbarian and/or fit/unfit classification of nations, Yu Gilgun, a prominent Korean modernist thinker and Korean Social Darwinist, offered a three-tiered Eurocentric classification of nations namely: civilized, semi-civilized and barbarian nations. Korean thinkers commonly placed Korea in the middle tier in this world order (Schmid, 2002: 37). In other words, Korea is placed in the middle below the more civilized Japan but above the decadent China lagging behind on its modernization efforts (cf. Tikhonov, 2011). In the context of US-Spain rivalry over the Philippines, The Independent demonstrated this dominant discourse of Social Darwinism and munmyeong gaehwa by rationalizing the defeat of Spain as a waning European imperial power in the hands of triumphant US. Moreover, it demonstrated ambivalence towards the
Philippine struggle for independence and firmly believed in the inevitability of US conquest of an “unfit” Philippines.

**1896 PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION AS PERCEIVED IN THE INDEPENDENT**

Munmyeong gaehwa had a contradictory view on modernizing reforms through nationalizing and colonizing projects. Schmid, in the *Korea between Empires* (2002), argued that Western liberalism-influenced Korean intellectuals tended to sympathize with colonial peoples but at the same time endorsed Western expansion to spread Western “civilization.” This ambivalence and contradiction among Korean reformist intellectuals were present in the coverage of the 1896 Philippine Revolution. While the reformist intellectuals were strong advocates of self-strengthening they were reluctant to support any radical action such as armed struggles and rebellions (C. Lee, 1965: 131; Schmid, 2002: 117-118). In this context, for example, *The Independent* clearly expressed its anti-insurgency sentiment against the Righteous Army in Korea in the late 1890s. One of the most noticeable ways in which *The Independent* expressed anti-insurgency was its utilization of pejorative labels, such as ‘rebels,’ ‘bandits,’ ‘looters’ and ‘plunderers’ referring to the members of the Righteous Army in its reports in the paper.

These similar terms were also used to describe Filipino revolutionaries. Not even once did the words “revolutionary” or “nationalist” appeared to have been used to refer to Filipinos; rather *The Independent* chose the words ‘insurgents’ and ‘rebels’. Elitist in perspective, the news accounts on the Filipinos tended to belittle the revolutionaries and devalue the means to achieve their goals.

The first article published in *The Independent* on the 1896 Philippine Revolution attempted to encapsulate its causes through these lines:

“\n
“The insurgents of the Philippines have a battle cry which reads as follows:
Death to the Spaniards!
Death to the Chinese!
Death to the Priests!
This explains the cause of the rebellion in those islands.”

Through these battle cries, the newspaper attempted to reduce the Philippine Independence movement into an anti-foreign, anti-ethnic and anti-Catholic movement. Several scholars described the Philippine Revolution at the end of the 19th century against the Spanish colonization since 1565 as the first nationalist revolution in Asia. Similar to what happened in Korea, the opening of Philippine ports in the mid-19th century exposed the ascendant Filipino elite to liberal ideals through direct contact and exposure with Europeans other than their Spanish
colonizers in the Philippines. Compared to the conservative Spanish administrative and ecclesiastical officials, the British and other non-Spanish Europeans were far more progressive than the Spanish people. Inspired by the republicanism and post-Enlightenment thought, a generation of young Filipino intellectuals educated in Europe aspired for liberal reforms in the Philippines by providing more rights to the natives and curbing the power of the Catholic church. On the heels of this failed reform movement, a nationalist revolution led by a more mass-based organization called the Katipunan broke out in 1896.

From October 1896 to June 1897, *The Independent* reported battles between Spanish forces and Filipino revolutionaries, and major executions of captured Filipino leaders. Foremost among these executions was that of Dr. Jose Rizal, in Luneta outside Intramuros Manila on December 30, 1896.6

The news items on the battles had a neutral view. It mentioned which side won a particular battle and the number of casualties. From January 1897, *The Independent* noted that the Spanish forces were gaining an upper hand, recapturing the major strongholds in Cavite about 23 kilometers from Manila. Furthermore, the newspaper accounts also described the Filipino “insurgents” as “very badly armed with weapons of obsolete, antiquated, and defective patterns.” With a relatively extensive coverage, Korean readers got acquainted with different locations of battles around Luzon, such as Imus, Baliwag, Bataan, Maragondon, and Ternate.7

In June 1898 more articles describing the Filipino revolutionaries appeared on the pages of *The Independent*. In one account on the Chinese residents in the Philippines, this newspaper characterized Filipinos as “indolent” in contrast to Chinese who were industrious and thrifty.8 As the war progressed in favor of the Philippine Revolution, Spanish forces were defeated and its troops detained by Filipinos. This situation seems to be unacceptable in one of the correspondences published in *The Independent* supposedly written by a foreigner-spectator.9

Other articles used pejorative terms as “looters,” and “rabbles.” In choosing to publish articles using these terms, the newspaper highlighted the “illicit activities” of the Filipino revolutionaries and completely ignored any possible justification for such action or considered any explanation that could have been provided by the Filipinos.10

In sum, the dominant characterization of the Filipinos in *The Independent* was negative which creates a biased perception by labeling the Filipinos as “insurgents,” “rebels,” and “looters” and by describing them as not too Western and civilized enough and therefore not ready yet to become independent.

**FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN THE PHILIPPINES AS PERCEIVED BY THE INDEPENDENT**

Another theme in which *The Independent* focused on their reports on the 1896 Philippine Revolution was the international rivalries of the major colonial powers
for the possession of the Philippines. Basing from their own Korean current situation of growing interference from imperialist countries most notably China, Japan and Russia, *The Independent* editors were curious of the Spanish-American War concurrently unfolding in the Philippines. Three main points were highlighted in the newspaper: firstly, the emasculation of Spanish colonial power, secondly, the United States ascendancy in Asia and imminent U.S. colonization of the islands, and lastly, German colonial aspirations for the archipelago. Marginalized in the discourse were the opinions of the Filipino revolutionaries who were fighting for independence from Spain and who had sought an alliance with the United States.

*The Independent* covered the unfolding of the events and characters involved as a spectacle for its Korean readers. At this point, the newspaper conveyed in its pages the efforts of the Spanish government to retain the Philippines and Cuba by raising more loans to finance the war and to transport more Spanish troops. The newspaper emphasized on the Spanish ebbing imperial power. One interesting lengthy article in the miscellaneous news section of the newspaper dated July 9, 1898 discussed the growing precariousness of Spain’s position. The article employed a metaphor of Spanish king’s beard for Spanish imperial glory. This article recounted that under the reign of King Philip II the Spanish dominion was at its greatest with numerous territories in the Americas, Europe (Sicily, Portugal, Scandinavia), the Philippines and Pacific islands. However, one by one, it continued, Spain lost its many “outlying curls” to other colonial powers – Great Britain, France and lately the United States. The article ended with a witty line still using the beard metaphor for the Spanish colonies, “it is indeed a clean shave.”

On the other hand, *The Independent* undeniably declared its pro-American stance in the Spanish-American War and American occupation of the Philippines. In fact shortly after the American squadron destroyed the Spanish armada in Manila Bay, a long article on June 28, 1898 appeared in *The Independent* which labeled the event as a “brilliant victory.” Furthermore, *The Independent* underscored this event as the start of a new American “political position” and a drastic shift from the prevailing Monroe doctrine. It proceeded to contemplate on the possibility of American occupation of the Philippines and the possible reactions of other European powers. Quoting the opinions of European political leaders, such as English Sir Charles Dilke and Italian Guido Baceli, *The Independent* pointed out that the international law sanctions the U.S. to occupy or retain the Philippines by virtue of its right of conquest.

Similar articles appeared in the next issues of the newspaper, on the positions of other powers that could fill the void after Spain leaves the Philippines. The common denominator was that there would be no objections to American annexation of the Philippines but other powers would object if France, Russia, Germany, Great Britain or Japan attempted to occupy the archipelago. Each of this
power in one way or another did not express any interest in the Philippines except Germany.

German’s position on the issue was ambiguous. This ambiguity, of course, aroused distrust and suspicion from other powers. *The Independent* chose to highlight German colonial desires for the archipelago. To make matters worse, articles on rumors from Germany of the desire of German Kaiser to acquire a port in the Philippines were also published. Giving more credence to this rumor another report in *The Independent* stated that German naval officers invited to a gathering some key Spanish military officials in the Philippines. Moreover, a special telegram accounted that there was a German squadron being sent to the Philippines consisting of 470 German officers and 10,464 soldiers (cf. Reyes, 2008).\(^{15}\)

All the while, *The Independent* provided a limited space for the Filipino voice on the fate of the Philippines. Following the capitulation of Manila in August 1898, negotiations for the cessation of hostilities commenced in Paris. Miscellaneous news from other papers in October discussed the Paris Conference and the demands for the peace negotiations.\(^ {16}\)

In a rare singular moment a long interview occupied the first page of the October 27, 1898 issue of *The Independent* on the Filipino ambassador of the Philippines to Washington. Ambassador Agoncillo alluded to the promise given to Aguinaldo by Admiral Dewey in exchange for helping the Americans against the Spanish. Dewey promised the Filipinos would be given absolute freedom. Furthermore Agoncillo asserted in that article that the Filipinos could govern for themselves. In this interview conducted in a Hong Kong Hotel, when bluntly asked how the Filipinos could govern the Philippines, he replied:\(^ {17}\)

“Quite easily. For upwards of one hundred years all the heads of department of the government have been Spaniards, but most of the subordinate positions have been filled by natives. Our people have been employed in all departments, including the Customs, Courts, Telegraphs, Meteorological, Educational, Medical and Military departments. Many of the leading officials in the provinces were Filipinos under the Spanish regime. ... We can offer no better evidence of our ability to control and govern our people than the record of Aguinaldo and his followers during the past few months. Surrounded by a horde of unorganized, undisciplined men, the majority of whom had personal grievances against the hated Spanish officials and priests – we point with pride to the fact with the sting of our wrongs still smarting and crying for justice and revenge our record shows mercy - kindness to all who fell within our power. Women and children, prisoners, the sick and wounded all as tenderly cared for as if of our own kith and kin. If Aguinaldo and his associates can so thoroughly
control a rabble army under the heat of passion and the frenzy of battle does it not argue strongly for our leaders being able to control a peaceful population and be well able to establish a new free government which shall have as its aim Freedom – equality for all.”

Protests of the Filipino people were futile. The conference in Paris proceeded without giving the Philippines a chance to join with Spain and the United States in the negotiating table. After the terms of the treaty was signed on December 10, 1898, the United States formally established its colonial rule in the Philippines. As the articles in The Independent indicated, its editors were in favor of the American colonial plans. Notable was the silence on the Filipino voice but emphasis through more space allocated to the international rivalries. From the Korean editors’ point of view, probably it was more illuminating to observe how the colonial powers behaved on the Philippine issue. Lastly, ambivalent in its position for the causes of other colonial peoples, it was quite noteworthy that The Independent did not report the outbreak of hostilities between the Filipinos and U.S. forces.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The examination of the issues of The Independent provided interesting revelations on the perception of the Korean reformist intellectuals on the Philippine Independence movement. As a preliminary study on the views of Korean modernist intellectuals, cases of convergence in the long and complex history of colonialism and independent struggles in both countries – Korea and the Philippines – were selected. Underscoring modernist ideological currents and discourses on civilization and Social Darwinist international order provided a linkage between Korea and the Philippines.

This study tried to demonstrate the instrumental position of The Independent in the reimagining of the Korean self and the Filipino other. Interestingly, the ideological frameworks of munmyeong gaehwa and Social Darwinism served as substructures of the Korean gaze on the 1896 Philippine Revolution. As distant observers, Korean readers were acquainted with the Filipinos according to the “refraction” provided by The Independent. The newspaper had shown representations of the Filipino revolutionaries in pejorative labels such as “insurgents,” “rebels,” “looters,” “rabbles” and “indolent.” Clouded by its bias against armed struggles and instead leaning towards reforms in Korea, The Independent presented its Korean readers with an ambivalent position of sympathizing with the Philippine cause for independence but at the same time criticizing the Philippine armed struggle. What was more apparent in the findings abovementioned was the attention given to the prospects of the Philippines
becoming a colony of a new colonial power and the rivalry of colonial powers coveting the archipelago.

ENDNOTES

1 In the Introductory chapter of *Modern Korean History and Nationalism*, Shin Yongha (2000, 17-26) traced the three trends in the formation of modern nationalism during the mid-nineteenth century from its roots derived from the *Silhak* (Practical Learning) teachings in the 17th century. The internal and external challenges being experienced in Korea created these three currents of thought among the intellectuals, namely: first, the Guarding the Orthodoxy and Refuting the Heterodoxy thought (*wijeong cheoksa*) among the conservative *yangban* class; second, the Enlightenment thought (*gaehwa sasang*) from the progressive members of *jungin* class (middle class-petty bureaucrats) and *yangban*; and lastly, *Donghak* thought (Eastern Learning thought) among the marginal members of the Korean privileged class. Shin (2000) further explained that these currents eventually merged into a single current in the 1919 March First Movement.

2 On July 2, 1896, the Independence Club was formed “with the intent of thwarting the aggressive designs of colonial powers in Korea through ‘self-strengthening.’” The establishment of the club was led by Seo Jae-pil, in cooperation with the “moderate reformist faction” (Yu Giljun and Pak Jeongyang), dissidents among Gabo reformers. Aside from Seo, the other known leaders of the Independence Club include Yi Sangjae, Yun Chiho, Namgung Eok, Jeong Gyo, Yi Geunho and Na Suyeon (Shin 2000, 115-116).

3 Seo Jae-pil and Yun Chi-ho served as editors of *The Independent*. Established through an initial government grant of 5,000 won, Seo Jae-pil printed its maiden issue on April 7, 1897 proclaiming that the paper will be “nonpartisan” and will be a “communication link between the government and the masses” (Shin 2000, 278). Initially *The Independent* was published every other day until July 1, 1898 when it became a daily paper.

4 The leaders of the Righteous Army movement of 1896 were mainly Confucian scholars who were advocating the *wijeong cheoksa* thought. Mainly an armed anti-Japanese movement composed of farmers, the Righteous Army also advocated to avenge the assassination of Queen Min, to protest against the 1894 Gabo Reforms and to restore King Gojong to the Gyeongbok-gung Palace. For a comprehensive discussion on the Righteous Army movement, please read S. Lee 1999, 124-151.

5 *The Independent*, October 22, 1896.

6 *The Independent*, January 19, 1897; February 2, 1897.
7 The Independent, January 19, 1897; February 2, 1897; March 11, 1897; March 25, 1897; April 10, 1897; May 25, 1897; and June 9, 1898.
8 The Independent, July 16, 1898.
9 The Independent, July 26, 1898.
10 The Independent, September 13, 1898; October 1, 1898.
11 The Independent, April 6, 1897; April 20, 1897; April 22, 1897.
12 The Independent, July 9, 1898.
13 The Independent, June 28, 1898.
14 The Independent, June 18, 1898; October 4, 1898; November 24, 1898.
15 The Independent, June 20, 1898; June 21, 1898; June 28, 1898.
16 The Independent, October 8, 1898.
17 The Independent, October 27, 1898.

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Our knowledge of the Korean War (1950-1953) which broke out six decades ago is a war that started because of political and ideological differences. Political convictions and ideologies reflect independent and unbiased thinking as people seem to subscribe to a certain ideology out of their strong beliefs in the causes the ideology promotes. Nonetheless, *The Taebaek Mountain* and *Taegukgi: Brotherhood of War*, films that tackle the Korean War revealed that more than the ideological differences, class struggle and class interest, a means for survival, hatred, and revenge dictated the people’s choices in this war that divided the Korean nation.

The Korean War is one of the most controversial periods of contemporary Korean history. The Korea War Memorial, a museum in central Seoul that commemorates wars which took place in Korea since ancient history, has a permanent exhibit about the war between the two Koreas. And the museum exhibit supports the ‘official history’ that perpetuates in South Korea: the Korean War is a war against communism and democracy, which is clearly an oversimplification of the cause of the Korean War. But Korean historical films such as *The Taebaek Mountains* and *Taegukgi* took the challenge to retell the story of the Korean War which is a war caused beyond ideological differences.

In *The Taebaek Mountains*, Sang-jin’s ideological conviction in favor of communism traces back to the marginalization of the peasant class in which he belongs to. Communism appealed to him and his other comrades because they think that the ideology, once instituted, will be beneficial to their class oppressed by the landlords. It is undeniable then that their ideological convictions did not escape the influence of their class struggle.

While Sang-jin and his comrades’ ideological convictions revolved around communism, it is more appropriate to term the landlords’ support of capitalism an ideological preference rather than a conviction. Landlords supported capitalism because they wanted to retain the ownership of their lands which they will lose in case the communists win. On the other hand, the tenants supported the communist group and ‘preferred’ the latter’s ideology with the promise of equal distribution of the land the tenants till. Both the landlords and tenants did not bother to have a deeper understanding of capitalism and communism as long as the groups they supported protected their interest.

While class interest is a factor in preferring an ideology, circumstances, which no one has control of, forced people to take sides. In *Taegukgi*, it is because of forced
enlistment that Jin-Tae and Jin-Seok participated in war combats. Jin-tae, the less-educated but responsible breadwinner, worked hard to provide for his family. He was hopeful for a brighter future as his more intelligent younger brother was about to enter university before the war broke out. But being forced in the front lines, they had to fight the ‘enemy’ and tried to keep themselves alive so that they could go back to their family when the war is over. Fighting for the war then was not about ideology but mainly for their survival.

Like Jin-tae and Jin-seok, it was also because of survival that Young-shin, Jin-tae’s fiancée, participated in communist rallies when the North Korean Forces occupied Seoul. She did this in order to get food ration for the two brothers’ sick mother and her younger siblings. Due to Jin-tae and Jin-seok’s absence, the burden of providing for her family was entirely left to her. It was her only way ‘to make ends meet’ as their own government provided them with nothing while the ‘enemy’ did.

As a means of survival that forced people to take sides, it is unfortunate that hatred also led them to do so. In The Taebaek Mountains, Sang-gu’s engagement with anti-communist activities was not because of a firm belief in right-wing causes but rooted in his deep-rooted hatred for his elder brother Sang-jin. Sang-gu detested his elder brother for their family only sponsored the latter’s education which forced him to drop out school. Sang-gu even went on saying that he would have been a communist if his brother were a cop. Upon his appointment as the new captain of the Young Men’s Association (YMA), Sang-gu went home drunk and told his mother that he is no longer inferior to his high-ranking brother on the other side of the conflict.

In Taegukgi, it was also because of hatred and revenge that Jin-tae subsequently defected to the North Korean side. He risked his life in a number of dangerous missions with the promise of allowing his younger brother to go home when he gets a war medal. But, Jin-tae felt betrayed and unreciprocated as a South Korean commanding officer ordered the burning of the cell which detained Jin-seok together with a number of North Korean POW. This turned Jin-tae to an insane, war addict motivated to crush the South Korean Forces. When commanding officers of the South Korean Army interrogated Jin-seok regarding Jin-tae’s defection, Jin-seok attested that his elder brother had no understanding of the concept of communism. Jin-seok’s fellow soldier correctly presumed that Jin-tae, enraged by Jin-seok’s supposed death, sided with the North.

Lim, the captain of the military forces dispatched to Pŏlgyo in The Taebaek Mountains mercilessly ordered the execution of suspected communist sympathizers identified through “finger pointing” without the benefit of trial. With a similar mad disposition like Jin-tae, Lim’s actions became a personal vendetta against communist guerrillas who killed his landlord father. He did not care at all if a lot
of people get killed because of his orders. Coming from Hwang-hae, North Korea, Lim found no attachment with the people of Pŏlgyo, South Korea: it became easy for him to execute his orders.

South Korea’s YMA (Young Men’s Association) Members’ hatred and quest for revenge led them to torture and kill the families of communist guerrillas. As most of the YMA members lost their landlord fathers in the hands of these guerrillas, they found it justifiable to get back with the families of their fathers’ perpetrators. They were uncontrollably violent that they disregarded curfew to run after innocent civilians who just happened to be related to communist guerrillas.

For both *The Taebaek Mountains* and *Taegukgi*, it is significant to note how these films’ plots revolve around the stories of the common people. This is especially noted in *Taegukgi* wherein the movie focused on the plight of brothers Jin-tae and Jin-seok and how their family suffered because of the war. The historical event they were into served only as the film’s background. It is safe to assume then that Kang Che-gyu and the entire film production for that matter intended to employ a family story as a metaphor and representation of the thousands of separated and destroyed families because of the war.

In *The Taebaek Mountains*, effective use of visual allegories highlighted the common people’s plight in the conflict between communist guerrillas and right-wing groups. Kim Kyung Hyun indicated the significance of nighttime as both communist guerrillas and right-wing groups defy curfew declaration, prohibiting people from going out after sunset. Kim further stated that both groups’ activities which included rounding up, torturing and killing of civilians by the YMA and communist guerrillas surprise attacks, robbing of villages and establishing espionages were most effective at night. Another visual allegory can be observed in the first scene, which depicts the seemingly confused migratory birds that did not seem to know where to go. This portrays a metaphor of the common people who got trapped and victimized by a constant exchange of power between the two conflicting groups.

Other than the effective use of visual allegories, *The Taebaek Mountains*’ metaphor of Sang-jin and Sang-gu represents the two Koreas. It is when Sang-jin confronted Sang-gu with a pistol; they ended up exchanging hateful words but did kill each other. Kim argued that these two brothers represent the present-day divided Korea; “where antagonists quarrel with each other without actually pulling the trigger.”

Not only was Im Kwŏn Taek’s metaphoric representation of the two warring Koreas in *The Taebaek Mountains* commendable, his depiction of internal conflicts in the Korean peninsula especially in the south western region even before the attack of North Korean forces to the South on June 25, 1950 is also truly noteworthy. Moreover, this depiction parallels with Bruce Cumings’ revisionist approach on the
Origins of the Korean War. In his research, Cumings asserted that June 25, 1950 was not a point when the war suddenly broke out, but rather a turning point when regional guerrilla conflicts since 1948 became an all-out war. According to Prof. Kim Dong-Choon of SungKongHoe University and the former standing commissioner of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Korea’s “memorialization” of June 25 aims to remind the world the day when communists attacked the “free world,” with both South Korea and the US as “blood” allies. Nonetheless, this “memorialization” ignores Syngman Rhee’s several attempts to attack North Korea, the deaths or disappearances of more than a hundred thousand civilians before June 25, 1950 but only emphasized that the “belligerent North just abruptly invaded the peaceful South.” With this, Im Kwŏn Taek’s The Taebaek Mountains aids in the clarification of this historical discourse.

Both The Taebaek Mountains and Taegukgi also succeeded in depicting the triviality of people’s lives in wartime. It seems so easy for Lim to order the executions of people whom he tagged as communist sympathizers, and for right-wing groups to accuse Young-shin of siding with the communists without the benefit of trial. Moreover, the brutal massacre of innocent civilians and villagers depicted in both films is truly inhuman.

Killings after killings not only devastated the lives of the victims and their families; it also ruined the lives of the soldiers. The complex transformation of Jin-tae’s personality is undeniably the result of his involvement in the war. From a simple, loving and responsible family man, he turned into an impulsive and unreasonable commanding officer while he was still with the South Korean Forces. He ordered and participated in the executions of unarmed North Korean soldiers and treated POW as animals when he ordered them to fight with each other for their troop’s entertainment. When Jin-tae defected to the North, not only did he become an enemy of his former colleagues, it reached to the point that he even tried to kill his younger brother because he could not recognize the latter.

While both films depicted the effects of war to an individual’s persona, The Taebaek Mountains did not have a clear distinction of protagonists and antagonists. Communist guerrillas and rightist groups, in their pursuit of their agenda killed, imprisoned and persecuted civilians whether they were innocent or guilty. With this, neither can claim that one’s group is nobler than the other. As Sang-jin criticized Sang-gu for the latter’s misdeeds, Sang-gu’s reply was undeniably true: “You are no different from me. You talk about equality but you kill people as if they are worms.”

With all the hopelessness depicted in the two films, having characters such as Jin-seok, Seohwa and Kim Pŏm-u, showed the possibility of attaining peace and reconciliation. It showed that both Im Kwŏn Taek and Kang Che-gyu, in spite of the tragedy brought about by the war, wanted to show that there are still people...
who choose not to be corrupted by the wickedness of others. Having Jin-seok, Seohwa and Kim Pŏm-u alive in the end depicts hope for such a misfortune.

These depictions in the two films are among the factors that make Korean cinema unique among other national cinemas. Not only is Korea blessed with intelligent directors like Im Kwŏn Taek and Kang Che-gyu, the peninsula being the only divided nation in the world also gives Korean cinema this kind of distinction. With this historical experience, Korean cinema stands out.

Of all the awards received by both The Taebaek Mountains and Taegukgi, the success of these two films to make people re-remember what the ‘undersides’ of the war is enormously commendable. No one is ever more fitting to depict the Korean War but Koreans themselves. These two films surpassed the bland depiction of the Korean War by Hollywood films and went further by being critically acclaimed.

The Taebaek Mountains and Taegukgi are unquestionably qualified to be the film as history genre with its depiction of the Korean War. Im Kwŏn Taek and Kang Che-gyu both understood that the use of historical materials in film serves a dual purpose. First, the cinematic reconstruction of past society puts history in a new perspective and thus provides insights to the present state. Second, the ideological messages in the film tell about the present society through its images of the past. Both The Taebaek Mountains and Taegukgi’s storylines reflect a cultural norm: in spite of being trapped into the conflict, the characters remain more loyal to their kin than to their political affiliation. Sang-gu may detest Sang-jin, but still he provided food for his elder brother’s family and kept them from being harassed by the anti-communist groups. As Jin-tae finally recognized his younger brother while they were in the midst of combat, he ensured the safe escape of Jin-seok by firing against the North Korean Forces in which Jin-tae belonged. Being loyal to kin derived itself from the Confucian past which confirms the lasting power of cultural heritage in spite of the changing times.

As people nowadays prefer going to theaters than reading books, using film as a medium to retell the Korean War is an effective way to reach out especially for those who have not experienced this crucial period of Korean history. Thus, these films succeeded in preserving the history we are forgetting. Furthermore, it provides us many aspects of the Korean War that need historical clarification. As Kim Dong Choon puts it, “...recovering historical memory through historical clarification will allow the oppressed voices on the Koran peninsula to speak...as the mass killings, torture, and other violations in Korean history have originated from the lack of historical clarification of the Korean War.” Thus, this kind of remembering teaches us that there are deeper layers in this war more than what the official history tells.

As much as the choices and decision-making of the characters in both films go beyond ideological convictions, the continued antagonism of both North and South
Korea is also beyond ideological differences. What the world believes as an ideological conflict in the peninsula is accompanied with political and socio-economic concerns with the interference of superpowers that only intensify the situation. This makes both sides exchange accusations after accusations that led to confusion on what the conflict was really about. It is undeniable that many dream of a united Korea wherein families on the opposite sides of the border can finally be together after decades of separation. Also, the reconciliation of the two Koreas is crucial for peace in East Asia. Nonetheless, considering the present situation, it will not happen anytime soon. But still, we are hopeful.

ENDNOTES

1 The Taebaek Mountains (Taebaek Sanmaek; dir. Kwŏn-taekIM, 1995, 163 min.)
2 Taegukgi: The Brotherhood of War (T’aegukki hwinalrimyŏ; dir. Che-gyu Kang, 2003, 140 min.)
5 Ibid, 207.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid, 205.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid, 204.
11 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid, 4-5.
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WORKING WOMEN IN KOREA

Karina R. Santillan

I. Introduction

This paper demonstrates the struggle of working women in Korea from the time of Japanese independence until the 21st century. Working women in South Korea became active participants in the work force and contributed to economic progress. But their contribution to economic progress did not come with special labor practices aimed at facilitating an appropriate work environment that considers women’s needs. It is important to know the issues of working women through the years, and assess whether there has been any improvement from the 1950s up to the present. This work aims to contribute to urge for change and efforts in improving working women’s status in South Korea, especially since little change has occurred.

In this paper, I describe the contribution and status of women workers in the economic development of South Korea. I begin the study from the period after the Korean War in the 1950s, and continue towards Korea’s democratization in the 1980s, the Korean economic crisis in 1997 and the most recent developments in the 21st century. I describe the plight of Korean working women, indicating their general situation in terms of wage, job segregation, work opportunities, marriage and pregnancy, and their attempts to change the status quo. From a historical perspective, I wish to come up with a conclusion whether Korean women workers’ status has improved over the years and identify the factors that mainly contribute to any important changes.

II. Authoritarian Rule

The journey of South Korea to economic progress is not a miracle. Each action taken was carefully thought of. Having emerged from Japanese colonization in 1945, Korea could not immediately take steps to work on its economy because it had to deal with the Korean War in the years 1950 to 1953.

After the war, South Korea was poor: its economy depended mainly on agriculture, while the manufacturing industry comprised only 9 percent of its GNP (Pyo, 2001). South Korea could not achieve economic progress during this time because it lacked domestic capital and savings in order for people to establish businesses and earn a living. The country needed foreign capital to push economic movement.

In the 1960s, the authoritarian government used the manufacturing industry so that South Korea could obtain foreign capital. From this strategy, South Korean women became participants by working in manufacturing industries such as
textile, clothing, rubber, plastics, shoes, china and pottery. The goods produced from these industries were exported, which allowed foreign capital to come in. South Korea’s economy shifted from agriculture to manufacturing and services. Work in agriculture declined from 66 percent to 34 percent of the employed population (Bank of Korea, 1984). Employment in manufacturing rose from 9 percent to 22.6 percent, and those in services grew from 25 percent to 43.4 percent (Bank of Korea, 1984).

The economic strategy through manufacturing was made possible by the labor that South Korean women provided. Korea did not have an abundance of domestic resources, and the only resource it could provide was from its human labor. Labor from South Korea was cheap and of high quality (Lim, 2003). Women and young girls worked eighty hours a week so they could support their family (H. Kim and P. Voos, 2007). According to Cho and Koo (1983), many women deserted work in the farm to be employed in industrial, commercial and service jobs located in the city. Other jobs such as professional and clerical occupations had few women workers who worked as teachers, nurses and secretaries (Cho and Koo, 1983). Although this was only a small number, it was a sign that more women workers were beginning to obtain work in white-collar jobs (Cho and Koo, 1983).

Eventually, South Korea faced competition from other Asian countries such as China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines in light manufacturing as these countries offered labor with lower wages. Consequently, the authoritarian government decided to shift to heavy manufacturing that involves the development of high technology manufactured products as early as the 1970s. Manufacturing expanded to industries of steel, automobiles, electronic appliances, computers and shipbuilding, which was typical work for men (Hamilton and E. M. Kim, 1993; Kim and Voos, 2007). Kim and Voos stated that light manufacturing industries of making textiles and shoes were assigned mainly to women, while heavy manufacturing of steel and auto were for men. Moreover, job training could be accessed depending on gender. The boys were eligible in almost all blue-collar training opportunities, while the girls were mainly trained to be embroiderers, seamstresses and beauticians (Greenhalgh, 1985; Nam, 1991). Women who are employed in mining, construction, transportation, and financing were less than 5 percent (Hyoung, 1986; Seager and Olson, 1986). It is apparent that the different kinds of industries show the separation between men and women in terms of the kind of training and work they have access to during this time.

The priority given in strengthening the manufacturing industry did not mean equal employment opportunities for women of all ages and civil status. Cho and Koo (1983) showed that a higher number of women who were wage earners were single and aged 20-24, while women who were married could be wage earners only
until age 34. This shows that single and young women were better able to participate in the labor market than married women.

The women workers in South Korea also worked more hours than men. According to Kyung Ae Park (1993), Chairperson of the Korea Foundation of Asia Research at the University of British Columbia, the women worked for an average of 245 hours per month in 1984, which was four hours more than men. A woman worked an average of 9.7 hours a day compared to 9 hours for men.

Aside from women working for longer hours than men, they received a lower salary than their male counterparts. The salary of women was less than half of male workers until 1987 (Park, 1993). The manufacturing industry where most women were employed maintained the lowest wages among all of the other industries (Ministry of Labor). In the years between 1980 and 1988, data on wage differences was gathered from twenty-five countries, and South Korea was the country that had the highest salary difference between men and women (Park, 1993).


From the period of independence until the achievement of economic growth, women in South Korea played an important part. However, their employment opportunities, wages and working hours were determined by their gender. More opportunities to be able to work, receive a reasonable amount of salary and work for a reasonable number of hours were not the same as their male counterparts.

III. Democratization

As South Korea achieved economic progress, pressures for changes in the management of the economy and the government followed. The corporations or chaebols became increasingly financially capable, which meant it demanded that the authoritarian government intervene less in its activities (Hamilton and Kim, 1993). Political and economic pressure towards South Korea also came from the United States. The U.S. was one of the major clients of South Korea’s export industry, and it felt that South Korea had too many restrictions in foreign direct investment and trade. The U.S. pressured South Korea to become more open to foreign direct investment and the free market economy, as well as adapt a democratic government, especially with the existence of political pressures in the international community brought about by the Cold War.

Meanwhile in the domestic setting, South Korean authoritarian government was confronted by demonstrations from its civil society, including its growing middle class. Student activists, the Catholic Church, several Protestant churches and workers demanded the democratization of the government. The student
movement was more oriented toward political democracy, and the workers’ movement was directed toward economic democracy (Hamilton and Kim, 1993). These demonstrations culminated in the Declaration for Democracy by Roh Tae Woo in June 1987 (Ilpyong and Young, 1988).

The democratization of South Korea required a new constitution. The United States assisted in the drafting of the constitution, specifically in the laws that address equality (Palley, 1990). This assistance meant that American ideas had somehow penetrated into the new laws (Palley, 1990). Nevertheless, there was no apparent transfer of American attitudes and cultural beliefs along with it (Palley, 1990). In other words, South Korea had a new constitution that has some sort of Western influence, but actual implementation, application and enforcement of the new laws would prove difficult or slow. Some of the most important laws that deal with equality which were included in the new constitution were the Labor Standard Law, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, and the modified Family Law. The Labor Standard Law stipulates standards and conditions for employment, equal treatment of workers regardless of sex, prohibitions on forced and exploitative labor, and the allowance for the exercise of civil rights of a worker. The Equal Opportunity act has provisions for the equality of women in recruitment, training, promotion, retirement, and mandatory maternity protection through a one-year child care leave system and a two-month paid leave for pre- and post-natal care (Park, 1993). The Family Law was modified to change some earlier provisions that put women at a disadvantage in terms of inheritance, marriage and family responsibilities.

Although new laws dealing with gender equality and women’s needs were created, a majority of women’s issues were not immediately addressed (Park, 1993). For instance, many women still did not receive assistance in child care. Many working women faced difficulty in assuming simultaneous responsibility as mothers and as workers. A lot of married women did not work because of the need to take care of their children (Park, 1993). Some daycare centers opened in 1988, but in only a few, not all, industries (Korean Women Today, 1989). It was only in 1990 that a new law was passed that would provide for the establishment of nurseries for working mothers (Park, 1993). In short, although there was existing legislation addressing working women’s needs, institutions and mechanisms to fully implement these laws did not exist. The government, corporations, and even the workers still had to deal with the lack of awareness on the provisions of these new laws in order that appropriate measures were to be taken for its compliance. The society was still too slow to provide the necessary services in order for the working women to feel that the laws were being enforced.

The new laws may have been slow in bringing about change in the situation of working women in South Korea. But the slow change, flaws in law enforcement,
and the new democratic environment did bring forth apparent change in women worker’s movements. Although some groups concerned with women’s rights have already emerged before World War II, these were not particularly concerned with issues relating to women’s rights and equality (Palley, 1990). The new emerging women’s groups under the democratic government were concerned with working class women’s major concerns such as pay equity, improved working conditions, provisions amendment of the Family Law, job training for poor women, and career opportunities for women who wish to work outside their homes (Palley, 1990). It is important to note that most of the leaders of these groups were educated, middle class homemakers (Palley, 1990). Some women’s groups criticized the new laws for lack of implementation mechanisms, while some women’s groups supported the new laws for the reason that change must begin someplace and they can work on the tools to implement them effectively (Palley, 1990).

Some more important women’s groups expressed varied reflections on the situation of working women during this time. The Korean Women Workers Association (KWWA) saw payment and promotion opportunities for women as unequal. KWWA recognized the tough situation of married women when they are faced with difficult work both at home and in their work place, especially with increasing pressure for women to contribute to the family’s income in order to make ends meet (Palley, 1990). The Korean Women’s Society for Democracy, on the other hand, believed that basic human rights issues and adaptation to the democratic processes were prerequisites before women can be ready to confront men on issues of sexual equality (Palley, 1990). Lo Youn Hee, the representative of the group Women’s Hotline (Palley, 1990), argued that women workers are the most oppressed groups in South Korea. Kim Su Ja (Palley, 1990), a manager of Women’s Newspaper noted that although there have been changes achieved since 1980 regarding women’s attitudes about themselves, much change is still needed in social institutions. Finally, a president of the Korean League of Women Voters (Palley, 1990), stated that change is very slow mainly because women in general still believe that they should be good housewives and mothers. These views, no matter how different, reflect a common concern for the need for change in women worker’s situation in South Korea. Some have accepted that change has indeed occurred, but most of them recognize that it is not enough change.

According to Palley (1990), the situation in the 1990s was one where Korean women still faced the problem of changing the gender roles and equality. She said the Confucian moral code that places women as main actors in maintaining the family was still very strong and old practices still remain: women work until they marry, they tend to hold poorly-paid and dead-end job designations; and even professionally-trained women are not given more opportunities for employment (Palley, 1990). Data in the year 1989 show that some women worked in
administrative and managerial sectors, but they make up only 1.9 percent of these positions (Park, 1993). Managerial and administrative sectors were dominated by men, while women did clerical work, teach, or become nurses (Park, 1993).

It is important to note that the emergence of women’s groups immediately after South Korea’s democratization did in fact contribute a lot in the awareness and demand for change in the status of working women. Their very existence and persistence was an important ingredient before any significant change could occur. It is clear that women have established themselves as capable participants of the labor force in South Korea, and this consequently brought about the need to address more specific issues amongst them, particularly the issue of working mothers needing assistance from the government and the society in fulfilling their dual roles.

Some improvements were also achieved during democratization. The gender wage gap continuously narrowed over the course of development (Kim and Voos, 2007). In 1980, female wage earners in Korea received 44.5 percent of what their male counterparts received. The ratio rose to 53.4 percent in 1990, 58 percent in 1995, 61 percent in 1997, and 62.8 percent in 2003 (Korean Women’s Development Institute, 2000; 2004). Monk-Turner and Turner (2004) indicated that gender differences in pay narrowed particularly after the passage of the Equal Employment Law in 1988 (Kim and Voos, 2007). Women also achieved a higher educational attainment over time, and this helped narrow the gender wage gap by increasing women’s earnings the more educated she becomes (Kim and Voos, 2007). Kim and Voos mention that prior to the economic crisis in 1997, Korean women worked in a context of gender discrimination but also of rising education, greater social equality, and rising economic opportunities for women. It was also a context in which all workers had benefited from democratization of government and society in the 1980s and 1990s and from the growth of the Korean labor movement, particularly after 1987 (Kim and Voos, 2007).

IV. Korean Economic Crisis of 1997

The democratization of South Korea also penetrated its economy. The markets were liberalized, encouraging the entry of financial flows such as foreign direct investment mainly in the form of stocks. There was a boom in the Korean stock market in the mid-90s. Along with the rapid entry of foreign money came the risk of rapid withdrawal of capital as well. Unfortunately, in the late 1997, other Asian countries suffered a financial crisis, and this led to a chain reaction affecting South Korea as investors also immediately pulled out their stock investments, thus resulting to the Korean economic crisis.

There was high unemployment rate, reduced number of permanent jobs and increased number of temporary employment, rising income gap between the rich
and the poor, an increase in divorce rate, and emigration to the United States and Australia (A. Kim, 2004).

Many corporations went bankrupt, and a lot of people lost their jobs. According to Kim and Finch (2002), the male heads of middle income families received cuts in salary. Companies laid off women first. According to Kim and Voos (2007), behind the financial crisis that affected everybody was the simultaneous reality of suffering women. Women were used as buffers, the first to be fired in the restructuring of banks and financial institutions (Kim and Voos, 2007).

The positions women held in companies were lower positions and they were not the usual breadwinners of families. This is a reflection of the strong influence of Confucian ideologies on South Korean society, emphasizing the need for hierarchy in work, gender relations and family life. Confucianism sees the family and institutions as structures wherein lower-ranking members must respectfully defer to superiors. Men are obliged to fill the higher-ranking positions, while women, low-ranking positions. The men are also expected to be the breadwinners. As a result, women were required to relinquish their jobs during the crisis, so that jobs could be reserved for the male heads of the family (Kim and Finch, 2002).

Both single and married women were affected. The single women found great difficulty in finding work, which brought forth a number of single unemployed women called “discouraged workers” (Kim and Voos, 2007). The discouraged workers were those who had given up looking for a job, believing there simply were no jobs available for them (Kim and Voos, 2007). The married women, on the other hand, experienced the “added worker effect”, a trend where middle-aged married women were forced to enter the workforce so they could maintain the family income level as the crisis reduced or eliminated their husband’s income (Kim and Voos, 2007). In addition, women workers suffered the greatest decline in the service industry and in both small and large corporations (Kang, 1999). For the women who still had jobs, most were engaged in part-time or temporary work (S. Cho, 1999).

Nevertheless, women were still able to contribute to the family’s income during the crisis. Women in their late 30s who possessed a college degree took jobs as tutors (gwaewe), while others took jobs as sales clerks or cleaning jobs (Kim and Finch, 2002). Women worked in the informal sector in order to add to their family’s income.

Another effect of the financial crisis was the increase of employees in gender-integrated jobs. Teaching professions, office clerks and sales persons became much more gender-integrated (Kim and Voos, 2007). Men and women were integrated into these occupations because of the lack of other jobs in the labor market.
V. 21st Century

Should there be a good thing that came from the Korean financial crisis, it is the sale of Korean companies to foreign corporations. Foreign controlled companies are implementing fair employment practices and promote competent female employees into management positions (Korea Times, 2007). For example, Korea’s Exchange Bank, which has been under foreign management, had promoted 114 employees to management positions, and 40 percent of them are female (Korea Times, 2007).

However, the example above does not paint the entire picture for the rest of Korean working women in the 21st Century. Like in the past, women now still earn much less than men. In fact, the OECD reported that Korea has 38 percent income wage gap between men and women, the largest gender wage gap among 21 countries that were surveyed. Their working hours tend to be very long, 77 percent of women work more than 40 hours a week (OECD, 2007). In addition, there is a low employment rate for women at only 52.5 percent, compared to the OECD average employment rate of 56.1 percent. Their low employment rate cannot be attributed to women’s lack of education because South Korea has long been giving so much importance in educating the population. Many South Korean women have a high educational attainment, but only over half of them are in the workforce (OECD, 2007). For those who have work, one third of them are temporary contract workers (OECD, 2007). This description of the most recent situation of South Korean working women is like a repetition of the very same problems and inequality they faced in the past years. The figures may have improved a little, but reflect a still relatively large number worthy of attention, especially since South Korea scores one of the lowest in gender equality when compared to other countries.

Another more important and salient issue currently among working women in South Korea is their situation in balancing work and family life. The Equal Employment Act set the legislation for companies to provide ample maternity leave and child care services for their employees but implementation is at present still insufficient and weak. The Equal Employment Act only extends to large companies, therefore excluding its benefits to women who work in smaller companies or with informal employment arrangements (S. Moon, 2006). When women become pregnant, they are pressured by their peers not to take the legally granted maternity leave (Where They Stand, 2006). According to government surveys, working mothers usually take little time off. In a country of 49 million people, only about thirty five thousand parents took full advantage of child care leave subsidies (Where They Stand, 2006). Yoo Gae-sook, an associate professor of Family Studies at the Kyung Hee University in Seoul said, “the longer leave they take, the less likelihood of getting their job back even if that is illegal... flextime is
frowned upon by human resource managers, they feel that company discipline might erode”. As with child care services, only 41.8 percent of companies with three hundred or more employees set up child care facilities at work (Suk and Soo, 2005). Korean mothers still lack support from the public sector in providing child care services, therefore relying on extended family such as mothers-in-law to help take care of the baby (Hyun et al., 2002). According to Prof. Chang Wha of Ewha Woman’s University, child care services can even be too expensive, forcing mothers to give up work and just stay at home for more practical reasons. The usual pattern of employment for women when they get pregnant is they leave the work force during years of child rearing and then only resume work when the children are older (Suk and Soo, 2005). Consequently, they have less job opportunities in the market and are forced to accept much lower wages when they resume work (Yoo, 2003).

Then there are the mothers who are struggling to balance family life and work. One example is Hwang Myoung-un, a marketing executive with a six-year old son. She advertised in a newspaper her sentiments as a working mother in South Korea, stating “I may be a good employee, but to my family I am a failure. In their eyes, I am a bad daughter-in-law, bad wife and bad mother” (Washington Post, 2010). She is one of the many South Korean women who combine work and family responsibility but constantly feel the pressure of “too little time” and “too much guilt” for neglecting the education of children in a nation obsessed with education, for putting off family obligations as dictated by an assertive mother-in-law, and for failing to attend to feed an overworked husband (Washington Post, 2010). Indeed she experiences extreme pressure from these two environments. She symbolizes a Korean woman who has successfully secured a stable position in the workplace, but the tradeoff of it is the growing resentment among her family members.

Some effort to ease burden on working women are being done. One example is the project “Happy Women, Happy Seoul” led by Mayor Se Hoon Oh, which was launched in 2007. It aims to help find work for jobless women, pave streets to make them high-heel friendly, build more public women’s restrooms, and add more public daycare centers. Its focus is helping women with young children and the unemployed, and its efforts are directed at eliminating the daily inconveniences, anxiety and discomfort that women in Seoul experience (Time, 2009). This is a creative project to help women these days, but according to Eunyoung Cho, a 25-year old single woman, this project “may make citizens feel that the mayor is doing something, but they may not feel the changes in their lives”. In other words, these are still small steps to help improve women workers’ situation, and bigger, immediate endeavors are needed to make working women feel that they are being helped.
To be a woman in South Korea these days is far from easy. That is why women are making choices to make their lives more manageable. But some of their choices are bringing about a trend that can have a big impact on South Korea’s economy and population. The “no baby, no husband” trend has become a demographic epidemic in East Asia (Washington Post, 2010). In South Korea, the percentage of unmarried women ages 30-34 has nearly doubled in the past five years (Washington Post, 2010). Because of the pressures of corporations and the society on women, many are postponing giving birth to a later stage. Fertility rates have continued to drop as well. Because there is lack of social support for working women, it has become a trend to choose work over having a family, or vice versa. If a woman were to take the two paths, she must be prepared to be overwhelmed with the responsibilities both will demand of her.

According to Willem Adema, OECD Directorate for Employment, Labor and Social Affairs, work and family constraints can lead to too few children and too little employment that can affect the quality of life and economic performance within a country (oecdobserver.org). She said that a proper work/life balance of families helps achieve a range of goals, from being well-being parents of children to higher productivity. This means that governments have an interest in assuring provision of affordable child care facilities where insufficient, and fostering a workplace culture that allows both parents to reconcile the tasks of going to work and bringing up their children (oecdobserver.org). Judging by the current situation of working women in South Korea, neither the government nor the society realizes the economic consequences of not providing enough social support for women. More labor shortage occurs by discouraging women to take advantage of maternal and child care benefits. Weakening the incentive to have babies will lead to the increase of an aging population with a decreased number of workers that will provide for their social welfare in the future.

VI. Factors of Change / Observations

Looking at South Korea’s modern history, women have constantly been involved in participating in the labor force. In fact, they were instrumental in South Korea’s economic growth from the initial stages when the country was just coming out of colonization and war. It can be understood that because of strong traditions, it is inevitable that women will face difficulty in changing the society’s concept of equality in work. From the beginning, they experienced inequality in wage, working hours, work opportunities, and social benefits. The women in South Korea were not unaware of the inequality, because they felt and experienced it every time they go to work.

Democracy encouraged women to fight for their rights. Women’s movement in South Korea changed the situation somehow, but not entirely. Democracy also
brought changes in the legislation, as the provisions of the Equal Employment Act recognized the need for equality at work, regardless of gender. But implementation and enforcement was weak. The requirements to enact the equality laws are costly, and a change in the attitude of the society does not happen overnight.

Women empowerment and the law are powerful instruments for change, but these were not powerful enough to stop women from being used as buffers in the event of the financial crisis. The financial crisis was caused by a number of domestic and international factors, but it does not justify getting rid of the women first than men in a period of economic austerity and reconstruction. The corporations are still too detached to female employees’ needs, that they were not capable of protecting women from the impact of the crisis.

As can be seen clearly at present time, the situation has changed a little in terms of percentages, but gender inequality and the pressures on working women in South Korea is still too obvious to ignore. Reports from the OECD, international institutions, and the media recognize the inequality. This means more effort has to be done to correct and improve the situation for working women.

Media has become an instrument where women can easily and more powerfully voice out their issues, and those who are bold enough can become influential representatives for the rest who do not have the courage or time to do so.

For the pressure that work and family put on women, it is just right for women to put pressure on the government, society and the corporations as well. There is a saying, “one cannot fight fire with fire”, which may convince someone not to take the challenge and hard work to go against longstanding rules, traditions and practices. It is true that working women in South Korea will still face a long and difficult struggle for things to change. But working together in a constant manner in raising awareness of their equality issues will lead to change, however little or slow. Women can make use of new instruments such as the internet, technology, and the media in their struggle for change. The society and the government must know their needs require immediate and sustained action.

VII. Conclusion

The situation of working women in South Korea has barely improved. From the 1950s up to the 21st century, women still experience inequality in wage, job opportunities and social welfare. The government acted on these issues by creating legislation to eliminate inequality in work, but has not been entirely successful in implementing it. Women’s voices have become louder through women’s movements, and this has urged changes. Nevertheless, the current situation still requires more change. Women are still highly disadvantaged in work. South Korea’s strong economy is not enough for the South Korean government, society
and corporations to be satisfied with the current status quo. There is a bigger room for improvement in terms of addressing working women’s needs and rights. Once appropriately addressed, South Korea may even benefit more economically by keeping its women workers happy, productive, and healthy.

REFERENCES

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THE ACCULTURATION OF KOREAN STUDENTS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON KOREANNESS: The Case of Koreans in an Urban Private School

Ringo M. Blanca

A. INTRODUCTION

The Philippines’ Bureau of Immigration (Bl) reported in 2011 that a total of 61,601 applications by foreigners for student 9(f) visa and special study permit (SSP) were approved the previous year and a great majority of these foreign student applicants were Koreans1. In that same year, 26,823 Korean students were issued SSPs and 6,000 were given student visas (Manila Bulletin, March 19, 2011)2. For both 9(f) and SSP, the Koreans were on top of the Bl list. These students partly compose the growing number of Koreans in the Philippines and just last year, Manila Seoul Weekly International, a Korean newspaper in the Philippines affiliated with the Foreign Correspondents Association of the Philippines, reported that 35% of Korean visits to the Philippines is for purposes of study/education³.

Most of the Korean students in the Philippines are considered return migrants, “people who return to their countries of origin after a period in another country.”(Smelser and Baltes eds., 2001). In ordinary circumstances, a Korean student stays to finish high school or even college in the Philippines. During breaks in between semesters and during holidays, they either fly back home to be with their families and return to the Philippines once classes resume or wait a little longer like a year or a couple more before reuniting with loved ones back home.

Korean students in the Philippines

It was in the 1990s that a rapid increase in the arrival of students to the Philippines was recorded. The economic growth experienced by Korea during this period paved the way for the increased prosperity of most Korean families. The value of education was reemphasized as the economy created a demand for highly skilled workers and professionals. The competitive nature of education in Korea drove some families to send their children abroad for further studies especially to learn and be exposed to English. The need to be fluent in the use of the English language was further necessitated by the TOEIC or Test of English for International Communication—a test that measures the ability of non-native English-speaking examinees to use English in everyday workplace activities. A high score from this test was required for university admission and for professional employment as well. TOEIC scores could even affect salary (Dinglasan and Dy, 2008). To improve
further their circumstance, well-off families send their children to good universities abroad. However, for others, coping up with this competitiveness and surviving the rigidity of the school system, coupled with the skyrocketing cost of education, having their children study abroad especially in countries where the cost of education is relatively lower but the perceived quality of education is somewhat satisfactory for them is the best alternative.

In 2010, Korea’s Education Ministry reported that 18,741 elementary, middle and high school students went out of Korea to study abroad. Of this number, 4,281 arrived in the Philippines (Philippine Daily Inquirer, August 21, 2011). A bigger majority of the students went to the US, Canada, Australia, Singapore and New Zealand (The Korea Herald, October 4, 2011). Although not a top choice, the Philippines still attracted a big number of Korean students.

Studies made by different scholars revealed that the choice of the Philippines as destination by the Koreans is due to several factors, including (1) low cost but (2) quality education offered by Philippine schools, (3) proximity of the Philippines to Korea, (4) the best country to learn English, (5) ideal climate and (6) the tourist destinations (Miralao and Makil (Eds.), 2007).

In another study conducted by De Guzman (2009) involving Korean students from the UP International Center, it was found out that majority of the Korean students learned about schools in the Philippines from the schools where they came from (in this case, UP Diliman). Others heard about the schools from friends (some of whom already visited or even studied in the Philippines) and some got the information from the Internet.

A typical website encouraging students to study in the Philippines is <www.studyinthephilippines.com>. It is a very helpful portal providing students an idea about universities and programs, university admission, visa application, eligibility and equivalence. It also has a page that answers the question “why study in the Philippines?”

The influx of Korean students to the country is one of the valuable contributors to the growth of the Philippine tourism industry. Although the number of foreign visits to the Philippines is not yet at par with its Southeast Asian neighbors, Philippine agencies are working hard to improve the tourism infrastructures of the country to invite more visitors. Education is one of the many potential sectors being tapped to realize this goal. In a study conducted by the National Statistics Office in 2010, the tourism industry generated revenue of 526.95 billion pesos and employed 510,884 Filipinos. With the great number of Koreans visiting the Philippines, and still a larger number of Korean students coming here to study, it is safe to assume that they contributed greatly in shoring up the tourism industry.
Culture-contact in the Philippines and the Set-up in the School

There is no definitive government pronouncement that the Philippines is a multicultural society unlike in countries such as Canada or Australia where multiculturalism is an explicit government policy. Hosts of online discussions and even blogs still debate over categorizing the Philippines as multicultural. Some claim that this multiculturalism is fait accompli.

These situations are probably the considerations why Andrew Heywood (2000: 227) classified definitions of “multiculturalism” as either descriptive or normative. According to Heywood, descriptively, multiculturalism simply refers to the significant demographic presence of different peoples with cultures in one setting. On the other hand, normatively, “multiculturalism” is the institutionalized recognition of the fact through the state’s adherence to the ideology or promulgation of policies. With multiculturalism, the society becomes “at ease with the rich tapestry of human life and the desire amongst people to express their own identity in the manner they see fit” (Bloor, 2010: 272).

Filipinos have been exposed to a multitude of cultures. In fact, Filipino culture is, to some extent, a product of multicultural influences. This multiculturalism implies openness to a diversity of cultures. The recent drive of the Aquino government to strengthen tourism in the country further contributes to the growing exposure of the Philippines to multicultural situations. Consequently, the education sector is one of the spheres that the Department of Tourism would like tap as a magnet for tourists and “stayers”.

In John Berry’s construct, multiculturalism refers to the national identity’s accommodation of ethnic identities. Multiculturalism is the society’s equivalent of “integration” as a person’s acculturation mode or adjustment strategy when in the face of encountering foreign culture. However, this does not mean that multiculturalism also automatically translates to “integration” style for individual Filipinos dealing with foreigners or that the supposed national tendency to be multicultural also permeates all micro settings. A good example would be the attitude and policy of schools. Schools tend to become very assimilative even if the society is inclined to multiculturalism. In the case of the Philippines, conversely, scholars such as Mitchell and Salsburry (1996: 259) believed that the Philippines “have multicultural education programs in both the schools and non-school activities.”

An interesting case in point is the school where the respondents of this study came from. This school has always hosted a big number of Korean students who compose the biggest group of foreign students in the school. The table below summarizes the population of Korean students enrolled in the school since school year 2003-2004 to present.
Table 1 Statistical Summary of the Korean students population in the Host school (2003-2013)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003-2004</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-2007</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008-2009</td>
<td>181 (High School only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>208 (High School only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2011</td>
<td>250 (High School only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011-2012</td>
<td>125 (High School only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012-2013</td>
<td>113 (High School only)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The school prides itself in having a huge population of foreign students (a total of 233 students from 20 different countries or almost 15% of the school’s student population) and has adjusted their curriculum to make it more “multicultural,” for example, learning experiences in the classroom, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities are made culture-sensitive. Nevertheless, there are still practices contrary to the professed multiculturalism some of which are enumerated below.

1. Non-Catholic students are required to attend and participate in all Catholic celebrations and activities in school. All the students are required to take a subject called “Christian Living Education (CLE).” Basically, this subject indoctrinates the student on Catholic dogma.

2. Foreign students are required to complete courses in Filipino (subject). There are no opportunities for them to use their native language except during personal conversations with fellow students of the same nationality. All other subjects are taught in English.

3. Rules and policies generally promote uniformity and conformity. Although the school espouses a “restorative” way of discipline where erring students are made to realize the consequences of their misdeeds while “restoring” them to proper behavior, students are generally encouraged to unquestionably follow the rules.

4. Foreign students are not assigned a separate guidance counselor for their needs. They are assigned the same guidance counselor as their Filipino batch mates. In this school, one guidance counselor is assigned per year level, a ratio of 1:450 students (approximately).
The idea is that a multicultural society (including the school) “provides a more positive settlement context for two reasons: they are less likely to enforce cultural change (assimilation) or exclusion (segregation and marginalization) on immigrants, and they are more likely to provide social support” (Berry, 2005: 703). According to Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder (2001), “school adjustment is generally regarded as the primary-socio-cultural and developmental task for children and adolescents” (Phinney et al., 2001). This is where schools are seen as “avenues to participation and mobility” (Ibid., 503). Rather than reflecting the dominant and usually assimilationist tendencies of the host society, schools must realize the significance of cultural diversity and equality in manners such as carrying out a curriculum that is inclusive and not stereotyped and discriminating. Thus, Philippine schools must adequately portray and accept the Korean students’ way of life. Yet, after looking into cases of different countries in relation to immigrant policies and identity, Phinney et al. believed that, “schools are more assimilationist than other institutions.”

The experiences of Korean students in the Philippines present an interesting aspect of migration. Just as any other migrant groups, these students’ sense of their own heritage and identity is juxtaposed with that of the host country. Being young, it is also compelling to understand if they adjust in the same manner as the older members of their group, considering the degree of similarity or difference of Filipino and the migrants’ cultures. This degree of difference, assumed by some scholars, is “significant enough to distort understandings of each other’s behavior” (Dinglasan and Dy, 2008). Claims have been made that indeed Filipinos and Koreans have contrasting attitudes more than similarities, and that this, somehow, complicates contact. A Korean diplomat quoted in a scholarly work on Korean migrants in the Philippines noted that a typical Korean exhibits “aggressiveness, rigidity and hastiness, while Filipinos manifest friendliness, flexibility and open-mindedness” (Miralao, 2007). This observation was further highlighted in the study conducted by Dinglasan and Dy (2008) that revealed how trust between Filipinos and Koreans was rated “low average.” This was fuelled by the perceptions and expectations of both Koreans and Filipinos of and from each other. These perceptions and expectations, in turn, the authors put forward, directed the nature of “trust” in the intercultural contact. The table below shows the contrasting perceptions and expectations between the two people:
Table 2 Some Findings on the Korean and Filipino Expectations from and Perceptions of Each Other (Dinglasan and Dy, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Koreans expectations of Filipinos (pre-contact)</th>
<th>Koreans perceptions of Filipinos (post-contact)</th>
<th>Filipinos expectations of Koreans (pre-contact)</th>
<th>Filipinos perceptions of Koreans (post-contact)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kind</td>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
<td>Nice</td>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>Friendly, Hospitable</td>
<td>Clean, Friendly</td>
<td>Friendly, Nice, Business-minded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSITIVE</td>
<td>Always late, Lazy</td>
<td>Friendly</td>
<td>Tightfisted, Snob, Strict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>Slow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The divergence in attitude and outlook and the low level of trust potentially threaten positive intercultural contact. On top of these, foreign students also have to deal with various stressors such as the pressure to assimilate (or even isolate), the anxieties brought about by forms of discrimination and the perturbation of being far away from home and family (Crockett et al., 2007). Such stressors significantly influence the student’s behavior and emotional state in the hostland. Furthermore, these could also likely affect the student’s academic performance and relationships in the host country. A study done among foreign college students in the US showed that failure to cope actively resulted in the foreign students’ having a higher level of depression and anxiety and that external support offered to the students moderated the said stress (Ibid, 347).

This study posits that looking into the acculturative strategy of the Korean students in the Philippines can be helpful in initially understanding their process of adjustment. Concomitant with this adjustment is the reshaping of how the foreign students perceive their identity because as they undergo the process of acculturation, they choose to either maintain their identity or lose it. Determining the acculturative strategy of the Korean students will provide valuable information for the hostland especially in putting in place mechanisms that will assist the students in a more pleasant and less stressful experience adjusting to the new environment. Active coping has been the preference as suggested by studies because of its direct effect on better adjustment. This study expects to contribute to the scholarship on acculturation especially that of Koreans in the Philippines. This study also highlights the critical role of the receiving society and institutions such as schools in contributing to the overall quality of life of the Korean students in the hope of improving cross-cultural relations. To do so, a theoretical background shall be presented first, followed by the method used and finally the discussion of the findings.
B. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Acculturation

The Social Science Research Council Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation established the standard definition of the term “acculturation” as a “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al., 1936). In the study, Herskovits elaborated that these changes “involves the adjustments being taken by the migrants upon reaching the host land, either to hold on passionately to their ethnic culture and identity while isolating themselves from the host culture, or to be open to the host culture while maintaining his/her cultural identity” (Herskovits, 1938). For Berry, a Canadian cross-cultural psychologist and one of the leading acculturation scholars, acculturation further involves “psychological change that follows intercultural contact...including alterations in individuals’ attitudes toward the acculturation process, their cultural identities, and their social behaviors in relation to the groups in contact” (Berry, 2006: 303-332).

Berry’s Acculturation Model

In 2011, Berry created a model of acculturation that synthesized previous works on the said field. Berry’s idea is one of the most popular examples of the acculturation bi-dimensional school of thought, where the assumption is that “the maintenance of ethnic identity is independent from the development of mainstream cultural identity” (Ibid). More traditional ideas were uni-dimensional and linear wherein they postulate that ultimately absorption of migrant culture to the dominant host culture becomes inevitable. Conversely, Berry believes that intercultural relations are mutual and reciprocal (Berry, 2011) and that contact does not necessarily always result to the demise of the less dominant culture. He added that, “In such complex plural societies, there is no assumption that some groups should assimilate or become absorbed into another group.”

Berry’s Acculturation Model explains that people from other cultures who come to contact with another culture actually confront two essential questions: (1) whether they maintain their ethnic identities and (2) whether they want to be actively involved in mainstream culture (Kang, 2006). When these two intersect, the individual has four strategies through which acculturation may be expressed.
Marginalization is a strategy that neither cultural maintenance nor interaction with others is sought. Separation happens when cultural maintenance is sought while avoiding involvement with others. Assimilation is the way when there is little interest in cultural maintenance combined with a preference for interacting with the larger society. Integration takes place when both cultural maintenance and involvement with the larger society are sought (Berry, 2006: 306). Therefore, in relation to koreanness, or any cultural identities for that matter that comes to contact with hostland culture, is maintained in a more integrative path. It is through the integration mode that the foreign student sustains both homeland and hostland cultures at a high degree. The framework used in this study adapted Berry’s model. Through the Integration style, the foreign student decides to appropriate the cultural traits of the hostland to his/her national culture and identity. Basically, the integration path allows foreign students to get the “best of both worlds.” On the other hands, Korean identity is maintained at a high degree when the separation mode is taken but this is while avoiding or in isolation from Filipino culture. Moreover, the assimilation style means giving up one’s cultural identity and embracing the hostland’s culture and heritage. There are many factors that will impel a migrant to do this; however, this paper will not anymore cover the said

discussion. Finally, both identities are at their lowest levels when the individual decides to show no interest in maintaining his/her own cultural identity and in interacting with the host culture.

C. METHOD

This study used qualitative and quantitative research methods in both the collection and verification of data. Korean students of an urban private high school in Makati were used as sample for this study. Incidentally, Makati hosts the largest Korean community in the Philippines, while the school where the sample came from is the largest coeducational private school in the area where there is a significant number of Korean students (also allowing for samples coming from both sexes).

The school where the respondents are studying hosts a total of 113 Korean students from first year to fourth year high school. The Korean population in this school comprises more than half of the total number of foreign students’ population. This school is the largest Catholic coeducational school in its location. Most of the schools around its vicinity are either public schools or exclusive schools for boys or girls.Basically, this school is a mission school being run by a big Catholic order based abroad, but most of the priest-administrators are already naturalized Filipinos. Their order’s main charism and philosophy of accepting all kinds of learners as a gesture of love and friendship is very much reflected in the school policies, thus, even foreigners are very much welcomed in the school, even those who are not Catholics.

The primary method employed is case study. The case study was done among Korean students in the high school department. The focus of the case study was on the idea of koreanness in the school setting. To collect the data, multitechniques were employed including the survey method, individual and group interviews.

Using Slovin’s formula sampling technique, the sample \( n=89 \) with a margin of error of .05 (confidence level = 95\(^\%\)) was determined. The group was predominantly female (54 or 61\%). Mean age was 15.88 years. Fifteen percent of the participants fell between the ages 13 and 14, 43\% fell between 15 and 16, 41\% between 17 and 18 and 1\% between 19 and above. For the length of stay in the Philippines, the mean was 7.93 years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3 Participants’ Demographic Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variables</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A 29-item questionnaire was used to determine the acculturation strategy of the Korean students. The questionnaire was an adaptation of the East Asian Acculturation Measure (EEAM) of Declan T. Barry (2001). Items were measured on a scale of 1-7 ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). The scale was internally consistent with Cronbach’s $\alpha = .78$, with a higher score in specific cluster of items indicating assimilation (Items 1, 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 24 and 27), separation (Items 2, 6, 10, 14, 18, 22 and 25), integration (Items 3, 7, 11, 15 and 19) and marginalization (Items 4, 8, 12, 20, 23, 26, 28 and 29).

The scope of *koreanness* was operationalized in the context of gratification of basic needs and belongingness to kinship system and local community as used by Sungchul Kim (1979) in his study of Korean wives of Filipino husbands living in Metro Manila. Ethnic group identification (*koreanness*) was assessed by asking the participants to respond to a 29-item questionnaire during the interview. The participants were interviewed per cluster based on their acculturation mode. The questionnaire was adapted from the study of Sungchul Kim on the *biculturation*. The items were classified into subgroups: (1) gratification of basic needs and (2) belongingness to kinship system and local community. In Kim’s work, the first subgroup includes food, housing and clothing preferences. The second subgroup includes belongingness to both the Filipino and Korean communities through contact with members of each community and through participation in activities involving each culture.

A specific time was assigned to the participants for them to answer the EEAM (written). They came to the testing venue (in school) by batch (per section). This happened for several weeks until the 89 questionnaires were completed. Each respondent was assigned an identification number. After the survey, the mean scores were tallied per cluster of the EEAM items. The highest mean score from the four clusters corresponded to the appropriate acculturation strategy. Two representatives from each acculturation mode cluster became the subjects of the case histories that were conducted. These representatives were the two extreme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of stay (In Years)</th>
<th>17-18 = 37 (41%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19 and up = 1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>15.88 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;1 = 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1-2 = 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-4 = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-10 = 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 and up = 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>7.93 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mean scorers from their respective clusters. The rationale for this is to have a variation in the data and that the representatives embody the interplay of different variables named. The eight respondents selected were asked to secure a parental/guardian permit. A letter was provided to the parents/guardians by the researcher to secure their approval for their child’s participation in the study. Of the eight respondents, only 7 were allowed by their parents to join.

The interview of the seven respondents commenced and was done per cluster (based on the acculturation mode). The analysis of the results of the interview was done using the framework presented.

D. RESULTS

1. The EEAM Survey

The table below summarizes the results of the classification using the EEAM. The distribution of frequencies indicated that of the 89 Korean students, 57% or 51 Korean students were in the classification *integration*, 35% or 31 were in *separation*, 5% or 4 in *marginalization* and 3% or 3 in *assimilation*.

The number of girls was also greater for all acculturation modes; 20 of the 31 respondents in *separation* category are girls, 28 of the 51 for *integration*, 3 of the 4 in *assimilation* and all of the respondents in *marginalization*.

The greatest mean age is for those who identified as *integrated*, which is 16.23, and the lowest is 15.5 with the *marginalized*. In relation to the length of stay, the longest as indicated by the greatest mean is of those who are *assimilated* (15.66 years) and the shortest (with the lowest mean) is 4 years for the *marginalized*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acculturation Mode</th>
<th>No. of Students ($n=89$)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Mean Age</th>
<th>Mean Length of Stay (year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16.23</td>
<td>6.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.80</td>
<td>5.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalization</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data below shows the correlations ($r$) between the mode of acculturation and the two independent variables age and length of stay. The qualitative interpretation of the degree of linear relationship existing is shown in the following range of values:

78
TABLE 5 Degree of Linear Relationship and Qualitative Equivalent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$r$</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\pm 1.00$</td>
<td>Perfect positive (negative) correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\pm 0.91 - \pm 0.99$</td>
<td>Very high positive (negative) correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\pm 0.71 - \pm 0.90$</td>
<td>High positive (negative) correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\pm 0.51 - \pm 0.70$</td>
<td>Moderately positive (negative) correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\pm 0.31 - \pm 0.50$</td>
<td>Low positive (negative) correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\pm 0.01 - \pm 0.30$</td>
<td>Negligible positive (negative) correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>No correlation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Yonardo Gabuyo, et al. Elementary Statistics, (Rex, 2010), 276

For acculturation mode and length of stay, SDs are clustered tightly about the M. This is especially apparent for marginalization (SD = .46) and relatively less tight for separation (SD = .68).

The correlation between mode of acculturation and length of stay is highly positive for assimilation ($r = .76$) but insignificant ($t = 1.16$, $df = 1$). Both integration ($r = .27$) ($t = 1.96$, $df = 49$) and separation ($r = .05$) ($t = .26$, $df = 29$), have negligible positive insignificant correlation and finally, moderately negative for marginalization ($r = -.69$) and insignificant ($t = -1.34$, $df = 2$).

Using the coefficient for determination ($r^2$), of the 89 respondents, those who identified as assimilation ($n = 3$) have 57% of the variation that could be attributed to length of stay while the low coefficient of determination of those who identified as separation ($n = 31$, $r^2 = .002$) means that only .2% of the variation could be attributed to length of stay.

TABLE 6 Values for Measures of Acculturation and Length of Stay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>$SD$</th>
<th>$r$</th>
<th>$r^2$</th>
<th>$t$</th>
<th>Level of significance</th>
<th>$df$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.27</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalization</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>-.69</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>-1.34</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For acculturation mode and age, SDs are also clustered tightly about the M. This is especially apparent with marginalization (SD = .46) and relatively less apparent with separation (SD = .68).

The correlation between mode of acculturation and age is only moderately positive for assimilation ($r = .59$) but insignificant ($t = .73$, $df = 1$) followed by integration, which is already negligible positive ($r = .04$) and insignificant ($t = .28$, $df = 49$). Both separation ($r = -.14$) and marginalization ($r = -.12$) are with low negative
correlation and insignificant (marginalization: \( t = -0.17, df = 2 \) and separation: \( t = -0.76, df = 29 \)).

Using the coefficient for determination \((r^2)\), of the 89 respondents, those who identified as assimilation \((n = 3)\) have 29% of the variation that could be attributed to age while the low coefficient of determination of those who identified as integration \((n = 51, r^2 = 0.0016)\) means that only 0.16% of the variation could be attributed to age.

**TABLE 7 Values for Measures of Acculturation and Age**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>( r^2 )</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Level of significance</th>
<th>df</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.0016</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.76</td>
<td>.05</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marginalization</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>.46</td>
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<td>.05</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>.59</td>
<td>.29</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the correlation analysis done in the previous chapter, all in all, both variables age and length of stay showed a negligible to insignificant effect on the acculturation styles of students.

Of the eight respondents selected as representatives, two are boys (25%) and six are girls (75%). The youngest respondent is 15 years old who has been in the Philippines for 14 years and the oldest is 18 years old. Both of these respondents identify themselves as assimilated. Respondent 2F31 has been in the Philippines the shortest (10 months) and identified as integrated and 4F35 has been here the longest (18 years). The largest mean for number of years is of those classified as assimilation \((M = 16\) years\) and the lowest is of those classified as integrated \((M = 2.41\) years\).

**TABLE 8 Representatives for the Case Study and their Respective Mean Scores in the Acculturation Mode Cluster of Items and Demographics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acculturation Mode</th>
<th>Mean Score in Acculturation Mode Cluster of Items</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Length of Stay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>4.2 (Lowest)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.83 years (10 mos.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID: 2F31</td>
<td>6.6 (Highest)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID: 2J7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M = 2.41 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>3.86 (Lowest)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID: 3E16</td>
<td>6.71 (Highest)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID: 2A32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M = 4 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. The Case Histories of the Representatives of the Different Acculturation Modes

The narrative below specifies how each group manifested the high or low degree of regard for their koreaness.

**Marginalization: The Cases of 1I37 and 2A37**

These respondents registered a very high mean score for the following items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with Filipinos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I sometimes feel that neither Filipinos nor Koreans like me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>There are times when I think no one understands me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>I sometimes find it hard to communicate with people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>I sometimes find it hard to make friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Sometimes I feel that Koreans and Filipinos do not accept me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Sometimes I find it hard to trust both Filipinos and Koreans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>I find that both Koreans and Filipinos often have difficulty understanding me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>I find that I do not feel comfortable when I am with other people</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mood of the interview for this group was serious. Both respondents appeared very dismissive and doubtful of people around them.

Socializing with Filipinos was indeed a difficulty for both respondents. Although they both claim to have many Filipino friends, they seldom go out with these friends even if they were being invited. Respondent 2A37 even mentioned that she does not go because she does not feel comfortable there and that she feels left alone. This tendency to retreat from socializing also makes it interesting to note that she still finds herself unable to understand (speak and write) Filipino language. In fact she answered NEVER to most items related to Belongingness to
Filipino Community and Belongingness to Korean Community. She added that if she will have her way she would really prefer not to be involved. Her idea of her fellow Koreans is negative. She thinks that the Korean students who are here came to the Philippines to escape the difficult and rigid system of studying in Korea. Although she knows most of the Korean students in the school, she admits that she is not really a close friend to anyone of them.

The same negative tone is also true for her perceptions of her teachers. She said that she had an experience of being told to go back to Korea that made her feel negative about Filipino teachers.

Respondent 1I37 showed a lesser consistency with her survey results. She appeared to provide answers that she thinks the interviewer desired to hear. However, this could also be attributed to the fact that she was the lowest mean scorer for her cluster so she tends to manifest milder characteristics. Unlike Respondent 2A37, this respondent has a positive perception of her teachers. She also has an amiable opinion about the Koreans in school.

Like 2A37, this respondent also answered NO/NEVER to most items involving Belongingness to Filipino Community and Belongingness to Korean Community. When asked if she was proud to be Korean her response was “I don’t know. Maybe.”

**Separation: The Cases of 3E16 and 2A32**

These respondents registered a very high mean score for the following items:

2 Most of the music I listen to is Korean  
6 My closest friends are Koreans  
10 I prefer going to social gatherings where most of the people are Koreans  
14 I feel that Koreans treat me as an equal more so than Filipinos do  
18 I would prefer to go out on a date with a Korean than with a Filipino  
22 I feel more relaxed when I am with a Korean than when I am with a Filipino  
25 Koreans should not date non-Koreans

The respondents, especially 2A32, were very frank about what they feel and think. This was apparent during the interview.

Respondent 3E16 appears to be very pretentious. He indicated YES to questions involving fluency in English and Filipino. However, during the interview, the researcher had to seek the help of an interpreter to translate and explain some ideas. This respondent only arrived in the country less than a year ago.

The respondent said that he only has few Filipino friends and that he seldom goes out with them. He also said no to all items pertaining to attending or joining activities involving Filipinos.
In terms of his belongingness to the Korean community, his response was mixed. He replied never/no to most activities involving going/visiting Koreans in the Philippines. On the other hand, he said yes to observing several Korean holidays on the Philippines, and he is proud to be Korean.

Respondent 2A32 was the only respondent who said that she felt “depressed” when she was taken to the Philippines. She also indicated no to all items indicating fluency in Filipino and English and emphasized that what she understood were bad words because of her classmates.

She admitted to having only “some” Filipino friends and that she does not consider her relationship with the Filipino friends important. She does not go out with her Filipino friends. She also considers Filipino teachers as negative.

The respondent was straightforward in expressing her opinion about the elder-younger relationship of students in school. She thinks the system of respecting and being polite “is stupid.”

The respondent said yes to all the activities pertaining to attending and visiting Koreans in the Philippines. She also said yes in observing some Korean holidays on the Philippines.

Finally, this respondent believes that not visiting Korea and becoming half Filipino makes one “less” Korean.

**Integration: The Cases of 2F31 and 2J7**

These respondents registered a very high mean score for the following items:

3 I tell jokes both in Korean and in Filipino
7 I think as well in Filipino as I do in Korean
11 I have both Filipino and Korean friends
15 I feel that both Koreans and Filipinos value me
19 I feel very comfortable around both Filipinos and Koreans

The interview involving the two respondents was very light. Both respondents appeared very engaging.

Respondent 2F31 mentioned that she is not fluent in both English and Filipino. 2J7 on the other hand indicated that he is fluent in English and can understand Filipino.

Both respondents mentioned that they have many Filipino friends and that they go out frequently with them. Both respondents also indicated a positive perception of their teachers and of their Filipino friends. Moreover, they both agree that not all Koreans in school are good; some are “lazy and rude.”

Both respondents indicated no to having attended or visited any Korean in the Philippines. They both said yes in observing most Korean holidays in the
Philippines. The respondents also shared the same sentiment that though Koreans should be allowed with their special lifestyles and customs, they need to remember that they are in another country and that they have to observe and follow the rules.

**Assimilation: The Case of 1F38**

These respondents registered a very high mean score for the following items:

1. I write better in Filipino than in Korean
2. When I am in my apartment/house/condo, I typically speak Filipino
3. If I were asked to write poetry, I would prefer to write it in Filipino
4. I get along better with Filipinos than Koreans
5. I feel that Filipinos understand me better than Koreans do
6. I find it easier to communicate my feelings to Filipinos than to Koreans
7. I feel more comfortable socializing with Filipinos than I do with Koreans
8. Most of my friends at school are Filipinos

The respondent arrived in the Philippines when she was just five years old. At first glance one will mistake her already for a Filipino. Her physical characteristics are “more Filipino” than Korean. She has “brownish” skin and her eyes do not resemble the usual almond shaped-eye of most Koreans. She thinks she is fluent in English but not in Filipino (however, she can understand Filipino). Interestingly, she indicated in the profile a desire not to go back to Korea permanently.

The respondent admitted that she has more Filipino friends and only “some” Korean friends. She goes out with her Filipino friends frequently. Her attitude towards her Filipino friends is positive. Towards her teachers, it’s only “ok lang.”

The respondent said yes to almost all items pertaining to attending activities involving Filipinos. However, she said no to almost all activities pertaining to the Korean community. Her attitude towards her fellow Koreans seems not very intense (she only answered “they’re okay.”)

**E. DISCUSSION**

The question of how migrants cope in the host society is complex and multifaceted. Berry and the majority of other scholars have done studies that argued for and proven that integration is the most ideal acculturation style and marginalization the least. However, some scholars such as Rudmin posited that integration is not necessarily always the best acculturation style.

The case of the Korean student respondents in this study affirms Berry’s assumptions on how length of stay affects the acculturation style of migrants. Those who identified themselves as *assimilated* had the highest mean for length of stay followed by *integration, separation* and finally *marginalization*. There was also a
consistency among all the respondents who identified themselves in the respective acculturation modes as evidenced by a tight SD.

Among all the four acculturation modes, significant positive correlation between length of stay and mode of acculturation was also evident with assimilation. Its coefficient of determination suggests that more than 50% of the variation is indeed due to length of stay. Similarly, the data suggest that length of stay is negatively correlated to marginalization where the Korean student respondents have the lowest mean score for length of stay. However, this appears to be irrelevant to separation as its coefficient of determination suggests that length of stay is almost insignificant.

Both Berry (2006) and Phinney et al. (2001) also assumed that age is one of the important factors that might have an effect on a migrant’s acculturation mode. Following this argument, younger migrants who arrived early in a foreign society and stayed there long enough will identify eventually as assimilated. In this study, the correlation between age and acculturation style is generally negligible, suggesting that age had no significant effect in determining the acculturation style of students. The highest correlation was that of assimilation which was only moderately correlated and the coefficient of determination only suggests a minimal effect. All the other modes registered a low to negligible correlation and a relatively insignificant coefficient of determination.

The eight representatives for the interview presented an interesting mix of data. Only those who identified as assimilated showed a consistency with high correlation between acculturation mode and length of stay. The average number of years of both assimilated respondents is significantly higher than the others.

Moreover, the relationship between age and acculturation mode appears consistent with the conclusion for all the samples, that age is not significantly affecting the acculturation mode. Among the eight representatives, the two youngest respondents identified as marginalization and assimilation, which are the extremes in Berry’s continuum.

In relation to koreanness, the different groups showing different acculturation styles gave varying ideas about behavior towards koreanness. The strongest tendency for and the clearer conception of koreanness was particularly manifested by those who identified as separation followed by those under integration. This was lesser and weaker with those who identified under assimilation and marginalization, respectively. This validated the fundamental assumptions of the framework employed in this study.

The case studies have shown us that those who chose to maintain ethnic identity and national identity manifested high degree of regard for both cultures. In this acculturation style (integration), koreanness is maintained side by side the national culture. The Korean students who opted to maintain their ethnic identity
but shy away from the national culture manifested a high degree of koreanness. Conversely, there were Korean students who decided not to maintain a high degree of regard for their ethnic identity, rather, to prioritize the national culture. This situation put to a low degree their koreanness. Finally, a smaller group of Korean students opted not to maintain both contact with national culture and preservation of ethnic identity, which resulted to a low degree of koreanness.

For all the groups of student-respondents in different acculturation styles, koreanness is pride in everything Korean, be it a tangible aspect that defines their identity or something intangible. For example, this could be as simple as eating Korean food, observing Korean holidays or observing traditional family practices.

For those under integration and assimilation, their exposure to Filipino culture have developed in them respect and admiration as manifested in how they feel and behave in relation to the Filipino community and culture. The degree was more intense with the assimilation group.

Conversely, with marginalization and separation, the student-respondents expressed several apprehensions and concerns regarding Filipino culture especially in dealing with Filipinos and with Filipino practices. Additionally, those who identified as marginalization also had the same concerns, bordering to resentment, in relation to their own culture, which is not the case with separation, wherein a high regard for Korean identity is maintained.

F. CONCLUSION

The Philippines is descriptively and generally multicultural. The government may not be explicit about making multiculturalism an expressed state policy but most of its programs encourage multiculturalism. Probably the biggest driving factors for this multiculturalism are tourism and the steady openness of the Philippines to globalization. Schools have a significant role in promoting multiculturalism. However, not all schools are always multicultural. In general, schools have tendencies to be assimilative, being the prime agent of the state to promote national ideals. In the case of the host school where the respondents of the research came from, the multicultural and assimilative tendencies overlap and sometimes become ambivalent.

Based on the findings of this study, the following are suggested to facilitate a more desirable acculturation strategy for Korean students (or foreign students in general), to encourage a more accommodating and culturally sensitive host environment and to promote a healthier, a more proactive and positive cross-cultural relationship between host and migrants.

The government, through its respective instrumentalities, should make official its policy towards multiculturalism. The researcher believes that this is not anymore a question of whether the state needs to be multicultural because the
country’s historical experience and the current government’s emphasis on opening up to the world necessitates such an action. An explicit pronouncement from the government through proper legislation will make micro and macro policies and programs standard and systematic.

The government should step up its systematic monitoring of foreign visitors and “stayers” by initially systematizing the gathering and collating of data. In doing this study, the researcher had difficult time culling complete information regarding the demographical statistics involving foreign students in the country. The Bureau of Immigration itself admits on its website the difficulty it is experiencing in relation to gathering and keeping data. These data would have been very helpful in assisting scholarly works.

The schools hosting foreign students should seriously consider systematizing their multicultural programs and activities. Ambiguous and conflicting policies create confusion that adds to the already difficult and stressful experience of studying abroad in the case of foreign students. In doing so, the school should strike a balance between accommodating ethnic culture but at the same time maintaining also a high regard for national culture, because, expectedly, schools are the keepers and transmitters of national ideals and aspirations. The following specific programs and activities might be looked into: (a) creation of a multicultural office if feasible, (b) putting up a support system for foreign students may be considered to be placed under the services of the guidance office, (c) promoting awareness and sensitivity about foreign cultures through cultural events, celebrations, dialogues, seminars and the like, (d) encouraging schools to give teachers and all school personnel who directly have contact with foreign students cultural sensitivity and awareness orientations where the school could tap the cultural offices of embassies and consular, or even experts from the academe, (e) encouraging foreign students to maintain their pride for their identity by providing venues for such (i.e. student organizations) within the bounds of school culture and policies, and (f) encouraging the Korean students that they should also exert an effort to understand local ways. This also includes respecting locals and their practices. Since they are visiting, just as how the host society aspires for a better contact, the foreign students should also make sure that their exposure to this country enriches them and not view openness as a threat to their koreanness.

There were aspects not covered by this study but would be an interesting subject of further research such as (a) how the host group acculturates in the presence of the non-dominant group. This will make the analysis of acculturation more holistic and comprehensive. The acculturation styles of both host and migrants could be correlated and this will further give light as to how host societies influence the acculturation of migrants; (b) this study could be further expanded by looking into the psychological level of the acculturation of Korean students in the
Philippines covering aspects such as acculturative stress and behavior shifts; and, finally, (c) this study does not have a claim on a national generalization but it is worthwhile to test the degree to which the findings of this research can be generalized to other populations. Additional research could be directed to other groups of immigrants or to a larger, more national sample.

Berry’s acculturation model is not flawless. Its critics question its assumptions and assertions. Nonetheless, more and more studies have been done that support its fundamental ideas. Also, Berry continuously updates his model to make it sufficient and solid. The debate on whether integration or assimilation is the best recourse for migrants to be able to settle comfortably in the host society continues. The findings of this research tried to make a contribution to this debate by examining the extent of how acculturation styles affect the migrant’s notion of his/her identity. The debate on integration-assimilation greatly impacts social reality and at the center of this debate is the migrant who has to choose to either prioritize ethnic or national identity and the decision is greatly affected by the host’s choice between integration and assimilation. It should also be realized that contact is a positive opportunity to enrich each other’s culture and a great chance to bridge two different peoples.

ENDNOTES

1 Hereinafter refers to and is interchangeably used with “South Koreans” and the people from the Republic of Korea.”
2 Ramirez also distinguishes SSPs from Student Visas explaining that the former are required of students who would like to take up elementary, high school and special courses in Philippine schools while the latter, also known as 9(f) visa, are issued to those who would like to take up tertiary education in the Philippines.
6 For instance, Malaysia registered the highest international tourist arrivals in 2011 for Southeast Asia at 24.7 million followed by Thailand with 19.10 million. For the same year, our Department of Tourism registered only 3.9 million, of whom 925,
204 were Koreans. The data are from the United Nations World Tourism Organization and the Philippine Department of Tourism websites.


8 Data for school year 2011-2012 as provided by the school’s registrar. The total population of the school is 1,588.

9 Based on the personal knowledge of the researcher, having worked in the school for eight years as of the writing of this paper and in his capacity as a middle administrator in the last four years. However, these observations are limited to the high school department where the researcher is a faculty.

10 \( n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} \) where \( N \) = total population and \( e \) = error tolerance

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It is the aim of this presentation to make its listeners, who I suppose are predominantly Global-Filipinos - those who I define to be Filipinos who are increasingly aware of global realities, who are tech-savvy, who are increasingly educated, those who are shaping this nation—to form an awareness of Kim Young-ha, a global South Korean writer who is claiming his position in the global literary movement as one of the most important voices in Asia today. He is a game-changer in the world of literature with his courage to write about realities that are often side-tracked because such realities often make people nervous. As Kim Young-ha told one of his interviewers, he writes literature because there are certain issues that can only be discussed in a round-about way (in “Fiction Reading by Shin Kyoung-sook and Kim Young-ha”).

This presentation has four parts: first, a discussion of the global literary movement which I perceive Kim Young-ha to be a part of; second, a biography of the author Kim as well as some of his ideas about writing for this age; third, a discussion of his fiction available in English; and fourth, a presentation of initial feedback made on Kim’s short fiction by two college freshmen sections that this presenter has handled.

1. The Global Literary Movement

The only way to describe contemporary literature is that, willingly or not, it is shaped by global forces. That, as much as writers write for the sake of artistic pursuit and/or to jumpstart social change, indeed, market forces of global capitalism, the increasing urbanization of societies, the creation of global cultural experiences, and increasingly interdependence of nation-states do indeed shape what is now referred to as the literary products of the digital age. There is no turning back, through the aid of technology that spawned the digital age, literature today no longer just caters to specific groups or societies, but is being created and read with a growing awareness of its global impact. That is to say, writers, readers and other literary workers (publishers, editors, critics, academics, etc.) approach literature with a global awareness in their consciousness. Thus, literary production and reception today operate under a global literary movement.

One thing is certain in this age, regardless of whether you call it the age of globalization or the digital age (which to me are synonymous when applied to literary studies), the speed of changing ideas and of literary taste is hastened
through the aid of advanced information technology which has become the foundation of this age. The paradox though of this age is that power centers are multiple and the location of domination may not be in the physical realm but exist behind the computer screen. Wars are fought not only in the physical realm but in cyberspace. Thus, in such an age human structures such as the nation-state, are beginning to be re-defined. In this age of globalization one notices the paradox that as entities fight to be individuated the more similar these become similar. For instance, the novels of Milan Kundera, Salman Rushdie, Murakami Haruki and J. K. Rowling may exemplify certain aspects of their authors’ origins; however, it cannot be denied that their novels can be read and should be read beyond the authors’ national borders because of the global realities contained in their works.

Such is the case of the literary taste that emerges from this age of deliberate crossing of physical and cultural borders. It is not rare that what now appears in the best-seller list in one country mirrors what is in the best-seller lists in countries around the world. A big reason why such a similarity in popular reading taste is possible in a multi-lingual world is the growing importance and dependence of the field of literature on the translation of certain literary works. The act of translating literary works to a lingua franca is one of the most important practices to sustain the global literary movement.

Today, the most important language to be translated into remains to be English. As linguist, David Crystal argued in his book *English as a Global Language*:

> …a quarter of the world’s population is already fluent or competent in English and this figure is steadily growing, in the early 2000s that means around 1.5 billion people. No other language can match this growth. Even Chinese, found in eight different spoken languages, but unified by a common writing system, is known to only some 1.1 billion (7).

The age of globalization has created a niche for the practice of translation to become an industry and this industry of literary translation is naturally linked to publishing houses (and their associated literary workers) which in this age have also become international conglomerates whose center is traceable to the English-speaking United States, which is arguably the biggest proponent of the economic and cultural globalization movements.

So, in this age of globalization, the inter-linking of all that engage in practices involving literature constitute a tight and fine web that crisscrosses borders all in the name of the acquisition of capital, whether symbolic (like fame or awards), economic, emancipatory, etc. From this age emerges global literature.

Loosely, global literature is the result of transcultural practices in literary production and reception in the age of globalization. Transculturation here is not
limited to the post-colonial experience of some literary fields that had direct experience of being transgressed and dominated by some outside power. Anne Holden Rønning defines transculturation in literature as something that; “does not necessarily evolve from colonial dominance of another language, but rather from literary processes and genres adapted to a new landscape and way of life (7, italics mine).” Therefore, initially, what is referred to as global literature must be a literary product that is produced for a global audience through the adaptation of literary processes, genres, production and reception that addresses the context of globalization. However, the language dimension is added when one speaks of translated, global literature. Global literature translated into English is more accessible to more readers worldwide. Therefore, there are two elements to consider in classifying a work as global literature: first is the transcultural quality of the work, and second is the accessibility of the work to the most number of readers, thus the need for translation.

With the dependence of an increasing number of global literary works on translation comes the awareness for the reader that reading a work in translation is indeed more challenging for herself. For reading a work in translation is reading two (or more) voices telling similar but not the same stories. As Epstein (2012) shares:

“whenever we read a translation, we want to find out the cultural and historical context—of both the author and the translator. It’s the latter part that people tend to forget. So we should ask questions such as: Who is the author? Where is s/he from and what time period did/does s/he live in? How does that influence the writing? Who is the translator? Where is s/he from and when did/does s/he live? Does that influence the translation? What are the author and translator’s educational, cultural, historical, and political backgrounds? How might the political/cultural/social situations have influence, helped, and/or hindered the writing/translation? What movements are the author and translator involved in? How have their texts been received and critiqued? We also want to explore what a given translated work says and what it can tell us about the culture it comes from. What words, phrases, idioms, and concepts seem to be source culture-specific? What information about the original culture do we need? Do we have to do some research on, for example, the current political regime in the source country? What are we learning about how people live and behave there just from reading a book written and set there? If we happen to know the original language, we can also compare the original work to the translation to see what has happened in translation and if any changes, deletions, additions, shifts, and so forth tell us something about the source and target cultures, or about the translator or editor, or the perceived market.”
Informed by such questions and ideas, Epstein illustrates that: “those enjoying a book by Kim Young-ha might ask questions such as what the typical foods are in Korea and what it means to have the threat of North Korea constantly looming.”

Reading a translated work demands more from the reader, there is no use sugar-coating the process of reading it. Reading a translated work is about reading about the works layers of origins from the context of its original author, to the context of the translator, and third, to the context of the reader. So many worlds converge in the process of unpacking meaning in a work shaped by translation, but with so much work involved, the rewards provided by a translated work to its readers are high. A translated literary work that has its global readers in mind is one of the hallmarks of the global literary age and through it, we readers can hope to understand this interconnected world we live in.

2. Kim Young-ha and his Position in the Field of Global Literature

It was in 2007 that the global literary movement welcomed to its ranks an already locally established writer, Kim Young-ha from South Korea. His 1996 Munhak-dongne prize winning debut novel Naneun nareul pagoehal gwoliga itta had been translated into English by an equally acclaimed translator, Chi-Young Kim and given the unforgettable declarative sentence-title I have the right to destroy myself. The novel was published in the U.S. by Harcourt, Inc. It must be noted that Kim Young-ha is one of the very few South Korean writers to be translated and published in the U.S. Definitely, as a home to New York City, a world literary center in what Pascale Casanova refers to as the World Republic of Letters, it is no surprise that the U.S. publishing firms serve as a global shaper of literary taste and to a certain degree they distinguish works which are acceptable in the realms of high and popular forms of literature. His debut novel has also been translated into French, German, Dutch, Polish, Turkish, Chinese, and Vietnamese; with his novel being translated into English and being able to penetrate the U.S. market, it then appears that this South Korean author has been distinguished as ready for global distribution. In other words Kim Young-ha’s introduction to the English-speaking world marked a leap from him being a national writer to one who has the makings of a global one.

In 2004, before he made his global debut, Kim was making waves locally in South Korea for being a grand slam winner of major writing awards: the Yi Sang Literary award for “The Brother is Back,” the Hwang Sun-won Literature Award for “Treasure Ship,” and the Dong-in Literature award for his historical novel “Black Flower” (this one has an English translation available). With these recognition “he has begun to be recognized by critics overseas as well as in his country as representative of a literary breakthrough that occurred in the wake of
democratization and post-industrialization in South Korea” (quoted from Kim’s official biography from his website).

Kim was born in Hwacheon on November 11, 1968. He moved from place to place as a child, since his father was in the military. His official biography in his website states that as a child, he suffered from gas poisoning from coal gas and lost memory before the age of ten. This information, though, is not supplemented with information of whether this affected his writing. His family has a strong Catholic background. As a child, he was baptized and given the Christian name “Antonio.” Early in life he toyed with the idea of becoming a Franciscan monk. Some of his friends ended up being such. As he grew older, he began to get bored during his stays in retreat houses and decided to abandon that dream. He was educated at Yonsei University in Seoul, majoring in business administration, but he did not show much interest in it. In an interview he gave to Krys Lee, he stated that his decision to take up Business Administration in college was an act of filial piety towards his parents who wanted him to have a secure future. In his interview with Krys Lee, he mentioned that good-humoredly that this was the last act of goodness he gave his parents. In an article it is said that:

[m]uch of his early rebellious energy came from conflicts he had with his father while he grew up...as well as the political situation in Korea and the fast pace of Seoul life where he has lived since his teens. For years he would not tell friends that his father had volunteered to fight in Vietnam against the Viet Cong. He was so ashamed of his father that they had confrontations, some of which ended physically (Standaert, 2007).

Clearly, it was not in business but in writing stories that he found his real interest. He started opening up his writing to an audience when he posted his stories on the internet. There he found an appreciative audience who encouraged him to write longer fiction.

Kim, after graduating from Yonsei University in 1993, began his military service as an assistant detective at the military police 51st Infantry Division near Suwon. His career as a professional writer started in 1995 right after discharge. Prof. Charles Montgomery of Dongkuk University states that his military service inspired his works since “[Kim] saw a lot of strange and bad things” during his military duty.

When Kim broke out in the literary scene in Korea during the 1990s, he was the inheritor of a Korean literature that is cutting loose from the traditions that have gripped it for so long due to the birth-pains of establishing an independent nation. As he himself describes the literary scene in his essay entitled “Marilyn Monroe and Lady Gaga’s Korea, and Korean Literature”:
And as is the case with any country’s serious literature, Korean writers are fighting these stereotypes and working to create their own world. In particular, after the 1990s, when Korea’s economic development accelerated, Korean literature broke free of nationalistic narcissism, the struggle against dictatorship, and the epic narratives of national division and the trauma of war, and began to focus on conspicuously individual issues. Writers who had devoted themselves to social issues began to look inward and question what they could do through language and through fiction. The result was the astonishing diversification of Korean literature. Now, in 2012, I can say that it is all but impossible to briefly summarize current trends in Korean literature.

Truly, Kim’s writing reflects the turbulence inside the Korean literary field. This field is becoming increasingly global along with the city of Seoul where most of Kim’s novels are set. For it would be truly be difficult for a writer to write out of his historical context, and in the case of Kim he chronicles his historical period by focusing on the transformation inside his definitive characters. With his postmodern style, penchant for risky themes and topics, Western- inspiration in his writing and over-all global literary view, Kim Young-ha’s writing tend to resemble the highly favored style of Murakami Haruki. Murakamiesque might be a fitting description for his works. There are also many parallels that can be drawn in Kim and Murakami’s professional lives which I wish to draw out in another paper, but for now I would like to dwell on one thing in their professional lives that sets them apart. While Murakami is viewed to be a reclusive writer in his native Japan, Kim Young-ha is anything but such. Before focusing all of his energy to his writing in 2008 and currently moving to the U.S. as a visiting scholar in Columbia University, Kim was a professor in Korean National University of Arts’ Drama school and he also hosted a Seoul Broadscating System (SBS) book-themed radio program. Yang Sung-jin in an article (2007) calls him as a “tech-savvy writer.” An example of Kim’s ability to utilize social media was when he finalized the Korean title of the collection, ‘Museun Ili ileonatneunjineun Amudo,’ in cyberspace. He wrote an entry about his new creation on his blog and asked visitors and fans to express their preference among several candidate titles. A book trailer, created by a media artist, is also posted on his blog, featuring Kim’s own reading of a section of a story in the collection. He tweeted about his new book, which immediately echoed throughout the networkof Korean Twitter users interested in literature. Although Kim modestly downplays his blogging, tweeting and podcasting as a “promenade” that offers intermittent contact with the outside world, his online prowess is clearly a rare strength whose benefits go far beyond a mere promenade.
3. General Discussions of Kim’s Works Available in English

Out of the six of Kim’s novels, three have been translated to English: *I have a right to destroy myself, Your Republic is Calling You* (a.k.a. Empire of Lights) and *Black Flower*. Due to the unavailability of the last in the Philippines (the last time I checked), discussions of Kim’s translated novels will be limited to the first two. In addition, Kim has published a total of four short story collections in Korea. In the English speaking world, none of these collections have been translated yet. However, two of his longer short stories were printed in a volume by the Korea Literature Translation Institute. These stories are: “Photoshop Murder” and “Whatever happened to the guy stuck in the elevator?” These stories, along with three more available in the web: “The Man who Sold his Shadow,” “Moving” and “Honor Killing” are the only ones available. After discussing the two novels, the last section of this paper will give some interpretations of the two stories published by KLTI.

For this section of the paper, let me just limit my discussion to general discussions of plot and thematizations for the available novels. An in-depth discussion is of course out of the scope of this paper. I do hope you find time to access these works by yourself. For now you would have to do with my general discussion.

According to Younju Ryu (as reported in Tseng (2007)), Kim’s literary landscape is a familiar one to Western readers. It is a world of detached, city-dwellers with blasé voices that are transnational in their social positions as well as their consumption of Western and Eastern products. With such characters, Kim creates multilayered worlds where reality and fantasy blurs. One does not speak of a ‘reality’ in Kim’s works but of “different levels of reality.”

As mentioned earlier, Kim’s first work to be translated in English is the novel “I have the right to destroy myself.” It took more than a decade before this work to be translated in English, but it was earlier translated into French where it enjoyed much critical acclaim. The novel is in five-parts, and among the works by Kim to be translated in English, appear to be the most philosophical and full to the brim with postmodern stylizations. The narration is very fluid, sub-plots overlap and there is a metafictionality in the style and content that provokes the reader to surrender to the apparent artistry of the work. There is quite a difficulty for me to speak about this work in terms of plot-line and thematics. For such a thin novel (134 pages short) it is too packed with information.

The first part introduces the first-person narrator works as a guide for people who would like to commit suicide. It may seem inappropriate to call his profession “work”—in the course of disclosing information about himself in part 1 readers are made to be aware of the elitism of this narrator, from his choice of art and travel
destinations to his over-all lifestyle. He chooses his clients carefully, he is highly educated, very sophisticated and clearly not in this profession for the money. It is his end-goal with this kind of profession to reach the level of creator:

When I finish a job, I travel. When I come back I write about the client and our time together. Through this act of creation, I strive to become more like a god. There are only two ways to be a god: through creation or murder (10).

After carefully choosing among his select clients’ lives he transform their stories into stories to be “slowly [released into the world...[He] plans to put the writings into an envelope, without any conditions or demands, and send them to a publisher. Then [he] will hide, formless, and watch [his] creations resurrect (11).”

Part 2 of the novel is about a client who is referred to as Judith because she resembled Gustav Klimt’s painting. The woman actually named Se-Yeon gets in a relationship with brothers referred to as C and K. As mentioned earlier, the narration in this section is done a fluid, surreal way that only tidbits of information float to the surface. The woman Judith, whom the brothers lusted over, disappears mysteriously one day during a snowstorm. We know little about her, and what we do know about her is not authentic: that she resembles an image in a painting. She is a copy of a copy –a product of excess. As C’s stream of consciousness inform the readers: “She’s the kind of mold that wouldn’t have appeared if he lived austerely, the kind that breeds only in the dark, neglected corners of the building (44).” In Part 4 of the novel we later learn that Judith died from drug-overdose and gas-poisoning. Part 3 of the novel is called Evian it about a woman from Hong Kong that the suicide-guide met in Prague who never drinks water due to a sexual trauma. The narrator was still working on his story on Judith when he meets the woman from Hong Kong so that this section moves from narrations about Judith then to the narrator and the Hong Kong woman. This portion of the novel shifts its perspective every so often. Part 4 of the novel is about a performance artist called Mimi whom C, a video and installation artist. Mimi refuses her performances to be recorded, while C believes that for artistic purposes and his own art he must record her performance. Mimi states:

“Performance art is different. I meet things directly. I see death and lust in the audience’s eyes. Depending on what I see in their eyes, my work changes immediately. If the purpose of art is to confront beauty, especially live beauty, aren’t all other artistic forms fake? They are compromises and the residue of the desire for useless immortality. All criticism of performance art starts with the fear of true beauty. People preserve beauty
because of their obsession with immortality. They are slaves of dead art (93-94)."

The last part of the novel is called “The Death of Sardanapale” from the the Delacroix painting. Here the narrator recounts how he assisted Mimi in her suicide in his apartment’s bathtub. The narrator shares: “Mimi left with flair. Judith went peacefully. I miss them immensely. Their stories are done, and my novel will be a beautiful fake-flower arrangement that will be placed on their graves.” Once again the narrator plays with the idea of a “copy”—Just as Se-Yeon is a copy of “Judith” the painting, and that recorded art a “copy” of performed art is dead—even novels are copies of the real, just like “fake-flower arrangements.”

The second novel that Kim got translated into English is his “Empire of Light” which has been re-translated to “Your Republic is Calling You” in 2010. In his fiction reading along with author Shin Kyoung-sook, Kim told his University of Michigan audience that in the U.S., his “editor wanted to promote it as a spy novel.” The approach was quite different from his native Korea where the book was sold as serious literature. Even the book jacket in the U.S. had distinctly different interpretations of the novel. The Korean one had a laid back white and black jacket with no blurbs. The U.S. translation was in a dominant red hue which presented images of eyes interspersed with North Korea and South Korea’s flags. It was also filled with blurbs. The front cover prominently displays this blurb culled from Time Out Chicago which states that “[Kim’s] writing is…often spectacular, reminding us of the sparse but beautiful prose of HARUKI MURAKAMI.” (Note: Murakami’s name is in all caps). Evidently, as a new-comer in the global literary scene Kim’s book had to catch attention to itself. One marketing strategy is to compare his style to that of the world-renowned writer Murakami.

This novel is being sold as a spy novel because of the obvious reason that its central character, Ki-yong, was a North Korean spy who was dispatched to the South some twenty-one years back. The novel, as Prof. Montgomery notes, is Aristotelian in such a manner that all the action happens in a day. Chapter divisions make use of time: chapter 1 is 7:00 a.m., chapter 2 is 8:00 a.m. and so forth. The last chapter takes place the next morning at 7:00 a.m. In these 24 hours, Ki-yong had to make a decision as to go back to the North or confess about his espionage to the authorities in the South and face its consequences. This decision must be made as demanded by the cryptic e-mail he received that morning which decoded was an Order 4—which meant to go back to the North. Ki-yong in his years of stay in the South built a life for himself as an average South Korean man; and for what purpose? It remained unclear to him. And for twenty-one years he was untapped by the North until that Order 4 was sent to him.
This novel unlike the previous one (“I have the right…”) is more linear in its narration and plot development. Ki-yong and his South Korean family as well as the minor characters introduced (such as other North Korean spies that Ki-yong had to interact with, to both sides dismay, due to the e-mail) were are also more three dimensional.

Although the novel “Your Republic is Calling You” is set in South Korea, it is one of the very few works I have come across that gives the atmosphere of living in North Korea via the introspection of Ki-yong. In the chapter called ‘12:00 p.m.: Harmonica Apartments,” Ki-yong recalled his childhood in a completely different Korea where hardships not only physical and mental, but most especially emotional, was the daily fare. The young Ki-yong lost his mother through a suicide caused by depression which had no hope of being addressed in the North for it was not perceived as something curable. Another section in the novel that catches one’s attention is the section called “1:00 p.m. The Hilton Hotel in Pyongyang,” here it is detailed how the best students, those were selected to be spies to the South were prepared to blend-in culturally and socially after they have been dispatched. The place was a little city of Seoul, a recreation, filled with individuals who dressed as South Koreans—the “local” people there it is said were kidnapped from the South or who came to the north voluntarily. Ki-yong reflects on that incident in his life and reaches the conclusion that the North with its very different ideology even fumbled in re-creating a Seoul for its would-be-spies. He recalls the stereotypes manifested there, perhaps because the training camp really had a theatrical feel to it—perhaps he thought the entirety of North Korea was a theater: “Like actors on set, north Koreans went about their days, conscious of the eyes of the “director” and “cast” (124).

The action in this novel is both external and internal. Characters are well-rounded and it leaves one with a string of questions about human interaction and the role of nation in developing its people. Yes, it does ask tough questions, and more so it challenges us, especially us Asians, to confront the reality of North Korea and to at least to attempt to see the perspective of the thousands who call North Korea their Republic.

What ties the two novels together, as pointed out by Kim Young-ha himself, is the position that the two key characters, the suicide-guide and Ki-yong take, both of them are keen observers of their historical-social settings. They serve as capable critics of their age from their positions in the novels.

4. Responses to Kim Young-ha’s Short Stories by College Students

The first time I read Kim Young-ha’s short stories published by KLTI, I knew instinctively that my college freshmen from the Ateneo de Manila University where
I work as an Instructor, will be appreciative of his fiction. So when I created my Introduction to Fiction syllabus I included the two stories from the KLTI book.

I was not mistaken: my students were fully appreciative of the stories. The first “Whatever happened to the guy stuck in the elevator?” which tells about a seemingly “fated” bad-luck day for an average South Korean salary man, Mr. Jeong, was able to elicit laughter from my students. However, the black humor in the story was not lost on them: my students were fast to pick-up that such “bad luck” that Mr. Jeong suffered was amplified by the indifference of the individuals in his own society. Seoul is too filled with individuals in the age of materialism, that a sense of community has dissipated it seems.

The other story “Photo Shop murder” takes us to the mystery behind the murder of the Photo Shop owner and the link to the relationship of the owner’s wife to a frequent customer. The story is from the point of view of the investigator who interestingly, as he gets deeper in the case of the Photo Shop murder also gets to confront his own marital issues. The two stories—that of the dead photo shop owner and that of the investigator become parallel. In the end, the solution to the mystery becomes meaningless even absurd, and the investigator’s marital issue continue to grip his very core.

Once again, let me stress that what makes Kim’s fiction palatable to the global reader is his adaptability to the taste of readers across the urban areas that are defining globality today. What Kim Young-ha is doing for literature is being done by other South Korean artists in the hope of being key players in the cultural exchange in the global era. It is still too early to say if Kim Young-Ha will join the list of writers from Asia who were able to enter the global literary canon. But for now, Kim’s efforts appear to be in the right direction for recognition to be passed on to him by a global readership that is increasingly gaining acceptance of, and demanding for translated fiction.

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THE (KOREAN) ASIAN DEMOCRACY INDEX IN THE PHILIPPINES: AN INSIDER’S PERSPECTIVE

Miguel Paolo P. Reyes

Introduction

This paper is partly textualized self-reflection on my role as researcher-in-charge of the Asian Democracy Index (ADI) project in the Philippines.¹ The project is South Korean in origin, and is currently undertaken by members of the multinational Consortium for the Asian Democracy Index (CADI). Here, I construe myself both as an individual researcher and as a member or metonym of several collectives described herein. I try to go beyond possibly self-indulgent reflexivity by additionally framing this paper as an autocritical piece in my capacity as a CADI member. I realize that my position vis-à-vis my subject makes my ability to objectively analyze my subject questionable. Nevertheless, I think a paper such as this can at the very least invite further critical inquiry into one of the newest sustained democracy assessment efforts, given the dearth of published material dwelling on or even simply mentioning CADI’s activities that were not published by the Consortium.²

I am pushing for greater scrutiny of CADI’s ADI project not merely to satiate a self-serving desire for our work to have increased sociopolitical relevance or resonance. Through this meager effort, I also aim to make a contribution to the literature on democratization measurement by answering this hardly novel, but little-explored query: how well can a democracy/democratization metric developed primarily in one country—e.g., South Korea—measure democracy/democratization in another country?

Studies such as those mentioned in Jason Seawright and David Collier (2013, 117) have pointed out (potential) biases of democracy/democratization measurement tools depending on the institutions and individuals behind them, which are different from the systematic biases of such emerging from methodological choicesthat were highlighted by Gerardo Munck and Jay Verkuilen (2002). However, I have yet to come across such a study written from the perspective of an “insider” or the measurer himself. A paper such as this, written in a somewhat confessional mode—to borrow terminology from literary studies—presents data on the formulation, development, and execution of a democracy/democratization measurement tool that is obscured or only dealt with in passing in measurers’ country briefs, guidebooks, and similar documents.
What is the Asian Democracy Index?

On the website of the Democracy and Social Movements Institute (DaSMI) of Sungkonghoe University (SU), one will find a timeline outlining DaSMI’s history. From that timeline, one will learn that DaSMI was established in March 2003 as a constituent of what was then called the Institute for Culture and Information Studies (ICIS), which in turn was founded in July 1999 (DaSMI). In December 1999, ICIS was “chosen as a ‘focus institute’ by Korea Research Foundation (KRF)” (DaSMI). From December 1999 to November 2005, ICIS was “upgraded” to Center for Culture and Information Studies in April 2003 and, after it was established, DaSMI conducted a number of KRF-funded projects on democracy in South Korea (DaSMI). Then, from December 2003 to December 2008, DaSMI conducted studies on democracy in Asia that would ultimately lead to the development of the Asian Democracy Index.3

What is the Asian Democracy Index? Although they have more than an acronym in common, it is unrelated to the “one-off” 2005 Asia Democracy Index of the multi-country Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (ARDA). It is not connected with the Taiwan-based Asian Barometer (also known as East Asia Barometer), which is also chiefly concerned with democracy in Asia. It is unaffiliated with the United-Kingdom based Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), which has been compiling their Democracy Index since 2006. It has nothing to do with the Vienna-based Democracy Ranking Association (DRA) and their Global Democracy Ranking project (2009-present).

In the recently published guidebook of the project, CADI states that:

The ADI was not designed to be used for establishing a solely Asian model of democracy. The index is a framework to compare and discover democratic characteristics of Asian countries. It is designed to understand the quality of Asian democracy today. The ADI is useful in presenting the current status of democratization in Asian countries; it is not a tool for proposing an exemplary democratic model or to rank the different democratic characteristics of the countries studied (CADI, 2012: 36).

Thus, it is unlike ARDA’s ADI, EIU’s Democracy Index, and DRA’s Global Democracy Ranking—as well as similar democracy/democratization assessment tools such as the Democracy Barometer—which rank Asian/worldwide democracies, implicitly identifying certain countries as (closely approximating) a particular ideal of the democratic polity. It is also distinguishable from all of the above because of its theoretical foundations. ADI is grounded in Heeyeon Cho’s “post-monopoly democratic theory” (CADI, 2012: 37). Cho and the rest of CADI define democracy as “a process of [political, economic, and social] de-
monopolization that [is] aimed at achieving a condition wherein all power and resources in a particular state are being fairly distributed” (CADI, 2012: 39). CADI also perceives democracy to be a “relational formation,” that is, an (ideal) state of relations among the “various forces in the multi-layered fields of politics, economy, and civil society” (CADI, 2012: 39). Lastly, CADI believes that democracy is a “historical formation,” or the result of a particular continuing process of multi-sector de-monopolization (CADI, 2012: 39).

Taking off from the aforedescribed characteristics of democracy, CADI defines democratization as “the disintegration of [a] monopoly-complex,” i.e., the dismantlement of a dictatorship that monopolized control of the forces in the political, economic, and civil society fields (CADI, 2012: 39). The process of democratization does not necessarily bring about substantive democracy as described above. Democratization involves the dismantlement of a dictatorship’s monopoly-complex, but it also causes a change in the power relations within the political, economic, and civil society fields (CADI, 2012: 39-40), which in Asia, as Cho and the other guidebook authors found, results in the formation of either a “neo-oligarchy” (monopolists in the former dictatorship remain in power) or a “post-oligarchy” (monopolization gives way to “pluralistic competition”) (CADI, 2012, 41-43).

Let me make a few preliminary comments on CADI’s employment of the term “civil society” before I proceed any further. I was first made aware of the lack of a precise definition of “civil society” by Bonojit Hussain of the Indian ADI team. During the Second Asian Democracy Index Conference held in Manila in August 2012, Hussain wondered whether or not CADI is using the term the way Antonio Gramsci did (2012: 205). Gramsci conceived civil society “as an integral part of the state”—“far from being inimical to the state, it is in fact its most resilient constitutive element” (Buttigieg, 1995: 4) “on which opposition parties and movements organize, win allies and build their social power” (Forgacs, 2000: 224). For Gramsci, the state-civil society division is false and merely “methodological” (Gramsci, in Forgacs, 2000: 210), as he believes that “state” “should be understood not only as apparatus of government, but also the ‘private’ apparatus of ‘hegemony’ [the dominant class within civil society] or civil society” (Gramsci, in Forgacs, 2000: 234). A more common employment of the term can be found in the work of Karina Constantino-David: “All the organizations that intersect with the domain of the state but are not part of the state apparatus are civil society entities” (1997: 22). Cho refers to “the masses” as “an organizing actor in the social movement or civil society in a broad sense” (2012: 9, emphasis mine), but also speaks of “civil society and the people” (2012: 12) and “state and civil society” as a seemingly fixed binary (2012: 16, 21). The very division of society into political, economic, and civil society fields seems to imply that CADI subscribes to the more
The conventional conceptualization of civil society. Yet, as I will show later in my discussion of the ADI’s “Korean-ness,” that may not be exactly the case.

As I have shown elsewhere, CADI and DRA are kindred spirits, as they were both heavily influenced by the work of political scientist Guillermo O’Donnell, which emphasizes substantive democracy over procedural or political democracy (Reyes, 2012: 187). CADI and Asian Barometer also have something in common, sharing a high valuation of the democracy-dictatorship dichotomy (albeit with different definitions for each term) (Reyes, 2012: 189-190). However, in terms of methodology, CADI’s ADI is more similar to ARDA’s ADI and EIU’s Democracy Index. While Asian Barometer uses public opinion surveys (Reyes, 2012: 188-190) and DRA’s Global Democracy Ranking relies on pre-existing information on a country’s politico-socioeconomic status (Reyes, 2012: 187-188), the ARDA ADI and the EIU Democracy Index was/is compiled (primarily) using data from expert/elite surveys (Reyes, 2012: 186, 191). Based on their specializations, CADI ADI asks ideologically and professionally diverse experts to answer one of three quantitative-qualitative questionnaires—a questionnaire each for the fields of politics, economy, and civil society (CADI, 2012: 85). The experts have to come from the countries whose political, economic, or social conditions they are examining (CADI, 2012: 84).

Each question corresponds to a democracy indicator that in turn falls under a democracy attribute—ADI has a total of fifty seven attributes and forty nine indicators (CADI, 2012: 47). The indicators and attributes are classified under four subprinciples—autonomy (“independence [of the three fields] from the government”), competition (state of the self-reference system [transparency and accountability]”), pluralization (“actual status of monopoly over resources”), and solidarity (“available means to de-integrate the monopoly of resources”) (CADI, 2012: 45). Autonomy and competition are categorized as components of the core principle called liberalization, defined as “a principle to measure how monopoly of resources is de-integrated in a procedural level” (CADI, 2012: 45), while pluralization and solidarity are categorized as components of the core principle called equalization, defined as “the actual degree of resource access” (CADI, 2012: 45).

The experts’ indicator scores are combined to come up with subprinciple scores, which are then combined to come up with principle scores. The principle scores are combined to determine the country ADI score. The indicator scores may also be combined to form field subprinciple scores and field principle scores. Table 1, a version of the standard table used to show the aforedescribed ties of the ADI components, is included herein to show these relationships at a glance.
I pray that I have adequately given an overview of what the CADI ADI is in terms of its purpose, theoretical framework, and methodology. In any case, I will be giving additional information about these aspects of the ADI in the next section of this paper, where I will deal with my experience as researcher-in-charge of the implementation of the ADI project in the Philippines.

The ADI’s “Korean-ness”: Theoretical Concerns and Methodological Interventions

After a number of online exchanges, in August 2010, the academic staff of the University of the Philippines (UP) Third World Studies Center (TWSC) sat down with research professors from DaSMI to discuss the ADI project. At the time, most of the TWSC researchers—myself included—were uncertain of what our would-be Korean collaborators wanted to do besides developing and implementing a “home-grown” democracy index in the Philippines and Indonesia, the first two countries to have representation in CADI apart from South Korea. At the time, all that we were shown was a document describing the project’s “democratization as de-monopolization” framework, a brief description of the index-in-development, and a table showing all of the ADI indicators, attributes, principles, and subprinciples formulated by DaSMI. We agreed in principle to become their Philippine collaborators, though we still had a number of concerns about the project, which can be summarized as follows:

What exactly was “Asian” democracy? With the project’s quantitative-qualitative approach to measuring Asian democracy, how would consolidation/aggregation issues cropping up from the diversity of data be addressed? How was this ADI different from similarly named democracy indices? (Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012: 134)
We also noted in passing how distinctly South Korean the project seemed. The description of democracy as de-monopolization, or as a post-dictatorship process, seems to best apply to South Korea and similar countries that underwent a “developmental dictatorship” phase prior to (re)democratization. In retrospect, we should have also highlighted what the current Indian ADI team adamantly asserts—the ADI seems to be designed more for culturally and/or ethnically “homogeneous” countries like South Korea than “multinational” countries like India (Hussain, 2012; Chander, 2013: 123). Indeed, the survey items seem to presume that a democratic society’s primary category for stratifying society is socioeconomic class, downplaying divisions caused by, say, regionalism and/or ethnolinguistic differences. Both we and our visitors from DaSMI knew at the time that a lot of work needed to be done to make the ADI applicable to a wider variety of democratic countries.

In October 2010, a two-day forum-workshop entitled “Telling Democracy Through and Beyond the Index: From Measuring to Task” was held in Paichai University and Sungkonghoe University, Seoul. In attendance was a former colleague of mine, Rowell Casaclang, whose main contribution to the discussions were a description of TWSC’s sole indexing project at the time, a “home-grown” Human Security Index (HSI) for the Philippines project headed by our then director, Maria Ela Atienza, that was undergoing pilot testing in several Philippine provinces, and reiterating TWSC’s concerns about the ADI project.

Among the other presenters of that forum-workshop were Hansin University’s Sangcheol Yoon and Yonsei University’s Seunghoon Lee. Both were part of the research team of the Korea Democracy Foundation (KDF) that had been releasing the Korean Democracy Development Index (KDDI) since 2004. KDF’s KDDI is “a quantitative measure of evaluating the democratization in every sector of Korea’s society” (Su-chan, 2006). The data analysed for compiling the KDDI came from “[an] evaluation of materials, [an] evaluation by experts and [a] survey of laymen” (Su-chan, 2006). KDDI’s analysis involves classifying data under two divisions—Institution/Performance” and “Attitude/Consciousness” (Lee, 2010: 25-27)—which are each subdivided into five categories: “[state, politics, civil sector, and the relationship between state-politics and politics-civil sector” (Lee, 2010: 26). A country score out of 1000, wherein 900 points and above is ideal (Su-chan, 2006), is determined. Generally, what the index shows is the level of the democratization of particular political and social institutions (Su-chan, 2006) based on hundreds of indicators (Su-chan, 2006; Lee, 2010: 28).

Like TWSC’s HSI project, the KDDI is designed specifically for South Korea, although the researchers behind the KDDI also thought that it may be used to assess democracy in other countries (Su-chan, 2006). Like the ADI, the KDDI proceeds from a substantive conceptualization of democracy (Yoon, 2010).
However, based on the type of institutions that Lee mentions in his overview of the 2010 KDDI survey (e.g. the Korean Prime Minister’s Office and the National Human Rights Commission, 2010: 31) the KDDI seems applicable only to a country with South Korea’s political and social institutions. It seems that the discussion of the KDDI only increased the enthusiasm of those in attendance to develop a substantive democracy index applicable at least within Asia. Certainly, the forum-workshop ended with the birth of CADI.

The discussions during the forum-workshop bore fruit in April 2011 when TWSC received the ADI survey forms—one for each field, to be answered by mutually exclusive sets of field-particular respondents—translated from Korean to English. Comments about these instruments came from members of the TWSC research staff, Atienza, and Clarinda LusterioBerja, Atienza’s collaborator in the HSI project. Most of our comments focused on defining the points in the interval scale to be used for scoring by the respondents, altering certain terms to prevent conceptual confusion, removing South Korea-specific examples in the item descriptions to remove any suggestion that South Korea is (closest to) the ideal democracy in Asia, and making other changes to make the questionnaire more “user-friendly.”

Having mentioned the project’s main data collection instruments, I resume my discussion of CADI’s conceptualization of civil society here. All of the questionnaires contain items dealing with civil society in the conventional sense, especially for the items corresponding to attributes under the solidarity subprinciple, which emphasizes the interconnectedness of CADI’s fields of society. Moreover, there is an item that suggests that CADI does not envision civil society as completely independent from the state, or, to recall Gramsci, as anything more than a methodological category when discussed in relation to the powers-that-be; the second item of the civil society questionnaire deals with the influence of “government-supported nongovernment organizations” on society. Lastly, the very notion of a politico-socioeconomic “monopoly-complex” that democratization seeks to dismantle hints at the belief of ADI’s framers that there is an intricate and inextricable link of state and civil society. Arguably, South Korea was an ideal place for such a Gramscian-like conceptualization of civil society to form and thrive, as some consider South Korean civil society to be a “fourth arm” of government (Kim, 2009, 878). Whether or not this seemingly specifically Korean formulation of state-civil society relations is applicable in countries such as the Philippines will be dealt with when I discuss explicit and implicit comments on the ADI project later.

Further changes to the questionnaire were made when the project was finally implemented in South Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines in May 2011. By this time, due to certain fortuitous circumstances, I became the researcher-in-charge of the Philippine survey team. Berja, who teaches quantitative methods in the social
sciences, was brought in to serve as our project consultant because I had no formal training in quantitative analysis for the social sciences. For every survey round, we hired one research assistant to help us identify and contact survey respondents to complete our three-person teams.9

Our team’s initial task was to “localize” the questionnaires for use in the Philippines, which was encouraged by our DaSMI collaborators. We began by removing more examples in the item descriptions that were not applicable to the Philippines (e.g., the word “parliament” was replaced with “congress” and “draft dodgers” was removed from the description of a question about affirmative action programs, given that there is no mandatory military service for Philippine citizens). We also ensured that spelling, syntax, and word usage in the questionnaires are that are preferred in the Philippines. Berja further enhanced the questionnaires by rewording imprecise double barrelled questions without altering their substance as specified in the item descriptions. A snapshot of one of the localized items in the politics questionnaire is included as an appendix in this paper.

CADI allows country teams conducting ADI surveys to categorize their local experts according to ideological categories that are peculiar to their country (CADI 2012: 85). The examples given in the ADI guidebook divided experts into three groups: “conservative, central, and progressive” or “pro-government, neutral, and anti-government” (CADI, 2012: 85). The former seems more applicable to states that have a multi-party presidential system of government—with ideologically diverse parties—such as South Korea (indeed, these are the categories used by the South Korean team), while the latter seems unrealistic, given how difficult it is to find experts in politics, economics, and civil society who claim political neutrality. We chose to divide our experts into two ideological groups: (extreme) left-left leaning (L-LL) and (extreme) right-right leaning (R-RL), categories which we define in this manner:

1) those who are known (by their reputations, publications, etc.) to exhibit critical or dissenting opinions against the Philippine government and its policies, and are at the same time avowedly supportive of “socialist” socioeconomic policies are left-left leaning; 2) those who have worked for the Philippine government, either in the bureaucracy or as consultants, and/or subscribe to the government’s “neoliberal” socioeconomic policies are right-right leaning.(Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012: 138)

We have been trying to locate a “centrist” tendency in the Philippines, but the “center” in the country usually refers to the government,10 which we excluded from our survey because of objectivity concerns, as many of the items are about government efficiency/efficacy. We did not tell our potential respondents how we
categorized them ideologically because we did not want their responses to be colored by how we perceive their ideological leanings. Within each ideological category, we further classified our potential respondents according to their profession (academe, nongovernmental organization/civil society organization (NGO/CSO), and private sector). We also tried to make sure that our respondent profile would not be “Manila-centric,” thus we asked experts based in the provinces far from the capital to participate in our survey.

Due to budgetary constraints and an oral agreement with our fellow ADI teams, for our 2011 pilot test, we were limited to filling up a quota of twenty-seven respondents—nine per field—determined, as one can glean from the above, through multistage stratified sampling. As we divided our respondents into two ideological blocs instead of three, it was not possible to get an equal number of respondents per leaning. For our pilot test, the total number of L-LL experts only outnumbered the total number of R-RL experts by one, but in most of the professional subcategories per field, only one ideological leaning had representation. As having an equal number of respondents per ideological leaning even up to the professional subcategory level would greatly simplify the comparison of responses across all of our diversifiers, we decided to increase the number of respondents to fifty-four from 2012 onward. Although we were unable to gather fifty-four responses during the 2012 survey—our total number of respondents for 2012 was forty-six—we were at least able to ensure that neither ideological bloc dominated most of the professional subcategories per field.

Since 2011, we usually sent our respondents our invitations and questionnaires via e-mail or fax. This was due to financial considerations and, tied to the former, our desire to include respondents from provinces far from the capital. We also preferred such technology-mediated means of communication because we expected a modicum of competency in information and communications technology (ICT) from our respondents, given how a number of the items in the questionnaire were ICT-related. Nevertheless, some respondents from within Manila preferred face-to-face interviews; we readily obliged when they asked to be interviewed.

The survey form was designed to be self-administered, as each item has descriptions that suggest what the respondents should consider when giving their responses, which take the form of a mandatory numerical rating on an eleven-point interval scale and an optional explanatory comment. The descriptions were read to the respondents who were interviewed. The extreme of one scale can either be a score for an undesirable condition or for a desirable condition, but for aggregation purposes, scores in items wherein the lower extreme is for a desirable condition and the upper extreme is for an undesirable condition. The minority of items are recoded by reversing them with their counterpart scores across the midpoint.
The Philippine Team’s Findings Thus Far

1) while measures—legal or otherwise—to assure the continuation of democratization in the political, economic, and civil society fields exist, the implementation of these measures is poor or negligible; 2) government corruption and other abuses of power are checked in principle both by governmental and nongovernmental bodies, but such abuses persist because these monitoring mechanisms are poorly implemented, especially at the local government level; 3) there is also a dearth of legislation and other means to ensure transparency and accountability among nongovernmental power holders; 4) coordination among the means and agents to address inequality in power and resource distribution in all the aforementioned areas of society is lacking.

[O]ne can validly conclude that there is a lack of significant united opposition to multi-field monopolization in the country, even if monopolies are anathema according to the law and popular belief. The doors to successful sustainable de-monopolization are open...but the few who struggle to keep them open are barely able, if at all, to combat those who would rather keep the status quo. (Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012: 163-164)

This summary of findings has been applicable to the completed findings of our 2011 and 2012 surveys and the preliminary findings of our 2013 survey. Always, the country score is between 4 and 6. Always, in the level of field principles, the lowest liberalization and equalization scores are in the economic field. Always, in their explanatory comments (if any), most of the respondents agree with what is stated in the first paragraph in the excerpt above. More detailed descriptions of our surveys can be found in our published pilot test results (Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012) and our 2012 survey report, which is scheduled for publication in December 2013.

Because of the differences in the number of respondents, comparing the scores from 2011-2012 is difficult, at least for someone not particularly adept in quantitative analysis such as myself. Comparing only the scores of those who participated in both the 2011-2012 survey rounds—our 2011-2012 “panel”—as can be seen in the tables 2 and 3, Philippine democracy appears to be progressing somewhat.12
However, as shown in table 4—which shows the result of a t-test of the two sets of panel list scores grouped by field subprinciple—the differences in mean scores at the field subprinciple level are not statistically significant at the conventional .05 level. Thus, to the respondents who are very familiar with what the ADI project seeks to do, there is no appreciable change in Philippine democratization from 2011 to 2012.

**TABLE 4 T-test Comparison of 2011-2012 Philippine ADI Panelist Scores**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subprinciple</th>
<th>Politics</th>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>Civil society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean Difference</td>
<td>p-value</td>
<td>Mean Difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0.728</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>0.186</td>
<td>-0.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluralization</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.358</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solidarity</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.791</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This trend seems to be in keeping with the findings of a couple of the better-known democracy/democratization evaluations, as can be seen in table 5. As table 6 shows, the 2011-2012 progression of scores from our “panel” respondents is also in line with the steadily (though hardly) increasing Human Development Index score of the Philippines (which nevertheless has remained in the medium range for the last five years) (UNDP, 2013).

**TABLE 5 Assessments of Philippine Democracy/Democratization, 2011-2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>2011 rating</th>
<th>2012 rating</th>
<th>2013 rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freedom House Freedom in the World</td>
<td>3.0 – Partly Free</td>
<td>3.0 – Partly Free</td>
<td>3.0 – Partly Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index</td>
<td>6.12 – Flawed Democracy</td>
<td>6.3 – Flawed Democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democracy Ranking</td>
<td>55.8 (up from 53.9 in 2007-2008)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**TABLE 6 Philippine Human Development Index Trend, 2008-2012**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>HDI Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>.642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>.643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>.649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>.651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>.654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: UNDP

While it seems that the ADI only confirms what many other evaluations of Philippine procedural/substantive democratization have shown or continue to show, as the ADI methodology permits only an ideologically diverse respondent profile—which is not a feature of all democracy/democratization indices—the project can show where knowledgeable citizens agree regardless of their ideological persuasions, and where they disagree precisely because of their ideological differences. Such information can help facilitate or accelerate debates on what needs to be done to help the Philippines democratize. Furthermore—particularly because of the indicators under the competition and solidarity subprinciples—the ADI shows where civil society has to come together to push for further multi-field de-monopolization, or the ideal direction of the “activation” of civil society (Cho, 2012: 19-21).
Assessing the Assessors

Most of our respondents did not make any comments about the ADI project, giving only the optional explanatory comments to their scores. However, there was one 2011 respondent who remarked upon being handed a hard copy of the survey instrument that TWSC must be conducting the ADI study merely because of a contractual obligation. There was also one 2012 respondent, who preferred giving his answers during a face-to-face interview over answering a mail/e-mail survey, who asked us why TWSC was participating in a study that was formulated elsewhere. According to him, TWSC has historically only done studies that it internally conceptualized. Moreover, he wondered out loud whether or not the concept of democracy that CADI is utilizing is possibly inapplicable to the Philippines.

More subtle criticism came from some respondents in their responses (or lack thereof) to certain items. One respondent gave two scores in response to a particular item, stating that there is a significant difference in rural and urban conditions contemplated by one indicator, which calls to mind the previously mentioned remarks about the ADI being more applicable to societies whose heterogeneity is not readily observable. A 2011 respondent did not give an answer to one item because she said that she cannot understand a reference therein to “government-supported [or “pro-government”] nongovernment organizations,” suggesting that that particular respondent is unable to disengage herself from a strict state-civil society binary. This may be because according to Constantino-David, “government run/initiated NGO” or “GRINGO” is a pejorative in the Philippines, as they are “essentially extensions of the state or personal interests [founded by] politicians and government functionaries [to] perform self-serving functions and corner government contracts and pork barrel funds” (1997: 26).

The first of the four respondents mentioned eventually gave us his filled-out questionnaire without issue. We were able to explain to the second respondent how we participated in the formulation of the index, the flexibility of the ADI methodology, and how we believed that CADI’s definition of democracy is acceptable in the Philippine context, convincing him to take part in the survey. The third respondent agreed to average the two scores she gave for the item that, as with all the others, needed only one score. The last respondent was not convinced to give a score to what she thought was a confusing item.

It is possible that a perception that the ADI is a foreign or alien venture—perhaps with aims inimical to Philippine interests—is one of the reasons for the average annual potential respondent refusal rate of 60.67%. However, in our invitations, we always state that the ADI is “an initiative of [DaSMI], developed and implemented in cooperation with researchers from [the countries with CADI representation].” We thus emphasize that the project we are implementing is the
result of a collaborative venture. Foregrounding TWSC’s role in the project’s development may in fact have helped to attract certain respondents to participate. TWSC has for many years had a reputation for bringing together conflicting groups for public forums.\textsuperscript{14} It can co-sponsor public discussions with both socialists and free market advocates without any reputation damage.\textsuperscript{15} The fact that a relatively “neutral” academic center like ours is conducting the ADI project—regardless of who initiated it—may have helped to assuage concerns that a respondent’s responses will be used for a particular advocacy that he or she may not agree with.

A combination of our localization efforts, our Center’s reputation, and what I think we can refer to as the overall theoretical and methodological soundness of the ADI project seem to have helped the project run smoothly in the Philippines so far. We have always kept in mind, however, that the ADI is still in development, and will inevitably be subject to criticism by scholars of democracy. CADI has thus been endeavoring to solicit comments on our index from notable people in democracy studies as we continue conducting the project.

For the Second Asian Democracy Index Conference, CADI invited several Philippine experts on democracy to serve as reactors for our conference sessions, which dwelled on the 2011 pilot test and the preliminary findings of the 2012 survey. From these experts, we—the Philippine team in particular—received the harshest yet most constructive criticism about how we had been going about with our research. On the theoretical front, Felipe Miranda of the UP Diliman Department of Political of Science asked us to consider including “[a] human quality of life, participatory politics, and accountable governance” as among our index’s core principles (2012: 201). Temario Rivera, then of the International Christian University in Tokyo, took on the presumption that the countries studied by CADI are democracies, stating that in a study he conducted in collaboration with other Philippine political scientists,\textsuperscript{16} the Philippine political system still cannot be referred to as a democracy (2012: 209). Edna Estifania Co of the UP National College of Public Administration and Governance also felt that there was no “clear agreement on fundamental concepts of democracy” among CADI researchers (2012: 213). Lastly, MalayaRonas, then of the UP Diliman Department of Political Science, suggested that the Consortium as a whole consider perspectives “that emphasize the significance of the economic and social preconditions of a democratic polity” such as that of Seymour Martin Lipset (2012: 219).

Their comments show that as CADI expands, the refinement of “democracy as de-monopolization” will be necessary, or may even undergo a significant reformulation. (Certainly, a more nuanced definition of civil society is necessary). I think the common concern upon which our 2012 conference reactors based their comments can be (caustically) reformulated into a version of the problem I stated in
this paper’s introduction: “how can a Korean-formulated tool to measure democratization be used as a universal evaluator of democracy in the diverse countries of Asia?” A good response thereto would refer to the tool’s aversion to rigidity and stagnation in light of the tool’s foundation on a theory that emphasizes unceasing dynamism. I think that such a theory can only have been conceived by scholars from a country like South Korea, which many consider to have a consolidated or a well-established democracy (e.g., Joong-Seok, 2007: 346; Chung, 2003; Hamh, 2008; EIU, 2010, 2011, and 2012)—indeed, the South Korean state takes democracy seriously enough to have established a Korean Democracy Foundation. Knowing that there are ever-changing power relations even after democracy has “consolidated,” our South Korean collaborators were able to craft a theory that seeks to reorient our view of democracy from an ideal to be achieved or a state to be protected to the continuous systematization of a fair process of power and resource distribution in the face of continuous political, economic, and social reorganization.

I cannot fully discuss the comments of our 2012 conference reactors on CADI’s general methodology and the Philippine team’s methodological modifications here—that would be the subject of an entirely new paper. Suffice it to say that among their main gripes were with the Consortium’s respondent classification (the lack of standardization thereof) and our lack of determination of what the country scores mean (does obtaining a country score between 4.0 and 6.0 mean that a country is a “middling” democracy?). The former makes cross-country comparisons of data difficult, while the latter makes the value or necessity of coming up with a country score—which indeed currently has no well-defined conceptual ties with all of the other scores—questionable. The same issues cropped up during our discussions during the August 2013 Asian Democracy Index International Conference, and I can only state for now that their resolution remains pending.

**Improving the ADI: Some Suggestions**

During our last ADI conference, Berjamade provided a couple of suggestions on how to increase the reliability and the validity of our data. She suggested that ADI researchers should also give scores “to increase the quality of the ratings;” thereafter, “[statistical] techniques to assess inter-rater reliability could then be applied” (2013: 5). She also gave the opinion that a viable means of validating our data—besides the Delphi method of validation—and post-survey focus group discussions done by some of the country teams—would be to match ADI data with public survey data (Berja, 2013: 6), which, as can be seen in the brief recitation of our findings above, the Philippine team has already been doing internally.
I wanted to bring up something that came up in our discussions during our 2012 conference that may also contribute to improving our data’s reliability and validity, as suggested by Miranda (2012: 202): the possibility of conducting a complementary public opinion ADI survey. However, given that the methodological discussions during our last conference focused on improving our current specialist survey, there has been little opportunity for us to discuss how, if at all, we can construct a public opinion survey that is grounded in “democratization as de-monopolization” theory and can complement the elite survey.

Here are some of my suggestions, which I hope to reiterate in future ADI conferences. I proceed from the fact that the focus of the ADI project is de-monopolization, or democracy as revolving around the core principles of liberalization and equalization. Thus, I think that an ADI public opinion survey will have to ask citizens which groups they believe greatly influence their political, economic, and social decisions. These are not aimed at determining which group (e.g., the government, religious groups) has the most influence on any society, but to determine the level of monopolization in a particular society. Overwhelming dominance of any single group in a particular field can be construed to mean that a monopoly within that field exists. The survey should also ask if they think that they have the resources to effect political, economic, and social change. Their self-assessment of their capacity to influence society can be seen as reflective of the equalization of power and resource distribution.

Such a survey would therefore focus on a particular country’s potential for the type of “citizen empowerment” that CADI strongly advocates. The public opinion survey can thereafter figure in validating the specialist survey. The respondents of the latter may be shown the results of the former. Subsequently, the experts will be asked if they would like to reconsider some of their responses based on the findings of the public opinion survey. Alternatively, taking off from Berja’s first suggestion, the researchers whose scores will be aggregated with those of the experts could refer to the public opinion survey findings when giving scores for items concerned with public perception of a particular politico-socioeconomic institution or phenomenon.

The survey would also hopefully serve to increase public awareness of how democracy can be positively construed as the measure of how much politico-socioeconomic power or capital citizens have. Such awareness may help deepen the collective understanding of democracy beyond its procedural elements.

Concluding Thoughts

Funding considerations obligate CADI researchers to conduct one more survey round next year. I do not think any member of CADI wants to abruptly discontinue
our collaboration after 2014—many of us are actively searching for additional funding to keep the ADI project running. I would like to conduct at least one more survey in 2016, after the national elections, if only to see how well the ADI serves as a tool for assessing the changes in expert perceptions of democratization from one election year (2013) to another. Perhaps by that year, a public opinion survey grounded in “democratization as de-monopolization” theory can also be conducted in the Philippines (and perhaps in the other countries with CADI representation as well).

I muse about these scheduled and planned future activities while cognizant of the possibility that the CADI ADI may someday become just another democracy index, or a curiosity known only to the most intrepid democracy researchers. However, even if there are dozens of democracy assessment tools and data sets available for the layman and the specialist, I think ADI has the potential to be a tool that pushes governments and citizenries—perhaps even those beyond Asia—to make further democratization an unceasing activity in the face of the ever-present threat of power monopolists in any society. That a tool like this originated from a country considered by many to be one of the most successful post-dictatorship democracies in Asia—a country that, as shown here, has never stopped analyzing how well democratization therein is progressing—adds credence to CADI’s implicit claim that democratization ends only when society discontinues all efforts to prevent subjugation by an exploitative elite.

**ENDNOTES**

1 Examining one’s own academic work as an academic endeavor is nothing new, though such ruminative examinations are typically done by senior or well-established scholars (e.g. Candaliza-Gutierrez, 2013; Librero, 2008; Wurfel, 2012)

2 In one article, Nicole Curato mentions the “Asia Democracy Index Report” as among the “well-respected projects” that uses an index-based approach to assessing democracy (2013: 1); whether or not she is referring to the CADI ADI project is unclear. James Gomez, briefly reporting the outcome of a workshop called “Monitoring and Assessing Democracies in Asia,” held in May 2012 in South Korea, mentions the CADI ADI as among the “current democracy indexes and assessments frameworks [that] do not capture some of the key issues relevant to the participation of civil society in democratic reform” (2012). He does not detail the particular deficiencies of the CADI ADI.

3 There are a number of errors in the timeline after the last 2008 landmark, which can be corrected by reading the proceeding sections of this paper. I trust that the information I did cite from the timeline is accurate.
4 This also seems to be in line with the conceptualization of civil society as “a domain parallel to but separate from the state—a realm where citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes” by Western thinkers during the Enlightenment (Carothers, 1999-2000: 18).
5 There is an agreement among CADI members that “expert” refers to “a person who possesses knowledge and understanding in one of the fields of expertise either because he/she is a person who is (or was) directly engaged in that area or an academician/researcher whose expertise is in the area” (Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012: 179), i.e., ‘people who are familiar with “technical [matters, e.g., statistical data] with which ordinary citizens may not be familiar’” (CADI, 2011: 36, cited in Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012: 179).
6 These are far more extensively discussed in CADI, 2012.
7 As stated in the endnote following this series of queries, “Most of these questions emerged from discussions among the following current and former members of the TWSC research staff: Joel F. Ariate, Jr., Rowell G. Casaclang, Elinor May K. Cruz, and [yours truly]” (Reyes, Berja, and Socrates, 2012: 179).
8 I cannot quote Yoon directly because of a note in the version of the paper included in the forum-workshop proceedings that states “[please] do not quote without the author’s permission until published.”
9 We can only assemble three-person teams because of budgetary restrictions. Our past assistants were Ma. Celine Anastasia Socrates (currently a teaching associate at the UP Diliman Department of Political Science) and Erika Rey-Saturay (currently a Master of Arts (MA) candidate at the UP Diliman Department of Anthropology). Our current assistant Baquiran is an MA History student in UP Diliman.
10 For example, many of the “rightist” coup plotters from the military during the post-dictatorship Corazon Aquino administration believed in President
11 This was erroneously referred to as stratified multistage purposive sampling in the source cited.
12 An updated and more detailed version of the analysis that follows until this paper’s next section will appear in the 2012 Philippine ADI country paper authored by me, Berja, and Rey-Saturay that will be published in Asian Democracy Review. I performed the tests herein with the help of online statistical processing software.
13 The refusal rates per year are 64% for 2011, 44% for 2012, and 74% thus far for the ongoing 2013 survey. During a discussion of her 2013 paper during the conference entitled “Realities and Prospects of Democracies in Asia: Towards a Substantive Development of Democracy,” Professor Berja noted that another reason for the refusal rate, particularly for those who have repeatedly participated in our surveys, may be respondent fatigue. For the academics who teach, we usually encounter difficulty in getting their responses during the midterm and final examination weeks of their students. Some members of NGOs/CSOs said that they were unable
to commit to participating in the survey because of they were busy with their own projects.

14 For example, it was able to bring together key members of the warring major leftist blocs, the national democratic “reaffirmist” bloc associated with the Communist Party of the Philippines and the “socialist democrat” bloc also known as the “rejectionists” in a forum called “Did the Left Get It Right?” which dealt with the participation of the two groups in the 2010 elections


16 The results of this UNDP-funded study were published in 2011 as Chasing the Wind: Assessing Philippine Democracy. Rivera’s fellow researchers are Miranda, Ronas, and Ronald Holmes of De La Salle University.

17 Established in 2001, among the current and planned activities of the Foundation are “[preserving] and supporting the remaining aspects of the democracy movement” (Joong-Seok, 2007: 351) and “[promoting] a vision of the development of democracy in Korea” (Joong-Seok, 2007: 350).


19 Berja suggested the use of the Delphi method to validate responses during the 2011 conference of CADI. Among the possible Delphi-like ways of validating responses is showing respondents the scores and comments given by their fellow respondents, asking them thereafter if they wished to change their scores based on the responses of their peers. Apparently, something similar to this was performed by the Indonesian team for their 2013 survey round.

REFERENCES


Democracies in Asia: Towards a Substantive Development of Democracy,” Seoul, South Korea, August 29-30.


---

**Appendix: Sample ADI Questionnaire Item**

2. Overall, how well do you think the citizens' freedom is protected in your country?

**DESCRIPTION**

When you answer this question, please consider whether freedom of assembly, protest, religion, conscience, travel, housing and job selection, among others, is protected. When such “freedoms” are institutionally protected and actually guaranteed, that is the ideal condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<td>Very well-protected</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COMMENTS**
ADOR R. TORNEO (Ph.D., Konkuk University) is an Assistant Professorial Lecturer in the Political Science Department of De La Salle University (Manila). His doctoral dissertation is titled: “The determinants of immigration from developing countries to South Korea: A gravity model analysis”. He received degrees in BS Community Development and Master of Public Administration (Dean’s List, NCPAG Academic Excellence Awardee) from the University of the Philippines - Diliman. His research interest includes the areas of migration, local governance, e-government, and corporate social responsibility. Email: artorneo@yahoo.com
THE IMPACTS OF IMMIGRATION POLICIES ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR MIGRATION FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO SOUTH KOREA

Ador R. Torneo

Background
In the 1970s and 1980s, immigration to South Korea was virtually unheard of. In order to raise foreign currency reserves to support industrialization, it was primarily a labor sending country sending workers to Germany and the Middle East. With the industrialization of the country, migrant workers began to arrive in the late 1980s. Migrant workers rapidly rose shortly before and in the aftermath of the 1988 Seoul Olympics. By the 2000s, it has become a migrant destination country with numbers growing very rapidly. By 2004, around 750,000 foreigners were residing in the country and by 2011, their numbers reached 1.4 million (Seol, 2000; Statistics Korea, 2012b).

Around half of all foreign residents in South Korea may be classified as “long-term international migrants. As per the UN (2001) definition, these are persons that reside in a country other than their usual residence for a period of at least a year. Majority of these are labor migrants including semi-skilled and low-skilled workers, professionals and skilled workers, and ethnic Koreans in various categories with limited sojourns of up to five years. The remaining minority may be classified as marriage-related migrants (marriage migrants hereinafter) and long-term residents. Majority come from developing countries with lower per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) than South Korea ($30,254). The 2011 per capita GDP of some of these countries in purchasing power parity are: China ($8,466), Vietnam ($3,435), Philippines ($4,140), Cambodia ($2,372), Thailand ($8,703), Uzbekistan ($3,310), and Mongolia ($4,764), etc. according to the World Bank (2012).

The Korean government attempts to manage immigration by adopting various policy instruments to control the entry, the numbers, the composition, and the sojourn of foreign migrants. From the 1990s to the early-2000s, it adopted various foreign labor policy instruments similar to Japan’s policies to satisfy demand for cheap foreign labor while preventing their permanent settlement by importing them as “trainees.” By the mid-2000s, the government under pressure from foreign migrant groups, as well as sympathetic human rights NGOs, religious groups, democracy activists, politicians, and courts sought to address worker’s rights and welfare issues and substantially amended its foreign labor legislation and programs. In the late 2000s, the government drafted a comprehensive immigration plan expanding support for particular types of immigration while maintaining
strict controls for others (Lee & Park, 2005; Yoo, 2005; Lim, 2009; MOEL, 2011).

In order to attract more foreign investment and talent, the government also adopted a preferential policy for foreigners of Korean heritage granting them quasi-citizen rights in terms of sojourn, work, and property rights in 1999. The policy likewise became controversial because it effectively excluded large numbers of ethnic Koreans from China and the former USSR countries who were typically in the semi-skilled or low-skilled migrant categories. In 2002, 2003 and 2006, changes were made to broaden the scope of these policies and include formerly excluded groups (Park & Chang, 2005; N. H. J. Kim, 2008).

Since the 1980s, the overall share of foreign migrant workers in South Korea has exponentially increased. Figure 1 shows the overall trends in the numbers of foreign migrant workers including skilled workers and professionals, low skilled workers, and trainees from 1987 to 2011. The figure shows the rapid rise in foreign migrant workers from 1987 to 1997.

The “First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012“ (FBPIP) the blueprint of government immigration policy states that South Korea must strategically open itself in order to “tap into the talent and capital of the rest of the world.” The policy objectives and directions according to the FBPIP 2008-2012 are enhancing national competitiveness through an “open-door” policy that will improve entry of foreign professionals, investors, and other highly skilled persons; restrict low skilled labor and their sojourn; and give preference to the Korean diaspora over other foreigners. It also aims to ensure quality social integration so that South Korea develops into a more mature, multicultural society where human rights are respected, migrants are able to adapt, discrimination is eradicated, and the public’s understanding of a multicultural society is promoted. Another aim is strict enforcement of immigration laws and orders. Finally, it aims to protect the human rights of foreigners (Ministry of Justice, 2008a:11).

FIGURE 1 Estimated Foreign Migrant Workers in South Korea in Thousands (1987-2011)

Source: Self-calculated. Data consolidated from Ministry of Justice, Republic of Korea; OECD StatExtracts; OECD (2007)
The Gravity Model of Migration

Migration is shaped and influenced by various factors at the individual, community, national level and beyond. In essence, these factors include what Lee (1966) categorized as: (1) factors associated with the area of origin; (2) factors associated with the area of destination; (3) intervening obstacles; and (4) personal factors (Lee, 1966). Today, scholars generally agree that migration is dependent on a set of factors relevant to the source country, the receiving country, the characteristics of the migrants, and natural or artificial factors like distance and immigration policy (e.g., Borjas, 1989; Vogler & Rotte, 2000; Karemera, Oguledo, & Davis, 2000; Mayda, 2010).

One major direction for migration research is the use of the “gravity model of migration.” Although the foundations for a gravity model of migration was laid out by Ravenstein as early as 1895, its use took a very long-time to catch on. The gravity model was first used to explain international trade patterns by Tinbergen (1962). Since then, many economists have used it to explain variations in international trade flows between countries. This application made it attractive for testing the marginal influence of other hypothesized variables on international trade and later on, as a model for incorporating hypothesized variables in international migration (Lewer & Van den Berg, 2007).

In line with the work of early scholars including Greenwood (1975), Borjas (1989), and Friedberg and Hunt (1995), scholars were able to successfully integrate political, economic, demographic, physical, public policy characteristics, and other variables into one cohesive theoretical and empirical gravity model of immigration. Karemera, Oguledo, and Davis (2000), Melkumian (2004), and Lewer and Van den Berg (2007) have each proposed models and conducted empirical research on international migration based on the gravity model.

The general gravity model of international migration may be described as a function consisting of three groups of variables: 1) political, economic, and demographic factors affecting migrant flows from the source country; 2) political, economic, and demographic factors affecting migrant flows to the receiving country; and 3) natural and artificial factors enhancing or restraining migrant flows to the host country including physical factors and public policies (e.g., see Karemera, Oguledo, & Davis, 2000; Melkumian, 2004; Lewer & Van den Berg, 2007). Without going through specifics, he gravity model is generally compatible with general migration and economic theories.

The Proposed Gravity Model Equation

In this study, we developed our own gravity models of migration based on that proposed and utilized by Vogler and Rotte (1999), Karemera, Oguledo, and Davis (2000), Melkumian (2004), Lewer and Van der Berg (2007), and Mayda (2009). The
basic equation was extended to include various social, economic, political and other variables. With the exception of $a$, which refers to a estimable parameters, $s$ which refers to source country, $r$ which refers to receiving country, and $E$ which refer to an error function, the variable names directly correspond to what they describe:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gravity Model for Labor Immigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{Labor immigration}_{sr}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$= a_0 + a_1 (\text{stockofmigrants}) + a_2 (\text{population}_s) + a_3 (\text{unemployment}_s) + a_4 (\text{income}_s) + a_5 (\text{inflation}_s) + a_6 (\text{inflation}_r) + a_7 (\text{unemployment}_r) + a_8 (\text{income}_r) + a_9 (\text{laborshortage}<em>r) + a</em>{10} (\text{politicalfreedom}<em>s) + a</em>{11} (\text{immigrationpolicy}<em>r) + a</em>{12} (\text{politicalterror}<em>r) + a</em>{13} (\text{immigrationpolicy}<em>r) + a</em>{14} (\text{distance}<em>sr) + a</em>{15} (\text{region}<em>s) + e</em>{sr}$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Immigration Policies**

Immigration policies can induce, restrict, or facilitate migration and are among the most important artificial factors that shape and influence migration. Immigration policies may be defined as “laws, rules, measures, and practices implemented by national state with the stated objective to influence the volume, origin, and internal composition of migration flows” (Czaika and de Haas, 2011:5). These include immigration control and migrant integration policies. Immigration control policies encompass those governing illegal immigration, political asylum/refugees, family reunification, and legal labor immigration. Migrant integration policies on the other hand deal with citizenship and (anti-) discrimination (Givens and Luedtke, 2005).

States adopt immigration policies for various social, economic, and political reasons. They can for example, adopt liberal immigration policies in order to address labor shortages and industry demands, especially during periods of economic prosperity. They may adopt restrictive policies as a response to domestic pressures from local labor unions and anti-immigrant groups, especially during times of economic downturns. They may also do so as a way to address domestic or international pressures, to comply with international agreements, to respond to global events, or to replicate the success of others (e.g., see Meyers, 2005; Cornelius et al, 2007; Ducanes and Abella, 2008).

**Legalization Measures of 2003**

The first policy examined here is the Legalization Measures of 2003 executed by the Korean government simultaneously with the enactment of the “Act on Foreign Workers Employment, etc.” in 2003 prior to the establishment of the EPS in August
2004. Under the legalization program, undocumented foreigners who had resided in South Korea for less than three years as of March 31, 2003 were permitted to work in the industry designated by the MOEL for a maximum period of two years if they voluntarily reported to the relevant authorities and followed procedures. Those who had resided three years, voluntarily reported to the authorities and willingly departed following procedure were allowed to reenter the country and work for up to a total of five years counting the length of their previous residence before departure. Undocumented migrants for four years or longer were allowed to voluntarily depart before November 15, 2003 (Yoo, 2005).

This policy would have had several possible effects. Initially, it may have resulted in a temporary surge in the number of legal migrants and reduced the number of illegal migrants as the latter either sought legal status or volunteered to self-deport with lesser penalties during the window period. For those eligible, the policy would have decreased the risks and costs associated with staying while maintaining non-legal status (e.g., risk of exploitation, risk of deportation, lower wages, not enjoying legal rights and benefits, etc.). The limitations in who were qualified for legal status meant that large numbers of undocumented migrants were unable to take advantage of this opportunity and may have chosen to stay illegally instead. Because of the entry of new migrants, both legal and undocumented likely still continued and remained unrestricted. The most likely effect would have been an overall increase in immigration.

Hypotheses:
- The Legalization Measures of 2003 resulted in increased labor immigration to South Korea.

Amendment of the Overseas Korean Act in 2004

The second immigration policy is the Amendment of the Overseas Korean Act in February 2004. The original version of the law passed in 1999 intended to attract foreign investment and foreign talent created a new visa category (F-4) and granted quasi-citizenship rights to qualified overseas Koreans, including the rights to work, longer stay, and own property. The original law, however, was limited only to those who had proof of being at one point being Korean citizens and their descendants, effectively excluding more than half of all ethnic Koreans who left before South Korea was established and their descendants, affecting the eligibility of Korean Chinese and Korean Russians. The amendment in 2003 removed the strict distinction and requirements and opened the F4 visa to a broader number of ethnic Koreans (Park and Chang, 2005; N. H. J. Kim, 2008).

This policy possibly increased immigration to South Korea by foreign-born
ethnic Koreans due to the easing of restrictions. The policy also likely lowered uncertainty and migration costs and enhanced the ability of this particular group to migrate to South Korea due to the privileged special status and relaxed entry policies for migrant ethnic Koreans. By expanding the pool of people who may be granted the special "overseas Korean" status, this policy increased the overall supply of potential migrants. The effect was likely an increase in labor immigration due to the influx of ethnic Korean migrants to South Korea.

Hypotheses:

- *The Amendment of the Overseas Korean Act in 2004 resulted in increased labor immigration of ethnic Koreans to South Korea.*

*Employment Permit System in 2004*

The third immigration policy covered in this study is the establishment of the Employment Permit System in 2004. The EPS allowed employers who failed to employ Korean national workers to legally hire an appropriate number of foreign workers particularly low skilled workers from EPS signatory countries as "employees" (not as "trainees") for up to 3 years (later extended to 5 years). It also prohibited discrimination against foreign migrant workers and allows them to enjoy the rights and most labor laws as enjoyed by Korean workers. The EPS program began with 6 countries but presently covers 15 country signatories including: Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Kyrgyzstan, Myanmar, China, and Timor-Leste. For the regression model, I indicated the policy to take effect in 2005.

This policy has several possible effects. Improving the status and granting rights and benefits to foreign workers and benefits very likely reduced the risks and increased the benefits of immigration in South Korea. This likely encouraged immigration from the EPS signatory countries. On the other hand, the setting and allocation of EPS quotas to a limited number of selected countries eased restrictions to eligible migrants from those countries but likely restricted immigration from others that did not have EPS quotas. In assessing the impact of this particular policy, we hypothesize that the EPS increased immigration from EPS signatory countries as soon as the MOU between those countries and South Korea took effect.

Hypotheses:

- *The Employment Permit System of 2004 resulted in increased labor immigration to South Korea from EPS signatory countries.*
Working Visit or H-2 Visa

The fourth immigration policy we examined is the introduction of the Working Visit or H-2 visa for ethnic Koreans in 2006. Overseas Koreans with this visa are allowed to seek employment in businesses with special recruitment permits and/or recommended by the Korean employment support centers after receiving training from the MOEL. The H-2 visa is supposed to smooth the way for low-skilled ethnic Koreans to transition from Special Work Permits (F-1-4 and E-9 visas) to the F-4 visa. The visa is valid for 5 years and good for up to 3 years of stay and allows multiple entries for overseas Koreans. This measure is part of the ethnicization of immigration policies and had been framed as part of the government’s effort to “embrace overseas Koreans” (N. H. J. Kim, 2008).

This policy, which had features similar to the Overseas Korean Act and the F-4 Visa it created, likely increased immigration to South Korea by ethnic Koreans for similar reasons. It further eased restrictions, lowered migration costs, and further enhanced the ability of ethnic Koreans to immigrate due to the privileged special status and relaxed entry policies. The effect was likely a significant increase in ethnic Korean immigration and labor immigration overall.

Hypotheses:
- The Working Visit or H-2 visa of 2006 resulted in increased labor immigration of ethnic Koreans to South Korea.

The fifth immigration policy is what I refer to collectively as the Immigration Support Policies of 2008. The landmark policy here is the First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy 2008-2012, the blueprint immigration policy. The launch of the FBPIP 2008-2012 went hand in hand with the full implementations of related Grand Plan policies including the “Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea” in the late part of 2007 as well as the “Support for Multicultural Family Act of 2008” was the culmination of the government’s immigration support policies. It is virtually impossible to disentangle the individual effects of these policies which took effect at around the same time in our model so we treat them here collectively.

The FBPIP 2008-2012 and the associated policies mandated prioritization and government support for the immigration of professionals, ethnic Koreans, and marriage migrants into South Korea. The effect, expressed in our framework is an effective decrease in the adaptation costs as well as enhanced ability of these groups to immigrate in South Korea. Thus, I hypothesize that this likely resulted into an increase in labor immigration in South Korea.
Hypotheses:
- *The Immigration Support Policies of 2008 resulted in increased labor immigration to South Korea.*

**Coverage**

Panel data from selected developing countries were developed and used in this study. The study covered 33 countries plus two major groups of overseas Koreans. This includes 33 developing countries from migrantsending countries in Asia, Africa, South America, and East Europe. The two distinct groups of ethnic Koreans are those from China and the former USSR countries. These groups are treated distinctly and separately in official records. Including these two distinct groups allow us to identify and measure the impacts of ethnic-related immigration policies.

The period covered in the panel data set is 2000-2011 or 12 years but data from 1999 to 2012 were used to generate the panel data set. This period was selected due to the complete availability of data for all variables including the components of the primary and secondary dependent variables long-term labor international migrants to South Korea (i.e., legal professionals, legal low skilled workers/trainees, undocumented migrants, ethnic Koreans, and marriage migrants). The data is incomplete beyond this range. I have 420 observations for each variable; this is more than sufficient for reliable panel data estimates.

**TABLE 1 Selected Groups for Study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>South America</th>
<th>Europe</th>
<th>Africa</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyrgyzstan</td>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>Russian-Koreans</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Republic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Panama</td>
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<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
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<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Peru</td>
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<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
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<td>Uzbekistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chinese-Koreans</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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The tests using the standard fixed and random effects model regression techniques indicate the presence of both fixed and random effects in the model. As a result, I adopt the random effects model due to its ability to measure the effects of the four time-invariant variables in this model. Because of the presence of heteroskedasticity and first order correlation in my data, I had to employ corrective measures. I utilized the sandwich estimator of variance associated with Huber (1967) and White (1980, 1982) also referred to as the robust estimate of variance (or robust estimator). This allowed me to relax the assumption of independence of the observations and produce “correct” standard errors that are robust to heteroskedasticity and autocorrelation. The inclusion of several estimation methods for the same database is a common practice in gravity model studies of trade (Gómez-Herrera, 2011). I follow this practice and present the results of my random model regression analysis model and the results of four other models for the same database.

Discussion

The gravity model of migration allowed me to empirically analyze the factors that influence immigration from developing countries to South Korea based on the propositions of my framework. The adapted gravity model of migration allowed me to model, integrate, and simultaneously examine economic, demographic, political, geographic, and policy factors. This would have been difficult, if not impermissible, if I used other models (e.g., standard labor market or other economic models). Because this article only covers the immigration policy factors, the results of the panel analysis for the economic, demographic, political, and geographic variables were excluded in this draft and in Table 2. Only the results of the panel analysis for the 5 selected policies were presented.

Excluding international students, almost 90 percent of long-term international migrants to South Korea are temporary labor migrants, including ethnic Koreans. The rest are mostly marriage migrants. This result suggests that unemployment is an important consideration for labor migrants but not necessarily for marriage migrants. The latter group may be subject less to unemployment than other socioeconomic considerations. Their motivations are less understood and there is a dearth of well-established theories and empirical studies in this area. Further examination and research is necessary.

Based on my findings, I affirm that immigration policies adopted by the Korean government have generally affected labor immigration in the intended direction, albeit there are mixed outcomes. Liberal policies relaxing restrictions on specific groups of migrants generally resulted in increased immigration of those groups (e.g., ethnic Koreans, marriage migrants, and professionals and skilled foreigners). One plausible explanation is that these policies enhanced the mobility of these
favored groups while possibly constraining those of others (e.g., low and semi-skilled migrants). Policies supportive of migrants and foreigners, resulted in increased immigration overall.

The legalization measures of 2003, which allowed undocumented migrants to acquire legal status, also led to increased volume of migrants for that year. This policy reduced the risks and migration costs for eligible undocumented migrants and thus resulted in increased immigration. Migrant workers who acquired legal status plus additional migrants increased the total volume of migrants. The FBPIIP 2008-2012, which heralded the establishment of supportive policies and further improved the environment for ethnic Koreans, marriage migrants, and professionals and highly skilled foreigners, also resulted in significant increases in labor immigration. This was likely the result of the lowered migration costs and enhanced mobility of these groups.

**TABLE 2 Partial Results of Labor Immigration Model Panel Regression: Impact of Immigration Policies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Pooled OLS</th>
<th>Pooled OLS (Newey-West Estimator)</th>
<th>FGLS (Corrected for AR1 &amp; Heteroskedasticity)</th>
<th>Fixed Effects (Robust Estimator)</th>
<th>Random Effects (Robust Estimator)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>(0.14950)*</td>
<td>(0.09710)**</td>
<td>(0.13597)**</td>
<td>(0.14131)**</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Overseas Korean Law Amendment</td>
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<td>(0.12690)*</td>
<td>(0.09077)**</td>
<td>(0.14351)**</td>
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<td>***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employment Permit System Law</td>
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<td>(0.47324)</td>
<td>(0.47636)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration Support Policies of 2008</td>
<td>0.33093</td>
<td>0.33093</td>
<td>0.12738</td>
<td>0.37548</td>
<td>0.30344</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.16270)</td>
<td>(0.18858)*</td>
<td>(0.12504)</td>
<td>(0.32429)</td>
<td>(0.17168)*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>15.78329</td>
<td>15.78329</td>
<td>9.57531</td>
<td>-4.22422</td>
<td>8.71533</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The establishment of the EPS system in 2004 did not lead to any notable changes as far as labor immigration volume is concerned. I posit that this was probably the result of substitution effects. Migrant workers are essentially just trading their ITP trainee visas for EPS working visas. But because the EPS is just limited to 15 countries and the quotas are very limited, low-skilled foreign migrant workers from other non EPS countries have very limited options to secure legal employment. Data indicates that migrants from other non-EPS designated countries continue to enter South Korea, many entering on non-working visa and later taking on undocumented status.

The immigration support measures of 2008, the culmination of various pro-migrant policies including the “Act on the Treatment of Foreigners in Korea” in the late part of 2007 as well as the “Support for Multicultural Families Act” of 2008 and the landmark First Basic Plan for Immigration Policy, has substantial effects on immigration. Although these laws did not directly regulate the entry or recruitment of migrants, they created a supportive environment for several major types of migrants (e.g., ethnic Koreans, marriage migrants, professionals and skilled foreigners), essentially enhancing the mobility and lowering the costs of migration for these groups. Data suggests that immigration by these groups likely increased as a result.

The preferential entry policies for ethnic Koreans including the expanded F-4 visa arising from the amendment of the Overseas Korean Law in 2004 and the H-2 or Visa Special Work and Residence Permit or H-2 visa for ethnic Koreans in 2006 significantly increased the numbers of ethnic Korean migrants. Such preferential policies enhanced the mobility of this favored group and effectively increased the supply of potential migrants to South Korea. Of these two policies, however, only the Overseas Korean Law in 2004 was statistically significant for labor immigration. The H-2 Visa was not statistically significant for both models.

One possible reason for this disparity is the scope and duration of the policies. The amended Overseas Korean Law has been around for 8 years and many ethnic Koreans avail of the F-4 visa. In comparison, the H-2 visa has only been around for 4 years. The small increases in labor migrants in the vast majority of countries resulting from the H-2 visa policy were overall not yet substantial enough to be
statistically significant. Also, while the two visas both target ethnic Koreans but the F-4 visa appears to be more beneficial compared to the H-2 visa in terms of the privileges it confers.

The Korean government prefers to maintain a revolving labor immigration policy and is implicitly opposed to long-term settlement of low skilled migrant workers. South Korea’s government immigration policy, as embodied in the FBPIP 2008-2012 and related policies, offers only a very narrow window for permanent immigration and settlement in South Korea and this is generally limited to investors, highly skilled professionals, ethnic Koreans, and (women) marriage migrants. The state intentionally limits the sojourn of semi-skilled and low-skilled foreign workers instead preferring to maintain a revolving temporary labor policy. This is similar to the position of Japan as well as Germany, both countries with strong histories on racial/cultural homogeneity.

Conclusion
The findings confirm that most policies adopted by the Korean government have generally affected immigration from developing countries in the intended direction. Liberal policies relaxing restrictions on specific groups of migrants generally resulted in increased immigration of those groups (e.g., ethnic Koreans, marriage migrants, and professionals and skilled foreigners). These policies enhanced the mobility of favored groups while possibly constraining those of others. Policies supportive of migrants and foreigners, resulted in increased immigration overall.

The Korean government has demonstrated strong commitment and political will which allowed it to adopt comprehensive legislative measures intended to address the anticipated negative effects of its demographic transition. Using our framework and econometric model as template, it is possible for government policy planners to make future immigration projections based on the geophysical profile, the current stock and composition of existing migrant groups, and the projected demographic characteristics, economic, employment, political performance, and public policies of source countries and South Korea. Based on my findings, it is also possible to predict the potential impact of planned immigration policies to a lesser degree. These are useful for planning and management purposes.

This study also provides evidence that while immigration policies may have limited impacts, it can nevertheless influence the volume, origin, and internal composition of immigration. It should be emphasized, however, that immigration policies are generally less influential than other demographic, economic, and political factors. As per the results of this study, the smaller coefficients of immigration policies relative to demographic and economic factors means that
policies have relatively smaller impacts on immigration relative to other major immigration factors as suggested by earlier studies (e.g., Czaika and de Haas, 2011). Thus, any projections of future immigration flows centered on policies should take into account the strength of these other major migration factors.

The success of South Korea in attracting its target groups of migrants is premised on the assumptions that push and pull factors will continue to favor the flow of migrants from developing countries to the country. Immigration from developing countries to South Korea will likely continue for as long as there is a demand for and a supply of migrants, for as long as the cost-benefit differentials are sufficiently large so as to persuade potential migrants to overcome home preference and other factors that would otherwise compel them to stay in their home country, and for as long as mobility considerations allows for movement. Public policies, specifically immigration policies, can influence migration flows in at least three ways: by enhancing or diminishing cost and/or benefits of migration, by enhancing or diminishing the ability of migrants to enter the country of destination, and by influencing the characteristics of the supply and/or demand for migrants.

ENDNOTES

1 This article is based on: Torneo, Ador R. (2013). The determinants of immigration from developing countries to South Korea: A gravity model analysis. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Department of Public Administration, College of Political Science, Konkuk University, Seoul, Korea.

2 Data from 45 countries were originally counted as candidates for this study. Closer examination of the data, we found that 12 countries (Syria, Cambodia, Nepal, Croatia, Bangladesh, Czech, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Hungary, Uruguay, and Kazakhstan) did not meet the criteria. The remaining countries that satisfy the criteria are: We generated this panel data using data from various sources covering 1999 to 2012.

3 F-test (Wald Test) for Fixed Effects \( (F_{34,356} = 8.9) \), Prob.> F =0.000 ] and Breusch and Pagan Lagrange Multiplier Test for Random Effects \( (\text{chibar}2(01) = 169.08, \text{Prob}> \text{chibar}2 = 0.0000) \]

4 *Figures in the first line are calculated coefficients; the second line is standard error
\* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01
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CHAEBOL VERSUS CRONIES: THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRATEGIES OF PARK AND MARCOS

Sandra Chan, Merlanne A. Crizaldo, Albertin J. Din, Marietta Trimpe

In a striking comparison of the two strong leaders of South Korea and the Philippines, Paul Hutchcroft (2011) notes many similarities between Park Chung Hee and Ferdinand Marcos. Both were born in 1917, grew up with their countries under colonial rule, rose into power in the 1960s and declared martial law in 1972. Their two countries virtually shared many things in common, including serving as military bases to the United States, specifically during the Cold War. When the two men declared martial law in their respective countries, they were both citing the necessity of the use of force in fortifying democratic foundations in their respective countries.

Despite these similarities, Hutchcroft (2011) also notes how the regimes resulted in reverse images: while South Korea “took off” into rapid industrialization, the Philippines was left as the “sick man of Asia”. In explaining the contrasting results, Hutchcroft brings into the discussion the importance of structure and agency. He explains that while Park had to deal with an “institutionalized civilian and military bureaucracy” (p. 543), Marcos had a highly patrimonial bureaucracy. Another explanatory variable which Hutchcroft explores is the personal background of the two leaders. While Park rose from a humble farming family, went through military service, and finally gained power through the military coup of 1961, Marcos came from a provincial elite, went into law school and with his “ingenious political tactics” (p. 543), gained power in 1965. An interesting observation on the elites, however, lead him to conclude that while the elites in Korea were turned from political-economic actors to focusing on the economic matters alone, the American occupation transformed the economic elites to political-economic elites, allowing them to use their political apparatus to grant themselves more opportunities.

In addition to the comparison of Hutchcroft (2011) in terms of the historical experiences and the leadership background of the two countries, this paper aims to look into the political-economic strategies of the two regimes, specifically the government-business relationship which the two regimes maintained. Particularly, the paper will juxtapose some of the chosen conglomerates, known as chaebols in South Korea and cronies in the Philippines. To achieve this, the paper will incorporate the concept of rent-seeking, specifically looking into the actors, or the “rent-seekers”. Although there were a number of conglomerates that flourished during the regimes, the proponents of the paper will only look into five typical
chaebols and five cronies, who scholars identify to have received favors from the two governments. The specific forerunners of chaebols from South Korea that will be discussed are Lee Byung Chull (Samsung), Chung Ju Yung (Hyundai), Koo In Hwoi (LG), Kim Woo Jung (Daewoo), and Chey Jong Hyun (SK). On the other hand, the cronies of Marcos that will be discussed are Roberto Benedicto, Eduardo “Danding” Cojuangco, Lucio Tan, Benjamin “Kokoy” Romualdez, and Herminio Disini.

I. Setting the context: the Pre-Park South Korea and the Pre-Marcos Philippines

/South Korean Land Reform

Hutchcroft (2011) identifies the land reform in Korea as a critical issue in defining the state-elite relationship in the country. Before the start of the divisive war, the American push for land reform was blocked by the landed elites. However, with the North Korean occupation weakening the power of the latter, the American pressure, translated by Syngman Rhee’s efforts, was successfully implemented. With the “massive social dislocation”, the country was open for the rise of new entrepreneurs.

In 1945, after the creation of a new independent government in the peninsula, the two Korean governments implemented land reforms in their respective territories (Cho & Park, 2013). South Korea’s land reform was implemented in 1950, at the beginning of the Korean War, and continued during the Syngman Rhee regime. The land reform of Korea greatly contributed to the economic development of the country, especially to the sustainability of the market system of their economy. It was indeed successful since the reform replaced former colonial landlords with independent local farmers. Moreover, the lands were redistributed to the farmers, unlike other Asian countries with similar reform in place. According to Quizon (2005), 65 percent of lands owned by colonial landlords were successfully redistributed to independent farmers. With that, South Korea achieved a four percent annual increase in their growth. The move towards an effective land reform in South Korea was supported by the Americans to promote anti-revolutionary policies in the country (Cho & Park, 2013).

According to a research from the Korean Rural Economic Institute, the independent farmer system was considered as the foundation of Korean capitalism (Cho & Park, 2013). The implementation of the land reform in South Korea was successful due to three reasons. Firstly, the anti-communist sentiment of land tenants was aided by the Americans with the hope to promote democracy. This was linked to the communist threats they received from North Korea and mainland China (You, n.d.) Second, President Syngman Rhee was committed to destroy the class that belonged to political landlords. Though still undergoing debate, there are
scholars who say that the landed elites needed other means to earn profit (Cho & Park, 2013). Other scholars also credit the success of South Korea’s land reform to good governance and low level of corruption (You, n.d.).

**Philippine Land Reform**

As part of the American tutelage after World War II, they sent the Bell Mission Team to assess the economic situation in the country. The mission recommended a widespread land redistribution to settle agrarian unrest in the country. The first proposal for the land distribution by Robert Hardie included the abolishment of absentee ownership, low ceilings on land be retained by landlords, negotiations between landlords and tenants be abolished, prices be fixed by the government, payment for the landlords be flexible based on the ability of tenants to pay, and that commission be formed in order to hear the side of the farmers. He also proposed several constitutional amendments as some provisions protected the rights of the landlords, promoting “feudal culture”. Hardie’s proposal was not easily accepted by the government or the masses. It was considered as “national insult”, communist propaganda, etc. (Putzel, 1992). The reforms did not formally push through until the Magsaysay regime.

President Ramon Magsaysay developed a close relationship with farmers during his campaign and anti-Huk movements. He initiated farmer groups that pushed for reforms and negotiations. His administration legislated different land reform acts including the Agricultural Tenancy Act in 1954 and the Land Reform Act in 1955 which mandated the Land Tenure Administration to buy tenanted lands resell it to tenants. Yet, the laws remained weak as the Congress considered anti-communist arguments (Putzel, 1992). Moreover, the congressmen were landlords, owning lands was included in the laws, thus, delays were created in order to protect themselves. The Magsaysay regime, though successful in creation of laws, distributed very little land.

In September 1972, Marcos declared the whole country a land reform area. Through this, Marcos and his cronies became the new privileged elite (Riedinger, 1995). Presidential Decree No. 27 outlined the land reform and named the reform as the keystone martial law program. It was “the most sweeping land reform that the Philippines had ever seen” (Wurfel, 1989, para. 13). However, it only included tenanted rice and corn lands. Seven-hectare or more land holdings were redistributed to tenants, with a 15-year period of paying off the value of the land - called Operation Land Transfer. On the other hand, those holdings less than seven hectares were given to leaseholders with a fixed amount of rent - called Operation Leasehold (U.S. Library of Congress, 2013).

A primary motive was to weaken the power of those elites who were in the opposition side before martial law (Wurfel, 1989). Central Luzon was the main
target of the land reform as this was where traditional agrarian unrest was and where Marcos cronies and landed elite were few. Thiesenhusen (1986) claims that through this, “Marcos broadened his political base and garnered international legitimacy” (para. 7). Also, the land program was ineffective due to inconsistent political will. Velasco (1997) also claims that the reform only contributed to “the emergence of ‘crony capitalism’ under the Marcos regime” (p. 88).

**Park’s chaebols vs. Marcos’ cronies**

Considering the South Korea’s proximity to Japan, Hutchcroft (2011) explains that this allowed them to model their chaebol system to the Japanese zaibatsu. On the other hand, the Filipino policymakers were less familiar with the Japanese innovation of state-led development. Despite this, there is a common feature between the cronies and chaebols: both individuals and their conglomerates received preferential treatment and favors from the government, which gave them leverage in the market. Stifel, however, notes how economists fail to find much rationality in terms of the selection and identification of the individuals and industries which received benefits from the state (as cited in Hutchcroft, 2011).

Other than the lack of a model, Dohner and Intal (1989) also note how as compared to Korea, the Philippine government had more discretion: “(a)lmost anything could be arranged by presidential decree, and the president in many cases had a direct financial interest in the success of particular ventures” (p. 475). Unlike in Korea where there was a presence of “industrial overlap”, the authors mention that as regards the Philippines, “there was little or no industrial overlap among crony enterprises; individual monopoly positions were created and awarded to single firms” (p. 475). Additionally, Dohner and Intal point to the weaker Philippine entrepreneurial spirit with regards to channelling it into the export sector as compared to that of Korea. Many scholars agree, nonetheless, that despite the differences in outcomes, both the chaebols and the cronies were engaged in rent-seeking activities.

**Rent-seeking and Crony Capitalism**

Henderson (2008) broadly defines rent-seeking as the actions of actors to acquire benefits through regulations. Rents are understood as incomes which are above the normal: with "normal" income referring to the return which an individual would receive had he not received any privileges. Rents can be generated through political mechanisms including monopoly profits, subsidies and transfers. They may also be either legal or illegal activities. Legal rent-seeking activities include lobbying and advertising while illegal rent-seeking activities are those that involve bribery, private mafias, and coercion. Rent-seeking also involves
transfer of resources from the state to capitalists, which is the most common outcome of the activity (Khan, 2000).

This acquisition of rents is usually done by economic actors. Rent-seeking is related to the concept of crony capitalism. Crony capitalism develops naturally as a consequence of government intervention in the economy, whether this interference is based on bad intentions or not (Holcombe, 2013). Gordon Tullock (1967) explains that groups or firms obtain certain government favors through protection by promising in exchange support for the politicians. When the firms have increased profits through government favors and when, in exchange, these firms continuously support the politicians and lobbies for more protection, the relationship of rent seeking and cronyism is created. It is noteworthy to point out that cronyism as a result of rent seeking is detrimental to the economy as it does not contribute to growth (as cited from Holcombe, 2013). Kang (2003) also mentions about cronyism, pointing out its ‘harmfulness’ with regard to rent-seeking behavior.

Cronyism – family-based clans, personal relationships, and informal networks – is often seen to raise transaction costs. Personal relationships can lead to better information, provide more opportunities and longer time horizons for side payments and reciprocity, reduce monitoring costs, and make enforcement of agreements easier (Kang, 2003: 440).

Kang (2004), in his controversial book Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines, emphasizes the presence of rent-seeking and cronyism in the two countries during the Park Chung Hee and Ferdinand Marcos regimes. These two regimes are further reviewed in the succeeding sections.

II. Presidencies in perspective

PARK CHUNG HEE

Being born into a poor farming family in North Kyongsang Province on November 1917, Park first served as a local schoolteacher. In 1940, he joined the Japanese-controlled Manchuguo Army and enrolled in the Manchurian Xinjing Officers School. In 1942, he transferred to the Japanese Military Academy in Tokyo. Two years later, he was deployed in Eastern Manchuria as a second-lieutenant officer in Manchurian Army until Japan surrendered in 1945. Returning home after liberation, Park joined the Korea Military Academy (KMA). After graduating from
KMA, he became a junior officer of the Korean National Army on October 1948, which was to put down a leftist rebellion who defied the government’s suppression of communists in Jeju Island. After an investigation of his alleged involvement in a mutiny by the South Korean communists, he was not allowed to resume his military office, until the Korean War, in which he was reinstated as a major (Han, 2011).

There were other generals and a total of 3,600 soldiers who helped Park Chung Hee in the coup, most of whom came from the Manchuguo Military Academy. Park also got the loyalty of mid-level officers like the lieutenant colonels and colonels whom he met when he was a company commander in KMA. Moreover, he is noted for possessing the charisma to forge the various military factions and imbue in them the vision of a reformed society (Han, 2011).

In the dawn of May 16, 1961, the three branches of government were successfully seized by the coup coalition. Through the captured Korean Broadcasting Company, they released a six-point political platform containing the duties or promises of the military revolutionary committee, which includes (1) opposition to communism, (2) strengthening ties with the United States and other allies, (3) eradicate corruption and promote moral principles and inculcate national spirit among the South Koreans, (4) construct a strong national economy to address the needs and miseries of the masses, (5) promote Korean reunification and (6) to turn over the power to the civilians after the accomplishment of the mentioned objectives (Han, 2011).

After a two-year rule of the junta and two consecutive presidential terms, Park waged another coup in 1972, known as Yusin (Revitalization) system, in order to strengthen his presidential power. While democracy was postponed with the undemocratic Yusin Constitution, South Korea was able to promote heavy and chemical industries during the third and fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plans (FYEDP) under the authoritarian leadership of Park. Due to the active rent-seeking behaviour of the chaebols under the Yusin regime, the family-owned Korean chaebols were able to grow to multidimensional behemoths that could compete with international companies in the global market (Kim, personal communication, 2013).

Chaebols

In seeking to understand the South Korean hypergrowth, the chaebols present an interesting answer. Kim and Park (2011) identify two dominant views of the chaebol, to which they add a third one. The first view is that of "Korea, Inc.", in which the state-chaebol relationship is viewed to be extremely close, with constant personnel exchanges, state-controlled chaebol who pursue national interests and in which Park sits as the CEO. The second view is that of "crony capitalism" in which
the chaebol is viewed to have "captured" the state and manipulate and control market forces in favor of their businesses. However, they presented a third view which criticizes the two views as being unidimensional and static. Kim and Park view that the chaebol were neither the captives nor the masters of the state. The organization was not merely based on family ties but also on rational business decisions, within the confines of the national economic policies.

Under Park’s rule, the chaebols directly dealt with the Blue House (the state). While Park had the power to build and destroy the chaebols, he recognizes that the chaebols had more capacity in running businesses. The dynamic partnership between the chaebols and the state is maintained by the chaebols’ acceptance of the economic policies and their refraining to muddle with politics. Kim and Park (2011) characterize the state-chaebol relationship as “mutual guarantors”, with the common goal to alleviate the Korean public from poverty, in which Park secured the chaebol from business failure through economic policies such as subsidies; while the chaebol embarked on risky business ventures with high performance. It is important to note, however that Park allowed the weakest chaebols to fall after the government has exerted all efforts to rescue the firm. This strategy by the government discouraged excessive risk taking behavior and fostered the credibility of the government’s support (Kim & Park, 2011).

Park strategically centralized decision-making and the task of persuading the chaebol in the Economic Planning Board (EPB). Moreover, the state nationalized commercial banks in 1961. This placed the control of capital to the state, which became the state’s instrument to secure that the chaebol met the state-set targets (Kim & Park, 2011).

A peculiar feature of Park’s strategy is his choosing of the then business leaders whom he has previously charged with illegal accumulation of wealth and put under house arrest after the military coup. The following day after the coup, twenty-one business leaders were arrested and accused of “illegally acquiring state-invested properties, unjustly purchasing state-owned foreign exchange at preferential rates, profiting from unfair bidding, illicitly benefiting from the state-distributed foreign loans, evading taxes, and illegally transferring property to foreign countries in return for providing Liberal Party politicians with political funds” (Korea Yearbook, 1961, 1962 [as cited in Park and Kim, 2011: 273]). One of these chaebols was Lee Byung Chull of Samsung. When Lee returned from Japan on June 27 to face charges, he was met by Park. He convinced Park that putting the chaebols behind bars would be a waste of talent, as they were the ones who possess the knowledge on managerial expertise, capital and technology. After this historic meeting, negotiations started to ensure the partnership and the terms of the political exchange of the proposed state-chaebol relationship in the succeeding years. Consequently, the predecessor of the Federation of Korean Industries (FKI)
was launched. This became the venue for the government to shape and guide the interests of the business groups. Lee became the first president of FKI. One of the early proposals of FKI was the Ulsan Industrial Complex in 1962, which was firmly supported by Park. However, the FKI became the source of political loyalty to Park which prevented political rivals from securing political funds from the big business groups. Kim and Park (2011) also identify how the chaebol owners understood the intentions of Park, which was not the elections, but rapid industrialization. Also, the chaebols became the source of innovative economic ideas such as promotion of export goods, attraction of foreign capital by building industrial complexes.

Kim and Park (2011) also do not discount the fact that Park placed considerable preference to owners of chaebols coming from Gyeongsang region; but there were also chaebols who do not come from the Gyeongsang region, such as Chung Ju Yung of Hyundai who came from the Gangwon province, and Kim Woo Jung of Daewoo who came from Gyeonggi (Kim and Park, 2011). In addition, the chaebol owners are not related to Park by kin (Kim, personal communication, 2013).

In 1973, Park's strategy was to concentrate resources and firms to capital-intensive heavy industries. These five industries were identified as non-ferrous metal, petrochemical, machinery, shipbuilding and electronics. The ten “national champions” which were to lead these industries were selected in terms of their performance, loyalty and especially their willingness to take risks. In the mid-1970s, the trading of these goods was facilitated by the creation of general trading companies or GTCs, which organized the exportation and importation of various products in differing markets. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry announces the targets on the export volume and destinations, which would determine whether a GTC maintains the status. The GTCs which were able to meet these targets were given preferential loans (Kim and Park, 2011).

Despite these things, there are also scholars who are critical about the corruption practices both in the Korean and Philippine governments. Kang (2004), for example, observes that political considerations, instead of merits, served as basis for the provision of privileges. Kim (2013, personal communication) interestingly notes that the huge slush funds donated by the chaebols to Park was for his political use. “Park used the money to control the politicians and his vast bureaucrats and military even including the opposition. But he never used the money for his own wealth. After he was assassinated, he did not leave any private asset or domestic bank account. He was the rare authoritarian political leader who had no private account in any foreign bank”.

Another observation, particularly by left-wing intellectuals, is that the founders of the chaebols were collaborators of the Japanese. As noted, however, by Lankov (2011), the founders had humble beginnings prior to 1945, and had to keep
cozy relations with the Japanese in order for their business to thrive -- those who had closer relations with the Japanese were not as successful as the chaebol.

Kang (2004) categorizes the state-chaebol relationship as that of “mutual hostages” in which no party had leverage over the other, rather that the two parties both have their respective incentives to maintain the relationship, but they are also limited in taking too much advantage of the other. Moreover, Kang (2004) further outlines how Park’s strategies have only focused on building up the power of the chaebol, starting with the 1961 capture and pardon, 1972 bailout of firms and the General Trading Companies (GTCs) in 1972. As mutual hostages, the drive for the firms to expand comes from the desire to secure their relevance to the government, particularly in accessing bailouts when they fail. On the other hand, he notes how the chaebols became a source of political fund for the politicians during elections. With this, he concludes how the politics in the Park regime is summarized by the exchange of bribes for rents.

Lee Byung Chull (Samsung)

Known as the “richest man in Korea” (Bang, 2010), Lee started his company in 1938. From being an import-export enterprise, Samsung expanded to sugar refinery, textiles, electronics, aircraft, semiconductors, shipbuilding, machinery and food processing (AP, 1987). Along with this growth before the Park administration, Lee was one of the businessmen charged with illicit accumulation of wealth (Park and Kim, 2011). His return to Korea in 1965, however, marked the historical conversation between him and Park in which the former supposedly convinced Park to partner with the chaebols.

Lee was born in 1910 to a family of small landowners located in a southeast Korean province. He went to Japan to study in Waseda University, but he returned home before finishing, and helped in his family’s business. At the age of 30, he established a small trading company, which expanded to producing alcoholic beverages and food. He used the 30,000 won given to him by his family, which would roughly be around $5 million. This company was named Samsung, meaning “three stars” (Lankov, 2011).

Lankov (2011) notes how Lee strategically moved the headquarters of his company to Seoul in 1947, when the colonial regime ended, as Seoul became the heart of economic activities. His close relations with the government of Syngman Rhee allowed him to secure contracts, even those involving foreign trade. The growing company also entered the production of sugar and textile, and by the 1950s, Samsung and Lee were recognized as the richest company and man in Korea, but with hints of corruption.

While he was in Japan staying with his Japanese wife, he heard of his charges of corruption by the military junta and came up with the deal of the pardon of his
previous misdeeds in exchange for his support to the state’s project of transforming Korea (Lankov, 2011). In line with this project was the selection of a handful of companies which will receive full support from the government. Lankov notes how the selection of these companies was based on the personal preferences of Park, which gained disapproving sentiments from the international analysts, who in the 1960s preferred the laissez-faire system. Lankov also states how corrupt practices occurred in the Korean approach, but that it did not reach the feared scale which would prove detrimental in the larger picture.

In 1966, Samsung was charged for its illegal imports. As such, Lee went on exile (Lankov, 2011). This issue placed Samsung at a difficult situation in relation to the state (Kim and Park, 2011). Nonetheless, in 1969, Samsung Electronics was established and in the 1970s, the Samsung Group was chosen to lead the shipbuilding industry. On November 20, 1987, Lee died at the age of 77 due to lung cancer (AP, 1987).

**CHUNG JU YUNG (HYUNDAI)**

Having been brought up in a poor farming family from North Korea, Chung strived with discipline and hard work. He was born on November 25, 1915, in the province of Tongchon, near the demilitarized zone (DMZ) in North Korea. It was known that he had received no formal education during his childhood. His road to success did not happen smoothly. His career started when he was 18 years old: he stole a cow from his father, sold it, and made his way to Seoul and worked as delivery boy (The Telegraph, 2001; NNDB, 2013). His parents brought him back twice but he still insisted to go his own way. On his third attempt to live independently, he finally succeeded.

After saving money from his low-paid jobs, he started a car repair business. The colonial rule of the Japanese posed restrictions to his small rice business that forced him to shut down his store. When the colonization ended, he was able to establish his own construction company, which he named Hyundai Engineering. It is composed of several firms such as Hyundai Heavy Industries, Hyundai Motor, and Hyundai Electronics (“Chung Ju-yung”, The Telegraph, 2001). The Hyundai Motor Company is recognized as the first Korean car manufacturer that was able to export its product to the American market. It continued to invest in newer technology to improve its reputation in the international community (“Hyundai Brand History”, Autoevolution, 2013).

In the 1960’s, Hyundai Engineering was one of the chaebols, which benefitted with cheap loans and profitable contracts under the Park regime. Kim and Park (2011) note how Chung was chosen by Park as a partner due to his being a credible risk taker. With this, his company grew and expanded exponentially, buying properties across Korea. He was known as a leader with an iron fist and hot temper.
with his workers and even with his children. It was known that one of his sons committed suicide because he cannot please his father (“Chung Ju-yung”, The Telegraph, 2001). In 1998, he took initiatives in the reunification of Korea and became the first civilian to cross the border and bring 500 cattle heads as a gift to his home province without being accompanied by soldiers or guards (NNDB, 2013 & “Chung Ju-yung”, The Telegraph, 2001). During his visit, he was able to meet the North Korean dictator, Kim Jong-II and arranged a summit meeting with the South Korean government which was held in 2000 (NNDB, 2013).

The economic crisis that hit Korea in 1997 challenged the Hyundai company badly with huge debts. In 2001, the year of his death, one of its companies, the Korea Industrial Development, faced bankruptcy. However, until today, the Hyundai Motor Company is still considered as one of the top manufacturers of car around the world.

**Koo In Hwoi (LG)**

Koo In-Hwoi established Lucky Goldstar, which grew to 40 subordinates across the globe, producing goods in various sectors such as electronics, appliances, telecommunication devices and many more. From being a traditional chaebol under the Park regime, in 2003, the company was turned into LG Corp., a company adopting the American framework for business management (Euroasia Industry, 2012).

Initially, Koo owned a small department store, Yonam. In 1947, he established LG which was first named as Lak Hui (Lucky) Chemical Industrial Corp., in partnership with the Huh family. Originally producing face products and other cosmetics, LG became the major producer of plastics molds (Euroasia Industry, 2012).

In 1953, the Lak Hui Industry was established as an export agency and then a primary producer of dental cream or toothpaste in Korea (Euroasia Industry, 2012 & LG, 2013). Aside from these, they contributed to more ‘Korean firsts’ such as electronic products including Korea’s first electric fan, first telephone, first refrigerator, first white and black television and others.

Koo In-Hwoi was also known for his efforts in establishing the Korean electronics industry in the early 1960’s, which made Korea a global competitor of electronics and IT products. He also made outstanding efforts in strengthening the telecommunications industry by putting up a subsidiary of LG that produced switchboards and public telephones (LG, 2013).

In the 1960’s, they had a large contribution to the market with the help of the protectionist measures and support for technological innovation of the government. It was known that one of the directors of LG was a member of the cabinet of the Park government. Moreover, due to the pro-chaebol policies of the
Park regime, LG received favors from the government such as tax exemptions and funds for scholarship grants for engineering students (Euroasia Industry, 2012).

**Kim Woo Jung (Daewoo)**

From Kim’s establishment of Daewoo in 1967, with his first business of selling tricot yarn to Singapore, the Daewoo empire expanded in 1997 into 23 big companies and emerged as South Korea’s third largest conglomerate. The company had manufacturing of refrigerators in China, garments factory in Myanmar and manufacturing of videocassette recorders in Northern Ireland (Watanabe, 1994).

Kim grew up in Daegu and at the age of 14, he was forced to take care of his mother and two siblings after his father was captured by the North Korean soldiers. Kim sold newspapers and Watanabe (1994) notes Kim’s hardwork by being able to outsell the other newspaper boys by 10 to 1. Also, Kim graduated from Yonsei University with a degree in economics. After this, he started a trading firm named Daewoo which meant “Great Universe”, but which only started with five employees and $10,000. He also went into textiles and his gamble of fabric was a hit in the United States which brought him earnings of $6 million in three years (Watanabe, 1994).

In 1976, Park Chung Hee requested Kim to revive a state-owned machinery plant which had not been profitable for the last 37 years. Kim’s strategy to rebuild the plant was to decrease costs and increase employee housing to incentivize workers and build morale amongst them. In a span of nine months, he successfully turned the situation of the plant (Watanabe, 1994). The same miracle happened when he was asked in 1978 to handle the state-owned Okpo Shipyard. With this, he was given the name of Midas -- the Greek mythological king who was able to turn anything into gold (Watanabe, 1994).

**Chey Jong-Hyun (SK)**

Two small textile factories from Japan and Korea gave birth to Sunkyung Textile Factory in 1939. In the early 1940’s, this joint venture established a factory in Suwon, South Korea. During this time, Chey just graduated from primary school in Suwon. In 1944, he became an apprentice technician in one of the factories of the Sunkyung Textile, which was followed by him graduating with a degree with a machine major in Kyungsung Occupational School. With his exceptional contributions as the production department head at the factory, he was elected as the director of the Korean Textile Association Corporation (SK, 2013).

He then received another degree from the Chicago University. This personal achievement of Chey was accompanied by technological advancements of the growing textile factory. In 1961, they started to expand their market through
promoting exports. When he came back to Korea, he was appointed as the vice president of the Sunkyung Textile Factory (SK, 2013).

With his continuing efforts to allow the textile industry to flourish, in 1963, he was voted to be the director of the Cooperative Association of Korean Textile Industry, which was followed by his election to be the vice director of the Korean Textile Export Association and the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Suwon. In 1966, The National Assembly allowed the Sunkyung Textile to obtain loan for the construction of an acetate factory. It was only in 1971 that Chey, as an appointee, became the president of the Sunkyung Textile (SK, 2013).

Since then, the Sunkyung Textile flourished and expanded even to the United States in which they had offices in New York. Unfortunately, in 1979, Chey passed away with a chronic disease (SK, 2013).

C. Marcos

Born in 1917 to a young couple, Ferdinand Emmanuel Edralin Marcos was said to have a very good memory, being able to recite the 1935 Constitution of the Philippines as well as to memorize complex texts. He excelled in school, but a good start to his credentials became tainted. Like Park, Marcos grew up in the province and under colonial rule. However, unlike Park, he belonged to the elite: his family owned substantial landholdings in Ilocos. The members of his family held significant posts as judge, mayor and village head (Hutchcroft, 2011).

Marcos and his family faced a challenge in December 1938. While studying law at the University of the Philippines, he, together with Mariano, his father (a politician), Pio, his brother, and Quirino Lizardo, his brother-in-law was charged for the murder of Julio Nalundasan, one of his father’s political opponents. This was the case in which Marcos, then a law student at that time, defended himself in 1940 at the Supreme Court, from which he emerged as innocent (Hutchcroft, 2011). The accused were acquitted of all charges, although the contempt of court was retained (Spence, 1979).

In 1939, he took the bar examinations and graduated cum laude while reviewing in prison. Later on, he became a congressional member, being elected three times as representative of the second district of Ilocos Norte between the years 1949 to 1959. In addition, he became Senate President from 1963 to 1965 (Spence, 1979).

In examining the Philippines under the dictatorship of Marcos, it is vital to look into the years between 1965 and 1972 when he was elected and when he declared Martial Law. In 1965, Marcos won the presidential election running under the banner of the Nacionalista party. Looking into historical literature, Marcos’ power was said to be characterized by the consolidation of bureaucratic, military,
and elite political support (Kushida, 2003). Moreover, according to Celoza (1997), this “enabled him to establish the government as the key player in all aspects of Philippine life” (p. 95).

Hutchcroft (2011) mentions three items or events of political value to his climb to power. First is his mythological claim of being awarded with thirty medals during his service as a guerrilla fighter against the Japanese, although there are some claims of his collaboration with instead of opposition against the colonizers. Second is his 1954 marriage to the former beauty queen Imelda Romualdez with whom he sang love songs in duet during campaigns and public gatherings. The last item is his passion and extraordinary charisma which impressed the populace, particularly during campaign periods.

The judicial system worked in favor of Marcos’ decrees. During the 1969 presidential election, Marcos was said to have garnered votes by way of patronage, buying votes, and organized violence and fraud (Steinberg, 1994, as cited in Kushida, 2003). Although his presidency was limited to two terms, Marcos declared martial law in 1972 which secured him authoritarian rule and a prolonged presidency. Under martial law, he “suspended then revamped the constitution, silenced the media, and used violence and oppression against political opposition. He nationalized and monopolized increasing portions of industry and further increased spending on patronage” (Kushida, 2003, p. 120).

Cronies

It was in the 1970s that cronyism and rent seeking in the Philippines became “institutionalized” (Dohner & Intal, 1989). Moreover, the Philippines then was defined as an “anarchy of families” (McCoy and Cullinane, 1993, as cited in Kang, 2003). To quote in length,

Underpinning cronyism and rent seeking during the 1970s were the centralization of economic decision making and the distortion of policies to suit particular firms or individuals. Under martial law, Marcos had almost unlimited discretionary power... The dramatis personae of Philippine cronyism during the 1970s have become internationally known, particularly since the fall of Marcos from power in 1986. (Dohner & Intal, 1989: 470)

The cronies had certain monopoly over businesses, whether wholly owned or co-owned. These sectors include “agricultural export (sugar and coconut milling and trading, bananas), banking and finance, broadcasting and print media,
construction, communications, car and truck manufacturing and distribution, gambling, mining, logging, electricity generation and distribution, pharmaceuticals, transportation, tobacco and beverages, real estate, machinery distribution, shipping and ship repair, and oil and coal exploration” (Dohner & Intal, 1989: 474). From these cronies and relatives, Eduardo Cojuangco had power over some 70 firms; Roberto Benedicto had around 50 firms; Benjamin Romualdez controlled around 50 firms; and Herminio Disini had 51 firms (Dohner & Intal, 1989).

The central characteristic of Marcos’ crony capitalism was the use of political power for material gain. However, everything that happened in the Marcos’ regime is not peculiar to his administration alone. It was only a continuation of the tradition of corruption. Corruption, graft, cronyism, patronage, abuse of political office and the use of government and state power to further personal ends are characteristics of mainstream Philippine political institutions. Manapat (1991) identifies that these things date back up to the 18th century.

![Diagram](image-url)

**FIGURE 1 Lifted from Kang (2004)**
Celoza (1997) cites that Marcos maintained a patron-client network, hence controlling a reciprocal system as he held the helm of an authoritarian system. Likewise, Kang (2003) mentions that Marcos used a “divide and conquer” strategy for his adversaries (see Figure 1 above). He explains that Marcos cultivated oligarchs who were dependent on him in order to control them. As a matter of fact, the Philippines was classified as one of the twenty five countries with stable political institutions and national elites from 1950 to 1982 by Lowell and Higlen (1985). With the declaration of martial law and Marcos’ use of strongarm tactics, the national elites continued to tolerate him because of their fear of territorial disintegration and loss of power. It is noteworthy to point out that these national elites were also created by Marcos during his first term and consists of close friends and relatives. This was also why no strong faction emerged to unseat the Marcos during the first years of Martial Law.

In order to understand the national elites of the Philippines in the Marcos regime, the diagram in Dante Simbulan’s Modern Principalia (2005) shows the pattern of recruitment for the new elites (see Figure 2 below).

As is likewise alluded, “a rent-seeking coalition can be found in Marcos cronies, who were dependent on him for patronage in the form of lucrative monopolies and large perks associated with political positions” (Kushida, 2003: 122). Marcos established good relations particularly in the business field. Also, Kushida states that the “nationalizing (of) private enterprise and the expanding government control and involvement in business enhanced the power of the Marcos regime” (p. 96).
McVey (1992) mentions that the cronies were usually the relatives or close friends of Marcos and his wife. The primary duty of these cronies is to support the
president in political or economic ways. Some handled the government owned banks and corporations while others had high government positions. These cronies also had sub-cronies or support groups which helps them. Sub-cronies are commonly military men, government officials and foreign associates.

Doherty and Salonga (1982) categorize three groups of family-based conglomerates: the first group included those who had acquired wealth during the martial law years”: Marcos, Romualdez, Martel, Disini, Velayo, Benedicto, Enrile, Cuenca, Silverio, Abello, Tanseco, Tantoco, Ozaeta, Oreta, and Floirendo. According to Celoza (1997), these families were not known prior to martial law and did not belong to the traditional elite. The second group consisted of the pre-martial law elite who had become prominent under the Marcos regime: Aboitiz, Elizalde, Concepcion, Palanca, Siguion-Reyna, Alcantara, Fernandez, Nubla, Sycip-Yuchengco, and Yulo. The last group was the traditional elite composed of Ortigas, Laurels, Zobel-Ayala, Soriano, and Madrigal.

Dohner and Intal (1989) also mention that “Apart from Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos themselves (who, as recent revelations show, extensively used cronies as agents), the most well-known include Roberto Benedicto (Marcos’ sugar czar), Benjamin and Alfredo Romualdez (Mrs. Marcos’ brothers), Herminio Disini, Rodolfo Cuenca, Ricardo Silverio, Antonio Floirendo, and Eduardo Cojuangco. A few others, such as Jose Campos, acted as agents for the Marcos family” (Dohner & Intal, 1989: 470). “His methodology was to grant monopolies and receive rent, to nationalize enterprises to assure his cronies maintained profits despite failing businesses, and to make himself the center of almost all important business transactions” (Kushida, 2003: 125).

**ROBERTO BENEDICTO**

Benedicto originated from Negros Occidental, a descendant of Don Teodero, a Chinese mestizo from Jolo. The Benedictos were known in Negros in the 1800s when Don Teodoro usurped lands and haciendas of sugar plantation. He was known for his grey character but gets away with it easily because of his close ties with the gobernadorcillo. It was only until the late 1800s when his crimes were brought to the courts for trials (Manapat, 1991).

After a hundred years, Roberto Benedicto rose up to power as one of Marcos’ cronies. Like his ancestor, he continued a tradition of tyranny and corruption. Benedicto was first associated to Marcos when they became classmates and fraternity brothers in law school. After which, he continued a good relationship with Marcos and he became Marcos’ favourite golfing partner. His wealth grew during the Marcos regime as he received quite a number of favors and appointments (Manapat, 1991).
The Benedicto Empire was composed of 85 corporations, 106 sugar farms, 14 haciendas, 17 radio stations, 16 TV stations, two telecommunication networks, seven buildings, ten vessels, five aircrafts. He also owned several properties abroad including a sugar mill in Venezuela, trading company in Madrid, mansions and limousines in California, Japan and US, Swiss bank accounts amounting to $200M. In 1983 his net worth was estimated at $800M dollars. Benedicto was given exemption, sinecures and choices in economic activities of the country (Manapat, 1991). Not to mention that he also received several appointments in the government which gave him more power and access to capital.

After Marcos’ election in 1965, Benedicto was appointed as the chairman of the Philippine National Bank (PNB), the largest state-owned bank in the country at that time. He headed PNB until 1970’s. It was said that Benedicto used his power to secure large amount of loans and used these as capital for his interests in shipping vessels and the sugar industry. In 1972, he became the Ambassador of Philippines to Japan, and this became a very big opportunity for him to associate his companies to the largest Japanese conglomerates. One of the controversial acts of Benedicto was the Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation which gave Japan the “most-favorable-nation” status. It was only in the later part of Marcos’ regime that it was found out that Benedicto and Marcos used this treaty to arrange large business deals between their companies and Japanese conglomerates. Moreover, Benedicto also handled the money of Japan given to the Philippines as reparation from the war. The money was used to fund Marcos’ corporations (Manapat, 1991).

After his Ambassadorial post, he became the chairman of Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL), in Western Visayas in 1977. At the same year he was also given the Power of the Attorney which allowed him to act in behalf of Marcos (Manapat, 1991).

The sugar industry which was one of the interests of Benedicto, was one of the booming industries in the country during Marcos’ regime. Since 1974, Benedicto, together with other cronies, obtained its monopoly through control of exportation and trade. Philex, a government owned company who monitors the sugar industry was headed by Panfilo Domingo, a close friend of Benedicto. After some years, it was turned over to Philippine Sugar Commission (PhilSuCom), chaired by Benedicto. He also created the Republic Planters Bank for the sugar industry (Manapat, 1991).

Ramon Cojuangco

Ramon Cojuangco served as Chairman of Domestic Satellite Phil. Inc., a firm dealing with satellite communications facilities. According to Manapat (1991), the company was under Cojuangco’s name and had as member of the board of directors another Marcos crony, Manuel Nieto Jr. Cojuangco who also was the
owner of United Amherst Leasing & Finance. This finance company was co-owned by his brother-in-law, Luis Tirso Rivilla, a close friend of Imelda. Cojuangco was also president of C & O Investment and Realty Corp as well as director of Philippine Commercial and Investment Bank (Manapat, 1991). Moreover, the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co. (PLDT) was also controlled by him in 1967 together with Luis Rivilla, Alfonso Yuchengco and Antonio Meer. This however came with the controversy of violating US federal law. Marcos forced subscriptions to PLDT, increasing its capital and shares. Cesar Virata made Development Bank of the Philippines (DBP) purchase $38.5 million worth of shares in PLDT.

**Eduardo “Danding” Cojuangco**

Eduardo “Danding” Cojuangco was the representative of Tarlac, ensuring Marcos’ interest in Central Luzon. He also was the Chairman of KBL in Central Luzon. He “quickly became one of the key people in the Marcos dictatorship” (Manapat, 1991: 217). Furthermore, he was named Ambassador-at-Large in order to escape trials in the United States for illegal importation of rice. He also controlled $1.5B of corporate assets or 25% of the country’s GNP and his personal net worth amounted to $500M. He bought First United Bank (FUB) from Jose Cojuangco Sr. and reorganized it to United Coconut Planters Bank (UCPB). Dohner and Intal (1989) state that endeavors such as life insurance mechanisms, scholarships, and assistance funds were made available for coconut farmers; however, majority of the funds did not go to these problems but to Cojuangco’s hybrid seednut farm. Consequently, he became the richest crony in the country. In addition, he acquired San Miguel Corporation and acquired many haciendas of sugar plantations.

Danding also showed great interests for lands. In the Marcos regime, he amassed hectares of lands. In Palawan alone he owned four islands-- Bugsuk, Pandanan, Matanglue and Gabung with a total of 14,673 hectares. According to the records, the lands were awarded to several of his companies. Most of his acquired lands were very controversial since most were awarded to him without any consultation with the people occupying the lands (Parreno, 2003).

**Lucio Tan**

Lucio Tan was able to evade $50M taxes through government concessions and exemptions from overseas remittances and foreign exchange. As a financier of Marcos, he gave at least $2.7M annually and aid amounting to $25M for preferential treatment (Manapat, 1991). Moreover, Tan is said to have owned 49 companies, bakery chains, and shopping centers in Guam, tobacco and steel companies in New Guinea, banks in California and British Colombia, and one of the largest manufacturers of carpets in Canada. Other endeavors included being the owner of Fortune Tobacco Corporation and controlling 60% of the annual local
cigarette market. He also acquired the General Bank & Trust with other cronies and reorganized it to Allied Banking Corporation. The Asia Brewery and Pan Philippine Industries Inc also came to his hands in order to engage in beer making. He lobbied for Marcos to make beer “delisted” as an overcrowded industry (Manapat, 1991).

**Benjamin “Kokoy” Romualdez**

Kokoy Romualdez is one of the brothers of the first lady, Imelda Marcos. Coming from the second family of their father and with their mother dying early, the family suffered poverty and became servants of their relatives who were wealthy and prominent. It was only until Imelda’s marriage to Marcos that their family gained fortune and prominence.

Kokoy finished law school but did not push through with the bar exams. Instead, he became a businessman. However, he was not considered an accomplished man until he did favors for Marcos. Kokoy helped Marcos lobby for votes for the 1971 Constitutional Convention and the January plebiscite (Manapat, 1991).

His loyalty landed him to several positions in the government and was considered as the favourite brother-in-law. He was appointed as Ambassador of Philippines to Peking and shortly, he became Ambassador to Washington from 1982-1986. This became questionable since Kokoy was known for not being able to converse well in English. After the ambassadorial post, he became the Governor of Leyte, their hometown (Manapat, 1991).

During martial law, Kokoy played an important role in controlling media and other utilities. He was responsible for shutting down many of the media enterprises, especially those owned by the Lopez’. For example, he forced the Lopez’ to lease the Manila Chronicle office to Kokoy and make him publish his own newspaper in exchange for the freedom of one son of Lopez and a small amount of money. The Lopez’ agreed but was, however, betrayed by Kokoy as he did not pay the agreed amount fully (Manapat, 1991).

Moreover, Kokoy was also responsible for making the Lopezes give up their 33% Manila Electric Company (MERALCO) shares (Manapat, 1991: 389). Due to some structural issues encountered by Kokoy, he asked Marcos to reduce the utility rate used by the government in order for the MERALCO to incur loss. In the end, the Lopezes was forced to sell their shares to Kokoy. Soon, he was able to purchase the 15 companies of the Meralco Securities Corp. Conglomerate and reorganized it to the First Philippines Holding Corp. which became one of the recipients of government funds.
Herminio Disini

Herminio Disini married the first cousin of Imelda Romualdez Marcos. In 1970, he organized the Philippine Tobacco Filters Corporation. Consequently, Presidential Decree 750 raised tariffs for the competing companies of Disini and this gave him control to 75% of the manufacturing and distribution of tobacco filters. Disini, according to Kang (2004), acquired 90 percent of the tobacco market, paying only an import tax of 10 percent while other rivals paid a hundred percent tax. Disini opened Cellophil Resources Corporation, a timber and pulpwood company. With Marcos’ assistance, license for the company was easily granted. Marcos also ordered to cancel all licenses of loggers in Ilocos region except for Disini’s, effectively getting rid of his competitors. According to Manapat (1991), among Disini’s most controversial projects was the nuclear power plant in Bataan which amassed millions of dollars but did not work. After his controversial projects he fled to Austria (Pimentel, 2006).

III. Analysis

Kang (2004) and Dohner and Intal (1989), along with other scholars, share the view of the existence of rent-seeking and cronyism in both the Park and Marcos regimes. As regards the study of rent-seeking, at least three lines of investigation are commonly pursued: the effects of rent-seeking activities on the economy, the types of rents, and the institutions or context which facilitates the practice of rent-seeking (Khan, 2000). This section of the paper, however, seeks to zoom in on the qualities of the conglomerates or the cronies and chaebols of the two leaders.

The background presented above about the conglomerates of both South Korea and the Philippines showcase certain characteristics that can be an object of study. The differences of the institutions in the two countries particularly the conglomerates and their relationship with the state are looked into. For example, in Kang’s (2004) comparison of the two regimes, he notes how there was no balance of power between the political and economic elites in the Philippines; while the chaebols and the Park regime were in constant exchange of privileges and risk-taking behavior.

The presence of rent-seeking activities by interest groups have been commented on by Mancur Olson who argues that the economic performance of nations is compromised with the existence of strong interest groups who are able to influence decision-making in the government, as firms gain more and start to depend more on political connections rather than improving their economic productivity (as cited in Holcombe, 2013). Furthermore, North, Wallis and Weingast reason out that this is so because weak and poor societies commonly have social orders which are based on personal connections and not on the
observance of the rule of law -- nor by economic or business performance (as cited in Holcombe, 2013).

The story of South Korea seems to suggest otherwise.

Following this disconnect, this section analyzes one important unit in the process of rent-seeking: the rent-“seekers”. Five conglomerates or businessmen from South Korea and the Philippines were juxtaposed and similarities and differences were identified.

From the point of view of the degree of relationship, the researchers discovered that the forerunners of the famous chaebols under Park regime were “not closely related”. They were not related to Park by blood and province of origin. They did not even come from military school as did Park. These chaebols were able to compete with each other since they were described to be risk-takers. On the other hand, Marcos’ cronies were close associates; for instance, Romualdez was the brother of Imelda Marcos, the First Lady; Disini was Ferdinand Marcos’ golf partner; Benedicto, on the other hand, belonged to the same fraternity as Marcos.

Another difference seen by the researchers between chaebols and cronies during both the authoritarian regimes is in relation to the time they owned their companies. The time of the establishment of their conglomerates differ in the two countries. On one hand, the four conglomerates in South Korea owned and established their corporations prior to being chosen as Park’s chaebols. Daewoo is an exemption for having flourished under the Park regime. On the other hand, the personalities under the Marcos regime, which were discussed above, were owners of vast lands, and not of any formal conglomerates, unlike those under the Park regime.

In terms of economic status prior to receiving preferential treatment from the government, the forerunners of the chaebols of Park were among the richest. Meanwhile, most of the cronies of Marcos were relatively of the elite class, becoming even wealthier during the regime, with the exception of the Lopezes who were already recognized as the traditional elite of the pre-Marcos era. With this, both leaders chose the strategy of choosing their “partners” who were well-off in order to secure their particular interests. This, however, also comes with the knowledge that although both were directed towards economic development, Park’s chaebols were required to take risks while the cronies of Marcos were expressed loyalty through “preferential fees”. In this context, when looking at their individual career paths, a similarity would be that the chaebols and the cronies of Marcos both were businessmen by nature.

Looking into the educational background of the forerunners of the chaebols during Park’s regime, not all finished formal education. For example Chung Ju Yung run away from his home at the age of 18 and went to Seoul to work as a
delivery boy. Lee Byung Chull on the other hand did not finish his university study in Japan. On the other hand, Marcos’ cronies all finished formal education. Benedicto and Romualdez finished law school, both Ramon and Danding Cojuangco finished schooling in prestigious universities here in the Philippines and abroad, as well as Tan and Disini.

Lastly, the degree of political affiliation or connection of the two groups to their respective governments or presidents also contributes to the nuances between the two groups. The chaebols in Park’s regime did not belong to any political party and were not related to any political activity unlike Marcos’ cronies who actively participated in politics. For instance, Danding Cojuangco and Benedicto became chairmen of Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL) in Central Luzon and Visayas. Moreover, as mentioned above, Marcos gave his cronies different government positions; Cojuangco as the Ambassador-at-Large; Benedicto as Ambassador to Japan; and Romualdez as Ambassador to United States. However, the appointment seemed to be questionable since they do not inhibit enough capacity. For instance, Romualdez was known for being incompetent in the English language. Furthermore, these appointments show conflict of interest like Benedicto who pursued some agreements with Japan which benefitted his businesses.

IV. Summary

The Park and Marcos administrations highlight the nuances in the institutionalization of conglomerates in the workings of the regimes. Particularly in the martial law era of both regimes, what can be noted is the kind of rent-seeking behavior that was exhibited by both the chaebols and Park and the cronies and Marcos. The chaebols and the cronies of both administrations respectively received favors from the government. Nonetheless, the conglomerates emerged in varying positions and with varying relevance to the growth or otherwise of their own national economies.

This difference may be attributed to the various units, some of which were analyzed and investigated by scholars. Most scholars look into the dissimilarities in the outcomes of the land reforms implemented in the two countries. While Rhee’s land reforms, backed by US support, led to a successful “equalizer”, facilitating the rise of new elites; the efforts of the Philippine government, though successful in the drafting of laws during the Magsaysay regime, it only proved instrumental to the Marcos regime in enriching himself and his cronies. Specifically, this paper looked into the qualities of the cronies and chaebols. One major similarity is the fact that the chosen elites of the authoritarians were all businessmen. Among the differences between the qualities of the forerunners of the conglomerates in South Korea and the Philippines seen in this review are the (1) degree of relationship, (2) career path,
time of the establishment of their conglomerates, (4) economic status, and (5) educational background.

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TWO CULTURES IN ONE STAGE: Analyzing the Korean-Filipino Collaborative Production “Alamang” in 1971

Helweena Sadorra

Since Hallyu or Korean Wave reached the Philippines, many, if not most Filipinos, would attribute the popularity of Korean performing arts to what is seen on television, cinema, concert stage or YouTube such as the Korean TV drama series, films and K-pop performances. Some would recognize the contribution of Korean theater in this field but mostly, it would be limited to hearing about ‘Nanta’ and ‘Jump’ productions. However, while Koreanovelas have been running on Philippine TV for exactly ten years now, the Filipino connection to Korean performances would date back much longer than most of us would be aware of.

This paper aims to tackle one of the first foreign collaborations in Philippine theater history: the stage play ‘Alamang’. This was an experimental play staged during the 1st Third World Theater Festival and International Conference held in Manila from November 19 to 30, 1971. The event was jointly sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Theater Institute (ITI) and the City of Manila. ‘Alamang’ was one of the festival entries of the Kalinangan Ensemble (the repertory arm of the Philippine Educational Theater Association / PETA) and was headed by Korean guest director Yoo Duk Hyung (유덕형). Below is a snapshot of Alamang from the pages of its digital production book.

PETA is one of the longest running and most well-known theater organizations in the Philippines. In its 40th Anniversary book, PETA was described as a group asserting perspectives which were considered radical during its founding stage. From its conception until the present, PETA has produced more than four hundred plays and has helped shape the country’s theater history. It also served as a ‘people’s theater’, educating audiences through plays that deal with social issues and showed local, national and universal themes (Samson et al., 2012). Director Yoo, on the other hand, studied theater in
foreign countries and went back to Korea to aid his father Yoo Chi Jin in developing what is now known as the Seoul Institute of the Arts.

Prominent writer-critic Celso Al Carunungan had highly commended this production in the following statement:

(Alamang) is, by far, the most widely acclaimed presentation in the 1st Third World Theater Festival. And deservedly so. For local theatergoers have never seen such a thrilling combination of oriental rhythmic patterns, sounds, even philosophies, and Western-type mobiles, lights, and kaleidoscopic movement. The effect is stunning. All these produced a new dimension in theater arts never before seen anywhere (Samson et al., 2012: 43).

As much as this play was praiseworthy enough to leave a lasting impression to those who produced and witnessed it, it is sad to note that only few remember its contribution both in the local and international performing arts history. This paper, despite the limitations, hopes to relive not just the memory of an artistically excellent play, but more importantly the kind of collaborative spirit, imagination, passion and hard work devoted in the production process which eventually engendered soul to the actual performance.

Prelude to the Production

Alamang was produced at a time when the Philippines and Korea were undergoing similar conditions economically, politically and in the theater arena. 1970s would be remembered in Philippine history as a period of positive economic growth but under authoritarian rule, which is also the same in Korea. Former President Ferdinand Marcos pushed for economic reforms since his term began in 1965 and the Philippines never had the same economic prosperity as it had those days. However in his second term in 1969, rampant corruption, political oppression and increase in crimes led to public protests and civil unrest. In efforts to protect his position and his cronies’ influence, President Marcos declared martial law barely a year after Alamang was staged (September 21, 1972).

On the other hand, former Korean president Park Chung Hee who first ruled Korea after a military coup in 1961, was described as “an intense Korean nationalist who had fought for the Japanese, who believed in the primacy of state power in economics, but who oversaw the creation of what were to become very large, privately owned industrial groups.” During his term Korea saw rapid economic recovery which is now popularly known as “The Miracle on the Han River”. Yet while he worked for the
economic growth of his country, there was strong opposition for the increasing harshness of his authoritarian rule. Instead of stepping down from his second consecutive term as president in 1971, he stayed in power and declared martial law as well (October 18, 1972), almost a month after President Marcos did the same in the Philippines.

Before political chaos reached its peak in the Philippines and Korea in 1972, both countries were very much exposed to foreign influences in many aspects including theater and the arts. As the Americans shaped the Philippine society through their educational system, Filipinos were also introduced to the Western theater. From Shakespeare to Broadway, many productions (adaptations and later originals by Filipino playwrights) were patterned after the Western classics, which is still actually evident in Philippine theater today. PETA’s Kalinangan Ensemble (KE), for instance, with the leadership of founder Cecile Guidote-Alvarez collaborated with foreign guest directors and artists in the 1960s such as Randy Ford, Henry Popkin and Brooks Jones and staged plays such as Chairs in 1969 and Waiting for Godot in 1970. Additionally, 1960s was the time when the national government took steps into building a complex which would house the country’s pride in the field of theater and the arts. In 1969, former First Lady Imelda Marcos’ brainchild the Cultural Center of the Philippines (CCP) was established and many of outstanding performances, including Alamang were staged here.

Similarly, Korea was also very open to Western theater influences since the beginning of the 20th century. Korean artists followed the traditional concept of Western theater where performances were based on well-written scripts, stage rehearsals and directors’ coordination. They also produced Shakespeare adaptations which continually gained reputation in the past decade such as Oh Tae Suk’s Romeo and Juliet and Yang Jeong Woong’s A Midsummer Night’s Dream. The difference, however, was that from the late 1960s, Korean theater practitioners tried experimenting on the combination of Western dramaturgy and traditional forms of Korean theater such as mask dance, puppetry and Pansori (also known as the ‘Korean Opera’?) (Korean Arts Management Service, 2010). In the process of translating or adapting a Western piece, efforts were made to integrate basic principles of Korean theater such as emphasis on non-linguistic aspects of a performance. One of the directors who were known in this intercultural experimentation is Alamang’s director Yoo Duk Hyung.

In quest for an international training, Cecile Guidote-Alvarez (then Cecile Guidote, known in theater circle as Cecile/Miss Cecile) and Yoo Duk Hyung (fondly called by senior PETA members as Duk, pronounced as ‘Dak’, Yoo) met
each other as classmates at the Dallas Theater Center in Spring of 1965. They underwent training by no less than its founder Paul Baker, a multi-awarded American theater director and scholar. In PETA’s latest history book, Miss Cecile mentioned learning about the dramatic philosophy of Yoo Chi Jin and the operations of the Korea Drama Center through long conversations with his son Director Yoo (Samson et al., 2012). Yoo Chi Jin is known in Korea as a national poet and founder of the Korean Drama Center (1962) which evolved to be the Seoul Institute of the Arts where Director Yoo is now serving as President.

Miss Cecile went back to the Philippines and started realizing her vision of building a “national theater movement”. On April 15, 1967 (two years after her stint in Dallas Theater Center) the first National Theater Convention was held in Manila. Here she introduced the concept of “national theater”, which she had been working on as a thesis for several years. PETA was officially founded during this event. Every year since then, PETA led more national theater conventions which ushered in the annual celebration of World Theater Day (March 27) headed by the International Theater Institute (an autonomous non-government subcommittee of the UNESCO).

After its founding in 1967, PETA held various activities (workshops, training programs, festival of plays, etc) that strengthened its networking efforts with other theater groups in the country. These activities were also recognized by foreign artists and scholars and introduced the Philippine theater to the international theater community. In 1971, PETA became the UNESCO-ITI Center for the Philippines and rose to be the secretariat of the first Third World Theater Festival and International Conference which was held in Manila coinciding with its 400th foundation year. Miss Cecile invited Director Yoo to head the culminating production of the Kalinangan Ensemble which is none other than the play ‘Alamang’ (Samson et al., 2012: 42).

Death: The Metaphysical Theme

‘Alamang’ was an adaptation from a radio drama written by Chang Hwan Kim (김창환). Director Yoo recreated this drama in English and worked with acclaimed writers Cirilo Bautista and Isagani Cruz for its translation into Tagalog.

The play was about a Buddhist monk contemplating about the concept and meaning of ‘death’. The narration emphasized how death is for everyone and while a person lives, he cannot decide nor avoid his own death. ‘Alamang’ is a Tagalog term for krill or small shrimp-like crustaceans (scientific name: Euphausiacea) commonly made into a very salty sauce called ‘bagoong’ in the Philippines. They
also have a similar fermented shrimp in Korea called 새우젓<sae-ujeot>. Death in the play was characterized in the short lifespan of an ‘alamang’.

In an interview with Dr. Isagani Cruz, current President of Manila Times College, he shared how he came up with the idea of using ‘alamang’ as a metaphor for death. He explained that these small shrimps die the moment they land after jumping. With that very short lifespan, these creatures have to jump, live and then die. To die, they have to jump. To jump means to live while knowing that death comes after it. Without jumping, there is no living. Without living, there is no dying. Death is something we cannot control, yet we have to choose to live so that death can occur.

The production staff gave their best efforts to capture the essence of life and death, not just through words, but more so with movements and sound. In the words of Director Yoo:

More than the dialogues, I wanted to emphasize the elements of sound. Death to anyone has an absolute meaning. A painter or a sculptor creates his own image of death through their artworks. I also wanted to create my own image of death (through this play).

Through the images that the performance painted live before an audience, the concept of death was conveyed not just by the use of one linguistic form but in multiple nonverbal languages of the body and soul expressed through sound and rhythm. With such, the production Alamang was able to deliver, not just a message from Korea or the Philippines, but of the universe as well. Critic Celso Al Carunungan described this kind of performance as a “Theater Miracle of Images, a master stroke of international and internationalist cultural cooperation” (Samson et al., 2012: 66).
The Artistic Collaboration: Imprints of an Asian Connection

Aside from Director Yoo and the playwrights, a vocal and instrumental musical ensemble was formed. Musical direction was headed by Lutgardo Labad (Sir Gardy as fondly called) who chanted together with Cecilia Garucho, Nonon Padilla and Joy Soler (†). On the other hand, Pio de Castro (†) performed as the monk while three Filipino-Chinese martial artists (then students from Chinatown, Binondo, Mario Tan, Robert Lao and Eduardo Kua) formed the ensemble that represented the angels of death (or soul reapers), moving along the rhythm of oriental instruments. These instruments included a fish drum, Chinese violin, oriental gong, zither and small percussion instruments, some of which are similar to those from Korea which were the 목탁 <moktak>, 호적 <hojeok> and 깡깡이 <kkangkkang-i>.

Meanwhile, the mobile set was designed by sculptor Eduardo Castrillo which was then executed by Soxie Topacio. Lighting was designed and led by Director Yoo himself. Before directing plays, Director Yoo studied set design when he was in Trinity University in Dallas. Back then, he had a set of mobile sculptures in his room which hung on the ceiling. One time, he saw them moving in balance with the wind passing through his windows. He was enthralled at the sight and since then, he desired to put such beauty on the stage. No wonder ‘Alamang’ reflected this aesthetic value.

Since shadow techniques were highly used in the production, lighting was a very important element of the play. According to Dr. Cruz, this performance led to the execution of what is called a ‘total theatre’: a terminology used to describe the idea that in a performance, there is no theatrical element (i.e. music, text, movement, visual image, etc) that assumes primacy over the other. He explains that in early Western theater, lights and music would often be treated as theater elements ‘in the background’. However, in the play Alamang, these elements were ‘characters’ themselves. The music and lights accompanied the main actor, the movers and the chanters in conveying the image of death.

The creation process of this production was a feat, not just to Director Yoo but to all the KE members involved. While it was a great privilege to work with a foreign guest director, the KE members had a hard time balancing their workload during the festival. Most of them had tasks to fulfill during daytime as festival and conference staff members and it was a challenge for them to give quality time on research and rehearsals for Alamang. But still, the team ‘fought’ for this production and as their leader, Director Yoo was able to bring out the best from them.
One of the notable lessons that KE members learned from Director Yoo is the desire to search and use local resources instead of copying from foreign influences. Sir Gardy, in the PETA history book, recounts his unforgettable experience with Director Yoo:

A Korean guru of image, light, movement, and poetry, his fine Oriental aesthetics demanded of us [his cast of chanters and movers] to draw from our own resources of Filipino ethnic sound and movement. It was a grim but eye-opening realization that our improvisational resources have been too westernized. There was almost nothing to draw from many of us who improvised with Gregorian Chants, Bach, ballet, superficial folk melodies as starting points. Absolutely un-Filipino! We could not give direct examples of our own Filipino chants and movements. PETA’s work with him led many to be profoundly motivated to study and immerse in living aspects of traditional culture as bases for theater improvisations. The Alamang experiment was an example of reliving one’s cultural identity in a theater process: both Filipino and Asian identity due to the cross-cultural experiment of merging Korean tale, Chinese movement, Filipino music, etc…

Director Yoo urged KE members to look for indigenous music and create their own improvisations through research, the music team members found the beauty of chants and rhythms from the Bagobo and Kalinga ethnic groups. Combining these with various oriental instruments and martial arts, the play brought a more vibrant and ‘Asian’ performance, instead of what is commonly witnessed on traditional Western stage.

However, the ‘Asian connection’ between a Korean director and his Filipino team was not only evident in the artistic aspect of the collaboration. Aside from conducting research and improvisation from various Asian sources, the creative process also had to deal with how one person relates with the other members of the production team. The collaboration in Alamang required cooperation beyond creative imagination, which could not have happened if not for the determination, passion and generosity of Director Yoo. This was best encapsulated by Sir Gardy in the second half of his description of Director Yoo in the PETA book:
...a more important lesson with Duk was that he was as fine an artist as he was a beautiful person. He demanded for total involvement in the process. Both individually and collectively. He would himself plunge into depression; sometimes get terribly ill, when he would sense insincerity, individualism, mindlessness, and lack of teamwork during rehearsals. His entire process challenged creativity from the ensemble: people had to explore different ethnic bases for movement and sound, had to spontaneously create music/sound patterns from these bases with the play’s meaning in mind, exploring different ranges, stretches, timbres, pitches, intonations of human sound. And all this because we loved what was happening to us as a group. We had to build on this collective experience a communal feeling of trust, creative courage, commitment, and love. We never felt as one as when we did Alamang.

In the process of creating what could have been a dark and boring play on a highly abstract theme, Director Yoo and the KE members were able to unite in ‘spirit’, collaborating through the surrender of energy and soul to give ‘life’ to the performance despite the many challenges surrounding them.

Two of Varied Cultures in One Stage: ‘Alamang’ as a Hallmark Play in Theater History

Alamang was indeed a play to remember. A play that may not be exclusively called Filipino, Korean or Asian, it is a performance brought by experimentation and fusion of many elements from various sources. When famous American theater professor Henry Popkin approached Director Yoo after the performance and asked if Alamang was a Korean play, the former couldn’t really claim it as his country’s own. Instead, he referred to Alamang as a new play, an experimental production that combined the elements of sound and movement to be able to give a sense of boundless intimacy.17

This theater performance may also be a product of an ‘Asian fusion’, however in the minds of Filipino theater artists, practitioners and enthusiasts in 1971, the influence of a visiting Korean director would always be a source of inspiration. Even if what Director Yoo shared were not exclusively from the Korean culture, the fact that it was a Korean who taught our Filipino artists valuable lessons in
building an intercultural production, this Korean contribution would be positively marked in the Philippine theater experience.

As a freelance language teacher, the researcher decided to explore the language and cultural exchange which are reflected in the play’s lyrical content. But in the process of looking back into the history of this production, the researcher realized that there is something beyond the study of scripts. As much as there is value in theater as literature, there is also worth in learning the importance of theater practices where intercultural collaboration draws its spirit from. The legacy of a Korean director may seem to be short-lived as there has been no other major collaborative performance like this between Korea and the Philippines yet. There was an attempt to bring this play (together with other KE plays such as Ang Tatay Mong Kalbo/The Bald Soprano, Ang Paglilitis kay Mang Serapio and Ai’dao) in an international tour (Europe, America, and Israel) in August of 1972, but it was cancelled a few days before the team’s flight. During that time in the Philippines, La Nina left many streets in Metro Manila heavily flooded. Though it was a heartbreaking incident for the KE members who tirelessly rehearsed and prepared for the international tour, the team had to give way to the more urgent needs of their countrymen. A month after the cancelled tour, Martial Law was declared in the Philippines and a few weeks later, in Korea.

There can be countless ‘could-have-beens’ if the international tour of Alamang took place, one of which is further collaborative performances between Korea and the Philippines. Despite all the hindrances, the impact of the play Alamang was not actually hidden in the shelves of Philippine theater history of the 1970s. Aside from PETA’s senior members, we who have heard about this production would now remember and hope that Alamang would remain as a hallmark of a lasting influence in the field of intercultural collaboration in theater.

ENDNOTES

1 This paper will use the terms ‘theater’ and ‘play’ instead of ‘drama’ referring to staged productions to distinguish this field from television dramas. Also, the terms “Korea” and “Korean” would refer to the Republic of Korea or South Korea and not the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea or the North Korea.

2 This paper will follow the Korean way of writing names (surname first followed by given names).

Further research has to be done to find the copy of the video of the play and its script in Korean, English and Tagalog. So far, sources have only provided photos and basic information.


This title in Korean language is 한강의 기적 (han-gang eui gijeok = han for Korean, gang for river and gijeok for miracle). In the Korean government website, this was translated in English as “Miracle on the Hangang River”, referring to the “miraculous economic growth that has transformed South Korea from the ashes of the Korean War”. In http://www.korea.net/AboutKorea/Economy/Overview, accessed in August 30, 2013.


Dallas Theater Center started as the graduate drama department of Baylor University, Dallas, Texas, USA.


PETA refers to the title ‘Dhyana’ as its origin in Korean. However, due to lack of information about this terminology (referring to a Buddhist practice) and its link to the original radio drama, the researcher will not be expounding on this in the paper.

Interview with Dr. Isagani Cruz was conducted in his office at Manila Times in Intramuros, Manila on October 29, 2013.


This is according to an email correspondence with Mr. Lutgardo Labad, October 12, 2013.

From an article written by Lee Kyung-hee, “Good Theater Meets Real Needs Of Audience: Young Director Yoo,” name of actual newspaper has yet to be retrieved.

Advocates of this idea are Antonin Artaud, Jean-Louis Barrault and Steven Berkoff. Total Theater was first known as ‘physical theatre’. For further reading, check Artaud’s Theatre and Its Double and Robert Cross’ Steven Berkoff and Theatre of Self-performance.

REFERENCES

GIANCARLO CRUZ (MA candidate, University of the Philippines-Diliman), is currently doing his master’s study specialising in Art Theory and Criticism. At present, his postgraduate thesis concerns the art of Filipino artist Lani Maestro who is working in France and how her works defy interpretation and representation. His domains of interest and specialisations go from contemporary art to photography to French literature and cinema and postcolonial studies. His writings appeared in the gallery press material of New York’s Daniel Reich Gallery, a special collaborative research residency on contemporary Korean photography with the National Museum of Contemporary Art. Email: gc.napoli@gmail.com
THE CONTEMPORARY MULTIPlicITIES OF LEE’S SOLDIERS

Giancarlo Cruz

Ce qui vaut, bien évidemment, pour la politique, surtout au moment où la “fin du mythe” signifie l’établissement sans reste, c’est-à-dire l’installation, de l’économie de marché.

-Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe.

Lee’s Specious Angels

Firstly, I would like to get underway towards the familiarisation of the reader with Lee’s soldiers, angels, or angel soldiers, as they could be seen in each respective function or possibility. As the work is technically referred to or known as “Angel Soldier” by the artist; the nomenclature instantly marries two roles as one but this singularity could always be seen in a spectrum of multiplicities—as angel, as soldier, as angel soldier. So, art critic Yun Cheagab describes Angel Soldier as:

A video performance in which, through the drastic contrast between angel and soldier, without any logical proceedings and explanation whatsoever, directly and frankly expresses the social conditions of our generation. Perceptual and emotional values in an artwork are entirely different from those of an academic study in that an artwork is free from logical proceedings. The strength of directness is like a poem Lee Yongbaek is an artist who is able to capture this advantage and strength in an artwork (9).

In such way, one could easily open up to the possibilities at looking at the disparity between an angel and a soldier while at the same time merging the possibilities of both functioning as an adjoined entity. As said earlier, it can be seen in their own respective regard or specific singularity in function, which is as an angel and the other as a soldier.

Other than the fanfare brought about by representing the Republic of Korea in the 54th International Art Exhibition- la Biennale di Venezia, (or otherwise loosely
referred to as the Venice Biennale), an article on Lee Yongbaek and his Angel Soldier piece in The Korea Herald furthers:

Lee is best known for his single-video channel installation works and experimentation in various technological fields—ranging from kinetic robotics to audio pieces. ‘Angel Soldier’ is one of his representative pieces that, at first sight, seems to be a still image. Upon closer inspection, the heavily florid picture separates before the eyes as an optical illusion, revealing three-dimensional flowers in the foreground and, behind, a soldier slowly creeping along, masked in the print’s camouflage (Min).

From here, I start to argue how a work of Lee’s angel soldiers operates in multiple contemporary functions hence the title of this paper “The Contemporary Multiplicities of Lee’s Angel Soldiers.” In line with this, the sense of contemporaneity that I am particularly aiming at is brought to light by Terry Smith:

Contemporaneity—which these days is multiplicitous in character but singular in its demands—requires responses that are insignificant ways quite different from those that inspired the many and various modernisms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1).

By such nature of contemporary art, situates well the nomenclature of this paper as “The Contemporary Multiplicities of Lee’s Soldiers.” Other than the multiplicitous characters and tendencies of contemporary art, Smith (2009) stated that it is rather different from how different manifestations of modernisms in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries so this takes me in the manner of looking into the aspect of Lee’s Angel Soldier as a veritable icon of contemporary art—whether that as against the backdrop of contemporary Korean art scene or the global contemporary art scene, finds the matter on the discourse-laden track because contemporaneity would also have to involve a sense of paradox working within. In such case, the
ruminations around an icon or at that a global icon emerging from contemporary Korean art also finds the terrain of iconography situated in an ironic state. Although this discourse going about multiplicities, fragments, and the volatilities of the iconography resting on Lee’s soldiers would find itself as the domain of the discourses within this paper.

**Contemporary Freedom and the Consequences of A Global/Contemporary Art**

As Lee Yongbaek is an artist working within the cadre of contemporary art. It finds itself necessary to delineate a brief definition of contemporary art. In this regard, contemporary art treads a very globalised *mode d'emploi*, I would like to establish a definition of it after Jean-Claude Moineau in *Contre l’art global: pour un art sans identité*:

*L’art global se trouve délégitimé au profit de la culture globale, quand bien même la culture globale peut se réapproprier l’art global tout comme l’art global peut se réapproprier la culture globale* (26).

[The global art is found deligitimised at the profit of the global culture, when even if the global culture can reappropriate global art totally like the global art can reappropriate the global culture.]

In support of Moineau, I also find it convenient to add Hans Belting into the equation. Hans Belting goes about contemporary art as global art (22). And this actuality corresponding to contemporary/global art lends itself to an “unresolved problem” which in the words of the artist Alejandra Riera situates this problem as the “institutionalisation of contemporary art on a global scale” (ibid.).

In relation to this “unresolved problem” which I may add would find more sense to be contracted as “unresolved problems” finds itself well within these ruminations by Nicolas Bourriaud in the opening of his book *Radicant*:

Multiculturalism; postmodernism; cultural globalization. Such are the key words [...] words that refer to unresolved questions. As is well known, certain generic notions, far from grappling with the cluster of problems they designate, settle for simply naming them. Thus, a nagging question constitutes the point of departure for this theoretical work: why is it that globalization has so often been discussed from sociological, political, and economic points of view, but almost never from an aesthetic perspective? How does this phenomenon affect the life of form? (7)
I also find myself musing my concerns over the form under such umbrella of contexts playing alongside each other. In this case, I contract all such aforementioned sensibilities by way of Lee Yongbaek’s Angel Soldier which finds itself illusory of such tendencies while also looking into it as my global model of how the discourses imbued or interwoven with globalisation affects the form or presents the possibility of a form that complements this state of being “unresolved.” In the process of presenting Lee Yongbaek’s soldiers as models of contemporary art’s global form, I also negotiate its workings as to directing us into a form affixed to the “unresolved” in contemporary art.

**LEE YONGBAEK: A Korean Contemporary Artist or a Global Artist?**

Before I go on to the eventualities of Lee’s work concerning form and the discourses affixed to the global and the contemporary in relation to aesthetics, one must also not neglect or discredit that Lee Yongbaek is first and foremost a Korean artist.

Now, when one asks the question of what label befalls Lee better as that of a Korean contemporary artist or that of a global artist? I do not intend to force any label whatsoever because having such would be a means of reducing the dynamism behind Lee as a tour de force in the realm of contemporary art.

Initially, the provenance of a work of art as art history would have, it sets a limit to how to look at a work of art. It comes especially when art critics or art historians insist on that for instance Lee Yongbaek against the rich historical contexts and narratives concerning the Republic of Korea upon which will inevitably infiltrate the course of his artistic practice. Although these might be crucial points of context, we would once again fall into that trap Bourriaud goes about which is entrenched in the discourses concerning the sociological, economic and political entrenchments of art. Taking things into perspective, John Rajchman with his essay “Aesthetic Possibilities: Lee Yongbaek’s Angels,” he cites crucial points which would be crucial to look back to Lee’s mode d’emploi as an artist one is that he started to work his art against the setting the formation of contemporary art that was the formation of a contemporary art in Korea that was initiated by social and political chaos in the 1990s (14). And another thing would be Lee’s conflicts with the global actualities shifting in the domain of contemporary art took place in the early 90s wherein:

Lee Yongbaek saw the work of Bill Viola, James Turrell and Bruce Nauman in Germany and started to use digital technologies or ‘new media.’ At the same time, this turn to new means formed part of a complex encounter with Nam June Paik and his work. Earlier figures or strata of the Fluxus movement started to enter the crucible of his
imagination, and so eventually to figure his new transformational angels: Duchamp, Beuys, Nam June himself (16).

From this point, one already sees the workings of a global trajectory that coincides with the use of new media and the elsewheres new technologies can take it to operating within the work of Lee Yongbaek and particularly with Angel Soldier. Such would also be something to reference to as a context of the global leanings of Lee Yongbaek’s artistic practice despite talking about particular Korean issues and contexts, the form and the aesthetics and the other elements situate it in this cadre of the global which gives it its own telling presence in the contemporary art world. In line with this, this could also be the making of one of the most notable contemporary icons to have ever emerged from the contemporary Korean art scene since Paik. But then again as declared in the introductory part of this paper, when one takes into consideration the proliferation or the championing of something as an icon of contemporary art, it would work itself as an icon of an inherent paradox. It’s just like the way contemporary art has always worked on—brimming with paradoxes constantly at play and enabling more unresolved conflicts and so on.
Lee Yong Baek, Nam June Paik and Contemporary Korean Art

As I put into context the Contemporary Korean Art scene specifically that concerning the last décennie, upon which Lee’s works are at their circulatory proclivities at contemporary art spaces in Korea and other art capitals across the globe, one could also take into account other names that surfaced. When I speak of contemporary Korean Art, I could not just highlight Lee alone because alongside him, there are a couple of other artists like Choe U Ram (who makes those sculptures that move with the aid of robotics), Kimsooja (who creates layers of hypernarratives with her video art presented as multi-projection video installations), Lee Bul (with her preoccupation with the architecture and sculpture working alongside the fluxus initiated by technologies and its multiple discourses on the modernisation of societies), Moon Kyungwoon and Jeon Jonho (who came up with this critical discourse-inducing collaborative project entitled News from Nowhere that commences with a contemplation on the “social function” and “role of art” through imagined visions of the future as seen through a variety of mediums), to name a few.

While giving this exciting playing field in the Contemporary Korean Art scene that evokes the interplay of technologies and new media into artistic production, this finds itself requisite to cite a recent study on the subject matter. In the study of National Taiwan Museum of Fine Arts’ curator Hsiao-yu Lin back in late 2011, she states:

Korean new media art has been very active in Asia. Apart from events and exhibitions hosted by Korea itself, many new Korean media artists participate in major international new media art events. On the other hand, Korea is famous for its high-technology industry. Take Seoul as an
example: there are many LED screens installed on the streets, showing different contents and digital images. In every subway station there’s a “Digital View” service. A touch screen provides tour information on Seoul, and a map of the area around the station. One can also make a phone call, or even get free performance tickets from the machine. All of these elements make Seoul a city with a digital living environment (32).

Given such backdrop, this can also be seen as a stimulus as to how artists create a dialogue with these givens that are driven by the advancements of technology. And as the digitalisation of a lot of things get more and more intertwined and inculcated into our quotidian, the more they are likely to find their place into the domain of contemporary art which has greatly valorised the quotidian and one we could always pin point at the breaking out of conceptual art in the early 60’s.

Now, scaling back to a crucial figure in contemporary Korean art that forged a link between Korea and the Western world (in that case the emergence of conceptual art and his own particular artistic motivations), when one talks about the merging of technologies and new media in relation to Korean art, one could not miss out on the legacy of Nam June Paik. Or in the bigger picture, Paik has pre-defined for the next generations of Korean artists to embrace his mode of production that was a constant merging and experimenting of new media, which enabled him to pioneer a lot of things in the domain of performance art and video art. This is why Paik is cited as to have created a unique artistic genre with his work as they mixed a variety of disciplines and technologies, which in result his “unique usage of visual images represented an awareness of the merging of technology and human spirit” (NJP Art Centre). Recalling an exhibition by the NJP Art Centre in 2012 entitled “Nostalgia is an Extended Feedback” takes us into these crucial realities selon Paik:

For Paik, ‘nostalgia’ was not a mere yearning for the past. It was rather a practical act of ruminating on his dreams and passions for the future that had been impossible to realize in the past. Similarly, the exhibition wishes to go beyond a conventional retrospective of the artist. Unfolding ‘the future of the past’ that Paik envisioned, we hope this exhibition will become a convivial feast of science, technology, philosophy, arts and culture all together. Paik tried to incorporate the potential values of cybernetics, robotics and informatics for humans into art. His unusual view of the world was not that man and nature would devastate each other due to scientific technology, but that man, machine, and nature would be able to come together. We believe that all
contemporary artists participating in this exhibition would also have a sense of community with a strong nostalgia for this world view of Paik’s (Manu Park).4

Indeed, when we look into that operative of the future in the past, we can really tell that it has done its part. For instance, for now, if we tap into nostalgia, it evidently will tell us that nostalgia for Paik will always be that of a prospective one because it enabled us to ease our way into a future that diversified artistic practices and challenged the art object as it went through the currents of technological advancements. Clearly without Paik, these workings of a global, new media/technology-driven contemporary art scene in Korea wouldn’t have come into play.

L’art contemporain comme événement

On the other hand, contemporary art has also affixed itself to such a thing called événement in which Gérald Thupinier describes further as:

> L’art contemporain, lui accorde plus de valeur à l’exposition comme événement, c’est là qu’il laisse un certain nombre de personnages lui souffler d’abord, lui imposer ensuite une définition de ce que doit être l’art. D’abord… ensuite… oui, cela s’est joué en plusieurs coups comme une fatalité, un mouvement irrépressible par lequel les artistes ont passé la main (1).

[Contemporary art, it accords a lot of value at the exposition like an event, it is where he leaves a certain number of characters prompt foremost, it imposes then a definition of what must be art. Principally… then… yes, this is played in many blows by which the artists pass by the hand.]

Furthermore, he confers about this reality as to being like a sort of fashion week system:

> C’est le temps des Saatchi, des Pinault… Plus d’artistes, plus d’œuvres. Plutôt des manifestations plus conformes à une fashion week où des pseudo-transgressions divertissent le bourgeois, paraît-il bohème. Seuls les artistes qui osent se presenter comme des vendeurs organisés de bimbeloterie high-tech sont starisés (2).

[It’s the time of the Saatchis, of the Pinaults… A lot of artists, a lot of works. A lot of the manifestations conform a lot to a fashion week where pseudo-transgressions entertain the bourgeois, it seems bohemian. Only the artists who dare present themselves like organised sellers of high-tech knick-knacks are championed.]
It is important to underscore this certain tendency of contemporary art in liaison with événements because Lee’s Angel Soldier has been showcased in the Korean Pavilion at the 54th International Art Exhibition of the Biennale di Venezia. Even if biennales are very telling of this likeliness of contemporary art to be affixed with événements, events and the whole razzle-dazzle to it I feel strongly about how Lee’s works could not be reduced to this *l’art contemporain comme événement* tendency operating in contemporary art. This certain tendency or shall I say malady of contemporary art to turn things into an événement could just be a facet to look into Lee’s Angel Soldier.

Contemporary art may have this tendency but this would eventually find itself immaterial to the dynamism behind Lee’s work. It is for the reason that Angel Soldier was part of the Korean pavilion for the Venice Biennale but Angel Soldier stretches far and wide.

For instance, it has been seen outside the confines of spaces where to experience art. It’s manifestation as a performance video is only one of its facets, it has also been utilised as an installation and as an actual performance wherein the soldiers marched in those florid print military wear which is in lieu of the camouflage. This performance was actually a march where there was an army of florid soldiers. Meanwhile, other performance that the artist did was commissioned by the inauguration of the new site for the National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea, a place which didn’t have very good memories with the Korean public as it was formerly the headquarters of the former Korean CIA. And in this case this positions Lee’s angel soldiers to another of its contemporary multiplicities, which is how contemporary art goes beyond topological inscription. The biennale set-up is just but one way to situate Lee’s soldiers but such a setting tames it down, makes it conveniently manageable because its radicality lies wherein its spaces are pushed into the currency of unlikely spaces for it to be placed in.
Beyond Topological Inscription

Before, I go on any further; perhaps one might ask upon me what really is this topological inscription that I am pertaining to. It is in the essay “The Topology of Contemporary Art” by Boris Groys which makes this clearer in this statement:

What differentiates contemporary art from previous times is only the fact that the originality of a work in our time is not established depending on its own form, but through its topological inscription (74).

Corollary to this, Nikos Papastergiadis by way of “Spatial Aesthetics: Rethinking the Contemporary” makes a distinction between topos and tropos. Derived from the Greek, the term topos refers to “a place in which events occur” meanwhile the term tropos goes about “the manner in which they occur” (374). Moreover, coming back to that excerpt from Boris Groys of a so-called “topological inscription,” it gravitates towards what Papastergiadis refers to as “a place in which things occur” and thus in the context of contemporary art, where a particular work takes place or is situated in. After all this, the premise that gets underway would be how contemporary art has this ability to go beyond its topological inscription. So, basically, how does Lee’s soldier assume this possibility to go beyond topological inscription or perhaps topological inscriptions?

What makes Lee’s soldiers a triumphant global image is how it surpasses its givens or the place where it is often situated in which is often in the confines of art galleries or museums or those other art spaces. Although, on the other hand, contemporary art also finds itself operating outside the confines of where art has been systematically situated in. The past century or so in art history has seen this take shape more and more. For instance, the Gwangju biennale makes use of a traditional market place and situates some of the artworks in there and other art enterprises have placed works of art in unlikely spaces. In such case, an abandoned train station has also found its way to be a site for art, or contemporary works of art. In such case, Lee’s Angel Soldiers go beyond topological inscription as it has this certain freedom of being situated in places not exclusively intended for the confinement of art.

FIGURE 7: A still from Angel Soldier, video, 23 minutes (2011) by Lee Yong Baek ©BlouinArtInfo, Korean Cultural Centre.
So, the unlikely would be positive avenues for further exploration of this seminal work by Lee.

Furthermore, the unlikely presents itself as significant elsewhere to situate a work of art in the cadre of contemporary art. But with things being discussed in the previous part, Lee’s Angel Soldier has been adapted into a march outdoors. In such case, also, as art assumes the role of going beyond the place upon which it is situated, its original video/installation form assumes another form that goes beyond the limits of its intended medium. Contemporary art’s tendency to go beyond topological inscription then finds the form constantly being re-shaped and re-formulated into something else perhaps they can be controlled or can go on sans cesse but contemporary art has that likely tendency to go for the latter.

In the currents of constantly finding new spaces for art, which has been also

the plight of contemporary art whether deliberately or not, the uprising of the museum being integrated into airports have been an interesting contemporary phenomenon. Recent times have seen airports being utilised as new sites for exhibiting art. In the words of the Indianapolis Museum of Art director Maxwell L. Anderson that people nowadays spend a lot of time in airports in such case they have become “a kind of gateway to local culture” (1). Another one to note would be
the recently inaugurated vitrines dedicated to art at the Aéroport de Roissy-Charles-de-Gaulle which were called as “L’Espaces musées” which the conception is attributed to the art historian Serge Lemoine, professor at the Sorbonne and former president of the musée d’Orsay (Poiret).

As more and more airports are adapting this métissage of culture and transport finds us again into how contemporary art goes beyond topological inscription.

Now, I also find myself referencing Patti Smith in her memoir Just Kids which was about her life with Robert Mapplethorpe, she particularly gets about a certain realization that would find itself usual to contract in this discourse about contemporary works of art going beyond topological inscription:

In my low periods, I wondered what was the point of creating art. For whom? Are we animating God? Are we talking to ourselves? And what was the ultimate goal? To have one’s work caged in art’s great zoos—the Modern, the Met, the Louvre? (Smith, 2009: 65).

As we situate the work outside of Korea or outside of a Korean context, it would also find itself in more and more possibilities. And going back to Patti Smith, she posits a crucial question as to why do we produce works of art. Is it simply to direct them to the fate of being confined in art’s great zoos? Evidently, this does not have to hold ground in relation to contemporary works of art as I have gone about the unlikely as positive motivations leading us to further elsewhere to give the work of art and its form more dynamism and even more complexity.
Moving back to the triumph of Lee’s soldiers as a global icon is that when one situates the work outside of Korean territory and a Korean context, it can be reappropriated seamlessly into another culture. So, even if one presents the work in Paris or in Manila or in Bangkok or Singapore, it would surpass the givens affixed to it and find itself anew in the complex dynamics of another culture, perhaps it could be a mix of Korean culture with that culture of the territory where it is to be situated in next. Or it could totally be be of a totally different tangent and such affords us the effectuality of a work of art into the global framework. Although it would also have itself its own inherent paradoxes as a work of art comes in service of this global mode d’emploi, contemporary art shall always thrive in these paradoxes.

The form also endures a globalisation of its own in the process. Angel Soldier is capable of affording itself multiple transformations as far as context is concerned particularly that pertaining to cross-cultural merging. The thing that enables it to go beyond the place where it takes place is that the work of art could easily assume multiple lives outside of the confines of the space it inhibits. It is much like how something is not firmly grounded in one particular territory; it can be everywhere.

Angel Soldier, whether presented as an actual performance with the soldiers dressed in those florid camouflage uniforms and the flowers or presented in video form, would always find itself that openness to be re-appropriated in so many ways. It can be situated in as many cities as can be and each could have a different specific context but the inherent openness of the work to cater to as many cultures and audiences enables it to be valorised by way of its contemporary multiplicities which could be also referred to as its global multiplicities. A work of art with such kind of openness to be situated here and there enables it to transcend effortlessly through national borders rendering such borders as if they were non-existent or as if they were only liquid borders or those that are just but contractions of the mind.

The Deterritorialised Worker in Lee Yongbaek

Moving on from the merit of Lee’s Angel Soldier as a work of art that triumphantly surpasses topological inscription, it has to itself another ally that helps it achieve these dynamic and transgressive properties (which are inherent in it whether voluntarily or involuntarily) because its medium is mediated by technology. So, whether Angel

Soldier is experienced by the spectator as a video art, as an actual performance, a multi-media installation piece, or a performance art rendered in video format or a still photographic print; it is immaterial to put a distinction between the two as there is going to be this involuntary surpassing of aesthetics, forms, topographies, and contexts. It is also inconsequential if this work is experienced directly or indirectly by means of a second-hand form of exchange like perhaps a video posted on the internet or that of images from a catalogue of the artist. Now, in addition to all these, this falls well within the rubrique of Guattari’s deterritorialised worker who finds himself at the service of technology and its certain vantage points:

someone who does not freeze into professional experience,  
but who follows the progress of technology, indeed, who  
develops a certain creativity, a certain participation. Moreover, one needs  
a consumer who adapts to the evolution of the market (237).

As an artist in the contemporary art domain embraces technology and the implicit string of discourses and possibilities, it enables a work of art to go with the times and take things to a bigger picture. In this case, contemporary art can also be seen as challenge in perception as to how Angel Soldier is structured. As for the artist in correlation to the règne of contemporary art, bears these ineluctable nostalgic repercussions towards modern art. In it, it lies an inexorable burden on behalf of the artist of today. Catherine Grenier asserts the contemporary artist under these terms:

L’artiste contemporain se revendique comme un «image maker», pour reprendre une formule employée par Wim Delvoye. L’image n’est pas un champ restrictif, c’est au contraire un champ ouvert, dont les techniques modernes ont multiplié les possibles. Faire des images chez les artistes que nous avons évoqués, ce n’est pas trahir la réalité, mais au contraire établir le réel (114).  
[The contemporary artist claims to be like an “image maker”, to use a formula utilised by Wim Delvoye. The image is not a restrictive field, it’s on the contrary an open field, of which modern techniques have increased the possibilities. To make images with the artists that we have mentioned, this is not to betray reality, but on the contrary to establish the real.]

More so, if he uses technology as a part of his artistic production, it easily adapts to the volatilities of the present hence why Lee Yongbaek triumphs into presenting to us a global icon by way of Angel Soldier. As technologies are affixed
to progress, this also falls well within how the consumption of contemporary art goes à la nôtre: one that is a continuous process.

In some way, this could be a way of seeing how through Angel Soldier, the spectator’s perceptive skills are challenged which is a challenge to go through the realms of reality and ephemereality as:

> The multiple layers of optical illusion the work embodies compel searching questions regarding reality and ephemereality (Art Radar Asia).

Going back to what I was telling as inconsequential whether through what form or medium, Angel Soldier was experienced by the spectator. The optical illusion operates on multiple layers and it cannot be seen in a singular fashion. This takes it to an actuality wherein we have upon ourselves a work of art that escapes or perhaps surpasses “dominant semiologies” as Guattari would put it (237). He posits of this possibility of films having that tendency wherein the words and contents of ideas cannot be limited to or determined through the political and aesthetic plane but rather one that “escape dominant semiologies” (ibid.). What I see that can be a good way of dealing with this is through operating in fragments, specific particularities of how to understand the work of Lee perhaps how the optical illusion operates when experienced in video form or in another instance as an actual performance talking place. One has to go from specific or particular fragments before operating on a more generalized cadre of how to go about Angel Soldier as a totality. Hence, it finds itself convenient to conclude this part with this statement from the artist:

> I think I am now past the age when I would be thrilled simply because I am selected to present my works at an exhibition. Venice Biennale is so powerful that it is sometimes a goal for some artists. But I am considering it a step for the future (Park).

And as Lee has embraced the furthering of new technologies to be utilised in his artistic production, the future couldn’t be any less than dynamic. Also, as he states his work as a “step for the future,” it is evident that the challenges involved in interpreting Lee’s work get us acquainted well enough to the currents of the future of contemporary art as it has started embracing technology more and more.

**The Contemporary Mode of Consumption and its Fashionable Leanings**
Now, things take us further into the lines of the consumption of contemporary works of art. It is not purely limited to seeing them at galleries and museums and those atypical venues for contemporary art, but there is also that reality of the consumption of something being physically affixed to our own hands. This is what Guattari (2009: 237) delineates as to how the enjoyment of something is contracted to a manner of possession. Perhaps nowadays, if experiencing the work of art in a particular space and taking photos of it is not enough, one could avail an exhibition catalogue or a book of the artist. Another option would be to purchase the work; however, not all would be able to have this privilege. The other recent phenomenon is how the consumption of contemporary art treads the lines of its sartorial possibilities.

Before everything else, riding on the currents of art being interpreted in fashion, I think criticism will always play a crucial role to complement it. Meanwhile, I still feel strong that this fashion-meets-art alliance falls under the paradigm of what Ben Davis refers to as “unsustainable contradictions” in which he treads these lines:

For art to function as an effective investment vehicle, it needs to increase in value steadily over a long period of time — decades. On the other hand, pop culture is by definition short-term culture, constantly changing and overwriting itself, the subject of explosive interest one second, a half-remembered curiosity the next. Mediating this tension is not impossible, but at a certain point, there is going to be some kind of breakdown. Some such reckoning seems already to be happening in the case of Damien Hirst, whose recent works have disappointed when they hit the auction block — a fact which seems to stem from this very tension. “I think Hirst was a very good artist at the beginning,” Georgina Adam said, “but he has been a fabricator of luxury goods for a long time now.” While Hirst-ean theatrics may in the short term delight nouveau riche scenesters looking for crushingly obvious symbols of sophistication, it turns out that wedding your work to the conventions of mass fashion — which must of necessity constantly revolve — is not a great strategy for producing investment grade art. If I were someone interested in contemporary art as an investment, nothing would chill me more than the fact that fashion brands are so obsessed with hooking themselves in to contemporary art (1).

Fashion and art have a likely leaning towards each other in which Paul Johnson expresses as:
In a sense, fashion has always played a role in art, especially in the long term. We have repeatedly seen how art systems become overelaborate, thus provoking a change in fashion: the elaborations are swept away by a new purity and simplicity which, in due course, as fashion changes once again, develop elaborations of their own [...] When art systems become so complex as to generate confusion rather than order, then the impulse to reimpose the discipline of simplicity is more than just fashion: it is self-preservation, part of the natural instinct of the human race to be in charge of its environment, rather than its helpless victim (651).

Addressing the contemporary multiplicities of Lee’s soldiers operate on different levels operating from the ineluctable surface realities being presented by the hyperreal to the more tangible possibilities which enable them to be possessed by the spectator to further the appreciation of the work (or in another way of looking at it—to create more revenue for the artist).

In consequence, Lee’s florid prints ending up on Samsonite’s luggages is nothing new but it is quite a significant telling factor of the promiscuity of contemporary art. At one hand, it lives up to the iconoclastic tendencies of contemporary art that does not limit it to the confines of the museum or the gallery. It rather becomes more accessible with more tangible forms that lives up to globalisation and its consumerist-inclined handle.

Aside from the Samsonite collaboration with Lee, the Angel Soldier series already holds on to a sartorial handle as it includes uniforms of florid actualities vividly dizzying and forming spectrums good for spectacle in this technology-obsessed times. And at one hand, it could also subtly signify the obsession of Korea with how it pioneers with its
technological developments that extend to the production of things that touches even the way visual arts operate. As my visit at Lee’s studio would be brought back from memory, I do recall those florid uniforms all over the place would be very appealing to try on and take on my chance to play an angel soldier. So it goes, this only makes a work of art more endearing as it manifests in more tangible and at that, in more consumable bits.

**Conclusion: Contemporary is Always in Multiples**

At the end of it all, I do not intend to suggest that the level of bringing down a work of art from its high-strung affixations with institutions and spaces for art to actualities enabling it to be more accessible to the public through being translated into consumable goods like clothing. This is simply to present that the contemporary in contemporary art is always promiscuous as it operates in multiples. To make sense of the promiscuous nature of the images produced by contemporary art and to fully comprehend its multiple fluctuations, one must have a set of multiple optics to put into the matter. As for the so-called global model resting on the shoulders of Lee with this particular work, it would always be a case-to-case basis. When you talk about the possibility of global models in contemporary Korean art, it would always encompass a variety of models and these models are always and always will be negotiable and in flux.

Meanwhile, while people have been arguing for long that fashion is not art but fashion motivates art heavily, we are in the age of the digital and the contemporary art: the flow of exchanges get more and more multi-faceted and multi-layered. As I have presented the different multiplicities operating in Lee’s Angel Soldier, I have come about delivering to the reader the beauty of how the contemporary in art nowadays operates in multiples and how the spectator could contract different possibilities to his liking or even at that come up with his own set of contemporary possibilities. As we can see from the dynamic nature of Lee’s Angel Soldier which dynamically transcends itself through different media, multiple contexts, one thing remains clear—that contemporary art will always take us to the edge to the fringes of the currents and a work like Lee’s serves as atypical iconography of most of the vital and powerful works of contemporary art whether in contemporary Korean art or the global contemporary art scene.
NOTE(S)


1 For further reference, Nam June Paik would be a worthwhile further reading as he came before Lee Yongbaek. In this case, he could be seen as the predecessor to the makings of a global artist against the backdrop of contemporary Korean art. His embracing of new technologies at his time could be paralleled to the artistic practice for the last decade or more of Lee and how technology gets infused with artistic practice and how they pave way for delineating the contours what makes a global artist.

2 Derived from the introductory text on the collaborative project of artists Moon Kyungwon and Jeon Joonho at newsfromnowhere.kr.

3 This research by Lin is from a commissioned research conducted by the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea. Annually the institution together with the Cultural Participation Initiative of the Korean government invite curators and museum workers to take a residency in Seoul, Korea and conduct a comprehensive research on their subject of interest concerning Contemporary Korean Art.

4 Taken from NJP Art Centre Director Manu Park’s invitation note on this exhibition which was also brought about to commemorate the 80th anniversary of Nam June Paik.

5 Art collectors have gained a sort of celebrity status especially with contemporary art. Two of the frontliners would be Charles Saatchi and François Pinault who have in the process have become telling authority figures of who’s who in contemporary art.

6 This particular performance of “Angel Soldier” was shared to me by the artist with a video documentation in a studio visit I made together with colleagues from the National Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea some time in autumn 2012 in Gimpo.

7 In the essay “Cinema of Desire,” Guattari may go about cinema but with the promiscuity of contemporary art delving into multi-disciplinary contexts, it falls well within how contemporary art could be regarded as, one that escapes or rather surpasses “dominant semiologies.”
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HOW DO WE GET THERE?:
ANCHORING FILIPINO UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS TO KOREAN STUDIES

Kyungmin Bae

INTRODUCTION

The number says it all. When the University of the Philippines Center for International Studies (“UPCIS” hereafter) first offered ‘Global Studies 197: Discussions on Contemporary Issues on Korean Culture and Society’ for the first semester of 2010-11, only eight students enrolled. The objective of this pioneering course was to widen undergraduate students’ knowledge about Korea and provide with necessary inputs that help them thoroughly understand Korean culture and society. The course lasted for two semesters when UPCIS was granted with a visiting professor from the Korea Foundation. Three years later in AY 2013-14, the course was revived as it was seen necessary, or urgent, for current students to be equipped with knowledge and insight on Korea, and furthermore on East Asian region. During this semester, quite surprisingly, a total of 25 students were enrolled; it seems that Korean popular culture has indeed influenced young Filipinos to be interested in Korea, which has merely been known for ‘Miracle of Han River’.

This research aims to explore this phenomenon of change. Specifically, this paper attempts to discuss factors that are to be considered to enhance the current curriculum of this course offered at UPCIS, by showing and analyzing the students’ perceptions and impressions on the syllabus. The paper basically employed survey, journal, and Focus Group Discussion for methodology. It is hoped that sustainable curriculum on Korean Studies for undergraduate students will contribute to increase their academic potentials and develop their career in the future.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

‘Global Studies 197: From Kimchi to K-pop’

GS197 is a 3-unit-credit course, which is one of the courses offered by UPCIS1. This was primarily proposed and offered in the first semester of AY 2010-2011 with support of the Korea Foundation visiting professor grant. It was offered for two consecutive semesters; however it had to be ceased when the grant ended. Consequently, UPCIS was in need of teaching staff for this course2.

After two years, it was discussed to revive the course and the key concern was a pool of faculty. Likewise in other courses offered at UPCIS, it was necessary to
come up with interdisciplinary approach through team-teaching method. Several potential lecturers were requested to join and to improve and modify the course contents.

The set of teaching staff was concluded and the course title was also revised from the original ‘Global Studies 197: Discussions on Contemporary Issues on Korean Culture and Society’ to ‘Global Studies 197: From Kimchi to K-pop – Discussions on Contemporary Issues on Korean Culture and Society’ (“FKTK” hereafter) to attract students’ attention.

The course lasted from June 7 to October 4, 2013 during the first semester of AY 2013-14. The objectives of the course were: to appreciate Korean culture and history; to analyze critically contemporary issues on Korea; and to engage in the discourse on Korea.

COMPOSITION OF LECTURERS

The team-teaching method is especially designed for UPCIS elective courses to expose students to a variety of approaches and subject matters for broader and holistic understanding of regional studies. The first concern for FKTK was the faculty. That is, as the lack of professors led to the termination of the course in the previous years, UPCIS searched for current university faculty who have taught or researched in Korean institutions. This resolution provided a sustainable picture to offer the course in the coming years in case of no visiting professor grant or other schemes.

The prospect faculty member was called in to discuss the potential major field of study in relation to Korea. The course objectives were briefed by the course coordinator and each faculty’s background in Korea-related teaching and research was explained. Each lecturer agreed to contribute the sessions upon their respected field of study: the biggest difference from previous years was initiated as the course attempted to provide sufficient up-to-date inputs to students from who have had an intact academic experience in Korea. In doing so, it was expected to increase and sustain students’ interest in Korea for academic and practical purposes.

Each lecturer was in charge of four sessions in average during the semester. The course was flexible to appoint the number of sessions since some matters needed more discussions for students to internalize and produce learning outcomes. Aside from local faculty members, two Korean faculty members were also invited to join the team: this was to expose students to the view of Korean people as well.
TABLE 1 Demographic Information of the FKTK Lecturers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Research/Degree in Korean institutions</th>
<th>Given Topics at FKTK</th>
<th>No. of Sessions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Literature</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Synthesis and Class Integration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian Studies</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Political &amp; Cultural History of the Two Koreas</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>(Korean national)</td>
<td>Korean Language</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalism</td>
<td>Visiting Professor</td>
<td>Korean Media and Journalism</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Language</td>
<td>(Korean national)</td>
<td>Current Issues in Korea</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippine Studies</td>
<td>Research</td>
<td>Korean Culture Industry</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>PhD degree</td>
<td>Korean Architecture and Planning</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art Studies</td>
<td>Fellow</td>
<td>20th Century Korean Art and Art Spaces</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

METHODOLOGIES

For this study, students were asked to write a reflection for each session and submit this journal every week. As every single lecture could not meet the class all the time, the feedback from students was very important to know how much they understood and what is lacking in delivery or contents. The journal was commented by the researcher and returned a week after.

A pre- and post-survey were conducted online as well. Although every student verbally indicated their motivation in taking the course on the first day in the classroom, more detailed and candid responses were drawn through the survey. Before the final week of the semester, students were asked to answer the survey to determine their satisfactory level and knowledge in the course. The Focus Group Discussion was also conducted in a group of three to four students in order to have more candid discussion with the researcher.

DISCUSSIONS

The findings were analyzed according to respondents’ background knowledge on Korea as the course began: mainly their motivation and expectation on the course were inquired. Afterwards, it was examined if the course met their expectation and, if not greatly, their suggestions for the future development of the course.
Pre-survey findings

In order to speculate whether the course objectives that were came up by a group of lecturers would meet the demand of students, students’ prior general background knowledge on Korea was surveyed. The course is basically offered for those who have little, are without any significant knowledge or experience of Korea. Only four out of the twenty five students in the class have been to Korea. When the students were asked why they took the course, 38% indicated they are a fan of Korean drama and popular music; 17% stated they are generally interested in Korea, and only 2% responded they chose it as their Global Studies subject. These results indicate that most students voluntarily opted to take the course.

To the question asking their familiarity with Korea, students answered that they are the most familiar with Korean popular music and food (20% each), Korean drama (19%), and Korean products (14%). This shows that most students are exposed to media and have found Korea in their daily life. Even though they do not have personal interaction with Korean community, they have immersed themselves in Korean goods and food in local circumstances. Interestingly, none expressed their interest in Korean philosophy (0%).

In the next question, they were asked what they know about Korea in general. The options were given for them to categorically determine their responses. It turned out that they are dominantly influenced by and familiar with Korean media (15%) and food (14%). Moreover, most of the students responded they ‘know about Korean people (13%)’, specifically Korean celebrities through Korean media such as dramas and variety shows. Students were also asked to give a keyword which reflects their perception on Korean people, and the responses showed that they have simply imagined Korean people as no more than images in media. The keyword ‘hardworking’ was also mentioned several times, which reflects the students’ belief that it is a source of Korea’s success. They were asked to give sufficient reason for the choice of each keyword.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rich</td>
<td>Korea has a good economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fast</td>
<td>Most Koreans pursue fast speed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cute</td>
<td>Koreans are known to ‘aegyo’ and so are their products’ packaging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplined</td>
<td>They are able to control themselves well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic</td>
<td>Korea puts a high value on aesthetics and is apparent in Korean brands and several other innovations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspiring</td>
<td>Koreans are very hardworking and creative and that is what makes them amazing and attractive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hardworking</strong></td>
<td>If Koreans set their minds into achieving something, they try their hardest to do it. I think what Korea’s success is the result of hard-work of its people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hardworking</strong></td>
<td>I have seen in their history how a simple country rises up with dedication and focuses to development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passion</strong></td>
<td>Koreans do not easily give up, yet try to look for the way to pursue their dream. They are also supportive of one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cooperation</strong></td>
<td>They united through World Cup and Olympics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Patriotic</strong></td>
<td>Koreans seems to love their country and are proud of their nationality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dynamic</strong></td>
<td>Korea become more open to change and welcomed foreign cultures too.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uniqueness</strong></td>
<td>They are simply unique.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seductive</strong></td>
<td>Korean packaging is the most alluring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Courteous</strong></td>
<td>They are very respectful to people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hardworking</strong></td>
<td>K-pop starts train hard to be the artist what they want to be. It is also evident that Korea became one of the most progressive countries after the War. This goes to show that people really work hard for themselves as well as their country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deep</strong></td>
<td>There is something more to their culture and the foundations to which these stand are far greater than what I have experienced in the Philippines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diverse</strong></td>
<td>Despite the size of the country, all provinces possess the unique characteristics that will make you remember them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beauty</strong></td>
<td>Korea has its own wonders to show and tell. Also, Koreans are conscious of their appearances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hardworking</strong></td>
<td>Every K-pop idols work very hard for every performance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Global</strong></td>
<td>They have managed to make themselves and the country known throughout the world.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the open-ended question, students were asked about their personal expectation in the course. Overall, students stated that they are not knowledgeable about Korea, and would like to understand the country more thoroughly. Some of the students also responded that it is their personal goal to gain information that they ‘can use in the field of study, compare the differences and similarities between Korea and the Philippines, and learn concepts and ideas that are not usually shown by the Korean media’. Also, three responded that the course is expected to...
strengthen their foundation on Korean studies as they will pursue their graduate studies in Korea. Other responses include the following:

I expect that this course shall introduce concepts and ideas related to Korean culture, people, places, history, etc. that are not usually told by other Koreans or shown by the Korean media. Korea is not only limited to Kimchi and K-pop, but a deeper realization of what should Korea be like not only for Filipinos but to other nationals can be taught. I think it is essential in establishing, in the macroscopic level, exclusive bilateral economic relations between the Philippines and South Korea.

Since I am a K-pop fan, I also expect to have some fun experience in class talking about this: talking about some period pieces or Korean dramas would also be a nice way of learning about traditions, history, and Hallyu.

I hope to learn more about Korean culture and society through people with first-hand experiences from who have gone extensive studies. I hope it inspires me more to learn about Korea and take me beyond the pop culture, and therefore, have a deeper understanding of its people.

During the Semester

The class was asked to write a journal during the semester and the researcher collected these journals weekly in order to catch up with their understanding on the topics and to look into personal questions and dis/satisfactions. The length of each journal entry varied according to students and nature of the topics, but most of them spent 1-2 pages on the average. The class was encouraged to be as candid in writing their reflections and feedback for the lecturers as they can. Compared to the one-time survey, the students’ journals indeed revealed more of their understanding about Korea and reflections of the course. It was also a good way of communication outside of the classroom to check on any problems or questions they were not able to solve during the class.

What was significant analysis through the journal entries was that many of them attempted to compare the Philippines and Korea, and in this process, their view of nationalism was also revealed. The students’ reflections indicated that they admire Korean culture but look down on their native culture or social dimensions; that is, most of them favor the Korean phenomenon. In particular, cultural industry and media topics have made them aware of big differences between the two countries.

In addition, it was generally found that the course was handled rather fast in certain sessions. Particularly, Korean alphabets and language session were popular among the students, but were taught too fast for those who have only encountered
the topics for the first time. Another problem was the difference in the students’ level of proficiency: some have already taken elective Korean language courses and the lesson was too easy, while novice learners found it more difficult to catch up with the lessons due to time constraint.

During the semester, the class was provided with opportunities to work as a group and produce outcome for several sessions. The synthesis after the mid-term attempted to gather their progress in delivered sessions and exchange ideas for constructive interactions in the class. Korean Art session provided them to make a collage about Korean image. Students found this activity interesting as they were able to show their understanding and insight on various topics with creativity 4.

**Post-survey findings**

The post-survey mainly aimed to determine the students’ experience and impression about the course. It was conducted online as well after the final week of semester. The link was shared by the researcher and everyone could respond anonymously. This survey also aims to determine if the course met with students’ demand, what other suggestions they would have for the lecturers to improve on topics and contents, and so on.

![Picture 1 Learning Outcome in Collage after Korean Art session](image)

Majority of them responded that they were satisfied with how the course was handled (92%); they said that they improved their existing knowledge on Korean culture or and gained new information from the lecturers. Many chose Korean media and journalism (26%) as their most favorite topic. Most of the students also preferred the topics on Hallyu, and the Korean Wave.
All the parts of the course are very much critical to my understanding of Korean culture. However, in particular, I found Hallyu and the popular culture the most enjoyable since I am a huge fan of K-pop and drama.

However, some concerns were significantly raised: time was not sufficient enough for the students’ to fully understand some of the topics during the sessions. In this regard, group works and class discussion were suggested, with the favor of 42% responses, to make up for time constraints and maximize sharing idea among students and lecturers.

I think the course needs to be more interactive. Some of the topics in the class were conducted very fast and some teachers who just enter the classroom and discuss the topic immediately. It is really difficult because you can’t just understand things by listening to your professor: new ideas and perspectives can be developed through interaction.

Another concern regarding the sequence of topics was also raised. As indicated in Table 1, not all the topics have the equal number of sessions to be conducted. Also, the schedule sometimes did not accommodate students to participate in other activities, such as field trip, and this somehow failed to integrate students to the course. Since the class is taught by several lecturers and their own schedule should be counted, students may have felt that the course was not strict with the timeframe and evaluation methods.

…[Field trip] should be scheduled between the semester, not on the last week of the semester. Also, it should be scheduled on Saturday or Monday. It’s important for a course to be academic friendly, especially for students.

Considering that the course attempted to pioneer the possible Korea-related topics to be taught as a part of GS curriculum, it was also asked what other contents they would suggest for future students of the course and, likewise, for the potential lecturers. Most responses included Korean food and cuisine from which they believe to learn its culture and tradition. Two answered their interest in dance that they referred another GS course they took.

We had a module on Japanese dances for my Japan Studies 100 and it was loads of fun. Dances are one way of learning more about a country’s culture.

Having in mind that the learning from this course can be applied in their respected disciplines, they were also asked how it can be made good use for their
study and 69% responded it is positively considered to apply in their course. Particularly, Economics and Journalism students have expressed that what they have learned in the class is very much useful for their thesis or career as Korean development model and popular culture and media are spotlighted recently.

CONCLUSION

This paper attempted to find out the motivation and expectations toward Korea-related course among undergraduate students in the particular case of Global Studies 197: From Kimchi to K-pop offered at the UPCIS. The analysis revealed that students generally had no specific background knowledge on Korea before taking the course, and thus it was their main motivation to learn about Korea which they believe would also be helpful for their own fields of study.

Majority of the students enjoyed the course topics on Korean drama and music because they are well-exposed to these types of Korean culture via various channels of media. During the semester, the students were also asked to keep a journal entry for each session to reflect and internalize their own learning on the course. This approach enabled the researcher to understand how the students develop the idea on various topics about Korea in a more natural way, and at the same time, to determine what they are satisfied or dissatisfied with about the course. Post-survey and FGD mainly focused on their experience after the course and suggestions for the course development in the future.

Students generally had positive perceptions about Korea and wanted to gain knowledge beyond current popular culture. Specifically, they were very much interested in Korean economy, history, family traditions, and bilateral relations between the Philippines and Korea. The course mostly satisfied their demand; however, due to time constraints and insufficient consideration for topic arrangement, the course was not able to help the students fully internalize and understand the topics. This paper could further explore the in-depth discussion on lecturers’ pre- and post-evaluation. This study aimed to examine the needs and demands on this pioneering course so that the existing syllabus will be able to include more suitable and requested topics and therefore be more effective with learning outcomes.

The study, however, admits that it was not able to include lecturers’ voice which certainly matters in developing and improving the course. Although two of the lecturers responded via online survey, more thorough face-to-face discussion is necessary. One of the lecturers responded: “A pre-class discussion with other co-teachers regarding their respective syllabus so they can be synced and ordered in a more logical manner”5. In other words, there should be discrete analysis of teaching method, approach, and contents6.
In conclusion, as FKTK was a pioneering course to explore what and how should be taught, the findings can be considered by other potential teachers for Korean studies in the Philippine institutions. More sufficient thorough discussions will lead sustainable curriculum that will truly assist Filipino students to appreciate Korean culture and history, and engage in the discourse on Korea.

ENDNOTES

1 UPCIS offers elective courses for undergraduate students at the University of the Philippines-Diliman. The center regularly offers Gender studies, Peace and Conflict, Disaster, Global Entanglements, Global Gastronomy, Japan studies and Southeast Asian studies.

2 While GS197 was not offered at the center, to sustain students’ interest in Korea and Korean studies, the center attempted to provide with various Korea-related activities: Public lecture series- Alternative Korea Learning Experience: Korea, Beyond K-pop (August 2011-March 2012), Special lecture by visiting fellows, Conference handling special issues of Korea, etc.

3 However, respondents’ interpretation seems to incline to interpret based on celebrities whom they look up to: hardworking images of Korean people were mostly found in the footage of their training, practicing, and performance occasions, and it more or less positively helped them imagine the concept of Korean people in general.

4 This project was designed by the lecturer from Department of Art Studies.

5 The researcher would like to acknowledge the prompt response of Prof. Danilo Arao from the College of Mass Communication, University of the Philippines-Diliman in request of online questionnaire.

6 The Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) has released the ‘Grants for Curriculum Development and Teaching Resources for Global Korean Studies’ aiming to develop and implement diversified and creative Korean studies curricula, courses and materials for teaching and learning in the tertiary institutions overseas. Similarly, the Korea Foundation (KF) offers e-learning. This is believed to response to the local demands well enough since the research team is based in that specific countries or regions. Therefore, overseas universities should be able to benefit this chance to gear up their curricula and teaching resources through the support of Korean institutions. Therefore, these opportunities can be explored by Filipino institutions to design and develop the course or curriculum for Korean studies.
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1. Introduction

The overseas Korean studies have been developed through numerous trials and errors during the last centuries. When Korea was discovered by the Western travelers, traders, missionaries, and diplomats in the 17th-19th centuries, they began with language to depict the Korean way of life. The first French-Korean dictionary was published in 1880 authored by Monsignor Ridel, a French Jesuit missionary from Mission de l’étrangère de Paris. Korean-English and English-Korean dictionaries came later in 1890 authored by Horace Underwood (1859-1916), an American protestant missionary. It was those protestants from North America who contributed to the early Korean studies in translating the Bible into Korean. The translation of the New Testament in Korean was completed in 1900, while the Old Testament was fully translated in 1911. The old Korean version of the Bible was so excellently translated that it still impresses readers in terms of rhetoric and literature despite some mistranslations.

On the other hand, the travelogues, mission reports, and diplomacy records on Korea in the 17th-19th centuries, improvised serious misinterpretations of the Korean people, society, and culture, as they were biased mostly by the early Western sinologists and Japan experts who lacked in-depth academic studies. Like the language, the interdisciplinary approach to the overseas Korean studies started from the secondary position to the Chinese or Japanese studies. Generally speaking, Korea was a part of, or a mere replica of China, as far as the literature on East Asian studies is concerned. This misleading legacy in the Korean studies still dominate overseas Korean studies until recent academic provocations by a few East Asian studies scholars in North America and in South Korea in the 21st century.

For example, East Asia: Tradition and Transformation, the well-known textbook on East Asian studies, authored by John Fairbank, Edwin Reischauer, & Albert Craig, the three eminent East Asian studies scholars at Harvard University, has been seriously misleading Korean studies with its wrong conceptualization of East Asian history and civilization. Encouragingly enough, a younger generation American East Asian scholar Charles Holcombe challenged those misinterpretations of the early East Asian history of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam, in his recent works. According to him, the East Asian civilization was shaped and shared by the East Asian people, including the multi-ethnic, multi-national Chinese dynasties who had risen and fallen in the Yellow River valley, the
civilization center, beginning from the Qin Dynasty in 221 BCE, and those nations in the civilization peripheries which have been identified since the 7th-10th centuries as the present-day Korea, Japan, and Vietnam.

In the latter half of the 20th century, however, overseas Korean studies attracted major American universities to meet the U.S. policy demand for the security issue on the Korean peninsula. The U.S. military occupation in South Korea during 1945-48, the Korean War in 1950-53, and the U.S. military presence against the North Korean military provocation after the war, all have created a number of "instant" Korea experts in the U.S. government agencies in the 20th century. Nonetheless, American academe showed its lukewarm interest in Korea only in the 1960s when Harvard University opened Korean studies program at Yenjing Institute, an academic "ghetto" in the American mainstream. Since the two Koreas developed into two distinct countries in the recent decades, the Korean studies in the American universities have been enriching their curriculums from language and history to the interdisciplinary approach to humanities and social sciences.

2. Discussions

Historically, the development of overseas Korean studies was facilitated by the immediate demand posed by the Christian missionaries’ evangelization of Korea or the enduring war in the region in given periods. The Korean studies in Europe and North America during the last centuries were motivated by such an active stance from their causes, and not by the Korean demand. In the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries, however, South Korea suddenly emerged in the recent decade as one of the closest nations to them. Commodities with Korean brands including Samsung or LG cell phones and electronics occupies boutiques and stores in the shopping malls. Hyundai cars are easily seen on the streets. K-pop song and dance are most loved by the younger generation fans while K-dramas in the local TV channels and several Korean channels in cable networks are enjoyed as well by the elder generation. Moreover, a considerable number of Koreans came and settled for various reasons in the Philippines. Unlike in Europe and North America in the past centuries, the Korean appearance is pushing the Korean studies in the universities in the Philippines and other Southeast Asian countries in this century. In the Philippines, for example, the Korean studies is approached to rather by passive stance. As a matter of fact, the Korean language courses provide a few introductory lecture courses on Korean history and culture in UP, Ateneo, and UA&P. In addition, Korean studies in these universities have been supported not by the Philippine side, but mostly by Korean public and private foundations.

Today’s Philippines is one of the most promising developing countries in Southeast Asia. Since the EDSA Revolution, the educated elite in this country have
been inquiring about how to develop the nation. With the prominent Korean appearance in the last decade, how South Korea, once one of the most underdeveloped countries in Asia, was transformed into an advanced country, has been an academic question for many social scientists in Philippine universities. At this juncture, the Korean studies would meet scholarly demand of the interdisciplinary approach in the Philippine academe. Firstly, the Korean studies on political economic development of South Korea would be a good topic for comparative research between two countries. Secondly, the international security issue on the Korean peninsula including North Korean provocation, the national interest conflict among Korea, Japan, and China, and the ASEAN Community expected in 2015, would create various research topics for the Filipino scholars. Lastly, more academic approach to Korean literature, poetry and novels in particular, is necessary as the Hallyu mass culture is flooding through media. Three study topics in the political economy, international relations, and humanities, hereby, are suggested for the future interdisciplinary approach to Korean studies in the Philippine universities.

A. Political Economy: Korean Development Model

No other academic topic can attract the political economists in the developing countries more than the South Korean economic development in the last three decades of the 20th century. The revolutionary transformation of South Korea from an agrarian, underdeveloped, authoritarian country to an industrialized, advanced, democratic one in one-generation period, largely attributed to the situation of division given after the liberation which changed au fond its geopolitical condition of the peninsula as well as geo-economic into the continent north and the island south. South Korea, surrounded by sea in the east, west, and south, and blocked by the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) in the north, is an island. South Korean policymakers took advantage of the geo-economic condition of the divided southern part of the Korean peninsula to join the ocean powers using international trade as an essential component of its development policy.

Given its overpopulation in an isolated small island nation of approximately 100,000 km² with poor resources, South Korea had no other choice but to join the ocean power sphere through overseas trade. Dr. Wonhyuk Lim, director of global economy research at Korea Development Institute (KDI), concludes in a recent paper⁶ that "trade helped Korea to discover its comparative advantage and identify productive uses for capital... Trade also offered great learning opportunities and market tests for government policies and corporate strategies. Last but not least, trade allowed Korea to devise a powerful feedback mechanism by reinforcing successful experiments through rewards based on performance in competitive global markets."
Today, South Korea's catch-up development model, in which a considerable degree of state activism was involved, inclines to skepticism to apply to the globalized environment. Dr. Keun Lee, professor of economics at Seoul National University, proposed a ‘capability-based view’ of the country’s catch-up development in a recent paper. He argues "that the real lesson from Korea is not the role of government but the fact that it was able to strengthen the capability of firms, thus inducing sustained growth for several decades." He sees "the mid 1980s as the critical juncture in this process of capability-building, as the Korea emphasized in-house R&D in private sectors, pushing the aggregate R&D/GDP ratio to the threshold level of 1 per cent or more." According to Dr. Lee, "this led to another core aspect of the Korean model—continuous upgrading within the same industries as well as advancing successive entries into new promising industries." He contends "that without capability-building, devaluation or standard trade liberalization alone cannot bring sustained catch-up as these often result in short-run, albeit temporary, export booms." His study analyses "how Korea utilized various access modes to learning and knowledge to enhance its technological capabilities, and concludes with a discussion of the transferability of the Korean lessons to other countries."

B. International Relations: North Korea, China, Japan, United States, & ASEAN

Given some 40,000 OFWs in South Korea, the North-South conflict in the Korean peninsula is no longer a remote security issue to the Filipinos. As a matter of fact, the Philippine government prepared a contingency plan to safely withdraw all the OFWs from South Korea when North Korea threatened waging a war against South last April. North Korea is a failing state. A recent research report of RAND Corporation addresses that "(its) government could collapse in the coming months or years, causing an immense humanitarian disaster and potentially other, even more serious consequences." Given that North Korea has been a lynchpin of the East Asian security, the possible collapse of the North Korean government will be a concern of countries with complicated diplomatic alliances and territorial disputes in the region, including but not limited to the United States, China, Japan, Russia, and the ASEAN countries.

The North Korean contingency plan has not been a strange idea for the policymakers in South Korea, the United States, Japan, Russia, and China, particularly since the leadership crisis in 2012 with the bizarre third-generation inheritance of political power in North Korea. Above all, the success and failure of the North Korean contingency plan depends on the type of the new governance in North Korea. In 2011, IMEMO, a Russian academic think tank, previewed the Korean reunification under South Korean tutelage of the collapsed North Korea."
The RAND Corporation report mentioned above reached the same conclusion as the IMEMO outlook—the potential consequences of a North Korean government collapse that could lead to Korean reunification. The report assumes that "(South Korea) would decide to intervene in such a crisis with U.S. assistance and seek Korean unification." Inadequately prepared for such an intervention, South Korea and the United States could suffer many serious consequences. The report is, therefore, suggesting the following preparations: 1) information operations campaign in North Korea for overcoming North Korean hatred and fear of the United States and South Korea; 2) Humanitarian aid for improving the lives of North Koreans throughout North Korea promptly and in significant quantities; 3) Prompt ceasefires for conflicts in North Korea between U.S.-South Korean forces and North Korean forces; 4) Elimination of North Korean WMD by the U.S.-South Korean forces in cooperation with China; and 5) Establishment of the policies for property rights in North Korea.

C. Humanities: Translating Korean Literature

Many Asian literature authors are frustrated because of the Nobel Prize for Literature as all of the winners of this prestigious award wrote their literary works in the European languages. A few of East Asian writers including two Japanese and one Chinese won the Prize through their translated versions of the original works in Japanese and Chinese. South Korean government and some private foundations promoted to translate Korean literature into English, French, and even Swedish in order to attract European critics. As far as the Korean literature for foreign audience is concerned, therefore, translation is the key issue.

Brother Anthony, alias An Sonjae in Korean-style name, notes: "It is quite difficult to describe the problems facing translators from languages such as Korean, which use a different system of writing and which are totally unlike English in structure as well as cultural context. From time to time, articles are seen discussing the problems involved in translating Japanese; since Korean is very similar to Japanese as a poly-syllabic agglutinating language employing a huge number of Chinese loan-words, the difficulties sound familiar to us."

Brother Anthony, who translated the famous Kim Chiha ballad Five Bandits into English, indicates that "translation is in some ways easier when working from a language like Korean, which has no articles and no consistent distinction between singulants and plurals, always puts the verb at the end, and does not necessarily give every verb a defined subject. In addition, Korean poetry is often rendered more 'poetic' by the use of suspended clauses and broken grammatical structures. In order to give added semantic depth, recourse may be made to more or less recondite Chinese characters or to archaic or dialect vocabulary from the native language."
When Korean literature, novel or fiction in particular, is dramatized for film or television, the stories are appreciated with the dubbed or subtitled images by the foreign audience. Given that South Korean television dramas have been popular as Hallyu, the Korean Wave, in the global market, the younger generation novel writers are challenging for their literary works on film or TV drama. For instance, the world-popular Hallyu television dramas Jewel in the Palace ‘대장금’ and Heo Jun, the Herb Doctor ‘허준’ are inspired and dramatized from the original Korean herb medicine novel Donguibogam ‘동의보감’ by Lee Eun Sung in 1990. Donguibogam, or Principles and Practice of East Asian Herb Medicine 東醫寶鑑, authored by the late 16th- and early 17th-centuries Korean herb doctor Heo Jun, is registered as UNESCO’s Memory of the World in August 2009. The novel Donguibogam, the déjà vu history literature though, was recreated by the television drama writers, particularly by Kim Young Hyun (1966b) in the Jewel in the Palace, into a ‘literature in history’ which is able to impress not only the Asian but also Middle Eastern and European audiences. We may see successful Korean hybrid literature beyond genres in the global market with contemporary South Korean novel literature in history.

D. Summary

In general, Korean Studies is presented with vast opportunities. In Philippine universities, it is desirable to expand from language courses to the interdisciplinary approach, focusing particularly on three main topics: 1) knowledge sharing of the political-economic experiences of South Korean development, including a comparison with the Philippine case; 2) Studies on North Korea contingency, which is one of the regional security issue in ASEAN Community, particularly in relation to the OFWs in South Korea; and 3) Translating Korean literature, poetry and novels, into English, which are the main sources of the K-pop music and television K-drama, and recruiting talented Filipino literature faculties in the universities.

ENDNOTES

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WHAT TO DO WITH WHAT YOU KNOW:
CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR KOREA STUDIES

Andrea Chloe Wong

In recent years, Area Studies is gaining prominence in academic communities. This is largely due to an increase in globalization that triggered the need to understand other countries---their economies, politics, societies and cultures. Such phenomenon prompted various universities all over the world to offer Area Studies focusing on regions such as Asia, Europe, Africa, and with specialization on countries such as the US, France, China, and Japan among others.

Generally, Area Studies pertains to the study of geographical or cultural regions. As an interdisciplinary field of scholarship, it broadly encompasses various researches both in the social sciences and the humanities. A typical Area studies program involves history, political science, sociology, cultural studies, languages, geography, literature, and other related disciplines that focus on a specific area, country or region.

In the Philippines, Area Studies is gaining ground due to the growing academic interests on different countries and regions. Due to global interconnectivity, cultural exchanges, and international exposures, more and more Filipinos are taking up Area Studies to satisfy their cultural fascination and intellectual inquisitiveness towards other nations. This development has resulted in increasing enrollment in local universities offering courses in International or Area Studies, particularly focused on Asian Studies with major in China, Japan, or Korea.

While the field of Area Studies is slowly securing its institutional value and academic relevance in Philippine higher education, there are several issues that challenge its practicality and usefulness for Filipinos. The major dilemma for most students in this field is identifying the functional application of their degrees that would consequently provide them with employment and career opportunities. Unlike courses in business, engineering, or medicine, the field of Area Studies or International Studies has no definite career track for its graduates primarily because of its multidisciplinary features.

Where to Work

Area Studies can in fact provide several career options precisely because it covers various academic disciplines. There are a number of professional fields that students and graduates can consider where they can put their knowledge in Area Studies or International Relations into good use. These include:
1. Academe: A career as a school teacher or a university professor is a fitting profession to pursue. It provides an opportunity to transfer one’s knowledge to students who also share the same interests in Area Studies. It also offers opportunities for scholarly research that further enhances one’s intellectual expertise on a region or area of specialization. Some of the institutions that offer courses in Area Studies where individuals can pursue an academic career include Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University of the Philippines, and University of Santo Tomas.

2. Policy Analysis/Consultancy: A job working at a research institution or a think tank is also a good opportunity to apply one’s background on Area Studies. Generally, the work in this field involves providing research, analysis, and advisory on international issues related to one’s assigned area and expertise. The goal is to employ interdisciplinary approaches to find long-term solutions to policy-related issues involving foreign affairs, defense and security, or trade and economy. Professionals who work in research institutes build on their area of expertise to be able to effectively provide sound analysis and logical recommendations for the public or private sectors. The work mostly entails producing major publications or organizing conferences, lectures, and policy forums. Some of these research institutions in the Philippines include:

- The Center for International Relations and Strategic Studies (CIRSS) of the Foreign Service Institute focuses on research and studies related to Philippine foreign policy;
- The Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS) provides studies for the formulation of national development policies and carries research on Philippine economic issues in relation to the global economy.
- Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) administers the research program of the National Defense College of the Philippines that focuses on national security matters in the Philippines and in the Asia Pacific.

3. Foreign Service: A career as a diplomat is a long-term employment prospect that essentially involves representing one’s country to the rest of the world. The role of a diplomat is to pursue the varied interests of the country abroad, especially when they live and work outside of the home country. A background on Area Studies or International Studies will be beneficial for a prospective career in the foreign service. The Department of Foreign Affairs recruits prospective Filipino diplomats to represent the Philippines in the international community through a highly-competitive Foreign Service Officers’ exam held annually.
4. International Business: Employment in multinational corporations, financial institutions, law firms, and media organizations is also a suitable career prospect to consider. These fields that cater to an international clientele are particularly increasing in relevance as the world has become a global marketplace. As a result, most types of businesses are seeking to expand their operations abroad. A number of internationally-oriented jobs in the business world involve marketing, sales, finance, operations and strategic planning tailored and applied to a specific region or country. The work may be done in the Philippines; although some positions might require working abroad. Thus, an expertise on a particularly country where international business operations are involved will come in handy.

5. Inter-governmental Organizations: Working in an inter-governmental organization is a good career opportunity to gain a multicultural experience. These organizations are composed of an international staff from its member states that serve in various areas such as research, training, and administration. Some of these inter-governmental organizations include ASEAN with its Secretariat in Jakarta, International Organization for Migration (IOM) with its regional office in Makati, and Asian Development Bank with its headquarters in Ortigas.

6. International Non-Government Organizations: Careers in international non-government or non-profit organizations involve activities to relieve suffering, reduce poverty, protect the environment, or undertake community development. The work in these organizations may include field work to address specific development issues in their various outposts and offices around the world. These international NGOs include the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), World Vision International, Greenpeace, and the World Wide Fund for Nature. A background on an area or country where field work is necessary will certainly be a competitive advantage for those interested in working in international NGOs.

**Important Things to Consider**

Anyone considering a career in any of these fields will definitely make use of their knowledge in Area Studies, whether directly or indirectly and in various degrees. However, in choosing any of these fields, it is also essential to take into account the following:

1. **Develop a Disciplinary Field to Support Your Area of Specialization**
Since Area Studies is a multidisciplinary course, it is recommended to have an expertise on a disciplinary field to build on one’s area of specialization. Ideally, disciplinary fields such as Economics, Law, History, Anthropology or Political Science provide the ground on which Area Studies on the US, China, Japan, or Korea can be built on. For example, a Bachelor’s degree in Journalism can be complemented with a Master’s degree in Asian Studies, to which one can develop a career in the media focusing on issues and events in Southeast Asia. Conversely, an individual cannot be an accomplished expert in a disciplinary field without simultaneously having an area to focus on. Indeed, one cannot be a good historian or economist without also being an area specialist. Essentially, it is easier to evaluate and choose a career if one has both knowledge on a disciplinary field and a background on an area of specialization.

2. Evaluate Your Values and Personality

In choosing a career, one’s values and personality are important factors to consider. In terms of work, values are what give purpose to a job in the eyes of the individual who does it. The effort, commitment, and motivation that a person brings to a job are usually related to one’s values. An aid worker in an international non-government organization will probably regard public service and helping others as his/her chief priority. Meanwhile, a lawyer may generally have material benefits, personal prestige, and job security as his/her values. It is indeed essential to evaluate one’s values in deciding which career path to take.

In addition, personality can also have a strong influence in one’s career choice. It is important to take into account one’s personality and match it with the nature and demands of a particular career. If you are methodical and meticulous, then you may do well as a researcher or analyst. But if you are adaptable and sociable, then you are better off as a diplomat to deal with the range of people and cultures that you will encounter.

Spotlight on Korea Studies

In recent years, there is a growing academic interest on Korea based on an increased number of Filipino students enrolled in Korea-related courses and the numerous research publications about the country. Because of the expansiveness of its cultural diplomacy and the success of its Hallyu, Korean studies have gained academic interests among Filipino students and scholars. This is considered a welcome development for Korea Studies since for a long time, the field of Area Studies in the Philippines is focused on US, China, and Japan.

Because of the extensive relations between the Philippines and South Korea, there are various opportunities for Filipinos to utilize their background on Korea Studies. Aside from pursuing a career in the academe, graduates with
specialization on Korea can explore career opportunities related to tourism, business, foreign service, or development aid. Anyone can be successful in any of this line of work depending on one’s disciplinary field, values, and personality. Essentially, these fields are the areas in which there are frequent activity and constant interaction between the Philippines and South Korea.

For instance, tourism is a vital industry that Filipinos with expertise on Korea can look for various employment opportunities. The Philippines regards South Korea as the most important tourism market garnering the highest record of foreign tourist arrivals to the country. This should open opportunities for Filipinos to work in travel-related industries (such as tour agencies, hotel and restaurants, resorts and spa) that cater to the growing Korean tourists coming to the country. Filipinos with knowledge on Korean business and society can make a reliable market research, while those who are fluent in the Korean language can serve as effective interpreters, tour guides, and hosts to the Korean visitors.

The tourism industry is but one of the many career prospects for Filipinos who specialize on Korea. As bilateral ties flourish, the demand for Filipino specialists on Korea is becoming more evident. There are still untapped opportunities for business and employment that can be identified through constant inquiries in private companies, research institutions, government agencies, and international organizations with affiliation and ties with Korea. Indeed, there is value and utility in undertaking Korea Studies for Filipino scholars and professionals, who can use their knowledge to expand businesses, increase development aid, foster cultural exchanges, and improve people-to-people relations.

Practical Tips to Put into Practice

While there may be opportunities for career and employment, having a background on Korea or any Area Studies may not be enough. To qualify and be effective in any of the professional fields mentioned, you may consider doing the following:

1. Cultivate Professional Skills and Experience

   You may have a suitable academic background, but developing important professional skills related to a chosen career is also critical. Skills such as negotiation and networking will be very handy in business and in the foreign service; while experience in fund-raising activities is necessary when working for non-government organizations. These skills and experience can be acquired and developed over time while on the job, but it also helps when you have already built on these skills and have practiced them in school, internships, or volunteer work.

2. Learn a Language and Aim at Proficiency
Learning a language is certainly essential, if not a prerequisite to be regarded as a Korea or an area specialist. If you are concentrating on Korea or China studies, then learning Hangeul or Mandarin is a must. While studying the language is a necessity, aspiring for proficiency should be the goal. This is important in order to assimilate into the society and culture of the area being studied. This can be achieved through an immersion in the country and through constant use and practice of the language.

3. Visit and Live in Your Area of Specialization

The most effective way to learn a language and study a country is to live and immerse yourself in it. This will give you an opportunity to practice your language skills and provide you with first-hand experience of the nation’s society and culture. There are scholarships available for language training, research exchange, and field work offered by various governments for foreigners specializing in their respective countries. These opportunities are mainly part of their cultural diplomacy to encourage and sustain foreign interests about their nations.

4. Maintain Your Interest about Your Country of Interest

Cultural curiosity and historical fascination about a country are commonly regarded as important motivations behind taking up Korea or Area Studies. Because of this, it is important to sustain this interest by engaging and participating in various activities that focus on one’s country of specialization. For instance, the Korean and Japanese Embassies in the Philippines organize an annual film festival that features movies highlighting their countries’ society and culture. Some foreign embassies in the Philippines sponsor food festivals, art exhibits, and traditional cultural performances of their countries. These events are good opportunities to sustain cultural affinity towards one’s country of interest. Any cultural means or media tool should be maximized in order to connect with your area of specialization and to sustain knowledge and awareness about it.

The Filipino Korea Specialists

These suggestions can be considered in harnessing one’s skills and intellectual toolkit to be effective in any prospective careers as Filipino Korea specialists. It is hoped that, aside from gaining personal and professional benefits, Filipinos undertaking Korea Studies will endeavor to serve as vital conduits for the two countries. This is an important role to undertake, which is expected to foster economic cooperation and cultural understanding. Filipino Korea specialists are in the position to enlighten Filipinos about Korea and at the same time, explain the Philippines to the Koreans. Thus, doing so would require not only the knowledge about Korea, but also a good foundation on the Philippines. This would essentially
serve as the basis to determine and explore areas for bilateral collaboration. Indeed, Filipinos taking up Korea or any other Area Studies can greatly contribute to the Philippines’ strategic conception of other nations and its holistic awareness to the world around it.
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THE ROLE OF OVERSEAS STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS IN PROMOTING BOTTOM-UP, TWO-WAY PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: A CASE STUDY OF PIKO – PINOY ISKOLARS SA KOREA’’ (주필리핀유학생협의회)”1

Sarah Domingo Lipura

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, both the Philippines and South Korea on their respective home fronts, have witnessed new developments in many aspects of their longstanding bilateral relations. Beginning with the formalization of their diplomatic ties in 1949, the two countries have maintained a partnership that may not have been exempt from uncertainties but has always been receptive to opportunities that strengthen their alliance. However, despite the phenomenal increase in their cultural and people-to-people exchanges within the last decade, the contribution of Filipino students in South Korea to this development remains unexplored and research by scholars on the subject continues to be limited if not nil. This gap is addressed by this paper by introducing PIKO (Pinoy Iskolars sa Korea / Filipino Scholars in Korea / 주한필리핀유학생협의회), a non-profit organization committed to the promotion of fellowship and cooperation among Filipino students participating in educational programs in the Republic of Korea (PIKO Constitution), and its role in shaping contemporary Philippines-Korea relations.

Formed in 2006, PIKO’s existence was formerly linked to the need for a support group for Filipinos studying in South Korea, which, at that time, comprised only of a handful of scholars. In a short span of seven years, however, PIKO expanded both in terms of numbers and impact such that its membership increased and its contribution to the Filipino and international community at large has become widely recognized. Owing to its dynamic members, the nature of PIKO’s activities gradually evolved, serving the interests not only of Filipino scholars but also of other migrant groups in Korea, particularly that of multicultural families and international students.

This paper traces such evolution by introducing PIKO’s 5Ps, namely, Profile, Programs/Projects, Partnerships, Problems and Potential. Data and information on each of the 5 components have been secured through key informant interviews mainly with former and incumbent PIKO Presidents and Advisers, who have generously and willingly shared their experience with and insights on the organization. These personal narratives are supported by official organizational documents produced by previous and current PIKO officers, as well as by media articles written on the network or on the Filipino community in South Korea.
As a case study, this paper aims to formally introduce to the body of literature on Korean Studies and Philippines-Korea relations the existence and engagement of the Filipino student community in South Korea represented by PIKO. However, it must be emphasized at the outset that this paper is less to be perceived as a product of individual research but more as a collective output by the members that make up the organization, whose role in bringing the Philippines to Korea, and Korea to the Philippines, proves to be not only important but also inevitable. While a preliminary attempt, this study hopes to enthuse more profound investigation and examination of the potential of student movements overseas to promote a two-way, bottom-up public diplomacy between their home and host countries through the example and actual contributions of the Pinoy Iskolars sa Korea (PIKO).

UP CLOSE WITH PIKO: FROM EXISTENCE TO ENGAGEMENT

P1: Profile

Foundation

PIKO was formed in 2006, when Korea, as a study destination, was not yet as popular as it is at present among Filipino students. The initial purpose for which it was organized was to serve as a support group for Filipino scholars, who then comprised a minority within the larger Filipino community in South Korea. The formation of PIKO, which began as an informal weekend or holiday gathering was initiated by two Seoul National University (SNU) scholars, Dr. Dennis Gomez and Mr. Roy Consulta. The endeavors of Dr. Gomez and Mr. Consulta were strongly supported by a Filipino compatriot from the private sector, Mr. Eusebio Tañala, who has been generously funding many of PIKO’s activities since its establishment. Based on its founding purpose, PIKO became a venue for camaraderie for and among Filipino students, who yearned for a family away from home—a much needed ingredient for adjusting to a new social and academic environment.

The initial efforts to build a network of Filipino students and academicians based in South Korea likewise addressed the absence of an umbrella organization that caters to student needs and interests much like the association for Filipino migrant workers. Such efforts were recognized by the Philippine Embassy, who expressed acquiescence to the intention and full support for the endeavor. By mid-2006, the founding members had already endeavored to draft a bylaw as a serious gesture of establishing an official student organization in Korea. Likewise, around the same period, a unanimous decision on the naming of the network has been reached with piko, a local terminology for a traditional Filipino game known to Filipino youth, as the choice. In order to depict connection with Korea, the term
was innovatively converted into the acronym, PIKO, to mean ‘Pinoy Iskolars sa Korea’, literally translated in English as ‘Filipino Scholars in Korea’.

Within the founding members, an Interim Steering Committee was set up that enabled the General Assembly (GA) to be officially convened in December of the same year. The 1st PIKO GA was attended by around 50 participants from various universities in South Korea, who also witnessed the 1st PIKO elections.

**Commitment, Mission and Objectives**

The PIKO Constitution and By-Laws, created in 2006 and revised in 2011, officially refers to PIKO as “a non-profit organization committed to the promotion of fellowship and cooperation among Filipino students participating in educational programs in the Republic of Korea.” Guided by the principles of compliance and obedience to rules and regulations governing the education of Filipino students in Korea, PIKO, as stipulated in the same Constitution, commits itself to “assisting Filipino students adjust in Korea; encouraging social and intellectual exchange; instilling a firm sense of nationalism and service to the country; promoting positive Filipino identity, culture and tourism to the international community; maintaining close ties in the Philippines, especially those who have plans to study in Korea; and serving as an accurate source of information about Korea in general and educational opportunities and limitations in the said country in particular.” The diversification of PIKO’s engagement through the years depicts its realization of the above commitment through the dedication and hard work of its members.

**Membership**

PIKO welcomes all Filipino students – undergraduate, graduate, training, exchange students – who are enrolled in any educational program in South Korea. Majority of PIKO members are scholars who have received diverse study grants from various institutions and programs, including Korea Foundation, Global Korea Scholarship, Korea Research Foundation, National Institute for International Education, and the Academy of Korean Studies, to name a few. A number of scholarships have also been acquired through bilateral university agreements between partner schools and institutes in the Philippines and South Korea.

While PIKO Constitution provides a definite guideline on formal membership, the said parameter is not strictly applied and membership, in actuality, is voluntary. Intent to join by any Filipino student is thus not declined but a membership fee of 10,000won is required. The collection of this fee is less for the purpose of formalizing membership but more for fundraising and sustaining PIKO activities. New members are also encouraged to attend the induction ceremony held at the opening of spring and summer semesters. Except for these minimal requirements, membership in PIKO remains flexible and no rule prohibits students
from joining any of its program or project. In fact, even those who have not paid the membership fee or who have not been inducted as official members are welcome to join PIKO’s diverse activities.

From 2006 onwards, PIKO’s membership base expanded as more and more Filipinos look to South Korea for educational opportunities. The increase in membership may be greatly attributed to the leadership, vigor and dynamism of PIKO officers, who work for the network as plain volunteers. Since its foundation in 2006, 6 dedicated Filipino scholar-leaders have led the organization to be where it is now:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name/Year</th>
<th>University in Korea</th>
<th>Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Denniz Gomez ('06-'07)</td>
<td>Seoul National University</td>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Maria Regina Arquiza ('07-'09)</td>
<td>Ewha Womans University</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Danvir Mark Farnazo ('09-'10)</td>
<td>Myongji University</td>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ramon Christian Eusebio ('10-'11)</td>
<td>Myongji University</td>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Eva Marie Wang ('11-end of '13)</td>
<td>Seoul National University</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ron Laranjo (start of '14-present)</td>
<td>Korea University</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 1: List of PIKO Presidents (2006 to 2014)

Through the leadership and accomplishments of these scholars, PIKO evolved from being an exclusive Filipino student’s group to becoming an active member of the larger international community in South Korea, whose influence in international education reforms in the country is widely acknowledged at present. In fact, due to the increase in its membership, the network also designated ‘PIKO Chapters‘ or representatives in selected universities and regions where there is substantial Filipino student population.

It is important to note, however, as in the case of membership, Term of Office of officers, depends largely on two main factors: (1) period of study in Korea; and (2) willingness to volunteer, which is a variable of both availability and interest. In addition, officers are technically nominated rather than elected and these officers usually come from the pool of active members who attend PIKO activities on a regular basis or who spearhead PIKO projects. This process may be perceived partly a result of the fact that only one name per position comes out when calls for nominations are opened, mainly because officers are expected to deliver unpaid
outputs for the organization. In the absence of a contender, elections become unnecessary and sole nominees automatically take on the task. On the other hand, non-opposition to nominees may also be interpreted as a gesture of solidarity, if not support.

In addition to PIKO officers, the organization has likewise been recognized for the achievements of its members and alumni not only for their excellence in their own fields of scholarships but also for their contribution to the Philippines and Philippine society. Among the PIKO members and alumni with notable achievements include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Achievement/Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Arquiza,</td>
<td>Ms. Arquiza has won and been nominated for various awards for her work and advocacy for the Filipino migrant community in South Korea such as the Award of Excellence from the Philippine Embassy, Radio Journalism Award from the Commission of Filipino Overseas, Global Ambassador Scholarship Award and Banaag Nominee Award. For four years, while studying at Ewha Womans University, she also worked as broadcast journalist, scriptwriter, researcher and translator for the Woongjin Foundation’s Multicultural Family Broadcast Digital Radio Kiss Station for Filipino Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina Marie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cayetano,</td>
<td>Dr. Mylene Cayetano is a balik-bayan awardee of the Department of Science and Technology. She obtained her PhD in Environmental Science and Engineering from Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology and is presently working as Air Quality Specialist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mylene</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Choresca,</td>
<td>Dr. Casiano Choresca is a graduate of Seoul National University, where he earned his PhD degree. He worked in the SNU laboratory for the first cloned dog in the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casiano</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Combalicer,</td>
<td>Dr. Edward Combalicer earned his PhD in Forest Environmental Sciences from Seoul National University. He was awarded by the National Academy of Science and Technology as one of the 2013 Outstanding Young Scientists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Maningat,</td>
<td>Ms. Cherish Maningat is the first and only foreign musical theater actress in south Korea. She studied at the Korean National University of Arts and was a lead actress in the musical dedicated to multicultural families called ‘Arirang Fantasy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Santos,</td>
<td>Mr. Ramil Santos is a Filipino astronaut, who was one of the candidates for the AXE Apollo Program. He received his training from KAIST – Korea Advanced Institute for Science and Technology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 2: Notable PIKO Alumni**
The flexibility of membership and the impermanent migratory status of students, however, prove to be a major stumbling block in determining the official population of Filipino students all over South Korea through a census. As students come and go, monitoring and mapping of students’ location and demographics become all the more difficult and challenging. This is because both embassies – the Philippine Embassy in Seoul and the Korean Embassy in Manila – do not maintain an official database of incoming and outgoing Filipino scholars. The events in early to mid-2013 highlighted this need when North Korea barraged the South with daily threats of nuclear war. Through the initiative of then PIKO officers, an online census was conducted and an Excel master list was created and uploaded to the official PIKO Facebook page. Based on the April 2013 file, there were more than 220 students studying in more than 50 universities/colleges/institutes, and residing in around 14 regions in South Korea. The database, which may be unofficial and incomplete, nonetheless serves as an important step for establishing an official mechanism and tool for documentation, which is necessary not only for census but also for assuring the safety of PIKO members and of the Filipino student population in Korea, in general.

P2: Programs and Projects

According to Eva Wang (2013), PIKO activities, as they have evolved, may be divided by objectives into 2 major categories, Internal and External. Internal activities are those implemented for the specific welfare of Filipino students while external activities are those that target contributions to both the Filipino and international communities in South Korea. Another distinguishing factor for the two types of activities is regularity of implementation. For instance, while majority of internal activities have already been institutionalized as regular programs, many of PIKO’s external activities in the past were organized as special projects, the planning of which was largely circumstantial and influenced by availability of resources.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal</th>
<th>External</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening of Support System</td>
<td>Involvement in and Contribution to the Filipino Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fostering Academic Exchange and Development</td>
<td>Involvement in and Contribution to the International Community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3: Types of PIKO Activities based on Objectives**

*Internal Programs*

Inasmuch as the Filipino student population is diverse in terms of fields of study, PIKO tries to spearhead a wide-range of activities reflective of such
diversity, encouraging and attracting members and volunteers from different academic backgrounds and disciplines. Guided by its aims to strengthen the support system within the group and promote academic development among the members, the following are PIKO’s core internal activities organized and implemented on a regular basis:

General Assembly, Induction Ceremony and Regional Visits
Convened at the opening of every semester, the PIKO GA is the network’s main venue for officially welcoming and reuniting with its new and old members, respectively. During the GA, reporting on PIKO’s past, present and future activities and induction of new members take place. The GA is duplicated in the regions or PIKO chapters through the regional visits by officers and designated representatives.

Freshmen Orientation
This activity is aimed at assisting newcomers adjust to Korean life. Onsite seminars are also conducted by PIKO for Filipino students who have just arrived in Korea to share with them information relevant to their sojourn in Korea.

Campus Tour and Related Excursions
Campus tours are organized for the purpose of introducing Korean university life to Filipino scholars as well as building networks between and among Filipino and Korean students from different universities.

Excursions and picnics are likewise organized for Filipino students, members and non-members alike. While the main objective is for simple bonding, rest and recreation (R&R), tours also aim to introduce to students places to visit in Korea while extending them the opportunity to form new acquaintances.

One of the special excursions organized by PIKO is the tour to the DMZ – Demilitarized Zone, an area significant not only to Koreans but also to Filipinos who participated in the Korean War. This is to enable students to trace first-hand the footsteps of the Filipino soldiers who fought for Korea’s independence and democracy and commemorate their heroism. An official tour to the National Assembly has also been organized by PIKO a number of times with the endorsement and assistance of the office of the Filipino-Korean representative at the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea, Ms. Jasmine Lee.

Lecture Series and Academic Colloquium
PIKO spearheaded a lecture series to update students on real issues pervading both Filipino and Korean societies by learning from the talks of experts. The first
lecture was organized in May 2012 at the ASEAN-Korea Centre with the theme ‘The Role of Filipinos in International Education’.

Organized as a platform for presenting and promoting research in both Natural and Social Sciences, PIKO likewise launched its 1st scientific colloquium last November 2012. More than 10 oral and poster presentations have been delivered on various topics by PIKO scholars. The colloquium has paved way to not only promote scholarship but also to provide an opportunity for Filipino students to share their research outputs and exchange ideas with fellow scholars, both of which are important for knowledge generation.

Recognition Day for Graduates
At the end of every semester, PIKO, together with the Philippine Embassy, organizes a special assembly to recognize graduates and scholars with notable achievements. Filipino students who have excelled and shown ‘Tatak Pinoy’ (Filipino mark) in their respective fields are given the ‘Gawad Gilas’ award. The said award, which to a great extent institutionalizes the provision of merit-based incentives, also aims to encourage students to perform well in their studies and become the country’s good will ambassadors.

External Projects
In addition to its regular programs, PIKO’s special projects are becoming more and more increasingly linked to the larger campaign that promotes international education and multiculturalism in South Korea. Through this aspect PIKO’s existence has transformed into active engagement in community building not only with and among Filipino students but also with and among Korea-based Filipinos from different sectors; members of the international community, particularly international students; and multicultural groups and organizations. Most importantly, PIKO’s involvement in various projects has been oriented towards raising awareness on Filipino culture and enriching contribution to Filipino society as revealed by the following initiatives:

PIKO Gives Back – Outreach Project
This program mainly involves fundraising initiatives for Filipinos both in Korea and in the Philippines in need of financial assistance. For example, PIKO spearheaded and participated in various fundraising drives for victims of calamities (e.g. typhoons Yolanda, Sendong, Ondoy, Pedring, etc.), most notable of which was its Yolanda campaign launched in November 2013.

According to the November 15, 2013-Donation Count Report of PIKO, the organization raised KRW1,326,140 (approximately USD1200) from its ‘Sing for the Philippines: Benefit Concert for Typhoon Haiyan Victims’. PIKO also worked side
by side with the Philippine Embassy in Seoul and other Filipino organizations not only in mobilizing support but also in coordinating and communicating with relevant offices and institutions based in the Philippines on how collections may be properly channeled to victims. In addition to the proceeds of the concert, PIKO was likewise able to secure contributions from Korean and international partners both at the institutional and individual levels. In its November 17, 2013-Report, a total of KRW1,813,000 (approx. USD1700) was specified as on-hand collection from diverse sources and KRW603,230 (approx USD500) was accounted as the total donation from Hyehwa Catholic Church. On November 20, 2013, PIKO similarly received an acknowledgment letter from the Association of Social and Health Development Advocates for its donation amounting to USD7000.

Another notable initiative under this program is PIKO’s campaign for KOPINO (Korean-Filipino) children. Recognizing the existence of multicultural families emerging from Korean-Filipino union, PIKO has integrated in its yearly program Christmas Outreach for KOPINOS. PIKO members who come home for Christmas break allot a schedule for a visit to KOPINO foundation where they organize activities for the children. The role of PIKO alumni is likewise instrumental in this aspect in that they usually sponsor the food and other gift items for the KOPINO beneficiaries.

‘Promote Pinoy’

At the core of PIKO’s mission is to promote the Philippines and its rich culture. Its efforts to realize this mission are revealed by many of its projects that include showcasing Filipino talent and tradition, which involves various Filipino and international organizations across different sectors in Korea. These activities have been categorized under the umbrella theme ‘Promote Pinoy’, which includes participation in cultural festivals and programs organized inside and outside of universities.

Among the notable activities belonging to this category are the ‘Ginoo at Binibining Kalinangan’ (translated in English as Mr. and Ms. Culture) and ‘Himig Pasko, Tinig Pinoy’ (Filipino Christmas Song Festival). According to the report of Ramon Christian Eusebio (2011), the latter was organized to “celebrate the togetherness and bonding of the Filipino community…with 24 contestants serenading the assembly with original Filipino Christmas songs.” It is laudable to note that PIKO, for this particular event, was able to mobilize almost KRW3,000,000 (approximately USD3000) worth of sponsorship from both Filipino and Korean companies such as Philippine Airlines, Woongjin Foundation and Seoul Global Center, among others. The former event, on the other hand, served as a venue for introducing Filipino role models worth emulating and recognizing.
Dialogue with the Ministry of Science, Education and Technology

PIKO, as an international student’s group, was given the opportunity to engage the officials of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) and the National Institute of International Education (NIIED) last May 2012 in a dialogue on global education and international student’s welfare in Korea. Held at the Multipurpose Hall of the Philippine Embassy in Seoul, the said dialogue elevated the status of PIKO as a legitimate representative of the international student’s community in South Korea, where it brought forth relevant policy inputs aimed at mutually enhancing Korea’s performance in internationalizing its higher education and promoting a meaningful educational experience for international students. This dialogue has been a critical step for addressing the problems experienced by foreign scholars in Korea and for drawing lessons on how the Korean government can set up structures and institutions that will make it a truly global study destination.

‘Tara Na’ (Let’s Go) Amazing Race: Finding the Philippines in Seoul

Eva Wang identified this distinctive activity as one of several PIKO projects that drew most interest not only among PIKO members but also among international students. As the title suggests, this activity was organized for the purpose of introducing the Philippines to the international youth sector in Seoul. While this may be viewed as being part and parcel of official efforts to promote Korea by the Seoul Metropolitan government – one of the main sponsors and co-organizers – it likewise showcased the active participation of Filipino students in raising awareness about multiculturalism in general and Filipino culture in particular. At the same time, it revealed the strong ties of the Philippines and South Korea in many aspects of their alliance, taking into account the visibility of the former in the latter’s capital. This ‘amazing race’ contest gathered students and professionals from different countries, who were given the opportunity not only to experience Filipino culture but also to form and build friendships with Filipinos.

Aside from the above projects, it is also important to note that PIKO has represented the Filipino student group in official functions of the Philippine Embassy. For instance, special gatherings hosted by the Embassy for state visits by Philippine Presidents and meetings in Seoul by government officials were actively participated in by PIKO delegates. The invitation of PIKO to these functions has therefore not only solidified the presence of Filipino students as major stakeholders in the larger Filipino community in Korea but has also called for its greater role in bringing the Philippines to Korea and Filipino pride to the country. Finally, it must be emphasized that PIKO’s programs and projects are not limited to those identified above. Rather, PIKO’s activities continue to evolve through time, owing to its members’ creativity and ingenuity.
P3: Partnerships

Inasmuch as PIKO’s activities diversified through the years, its network also expanded considerably, with numerous partnerships formed along the way. Among PIKO’s notable Korean and Filipino partners for its past activities were the Seoul Metropolitan Government; Seoul Global Center; Korea International Students Association; Children’s Museum and National Folk Museum; Korea National Commission for UNESCO; ASEAN-Korea Center; Hyehwa Catholic Church; KOPINO Children’s Association in the Philippines; and Filipino EPS Workers Association. The nature of these organizations also suggests what types of advocacy PIKO pursued through its interaction with each of them.

PIKO’s collaboration with the Philippine Embassy in South Korea, on the other hand proves to be its most important and strongest partnership. From the beginning, the Embassy has not only rallied full support for but has also encouraged PIKO’s formation. In fact, Embassy officials have been identified to serve as PIKO’s adviser since its founding up to the present, making the link between the two more organic and solid.

According to First Secretary and Consul Roderico Atienza, “the Philippine Embassy is involved in PIKO activities on various levels, starting from legal and advisory to public relations, substantive and material support…this essentially means the Embassy allows its name and seal to be used in jointly organized or conceptualized events. This assistance is manifested in official letters of endorsement or recommendation addressed to local government or commercial entities for activities or events PIKO has elected to take part in or undertake as a project” (2013).

Material support by the Embassy has also been crucial in the continuity of PIKO’s programs and this is mainly equated to its provision of space for PIKO’s meetings and events. For instance, the Multipurpose Hall of the Embassy has been the usual venue for PIKO’s GAs and internal programs inasmuch as the office of the PIKO adviser has been used as the fixed PIKO secretariat address; this also serves as the storage room for the organization’s belongings. Similarly, the Embassy has contributed greatly to PIKO’s media mileage and public awareness by disseminating widely PIKO’s press releases and announcements in its own social networking platforms and website.

At the core of PIKO’s solid partnership with the Embassy is the earnest support of the Philippine Ambassador himself. Former Ambassador Luis T. Cruz has played a significant role in bringing PIKO to where it is now. All forms of assistance PIKO secured from the Embassy in the past would not have been extended without the approval of the Ambassador. In fact, it was also during the term of Ambassador Cruz when PIKO had been able to diversify and expand its
programs, as well as establish formal connections with Korean organizations from different sectors – government, academe and business.

In addition to its contribution to PIKO’s expansion and evolution through the years, the Embassy’s trust in PIKO’s own advocacies has proven to be the most vital. For instance, “the Ambassador and [Embassy] officers lent official support to PIKO’s efforts to lobby for the passage at the National Assembly of a student welfare law standardizing scholarship benefits for foreign students. The student welfare bill is a standard talking point for the Embassy during meetings with Korean and Filipino legislators [for the purpose of obtaining support and informing Korean government officials]” (Atienza 2013).

These diverse forms of collaboration between the Embassy and PIKO only confirm their mutual trust, respect and support for each other as real partners that champion the cause of the Filipino community in South Korea.

P4: Problems

From the challenges enumerated by the key interviewees of this case study, this research has identified 3 main types of problems encountered by PIKO in general and its Filipino student-members in particular, namely, organizational, structural and personal.

Organizational

Organizational problems are identified by this research as those faced by PIKO as an entity and as an association of students, which has been institutionalized by a legal code represented by its bylaws and which runs regular programs for its members.

Membership Challenges

Former PIKO Presidents have identified various membership challenges confronted by the organization. The first one arises from the fact that students come and go, making it extremely difficult to address problems that come along with temporary and short-term membership. This results not only in the absence of an official PIKO database that charts members’ demographics and information but also in the complexity of reaching out to many other Filipino students based in regions outside Seoul. The second problem, which is connected to the first one, is referred to by this study as ‘volunteer fatigue’. While PIKO has been run by dynamic student leaders through the years, the deliverables have been tough, demanding and worst, unpaid. The strength of PIKO’s volunteerism is challenged by this and by the fact that it has not been easy to tap other members to be active in PIKO activities. Moreover, because active members tend to be the same people, the
organization becomes crippled when they leave as their program of study in Korea
ends. This end-of-term, end-of-service problem proves to be a hindrance although
efforts to institutionalize the PIKO alumni network are being pursued to address
this obstacle. Finally, diversity has been both a challenge and opportunity. The
challenge it brings lies at the heart of drawing common and collective interest
among members who come from different backgrounds. Former presidents attest
that planning a project, let alone encouraging members to join, has been one of the
most daunting tasks given the varied interests of members.

Lack of Resources

As in any organization, PIKO also suffers from lack of resources or more
appropriately, lack of regular source of funding, apart from the random
KRW10,000 collection from aspiring members. Fundraising initiatives have been
arbitrary and most of all, predominantly dictated by circumstances and immediate
needs.

Nonetheless, this study argues that these two main problems emerge from the
peculiar nature of PIKO as an organization in that on the one hand, it follows
institutional guidelines enshrined in its bylaws but on the other, it operates, in
actuality, as a loose network.

Structural

Structural problems are referred to as those arising mainly from the absence of
or inadequacy of policy mechanisms and institutions that address student welfare
both in the Philippines and in Korea. The following have been identified as the
main challenges experienced by students that inevitably requires legal action
through official legislation on international student’s welfare:

Absence of Official Student Database

The Philippine Embassy in South Korea, the Korean Embassy in the
Philippines and even the Commission on Filipino Workers do not have and/or
cannot provide information even on the official count of Filipino students in South
Korea. This, in fact, is directly linked to the membership challenges of PIKO as an
organization. More importantly, however, this absence of database only reflects the
marginalization of students as official members of migrant communities abroad.
This should be addressed by inevitably changing the mindset towards scholars,
who are now becoming more and more globally oriented and drawn towards
study-abroad programs.
**Inadequate Scholarship Benefits**

In addition to minimal allowance, low stipend and absence of medical insurance coverage attached to a number of scholarship programs, complaints on the non-transparency of scholarship details are likewise common. This not only makes students uninformed of their privileges but also exposes them to maltreatment.

**Absence of Mechanism that Protects International Student’s Welfare**

While challenges related to welfare results mainly from difference in academic culture, there is no umbrella structure that protects or at least address the needs and grievances by foreign scholars. Complaints under this category include extremely long laboratory hours, discrimination, copyright issues in research and demanding tasks/requirements by professors, not to mention very rigid teacher-student hierarchy. All of these exacerbate international students’ vulnerability to all sorts of prejudice.

**Absence of Pre-Departure Orientation**

Korea-bound Filipino scholars are not required or at least encouraged to attend a pre-departure briefing. In contrast to Filipino workers, there is also no organization in the Philippines that is officially designated to conduct this orientation. The absence of this mechanism contributes to the growing problems experienced by students on-site, which also poses serious implications on Korea’s own international education campaign.

**Personal**

Personal problems are mainly a variable of difficulty in adjusting in a foreign country, aggravated by financial difficulties experienced by those whose scholarship benefits prove to be insufficient. Specifically, cultural difference and language barrier have been identified as common sources of this type of problem. The lack of proficiency in Korean has proven to be a major obstacle for Filipino students, many of whom study under programs that do not include training in the language. According to the Consul Atienza, “it seems that the numbers of Korean-language speakers are not growing in line with the growth of the numbers of Filipino students overall in Korea. This contrasts significantly with Japanese language, where generations of students since the 1960s have ensured that Japanese-speaking technocrats and business people abound in the government and private sector in the Philippines. The problem on the students’ fluency or knowledge in Korean affects not only post-graduation job prospects but also the ability of PIKO members to network and win support for their cause” (2013).
While these problems are predominantly personal, they may be attributed to the absence of official pre-departure orientation for Korea-bound Filipino scholars necessary to equip them with basic knowledge on Korea and rationalize their expectations.

**P5: Potential**

According to Danvir Farnazo, the evolution of PIKO as an organization may be divided into three stages, namely, ‘Existence and Identity Formation’ from 2006 to 2009; ‘Integration and Participation in the Larger Filipino Community in South Korea’ from 2009-2011; and ‘Integration and Participation in the Larger International Community in South Korea’ from 2011 to present. In less than a decade, this successful evolution and transformation of PIKO not only into an active Filipino student organization but also into a legitimate stakeholder in political decisions for migrant communities has demonstrated its potential to lead a new type of student-led, bottom-up and mutually beneficial public diplomacy between the Philippines and South Korea.

This section highlights such potential in terms of generating mutual gains along diverse aspects of public diplomacy, namely academic, cultural, and social and other forms of bilateral exchanges between the two countries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects of Public Diplomacy</th>
<th>Gains for the Philippines</th>
<th>Gains for South Korea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Academic Exchanges</strong></td>
<td>-Filipino students gain opportunities for academic advancement &lt;br&gt;-Filipino students become recognized as global advocates of international education</td>
<td>-Promotion of Korea as a study destination among foreign/Filipino students &lt;br&gt;-Policy inputs are secured as to which parameters would raise the bar for international education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Exchanges</strong></td>
<td>-Increased awareness of Filipino culture among Korean and international students</td>
<td>-Advocacy on multiculturalism is promoted and enhanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Branding</strong></td>
<td>-Positive image of Filipinos as active and responsible members of the migrant community in Korea is promoted</td>
<td>-Friendly image among migrant communities is projected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Capital and Networking</strong></td>
<td>-Clout on lobbying for diverse incentives for Filipino migrants</td>
<td>-Rally support from Filipinos for diverse policies affecting migrant communities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Gains Generated by PIKO for both the Philippines and South Korea

| Expansion of network and partnerships with Korean organizations, including private companies | Expansion of network and partnerships with Filipino organizations and institutions |

CONCLUSION

This case study has presented two emerging realities that may be drawn from PIKO’s experience, namely academic ‘bayanihan’, and two-way, bottom-up public diplomacy:

**Academic Bayanihan**

Bayanihan generally refers to nation-building and community-building. What PIKO has proven through the years is precisely its potential to stir movements around issues and advocacies that are relevant to the person, the community and the nation. As exemplified by its initiatives, PIKO was able to elevate issues that supposedly originated from personal concerns into communal concerns and for some, even into something that resembles national agenda. ‘Academic Bayanihan’, a term first encountered by the researcher from Eva Wang, highlights the sense of solidarity among Filipinos in achieving a collective goal with students and their grounding on academic ethos at the core.

**Two-Way, Bottom-Up Public Diplomacy**

Related to ‘academic bayanihan’, with the expansion and diversification of its activities, PIKO is gradually making a history of new public diplomacy – one that is championed by students. While public diplomacy is, after all, about people-to-people exchanges, what is remarkable in PIKO’s experience is the mutuality in the exchange that it promotes – a two-way, win-win mechanism for both Filipinos and Koreans, and for both the Philippines and South Korea. This research, in fact, contends that this specific component draws recognition and support from both official Philippine and Korean government entities for PIKO’s programs and projects.

Given the two emerging potentials above, this pioneer study on PIKO therefore strongly recommends that a more in-depth investigation of the role of students overseas in ushering more effective mechanisms for mutual exchange in this era of globalization be pursued. Addressing this need also necessitates the recognition of student mobility and greater role in migrant communities abroad as opposed to lingering perceptions that they occupy but marginal and minor roles. Specifically, this study encourages further research on how existing problems encountered by Filipino scholars in Korea may be structurally resolved and how
available resources may be optimized to make such potentials of bringing the Philippines to Korea, and Korea to the Philippines through ‘academic bayanihan’ and student-led diplomacy less a dream but more a reality.

ENDNOTES

1 NOTE: Majority of the data presented in this paper were gathered between November and December 2013 and obtained mainly from former PIKO Officers and current PIKO President during the said period.
2 See Appendix B
3 See Appendices C and D
4 See Appendix E
5 See Appendix E
6 Filipinos from all over South Korea go to Hyehwa Catholic Church on Sundays for worship and assembly with other Filipinos. The location is also famous for Filipino market and bazaar on Sundays.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SOURCES

Key Interviewees (2013)
PIKO Past Presidents, Selected Founding Members and Advisers, namely:
- Arquiza, Maria Regina (Former President)
- Atienza, Roderico (First Secretary, Consul and Incumbent PIKO Adviser)
- Consulta, Roy (Founding Vice-President)
- Eusebio, Ramon Christian (Former President)
- Farnazo, Danvir Mark (Former President)
- Fausto, Mylo (Former Cultural Attache and PIKO Adviser)
- Gomez, Dennis (Founding President)
- Wang, Eva Marie (Former President)

Documents Reviewed
- PIKO Constitution
- PIKO Facebook Page and Documents Uploaded on the Page for Access by Members
- PIKO Organizational Materials and Powerpoint Presentations
- Ulat ng Pangulo by Former Presidents, specifically by Ramon Christian Eusebio
## APPENDIX B: PIKO LOGO

## APPENDIX C: LIST OF ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS IN KOREA WITH FILIPINO STUDENTS

| 1 Catholic University of Daegu                   | 31 Keimyung University                  |
| 2 Catholic University of Daehu                   | 32 Keukdong University                   |
| 3 Catholic University of Korea                   | 33 Kongju National University            |
| 4 Chonbuk National University                    | 34 Konkuk University                     |
| 5 Chonnam National University                    | 35 Korea Advance Institute of Science and Technology |
| 6 Chosun University                              | 36 Korea University                      |
| 7 Chung Ang University                           | 37 Korea University of Technology and Education |
| 8 Chungbuk National University                   | 38 Korean National University of Arts    |
| 9 Chungnam National University                   | 39 Kyung Hee University                  |
| 10 Daewon University College                     | 40 Kyungpook National University         |
| 11 Dankook University                            | 41 Myongji University                    |
| 12 Dong-A University                            | 42 Postech University                    |
| 13 Ewha Womans University                        | 43 Pukyeong University                   |
| 14 Far East University                           | 44 Sangmyung University                  |
| 15 Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology  | 45 Sejong University                     |
| 16 Gyeidong Elementary School                   | 46 Seoul National University             |
| 17 Gyeongnan Provincial Geochang College         | 47 Seoul National University of Science and Technology |
| 18 Gyeongsang National University                | 48 Sogang University                     |
| 19 Hanbat National University                    | 49 Sookmyung Women’s University          |
| 20 Handong National University                   | 50 Soonchunhyang University              |
| 21 Hanguk University                             | 51 Sunchunhyang University               |
| 22 Hanguk University of Foreign Studies          | 52 Soongsil University                   |
| 23 Hankyong National University                 | 53 Sungkonghoe University               |
| 24 Hannam University                             | 54 Sungkyunkwan University              |
| 25 Inha University                              |                                           |
| 26 Inje University                              |                                           |
| 27 Jeonbuk University                           |                                           |

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### APPENDIX D: LIST OF CITIES/REGIONS IN SOUTH KOREA WHERE FILIPINO STUDENTS RESIDE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jeonju University</th>
<th>Kangnam University</th>
<th>Kangwon National University</th>
<th>University of Science and Technology</th>
<th>University of Seoul</th>
<th>Wonwang University</th>
<th>Yeungnam University</th>
<th>Yonsei University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### APPENDIX E: PIKO ACTIVITIES MATRIX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTERNAL</th>
<th>EXTERNAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strengthening of Support System</strong></td>
<td>General Assembly, Induction Ceremony and Regional Visits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freshmen Orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Campus Tour and Related Excursions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fostering Academic Development</strong></td>
<td>Lecture Series and Academic Colloquium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recognition Day for Graduates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Involvement in and Contribution to the Filipino Community</strong></td>
<td>PIKO Gives Back – Outreach Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Involvement in and Contribution to the International Community</strong></td>
<td>Promote ‘Pinoy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dialogue with the Ministry of Science, Education and Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Tara Na’ (Let’s Go) Amazing Race: Finding the Philippines in Seoul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EUN-GAP “EDWARD” CHANG (President, Korean Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines, President and CEO, Asia Pacific Express Corporation) attended the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Seoul, Korea. He finished his graduate studies at the same university majoring in International Economics. He is currently attending the University of Asia and the Pacific-School of Management under the Strategic Business and Economics program. He is an advisor to the National Unification Advisory Council under the Office of the President-Republic of Korea. He was awarded with the prestigious Korea National Industrial Medal by South Korea President Lee Myung Bak on March 16, 2011. Email: ceo@apex.ph
THE ROLE OF KOREAN COMMUNITY FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF KOREAN STUDIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

Eun-gap Chang

Introduction

Over the years, the bilateral relationship of South Korea and the Philippines have grown and matured to a deeper level from mere diplomatic ties to people-to-people relations. The evident inflow of Koreans to the Philippines and likewise Filipinos to Korea has created a closer and stronger relationship between the two countries. This presentation sought to recognize the importance of the activities and programs of the emerging Korean Community here in the Philippines for more zealous and deep study of Korea.

Even though there is the growing interest of Filipinos in knowing the rich culture as well as the thriving economy of Korea, there is still the need for students to further enrich and expose their knowledge of Korea as a country. With the various Korean institutions and organizations established years ago like that of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea, the Korean Cultural Center, the United Korean Community Association, the Korean Tourism Organization and the Korean Chamber of Commerce, these have continuously taken part in giving and helping Filipino students to have a more extensive, strong and sustained knowledge of Korean Studies in the Philippines. They likewise promote and provide interaction and awareness of the up-to-date issues of Korea in the Philippines so that this emerging study will continue to progress and accommodate the needs of both students and teachers in this particular field.

South Korea-Philippines Bilateral Relations

In March 1949, the Philippines started to lay its diplomatic relations with South Korea. When the Korean War occurred in 15 June 1950, there were about 7,420 soldiers from the Philippines sent to Korea to fight alongside South Koreans against North Koreans. In those five years of stay in South Korea, Filipino soldiers were then able to marry some of the South Korean women and then moved back to the Philippines. This group of Filipino troops was called the Philippine Expeditionary Forces to Korea or PEFTOK which lost its 116 members and had 304 wounded and 59 soldiers missing in action. In addition, both South Korea and the Philippines established its consulates and embassies in 1954 and 1958 respectively.
This part of history laid the foundations for the strong friendship being shared by the Philippines and South Korea today. Before, the Korean community here in the Philippines had little influence on Philippine society. Up until the late 1980s, more and more Korean entities are being established in the Philippines. This rapid increase of companies started the need for Korean organizations and associations to be created in the country. From having mere diplomatic and formal ties between the two countries, it is now expanding to a greater economic and cultural relationship. Just last 17 October 2013, Philippine President Benigno Aquino III had a state visit with President Park, Geun-hye of the Republic of Korea. This clearly showed that both countries are giving importance in furthering its strong relationship with each other.

When the Korean Wave started in 1990s, the Philippines’ interest on Korean culture also intensified. Likewise, when Korean citizens migrated and visited the Philippines more often, they also were able to bring their culture and behavior to the Philippines.

As seen in the table below, more and more Korean nationals are visiting the Philippines from 2003-July 2013 even toppling the figures of the previous top foreign visitors. In 2012, the number of Korean visitors reached 1 million which surpassed the expected figure of the Department of Tourism.

**TABLE 1. Visitor Arrivals by Country of Residence 2003-August 2013**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Korea</th>
<th>USA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>322,896</td>
<td>303,867</td>
<td>387,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>382,307</td>
<td>378,602</td>
<td>478,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>415,456</td>
<td>489,465</td>
<td>528,493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>421,808</td>
<td>572,133</td>
<td>567,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>395,012</td>
<td>653,310</td>
<td>578,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>359,306</td>
<td>611,629</td>
<td>578,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>324,980</td>
<td>497,936</td>
<td>582,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>358,744</td>
<td>740,622</td>
<td>600,165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>375,496</td>
<td>925,204</td>
<td>624,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>412,474</td>
<td>1,031,155</td>
<td>652,626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan-Jul 2013</td>
<td>245,817</td>
<td><strong>706,998</strong></td>
<td>417,904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Department of Tourism, 2013)

There are also various reasons why foreign nationals visit the Philippines. It has been noted that aside from studying, Koreans also go to the country mainly to spend their holidays and business trips. Table 2 presents the actual figures of the purpose of Korean nationals in visiting the Philippines.
TABLE 2. Purpose of Travel of Korean Visitor Arrivals from 2009-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>No. of Visitors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holiday</td>
<td>1,697,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>174,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Mission</td>
<td>1,635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convention</td>
<td>11,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visit Friends &amp; Relatives</td>
<td>81,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incentive Travel</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health/Medical Reason</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education/Studies</td>
<td>33,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>92,148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Reported</td>
<td>1,094,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>3,187,597</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(National Statistical Coordination Board, 2013)

Moreover, there is no doubt that the Foreign Direct Investment commitments are showing substantial contributions in 2010 which in that year alone was worth PhP 31.2 billion. In the third quarter of 2011, Korea has again become one of the top performing countries for FDI alongside Japan and the US, contributing 18.0% or PhP 4.5 billion. In addition, the bilateral trade volume between the Philippines and Korea is expected to reach records high. In 2011, Korea has become the fifth largest trading partner of the Philippines amounting to $10.9 billion. With the entry into force of the ASEA-Korea Free Trade Agreement, it has been forecasted that trade figures will further improve benefitting both countries.

Role of the Korean Community for Korean Studies in the Philippines

With all the increasing inflow of Korean visitors, immigrants, and businesses in the Philippines, there is likewise the increase in interest of studying Korea as a subject here in the country. Learning the cultural, economic and political structure of Korea is not that easy to understand when Korean Studies as a field is just emerging. Therefore, organizations and institutions were formed to help Filipinos better understand and comprehend things about Korea.

The Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Philippines together with the Korean Cultural Center and some organizations such as the United Korean Community Association, the Korea Tourism Organization, and the Korean Chamber of Commerce Philippines have provided various activities, programs and services in order to promote and support Korean culture and economy in the Philippines.
Embassy of the Republic of Korea in the Republic of the Philippines

Since its establishment, the Embassy of the Republic of Korea has been creating significant and thriving bilateral relations with the Republic of the Philippines. According to Korean Ambassador Lee, Hyuk, “The Embassy has been exerting utmost efforts not only to foster the greater welfare of the Korean community in the country but more so to further strengthen friendly and cooperative relations with the Filipinos.”

The Embassy initiates several activities and businesses in the Philippines that would enhance such economic, cultural and political relationship of both countries. For example, the Republic of Korea continuously provides relief assistance to the victims of the calamities as well as the agreed Official Development Assistance (ODA) for the implementation of projects across the Philippines, conducts a number of forum for Philippines-Korea Partnership, celebrates various cooperation and bilateral friendship, and also provides scholarships to Filipino students who will be studying in Korea, which then shows how strong and successful are these two countries in terms of bilateral ties.

Korean Cultural Center

The Korean Cultural Center (KCC) in the Philippines aims to promote the Korean culture to the Filipinos through stimulating programs, projects and events that they offer. According to KCC, “It envisions a wider range of Filipinos enjoying Korean culture as it strives to foster a stronger cultural exchange between the two countries.” As stated in their Mission Statement, KCC would like to: 1. Deepen the understanding and appreciation of Korean culture through diverse programs and events; and 2. Foster more cultural exchange between Philippines and Korea.

KCC offers regular and special programs such as Korean language class, traditional flute, music and dance, K-pop song and dance, Taekwondo, and cooking classes. They also organize various events like the Korean Film Festival and Exhibits on Korean culture.

United Korean Community Association

On the other hand, the United Korean Community Association (UKCA) seeks to give awareness about the customs and traditions of both countries as well as understanding about the Korean Wave which is gaining vast attention throughout the world. Also, UKCA intends to nurture and strengthen the friendship between Koreans and Filipinos by promoting, encouraging and fostering stronger and more active fellowship, cooperation and friendly relations among its members.
Korea Tourism Organization

The Korea Tourism Organization (KTO), targets to disseminate information and at the same time educate Filipinos of the fun and inspiring experiences that they could get from Korea. In addition, KTO presents and promotes Korea through its progressive and active joining of travel expos and trade shows. Just last August 2013, KTO organized the Korea Travel Seminar which invited various representatives from travel agencies, airlines, Korea land operators and a number of government organizations from Korea which promote new tourism attractions in Korea.

Korean Chamber of Commerce Philippines

Lastly, the Korean Chamber of Commerce Philippines (KCCP) is a non-profit organization that is dedicated to promote investments to the Philippines and to protect Korean Business industries in the Philippines. KCCP’s objectives are to 1. Promote and develop trade, commerce and industries by and between the Republic of Korea with the Republic of the Philippines; and 2. Foster closer relations and friendship between Koreans and the people of the Philippines. Given these activities, KCCP encourages greater Korean investments to be established in the Philippines and likewise give assistance to Koreans and Filipinos as well on the up-to-date issues and improvements of the Philippines in relation to Korean investments.

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&page=7>
SYNTHESIS

It is a privilege for me to synthesize what has properly transpired in the past one and a half days. I know a five-minute synthesis will not of course give justice to how our speakers, presenters, and commentators discussed the flawed yet fascinating connections between global flows and local circuits which fuel contemporary life.

From Dr. Armstrong’s keynote speech, which to my mind, rightly invites us to approach the theme for this symposium – Trending Now: Emerging Issues in Korean Studies – he, in fact, encourages us to keep in mind globalization as the condition of possibility of this symposium as well as the knowledge production that he had been engaged in and what brought us here.

The presenters in the different panels and the discussion that ensued were amazingly in consonance with our theme, which highlights trends, and could be read as dominant themes or topics conditioned by hegemonic but taken for granted frameworks that have made globalization common place despite unequal relations of many regions in the world. Other germane and potent concepts put emphasis on emerging issues that have been clearly crystallized in the debates that took place after every presentation as well as the presenters’ reflexive ways of exposing their established contradictions in their own studies.

If I can be candid about how I felt while listening to the various exchanges, I kind of felt unsettled or even a bit nervous when presenters or commentators stake a claim or value judgment about Korean society. And I would catch myself telling my very own self or telling my own self off or scolding myself – it’s like a neurotic thing you know – and reminding myself that this is how we are as academics. Our very own strong arguments and ideas are, in fact, the only testament to our openness to critique. I am humbled by every presenter’s capability to render herself vulnerable before an audience. And for me, this kind of disposition is what ties the different sessions to the main topic.

From inward looking and reflexive discourses of Korean studies to approaching Philippine history through Korean media; from working women in Korea to the acculturation of students in the Philippines; from the Korean war and the divide between communism and capitalism to contemporary multiplicities in visual arts and Korean postmodern literature as global literature; from indices of democracy
crafted in the Philippines to measure democracy in Korea and to political analysis of chaebols and cronies through historical collaboration in theater production between Philippines and Korea — this symposium has demonstrated what hegemonic multilateral or bilateral institutions have so far failed in delivering or failed to deliver: the rigor of social investigation we eye for relational framework in catalyzing a given phenomenon and the boldness and openness to subject these to public scrutiny. The construction of democracy based on open deliberation is a very significant component of the spirit of internationalism. It will be disappointing to lead our debates aside or to stop thinking about the ideas that don’t sit well or the ones that we have already embraced. And so I encourage everyone to pursue these discussions beyond the conference.

I would very much urge the scholars involved in this symposium to expand the themes for the next PKSS, which I’m sure is happening in the next two years, and I imagine for that particular symposium a more expanded and focused discussion, for example a symposium on the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea would be interesting. Also, a closer link or a closer look at Filipino-Korean cultural resources whose seeds are already present in this symposium because this can provide rich and radical insights on the various facets on Filipino-Korean relations whose societies have very interesting geopolitical relationships with the super power, the United States. And these two have in common a great history of great struggle among its peoples. And I believe that we are all very inspired to be a part of this struggle in our very own fields. So thank you very much and congratulations to all the participants.

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APPENDIX A. PROFILE OF REACTORS

CELESTINA P. BONCAN, Ph.D. received her doctorate in History from the University of the Philippines, Diliman, in 1994. She is co-author of the book The Filipino Saga: History as Social Change. She received a Fulbright scholarship in 2002 to conduct research at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. and a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship in 2003 to conduct research at the Rockefeller Archive Center in New York. She is the former president of the Philippine Historical Association, the honor and professional association of historians of the Philippines. She is the former chief of the Research, Publications and Heraldry Division of the National Historical Commission of the Philippines. At present, she is an Associate Professor at the College of Arts and Sciences of the University of the Philippines-Manila. Email: celesbon@yahoo.com

CAROLYN I. SOBRITCHEA, Ph.D. is an internationally-recognized gender expert on the Philippines. She is professor emeritus of Philippine Studies at the Asian Center in UP Diliman. She served as director of the Center for Women's Studies of the University of the Philippines (UP) System from 2000-2007. She has written and lectured extensively on reproductive health and development, migration and HIV/AIDS, women’s human rights and gender and microfinance. She has also served as resource person in several United Nations committee meeting on women. Email: carolyn.sobritchea@gmail.com

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AURORA ROXAS-LIM is a Lecturer at the Chinese Studies Program of the Ateneo de Manila University. She a former Dean of the University of the Philippines-Diliman Asian Center and used to teach Southeast Asian Studies. Her extensive research has been published in various local and international journals. The books published by her include "The evidence of ceramics as an aid in understanding the pattern of trade in the Philippines and Southeast Asia" (1987) and "Southeast Asian Art and Culture: Ideas, Forms, and Societies" (2006). Email: roxaslim@yahoo.com

DR. JOSÉ V. ABUEVA was a visiting professor at the City University of New York (1965-66) and Yale University (1968-69). He worked with the United Nations University in Tokyo and New York (1977-87). He also served as President of the University of the Philippines (1987-93). He founded Kalayaan College in 2000 and serves as its president. The books he authored include Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography; Charter Change for Good Governance: Towards a Federal Republic of the Philippines with a Parliamentary Government; Reinventing the University of the Philippines as the National University: Learning for Truth, Leadership, and Social Transformation; Towards A Nonkilling Filipino Society; and Let’s Build a Nonkilling Philippines. Email: pepevabueva@gmail.com

DR. DANILO DE LA ROSA REYES is Professor at the National College of Public Administration and Governance of the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City where he has served as a full time tenured faculty for the past 25 years. Dr. Reyes holds a Bachelor of Arts degree major in Political Science and Master and Doctorate degrees in Public Administration, all from the University of the Philippines. He also received a Diploma in Managing the Development of Public Sector Activities from the University of Aston in Birmingham, United Kingdom, and did fellowship studies at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of the Syracuse University, New York, United States of America. Email: ynnad409@yahoo.com
CLOD MARLAN KRISTER V. YAMBao is a graduate of Art Studies both BA and MA at the University of the Philippines, Diliman. He is also an Assistant Professor of Art Studies at the University of the Philippines, College of Arts and Letters, Dept. of Art Studies. His academic interests include Philippine contemporary art history, critical theory and art theory, Philippine cultural studies, affect and queer studies, globalization studies and performance studies. Part of his thesis was internationally published entitled “Philippine Installation Art from 1970 to 2008 as the Discourse of Philippine Postcolonial Avant-Garde.” (2011) at Journal of Southeast Asian Studies. E-mail: yayoo_com@yahoo.com

DR. ARCHIE B. RESOS finished his master’s degree in Asian Studies from the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman in 2008 with a thesis titled “From Dictatorship to Democracy (1980s-2005): Tracing The Changing Contours of South Korean Political Landscape.” He has a Ph.D. in history at the University of Santo Tomas with a dissertation titled “Charting a New Diplomatic Direction: The Foreign Policy of Ferdinand Marcos with the Socialist Countries.” He is teaching diplomatic history at the University of Santo Tomas, Faculty of Arts and Letters, Manila, Philippines. Email: archieresos@yahoo.com

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APPENDIX B. BACKGROUND OF PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (UPCIS)

BRIEF HISTORY

The University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD) Center for International Studies (CIS) was established in October 2000, envisioned to generate knowledge about the countries of the world and their interrelated cultures and ecological, social, economic, political, ideological, and gender systems. It aims to enable Filipino students to be aware of and appreciate their multi-cultural origins and to offer them more knowledge to meaningfully enrich their own development as well as a deeper understanding of the complex and diverse world toward more peaceful co-existence among peoples and nations of the world. Thus, its mandate is to be a center of scholarship toward such an objective, by developing country and topic specialists particularly in Asia, the Americas, and Europe.

MAIN THRUST

1. To conduct multi/interdisciplinary and cross-cultural collaborative research on Asia, the Americas and Europe. CIS brings together diverse scholars, cultural practitioners, artists, and visionaries of the world, to interact, to do collaborative researches, and to obtain grants, fellowships, and scholarships, etc.

2. To offer general education, elective, and special topics courses on Asia, the Americas, and Europe and create courses toward the development of an academic program in Global Studies.
3. To train and develop experts/specialists on specific countries of the world who can respond to academic, national, and international needs.

4. To disseminate information on Asia, the Americas, and Europe through its resource collection, research and creative works, and extension activities.

**ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE**

The CIS is directly under the Office of the UP Diliman Chancellor. It is headed by a Director. The overall direction and policies of the CIS are provided by a Coordinating Council chaired by the UP Diliman Chancellor. It is composed of the Deans of the following units, whose composition ensures the multi-disciplinal nature of the CIS: Asian Center (AC), College of Architecture (CA), College of Arts and Letters (CAL), College of Business Administration (CBA), College of Engineering (CE), College of Fine Arts (CFA), College of Law (CL), College of Music (CM), College of Science (CS), College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP), School of Economics (SE), School of Labor and Industrial Relations (SOLAIR).

Presently, the CIS has three divisions or groupings – East and Southeast Asia, the Americas, and Europe. The determination of these three divisions is based on the existing expertise of professors in the different disciplinal faculties of U.P. Diliman. Each division is headed by a coordinator. CIS functions as an academic institution through its affiliate faculty from diverse disciplines and areas of study, who participate in the creation of curricula, courses and programs, and who conduct CIS-generated team teaching, research, and extension activities.

**CONTACT DETAILS**

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THE KOREA FOUNDATION

In today’s 21st century, as a result of such trends as globalization, democratization, and IT advancement, the world has come to focus intently on “soft power”. Soft power is now widely regarded as a valuable diplomatic resource, which can help a country to advance its diplomatic interests among the global community, on a consistent and sustainable basis.

In line with these trends, Korea intends to strongly emphasize public diplomacy as a vital policy tool to achieve its goal of being recognized as a “trustworthy middle power” of the international arena. Thus, intensified efforts are required, more than ever before, to make Korea properly known worldwide and to fulfil the obligations befitting our national standing and strength.

Since its launch in December 1991, the Korea Foundation has steadily grown into Korea’s leading promoter of public diplomacy through its implementation of international exchanges and various soft power initiatives. In particular, diverse efforts have been made to spread the genuine charm of Korea around the world by promoting Korean Studies education, engaging in cultural and personnel exchanges, and supporting a variety of Korea-related media projects.

Over the years, the Foundation has provided support for the Korean Studies programs at some 150 universities in 50 countries, and the development of Korean art galleries at 28 prestigious museums. In addition, the Foundation has invited about 1,300 leading figures from 70 countries to Korea each year so that these guests can learn about Korea from firsthand experiences. Through these efforts, the Foundation has boosted understanding of Korea abroad, along with enhancing Korea’s global image among the world’s countries and peoples.

Notwithstanding its various achievements, the Foundation will put forth its utmost efforts to promote the peace and sustainable development of the International community by focusing attention on global issues and sharing our valuable knowledge and diverse cultural sensibilities with the world, based on the 20-year experiences and innovative creativity that we have accumulated as the foremost advocate of Korea’s public diplomacy.

Especially, the Foundation intends to strengthen the cooperative relationships with its diverse partners, within and outside of Korea, so that even more people can participate in international exchange activities. New projects will be developed
and supported in order for people to discover and develop their own capabilities in the process of taking part in international exchange projects, while two-way cultural exchange will also be expanded to help maximize the related benefits.

In essence, the Foundation’s mission is to “make all people of the global village know about and understand Korea so that they can naturally become friends with Korea”. The Foundation is thus, doing its best to become a world-class international exchange institution that is respected by all people worldwide for its public diplomacy efforts, related to academic, cultural and personnel exchange.

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(Ms. Eunshil Jeong, Program Assistant, Korean Studies Department)
The Korean Cultural Center in the Philippines opened its doors to the public last July 19, 2011, offering especially-designed programs and projects to fit the interests of the Filipino people. It is geared, through the events and classes that the Center has opened to the public, towards deepening the understanding and appreciation of the Korean culture, as well as to promote a much more active people-to-people exchange between Korea and the Philippines.

The Center has actively been coordinating with Philippine art and culture sector, including both government and nongovernment organizations as well as private ones. It has been providing an interactive space for the Filipinos who want to learn more beyond Kimchi and Koreanovelas. For the past years of its operations, the Center has provided a diverse range of programs which include class offerings in
the Korean language, Danso or the traditional flute, traditional music and dance, K-Pop song and dance, Taekwondo, and cooking classes.

Apart from these programs, it has hosted several cultural exchange programs as per its mandate, beginning with the Philippine-Korea Literary Festival which saw a convergence between the literary traditions of both nations. In the field of visual arts, the Center has annually been holding the Philippine-Korean Visual Arts Exhibit in pursuit of stronger bilateral relations in the field of arts.

The Center has also been holding the annual Korean Film Festival and Hallyu Fest, among many of its events. The Korean Film Festival, the flagship project of the Center, has been providing the Filipinos a window to the film industry of Korea while the Hallyu Fest has been bringing in popular acts ranging from traditional performances to contemporary ones.

As a cultural institution, it also houses a library with almost 4,200 media and book titles that include Korean variety of books and magazines (e.g. language, literature, arts, etc), films, TV series and K-Pop albums and concerts. The Center also takes pride in its multi-purpose area, dubbed as the Korean Wave Hall, and is where classes for dance and taekwondo are held, as well as special events such as film screenings, demonstrations and special performances.

Situated in the heart of a highly developed area, KCC welcomes interested Filipino and Korean individuals, groups and institutions to inquire, visit and link with its vision of promoting Korean culture across the Philippines.

KOREAN CULTURAL CENTER IN THE PHILIPPINES

2nd Floor, Mancor Corporate Center,
32nd Street, Bonifacio Global City,
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Philippines

Contact numbers: (02) 555-1711 / 1709 / 1707 (Fax)
Email: kccphil@gmail.com
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The **ASIAN CENTER**

University of the Philippines Diliman

is offering the following Graduate Programs in Asian Studies and Philippine Studies

**MASTER OF ARTS IN ASIAN STUDIES**

**MASTER IN ASIAN STUDIES**

**MASTER OF ARTS IN PHILIPPINE STUDIES**

**MASTER IN PHILIPPINE STUDIES**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN PHILIPPINE STUDIES**

The Asian Studies program offers interdisciplinary courses that lead to MA Degrees that are designed to enable students to acquire a deep understanding and a wide perspective of Asian culture-areas. Broad theoretical and practical issues and topics affecting Asian societies and cultures are examined from Philippine and other perspectives applying various methodologies. Students are required to specialize in any of the following areas: Northeast Asia (China, Japan, Korea), South Asia, Southeast Asia, and West Asia.

The Philippine Studies programs are designed to nurture experts with a broad and integrated comprehension of Filipino society and culture, politics and governance, and socio-economic development. MA students are required to choose among three areas of specialization: 1) Philippine socio-cultural studies, 2) Philippine external relations, and 3) Philippine development studies. The Asian Center serves as the permanent secretariat of the Tri-College Ph.D. Philippine Studies Program which it jointly offers with the College of Arts and Letters and College of Social Sciences and Philosophy of UP Diliman. It seeks to problematize the distinct identity of Filipinos, produce specialists capable of identifying and studying Philippine problems using multi- and interdisciplinary approaches and methodologies, expose students to different disciplinal perspectives and impart a holistic approach to Philippine problems.

*Scholarships, travel and other grants are available for full time and qualified students.*

**DEADLINE FOR APPLICATION:**

- August 31 for First Semester admission;
- March 31 for Second Semester admission

For inquiries, please call: 9203549 or 9818500 local 3579

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GT-Toyota Asian Cultural Center, Magsaysay Ave, cor. Katipunan Ave, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City 1101, Metro Manila, Phils. Telephone: 9203549, 9818500 local 3579 Website: http://ac upd.edu.ph/, Email: asianctr@upd.edu.ph
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MA. CRISANTA N. FLORES, Ph.D. has been teaching at the University of the Philippines Diliman since 1987. She is based at the College of Arts and Letters and an Affiliate Faculty of the Center for International Studies and the Asian Center. She has published books on Philippine culture and articles on Korean popular culture. She has received awards for her academic publications and was recognized by her native city of San Carlos in Pangasinan as its Outstanding Citizen in the field of Culture. Email: marotflores@gmail.com

JAY-AR M. IGNÓ is an Instructor of Linguistics and Korean Language in the Department of Linguistics, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines – Diliman. He is a graduate of the BA Linguistics program and an MA Linguistics candidate in the same department. He was the Philippine Representative at the 2012 Special Invitational Training for Korean Language Teachers Abroad in Daejeon, South Korea on July 1 – July 14, 2012. He was also a Korean Government Scholar under the Cultural Partner Initiative program of the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports of Korea and studied Korean language in Kyung Hee University, Seoul, South Korea on September 4, 2007 – March 4, 2008. He also serves as the current Coordinator for the Korean Language and Cultural Events of the Department of Linguistics. He is also a free-lance Document Translator and Interpreter for English, Filipino and Korean languages. Email: jay117ar@gmail.com

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LOUISE ANNE D. MARCELINO is instructor of Art Studies at University of the Philippines-Diliman. She is faculty affiliate at the Center for International Studies (AY 2013-14). She was a researcher at the Jorge B. Vargas Museum (2008-2012). In 2011, she was selected as research fellow at the National Museum of Contemporary Art in Korea. At present, she is finishing her thesis as part of the MA program of Museum Studies in DAS-UP Diliman. Email: louise.marcelino@gmail.com

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