

博士論文

Encountering Freedom of Travel: A Social History of Global Imagination and Governmentality
in South Korea in the (Post-) Cold War Conjunction of the 1980s

(「移動の自由」に逢着して：1980年代(脱)冷戦過程の韓国における
グローバル想像と統治性の社会史)

キム ジュン

KIM Jiyoan

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論文の内容の要旨

論文題目 Encountering Freedom of Travel: A Social History of Global Imagination and Governmentality in South Korea in the (Post-) Cold War Conjunction of the 1980s

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氏名 KIM Jiyoon

In the currents of liberalization, opening, democratization, and internationalization that suddenly and simultaneously became feasible and visible in South Korea in the 1980s, the new experience of overseas travel functioned as a medium that connected the enclosed nation of South Korea with the outside world. This study examines the globalization process of South Korea during the 1980s, specifically from 1980 to 1992, by historicizing and contextualizing the idea of global imagination and the experience of global mobility. This period of the Cold War to the post-Cold War transition in the South Korean context was a conjuncture of ‘globalizing Korea’ where the Cold War was not clearly divided from the post-Cold War period and where the genealogy of globalization and mobility intersected and entwined. By bringing the geopolitical and domestic changes that occurred into focus, this study investigates how the global imagination and global mobility were entangled with each other in the response to the problematic of the freedom of mobility.

This study is grounded in the genealogical perspective, and it aims to fill gaps in the narrative of mobility and global imagination in the history of globalization in South Korea. Anchored in the historical and sociological perspective, this interdisciplinary research mainly employs document analyses of various texts. The units of analysis consist

of four major cases: first, the global imaginaries that spread in daily social and cultural space to examine the overall mapping of globality and mobility during the 1980s; second, the reinvention of ‘overseas travel’ as a method of internationalizing mobility, with a specific focus on concepts and measures, status and qualifications, procedures, education and promotion; third, a detailed education program for overseas travelers and educational films as a means of governing and disciplining outbound travelers; and, finally, a study trip program to socialist countries around the ‘end of the Cold War’ and the travelers’ practices.

The internal dynamics showed that global imaginations were embedded in the institutionalization of mobility in the given power-subject relations as its context and the mechanism of securitization operating in this project of intervening mobility while negotiating and contesting with the atmosphere of the growing freedom of mobility and leisure. This intervention was not merely targeted at traditional mobility management of the border and legal status but was imposed on the invisible aspects of global imaginations of the others and the world in building imaginary boundaries. The cultural politics of post-Cold War anti-communism were activated in this process of globalization, which eventually settled down as the post-Cold War global imagination and the normalization of going abroad. Through the institutionalization of mobility, the notions of ‘sending’ and ‘dispatch’ changed to ‘going’ and ‘advancing’ as the subject converted from the state-government to the people (‘I’). The prototype of the actively internationalizing self in the rapidly changing world (namely, ‘Korean in the World’) was established and promoted. Herein, the notion of ‘internationalization’ was, in other words, the reconstruction process of state nationalism, and the authoritarian nation-state system actively intervened in this process and summoned “nation/people” (*kukmin*) as a new actor of globalization, i.e. the nationalized cosmopolitan subject.

Also, as consequences of the nationalistic plan of globalization, these processes of mobility management as the securitization of the global imagination reveal how (regulating) mobility was enmeshed with (controlling) imagination. Herein, the securitization of imagination was found in two dimensions: the securitization of mobility as imagining mobility as insecure and subversive and the securitization of the world/others as dangerous and unknown. The securitization combined with the traditional ideological geography was expanded beyond the domestic border along with opening the border physically, increasing mobility and overseas travel, and the liberalization plan, which resulted in the new construction of the subject of security called 'overseas traveler'. Otherness was reconstructed as the product of contingency from the transforming international geopolitics as well as the power-effect of ongoing anticommunism governmentality. The ideological and politicized Cold War geography was contested and reconstructed through the experience of the post-socialist contact zone, which brought the de-securitization of the world and re-securitization of the significant other: North Korea.

The cultural politics of mobility in the case of overseas travel in South Korea during the 1980s shows the social imagination and reactions to the emerging idea of the freedom of movement in a broader implication. In other words, this conjuncture was a threshold in which the desire for the right to move and travel and for freedom in general approached the liminal stage. The global imagination appeared as the effect of power/governmentality to deal with the emerging idea of freedom and the right to move and travel. The cases this study engage with touch on the question of how the freedom of movement is encountered in changing domestic and international political circumstances. In examining this encounter, this study shows the ways of intervention not only in the status and qualification (the freedom to move and travel), but also in the imagination (the freedom to think and imagine). The management of freedom herein was not merely applied

to the individual's expansion of rights but was closely entangled with maintaining the social imagination of the nation-state as an anticommunist liberal democracy in the post-colonial division system by justifying the inclusion and exclusion of us and others. This globalization process in the practices of mobility was an attempt to build the boundary between inside and outside, a case in point of globalization made from the inside. It was not a passive reception or localizing process of global forces but an endogenously internationalizing project to situate new subjectivity and otherness and actively set the boundaries of territory in imagined ways.

Dedication

To my parents, sister, and teachers for their support and encouragement at every moment,
with all my respect and most sincere gratitude

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Abbreviations

ANSP	Agency for National Security Planning
CCCS	Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies
FKI	Federation of Korean Industries
ISTC	International Student Travel Confederation
KAL	Korean Air Lines
KBS	Korean Broadcasting Service
KCIA	Korean Central Intelligence Agency
KCTI	Korea Culture & Tourism Institute
KISES	Korea International Student Exchange Society
KNTO	Korea National Tourism Organization
KOBACO	Korea Broadcast Advertising Corporation
KOTRA	Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency
KTO	Korea Tourism Organization
KTV	Korea TV
MBC	Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation
MCPI	Ministry of Culture and Public Information
MOT	Ministry of Transportation
NPT	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty
OAS	Organization of American States
PKU	Peking University
PTC	<i>Policing the Crisis (1978)</i>
WTO	World Tourism Organization

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background: Problematizing Travel to Foreign Worlds in the Changing (Post-)Cold War Times

A Society of Going Abroad and the Emergence of Overseas Travel in the 1980s

Many South Korean people go abroad. The number of people from South Korea who went abroad for any purpose was 28,695,983 in 2018, more than half of the total population of 51,606,633 as of 2018.¹ After 1987, the number of South Korean outbound departures continued to increase, except for the periods of economic/financial crisis from 1997 to 1998 and from 2008 to 2009 when the domestic economy was extremely unstable. The largest growth rate was 67.3% in 1989, as overseas travel was ‘fully liberalized’ as of January 1989 (KTO 2018). The history of going abroad, in particular its rapid growth and impact on South Korean society, is unique and extraordinary when compared to other countries, particularly considering its relatively short history.²

This research sheds light on the history of overseas travel in South Korea during the 1980s, specifically from 1980 to 1992 (abbreviated as the ‘1980s’ in this thesis), and elucidates a conjunctural stage of accelerating globalization and its characteristics in South Korea. It was a time when the mass tourism industry expanded with the strong support of domestic leisure policy that was started in the mid-1970s by the authoritarian military government.³ In addition to the domestic leisure policy, freedom of overseas travel was

¹Korea Tourism Organization 2018; Korean Statistical Information Service 2019

²South Korea was the fourth biggest country for sending their citizens abroad following Israel, Ireland, and Italy as of 2014 (Kim HM 2014, 18). South Korea sent 15% of its population to foreign countries, and the number of overseas Koreans in total was seven million as of 2013 (Kim JS 2013, 101).

³This included a number of dimensions such as income growth, investment in tourism infrastructure, the increased number of tourism agencies by lowering the ban, the passport and visa policy, the change in labor conditions (i.e. paid-vacation and the six-day

officially announced with the “Liberalization (Act) of Overseas Travel”(haeoe yōhaeng jayuhwa joch’i) in 1981 and implemented with the first issue of tourism passports in 1983, though it took six more years to apply to most South Korean people when it was finally “fully liberalized” in 1989. This ‘event’ symbolizes the freedom of going abroad, but there is more to be discovered and discussed on this conjuncture that complicates the history of globalization in South Korea. The 1980s as a conjuncture of globalization in South Korea was a time when overseas travel officially appeared both as an emerging social phenomenon as well as a policy initiative. It was a specific conjuncture wherein the freedom as well as ‘the sense of freedom’ of overseas travel was expanded along with the growing aspiration for actual travel experiences and going abroad. It should be noted that the concurrent de-regulation and liberalization of overseas travel were actually promoted under the authoritarian regulation and the discipline of controlling mobility. Mobility was institutionalized, and the global imagination was expanded by the mediation of slowly increasing overseas experience.

This change was part of the transforming international atmosphere of that time. It was a time when the preexisting bi-polar Cold War divide was entering a new post-Cold War era, and South Korean foreign relations with post-socialist societies were impacted by this dramatic change. The awkward coexistence of the regulation and de-regulation of mobility overlapped with the temporal experience of the so-called transitional period to the post-Cold War period. This geopolitical background was intertwined with the cultural politics of overseas travel in South Korea. Located in the crossroads of rapid transition, ‘overseas travel’ in the 1980s reflected not only the direction of domestic leisure and cultural policy but also its entanglement with international geopolitical conditions.

workweek), and the increasing desire for free time as indicators of the development of tourism and leisure.

The Scope of the Dissertation

This study started from a broad question of how the globalization was experienced and what going abroad meant for the people in South Korea during the 1980s. This research analyzes the societal experience of overseas travel in South Korean society with a historical perspective on the ‘long 1980s’ (1980–1992), approaching it as a window to understanding Korea’s globalization from the cultural politics of mobility. The bodily experience of the overseas traveler is regarded as that of an intercultural and “global” intermediary of the outside world and an actor of social change. This research also sheds light on the conditions of overseas travel, mainly the disciplinary power and geopolitical circumstances that shaped the experiences of foreign travel and going abroad. To elucidate this process and its dynamics, this study specifically looks at the conceptualization and discourses of overseas travel, the institutionalization practices of mobility, the structure of global imagination and its re-arrangement, and pioneering travel experiences in the transitional period. The cases in point in this research are the overall mapping of the global imagination of the 1980s, the liberalization policy of overseas travel and the overseas expansion plan for national people, an education program for overseas travelers, and a study trip to socialist societies. Through these cases, I examine how ‘the world’ was socially imagined, designed, and changed, and I identify the role of the others and otherness in that imagination and the location of self in that cognitive mapping. In this particular historical context, this investigation analyzes how the ideological imagination of the Cold War world transformed and how the newly internationalized subject was in negotiation with post-ideological subjectivity.

To rephrase, this research will elaborate on the specificity of global imagination and global mobility of the 1980s. Problematizing traveling foreign worlds in the changing (post-)Cold War era, this study explores the connection between the structure of feeling of

globality and the experience of mobility; in other words, how mobility (and the regulation of mobility) engaged with imagination (and the control of imagination) as a key problematic to include when we discuss Korea's globalization.⁴

1.2. Rebooting the Question of the 1980s and New Periodization of Globalization

Historiography of South Korea in the 1980s

1980 is a recent past that is transforming from 'memory' to 'history' (Opening remark of the special exhibition "Look of the 1980s", National Museum of Korean Contemporary History 2017)

In the historiography of contemporary Korea, both in academia and media, the histories of socio-cultural change and detailed experience during the 1980s have been written on through two main accounts: 1) domestic political upheavals and democratization and 2) economic growth and the arrival of consumer society. In regard to each, the prevalent historiography and criticisms were efforts to interpret a peculiar phase, the so-called "80s", as 'the compartmentalized 1980s'. Sometimes as a cliché, this period is often described as a turbulent era in which transformation and socio-political conflicts were strenuous and concentrated, mainly focusing on domestic turmoil. When the narratives are centered on

⁴In this study, I approach globalization as a "process" of the formation and dissemination of the global imagination in a society in that the idea of "the global" was being formed and internalized among the coevals. Robertson (1992) explains the globalization process under the influence of the notion of the civilization process of Norbert Elias in explaining the process of the growing global consciousness and the dynamic of selves, national societies, the world system of societies, and humankind. In a similar vein of global consciousness or awareness as a way of understanding the globalization process, this research utilizes "global imagination" as its conceptual framework, emphasizing that the 'imaginary' and 'imagined' dimensions are relatively less concerned as theoretical and empirical problematics. The terminology I use is also a strategic choice. To point out the 'imaginary' and 'imagined' dimension of 'the global' and to analyze its structure and historical formation, one may develop alternativeness as a political attitude to critically think of globalization also as an "imagined globalization" (Canclini 2014). In this way, individuals can be involved in such a work of imagination to consider the world and otherness differently. On the other hand, 'imaginaries' in the plural sense or 'the imaginary' as a noun refer to more concrete form(s) or ideas that are imagined, represented, and sometimes materialized or visualized. As to the work of imagination and the theory of imagination, I will explain more in detail in the following section.

political or economic aspects, the 1980s as a political realm are clarified as an extension of the violent military dictatorship that would change from the 1990s with democratization. In the economic sense, this period is framed as an era of transition in which the outcomes of developmentalism from the 1960s became visible and continued to the burgeoning of mass culture and consumer society in the 1990s. As such, in these explanations, the 1970s are rarely connected to the 1990s, and the 1980s remain inconsistent and ambivalent betwixt and between two conflicting interpretations: a vestige of the past and a signal of the sprouting future. This study explains this contradiction, or paradox, by connecting the divided decades before and after the 1980s through the frame of globality. Thereby, it intends to bring a cogent continuity that overcomes the segmented explication of that time and space, i.e. the divide before the 1970s and after the 1990s. In doing so, it is expected to broaden and deepen the understanding of the modern and contemporary history of Korea.⁵

Recent scholarship is increasingly investigating the history of the 1980s from a socio-cultural perspective.⁶ Not only academic attention but also a number of public exhibitions have drawn the attention of the public to the life and culture of the 1980s.⁷

⁵In explaining the meaning of bringing the idea of continuity into historical research with the case of Japanese internationalism, Abel (2015, 3-4) states, “To trace continuities is not to suggest that nothing changed during the war. But a focus on the evolution of internationalist thinking in Japan can help to assess the balance between change and continuity during the war years and its significance for Japan’s postwar international relations.” She also states, “Attention to continuities reveals transwar internationalism as an evolving set of institutional pursuits and philosophies about Japan’s role in the world that was deployed to often conflicting ends.” What I want to highlight on the meaning of continuity is this ‘evolving’ or remaining aspect of human history that is not spontaneously invented from nothing.

⁶*Korean Modern History of Life and Culture – 1980s* (2016) and a special seminar “Socio-cultural Fluctuation of Korea in the 1980s” (Korean Social History Association and The Academy of Korean Studies, September 26, 2014) are the examples of collective and collaborative project on this theme.

⁷“Made in Cheonggyecheon: Era of Pirated Pop Culture” (Cheong Gye Cheon Museum, from August 24 to November 11, 2018), “The 1988 Olympics: Momentum of Changes in Seoul” (Seoul Museum of History, from July 28 to October 14, 2018), “Look of the 1980s” (National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, from October 17th of 2017 to April

Commercial movies and television series depicting the story of the 1980s in South Korea have gained popularity as well, and the topic of the 1980s itself as both memory and history has become an appealing story in popular culture.⁸ Even the former president Chun Doo-Hwan recently published a memoir that was severely criticized by the public because of his denial of responsibility for the Gwangju incident. The ongoing memory politics of the so-called 1980s in various socio-cultural fields are, on the one hand, an attempt to recover multiple faces of the times and, on the other hand, to restore the narratives of the democratization movement. As South Korean society was democratized, the politics of memory surrounding political issues were no longer part of an arduous struggle to control the public history. However, the dominant interpretation of the 1980s is inclined to focus on two unforgettable events, the Gwangju uprising in 1980 and the democratization movement in 1987. In other words, borrowing Fernand Braudel's categorization of historical times (Im 2014, 35), a history of "events" and "conjuncture" has been the main narrative of the historiography of the 1980s. The temporality of the 1980s is pivoting on the conjuncture of political and social changes that were built upon the democratization movement and the state's violence, which are compressed into and derived from the memory of Gwangju.⁹

25th of 2018), "To 1987 From 2017" (Yonsei University Museum, from June 7 to July 8, 2017)

⁸*Reply 1988* (ǔngdaphara1988, TVN, November 6, 2015~January 16, 2016), *A Taxi Driver* (2017), *1987: When the Day Comes* (2017), *Ode to My Father* (2014), *Nameless Gangster: Rules of Time* (2011)

⁹The historical memory of the 1980s is described as "the trauma of loss, the pain of persecution, and the sentiment of sorrow" (Lee 2007, 7). "The 'guilt' of Gwanju operated as the collective unconsciousness and produced intense debates and multiple projects of democracy, which exploded at the turning point of the democratization movement in June 1987"; however, the democratization eventually turned out to be "the partial liberalization from the political repression" wherein "the economic suppression persisted with the self-evolving capitalist market economy" (Lee 2007, 7-10). Although this study does not directly engage with the democracy of the 1980s and the relevant socio-cultural history, it

In narrating the time and space of the 1980s, this study examines another hidden narrative of the 1980s that was relatively overlooked: the shadow of globalizing Korea. It explores the historicizing globalization that relates to how Korean society went through its (post-)Cold War experience, which arguably underpins the multilayered complexity of the contemporaneity.

Perspectives for Periodizing the 1980s of South Korea

By proposing to reboot the question of the 1980s, this study adopts the following historical perspectives on temporality. The assumptions in the following frameworks underline why it is important and worthwhile to analyze the temporality of the 1980s. This research assumes the time and space of the 1980s as a conjuncture that requires conjunctural analysis from the point of view discussed in cultural studies. In this explanation, the conjuncture “consists of the historically specific events and contradictions, the related discursive and material resources as well as lived realities, irreducible multiplicities, and complex networks,” and conjunctural analysis means “approaching contextually the articulations of such factors and the consequent results”¹⁰ (Grossberg 2015, 229-30).

Second, in dealing with Korean cases, this study specifically puts emphasis on the concept of the *simultaneity of nonsimultaneity*, as is often referred to by Korean

indirectly connects to the structure of feeling in discussing the regulation and liberalization story of mobility.

¹⁰For more details on conjuncture, see the full explanation in his monograph for Cultural Studies: “A conjuncture is not defined a priori by a location, territory, or diagram. It is constituted by specific articulations of these different modalities of contextuality. But more specifically, it is characterized by an articulation, accumulation, and condensation of contradictions, a fusion of different currents or circumstances. A conjuncture is a description of a social formation as fractured and conflictual, along multiple axes, planes, and scales, constantly in search of temporary balances or structural stabilities through a variety of practices and processes of struggle and negotiation. It is the complex product of multiple lines of force, determination, and resistance, with different temporalities and spatialities. Yet a conjuncture has to be constructed, narrated, fabricated” (Grossberg 2010, 40-41).

studies scholars.¹¹ Lim (2014) develops the original concept from French historian Fernand Braudel to explain a characteristic of Korean political history, specifically for describing the contradiction and paradox that lies in the process of democratization and modernization. Kang (2014) identifies the notion as “the reason for the conflict between the global time zone and Korean time zone” and stresses that the simultaneity of nonsimultaneousness is not only a unique characteristic and theoretical framework but also is operating as a structural condition of South Korean society. The particular aspect he focuses on is the overlapping coexistence of authoritarianism and liberalism from the perspective of political science. As a periodizing tool, Lim (2014) suggests to focus on “conjunctures”. Conjunctures on the one hand refer to “a historical time of one generation (about thirty years)”, and, moreover, they are “historical periods in which the causal relations between micro times and macro times are relatively clear to observe. It is thereby a useful framework to use to analyze history in social-scientific ways that combine History and Social Science”(Lim 2014, 37). In other words, the analysis of “conjunctures” can be “a dialectical integration that overcomes the bias of event history and that of ‘long durée’”, either too narrow or too broad.¹² Instead, analyzing ‘conjunctures’ can help to see “how ‘non-simultaneous historical times’ can simultaneously coexist, collide, and move to the next conjuncture” (Lim 2014, 38).

¹¹The line of discussion was developed in the questioning and unraveling of the contradictions found in the development of democracy in Korea by using the frame of the simultaneity of nonsimultaneousness (Im 2014; Lee 2015; Kang 2014; Jung et al. 2011).

¹²According to Im (2014), the long durée approach to the 20th century of Korea is not valid in a political scientific sense, given the characteristics of modernization of Korea that were different from those of Western Europe. He explains that, “Unlike the West, wherein modernization proceeded evolutionally, consecutively, stage by stage, and spontaneously, modernization in Korea was a *ruptured* ‘quantum jump’ due to revolutionary changes such as war, public demonstrations, and coup d’états, and was externally imposed by the power outside that functioned as the key agency at the moment of change” (Im 2014, 38). Therefore, he suggests, conjunctural analysis of social times would be more useful rather than macro structural analysis in order to analyze the simultaneity of non-simultaneousness.

As seen, the concept of the “simultaneity of nonsimultaneousness” in the Korean context has been mainly utilized by Korean political scientists to discuss a political period in Korea to solve the question of democracy in a complex entanglement with democratization, modernization, authoritarianism, liberalism, and the Cold War division. The ambivalence, or the competition among divergent forces, often appears as a puzzle in historical researches as well as a continuing problematic of contemporary Korean history. In their interpretation of the 1960s, Kwon and Cheon (2012) address how, “the South Korean society in the 1960s was formed in the middle of struggling forces that are discrepant and counterposing.” In these “dialectics of the 1960s”, “the narratives of ‘democratization versus industrialization’, which are often regarded as binary oppositions, redeem each other.” The people in the 1960s “lived freedom and anti-communism simultaneously, and they were both national(-istic) and eagerly following the West at the same time”. They suggest that “such contradiction and antinomy indeed is the aporia and limitation of that time”, and also explain that such “solidarity of developmentalism” continued until the 1980s (Kwon and Cheon 2012, 9-10). Given these perspectives of conjunctures and the simultaneity of nonsimultaneousness, this study delves into problematizing the 1980s, its “simultaneity of nonsimultaneousness”, and the multiplicity in temporality and state modernity.

New Periodization of ‘Globalizing 1980s’

In addition to rebooting the question of the 1980s in South Korea, the problematic of this study is also linked to the question of periodizing globalization that is not limited to Korean Studies.¹³ This study engages the topic of periodizing globalization through the

¹³Historicizing globalization from a long-term point of view can widen the space of imagination on the dynamics and complexity of globalization that not only belong to the contemporary phenomenon. McKeown (2007) explains the implication of periodizing

micro history of the (post-)Cold War imagination. Periodization herein is understood as “Their (each nation, each region, even each individual’s) periodizations, utterly relative constructs” that “reflect their own sense of the ‘style’ of their historical past” (Toohey 2003, 210). They help “us to organize and reorganize information” but at the same time “most frequently mendacious and misleading”. Thus, “reconceptualizations expand for a time our comprehensive perspectives” by breaking down “the apparent narrowness of the preceding periodic clichés”, although “refocusing in turn must be readjusted” (Toohey 2003, 216). What this study aims to do with the new periodizing of the 1980s and Korea’s globalization is exactly such a reconceptualization. The periodization of globalization itself is controversial in global studies. It differs from “criteria, units of analysis, and perspective”, indicating the post-Cold War in its short version or (very) long durée as global historians argue (Pieterse 2012, 1). In terms of periodizing Korea’s globalization, it has been designated to a narrower period after the early 1990s with the discussion of the impact of the *Segyehwa* Policy or that of global capitalism and its discursive formation.¹⁴ However, depending on the criteria and perspective, one can also include the academic discourse on, for example, Americanization or westernization before the 1990s and reconceptualize it within the long-term history of dynamic globalization.

To clarify the temporal focus of this thesis, from the perspective of conjunctures,

globalization with a historical lens in the following: “But a long-term periodization of globalization as something other than a process beginning in the present also compels us to be sceptical of histories proposed by the prophets of newness. They offer up a past of borders, isolation and stasis. In contrast, a long-term periodization forces us to imagine a history in which borders were as dynamic as flows, both continually reconstituted in relation to each other. In this sense, a long-term history can build on the logic of accounts of contemporary globalization that depict the world as a complex field of mutually constitutive homogenization and fragmentation” (McKeown 2007, 220).

¹⁴*Segyehwa* (globalization) was announced as the key policy of the year 1995. Under the presidential committee for *Segyehwa*, the Bureau of Public Information encouraged nation-wide participation. In academia, research funding was concentrated on *Segyehwa*-related research topics, and the *Segyehwa* discourse quickly became commercialized in mass media and the advertising market (Kang and Park 1997, 143-4).

this research brings the 1980s into focus for re-exploring the history of globalization.¹⁵ The period from 1980 to 1992 is assumed as a gray zone in which two different preexisting periodizations: from 1960 to 1990 and from 1980 to 2010 overlap, which is not fully identified in the existing scholarship. In terms of specific historical facts, this period was in accord with the Fifth and Sixth Republic under the so-called New Military Leadership of Chun Doo-Hwan and Roh Tae-Woo, as is commonly used for the periodization. Moreover, in terms of the mobility issue, as briefly mentioned above, 1981 was the year when the Chun government confirmed and announced the plan to expand overseas travel. With the partial permission of the university student's short-term study abroad after July 1981 and the gradual simplification of the application procedure for overseas travel, the number of outbound departures increased by 128.7% in 1981 compared to 1980. In July 1982, individual travel started with cases of invitations by overseas relatives. In January 1983, tourism passports began to be issued to citizens over 50 years old; this was a symbolic development demonstrating the first official permission of domestic citizens' overseas travel for the purpose of tourism (Ministry of Transportation 1983, 62-3). On the other hand, another transitional point was 1988. The dramatic turning points were the reform in the Soviet Union and a more clarified plan of the South Korean government for the post-Cold War world order in terms of the international political atmosphere. In relation to

¹⁵In conceptualizing the buzzword 'globalization', this study defines it as "globalizations in the plural", as Pieterse (1995) addresses the diverse timing of globalization as bearing different themes and start lines in human history; for example, from modern capitalism in the 16th century to cultural planetarization in the 1960s. The term 'globalization' often has a wider implication, as it refers to "a process, an epoch, a discourse, a promise, a threat, a way of looking at the 'world'" (Denning 2001, 351). Kang and Yoshimi (2004) suggested the notion of *the perspective of globalization*, borrowing the concept from Fine Arts, to emphasize that "the way of receiving globalization differs depending on the direction it is seen from." A perspective of globalization is needed to understand a specific temporality and space, given the temporal thickness and spatial multi-layeredness undergirding the process of globalization (Kang and Yoshimi 2004, 14-16). The widely-known notion of "-scapes" that Appadurai (1996) explained in describing the global flows in different fields and shapes also indicates the possibility of manifold globalizations built upon the respective conditions and contexts.

domestic politics, the July 7th Declaration Paradigm launched in 1988 for reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea and full-scale moving toward the Northern Policy by the President Roh Tae-Woo and, at a societal level, the domestic civil movement for unification affected the public perception of the unification through creating a synergy effect, according to Kim MH (2016, 154).¹⁶ Not only 1988–1989, but the continuing post-Cold War period in 1991 was also an important bifurcation in understanding the contemporary South Korean society afterwards (Park et al. 2012). One of the most significant events was the two Koreas' joining the United Nations in 1991. Kim MH (2016, 173) explains that the years between 1988 and 1992 were “the multi-dimensional and problematic space” wherein the South-North governmental relationship, the state-society relationship of South Korea, the recognition of international society, and the relationship between the South Korean civil sector and the North Korean authorities were all in action, and all these complicated dimensions revealed themselves at once. Thus, it was a dynamic moment of transition as well as continuity. What this study also analyzes are the complicated characteristics between 1989 and 1992 that cannot be clearly defined as belonging to the Cold War or post-Cold War period.

In addition, this conjunctural time was not confined to the Korean political, economic, and social times, so this study may have another implication for historical studies of globalization. By investigating the question of (post-)Cold War cultural politics throughout the 1980s, this study contributes to works on global Cold War history. The years between 1980 and 1992 were a transitional period in international politics, moving from the Cold War to the post-Cold War eras, and the changes in the international atmosphere were concurrently corresponded by and conflicting with the Korean Cold War

¹⁶On the other hand, he portrays 1983 as a year of contrast that strained the South-North relationship not only because of the global Cold War tensions that had increased again after the *détante* but moreso due to the physical attacks by North Korea.

and anti-communism in South Korea. Nevertheless, the question of anti-communism and the cultural politics of that period in the divided nation of two Koreas was rarely discussed together with the historicization of globalization that was built upon the domestic internationalization project. Thus, this study brings the 1980s again into the discussion to critically examine the nation-state's cultural politics as well as the complex touristic experiences that intervened in mobility and globalization by specifically looking at their correlation, through which this study can be differentiated from previous scholarship. In the Korean context, their correlation was hardly separable from the geopolitical issue of the (post-)Cold War.

In this regard, this study attempts to challenge the predominant social and academic discourse of (neoliberal) globalization that defines globalization as a phenomenon of the 1990s and particularly after 1993. This study goes back to the 1980s to find another origin of Korea's globalization and to elucidate the meaning of the global experience at that time. It aims to clarify the understanding of globality in the overall contemporary history of Korea as well as the related social problems of the present society (i.e. the question of the others and the remains of the Korean Cold War). Interpretation of this ambivalent period of the 1980s and the times in-between is needed because it can fill some narrative gaps to explain this rupture in the longer temporal scale – postwar Korea, Cold War and post-Cold War, or an even longer epoch –up to the present.¹⁷ In other words, this project is a history of contemporary globalization as well as a global history of the contemporary.

¹⁷It has to be clarified that this study does not aim to conclude that everything started in the 1980s. Rather, its purpose is to specify a phase, a conjuncture of the long-term history of the contemporary. The project of clarifying the continuity and rupture with the times beforehand or afterwards will have to be part of another research project and is not covered in this thesis.

1.3. Globalization, Nation-state, and the Cultural Politics of Mobility

This dissertation engages two related fields of study, i.e. the study of mobility and international tourism and that of the globalization process, in particular with its specific focus on contemporary Korea. It aims to expand the discussion in previous scholarship from the historical perspective in regard to the dynamism of globalization in contemporary Korea by investigating the connection between mobility and globality. This study approaches globalization as plural historical processes and conditioned experiences that imply not only the compression of the world but also “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson 1992, 8).¹⁸ It particularly focuses on the historical conjunctures wherein such consciousness is arguably intensified in order to understand Korea’s globalization process among many different types of globalizations. As I primarily problematize the relations of globalization policy and global consciousness while questioning the control of mobility and the formation of the global imagination, this study joins in the academic dialogue on the role of the nation-state in intervening in mobility management among the various topics of globalizations, as will be reviewed in this section.

1.3.1. Globalizations and the Role of the Nation-state

One of the heated debates on globalization in the earlier discourses was the confrontation of globalizing forces and nation-states grounded in the binary assumption of the global and the local. The often-discussed topics were the emergence and dominance of global actors assumedly replacing the status of the nation-state or hybridization and the transformation of local culture through the penetration of global culture. Meanwhile, counterarguments highlight the localization and active appropriation by the local, at times developing to

¹⁸Reflecting on contemporary concerns of globalization, Robertson (1992, 8) defines globalization as “a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.”

supranationalism against external pressures. From the complicated reality, academic discourses also evolved to embrace the complexity of the global-local relationship, not simply considering them as oppositional and conflicting but as entangled with each other. The discourse that discusses globalization as planned and impelled by nation-states is one such perspective on entanglement and complexity.

States often play the role of “perpetrators or ‘catalysts’, rather than victims, of a so-called globalizing tendency” (Weiss 2000, 12). From this point of view on globalization as political creation, states are considered facilitators of globalization.¹⁹ In addition to economic globalization, nation-states often play an active role in cultural globalization to promote and expand domestic cultural industry abroad or to utilize cultural dimensions and means for the purpose of public diplomacy, as found in widely known studies on cultural diplomacy (Abel 2015; Iwabuchi 2004; Nye 1990).

The problematic of *Cosmopolitics* (1998) also brings into discussion the positionality of the nation-state in contemporary globalization. Questioning if either nationalism or the nation-state were outdated topics in the catchwords “globalization, transnationalism, even postnationalism” (Cheah 1998, 20), the authors problematized the collusion of the nation-state and cosmopolitanism beyond the relationship between global capitalism and the state. Robbins (1998) draws attention to the fact that multinational corporations are actually rooted in specific nation-states and the reality of U.S. nationalism and the current globalism led by the U.S. By doing so, cosmopolitics tackles the discourses that portray globalization as led by nation-free actors. Even though they are not called the

¹⁹Mainly focusing on the economic aspect of globalization, Weiss (2000, 12) points out that “so-called globalization is in many respects a political creation” in the key sense “that the opening up of financial markets and the added constraints on policy autonomy have occurred as a result of governments” and also “in the sense that states increasingly seek to facilitate rather than constrain the worldwide trade, investment, and production strategies of their corporations.”

main actors, nation-states often function in the background as the invisible hand of the globalization process. U.S. nationalism since the end of the Cold War is one such example (Robbins 1998, 13). The critical issue in discussing the current globalization then is neither its inclination to be national nor cosmopolitan, but the question of ‘both’ as well as their entanglements. The authors of *Cosmopolitics* point out that the problem of the hyphen (nation-state) between nation and state, how the idea and functioning of nation and that of state are connected to each other, is what we may have to question, which is why they underline the question of nationalism colliding with cosmopolitanism, i.e. the politics of cosmopolitanism. In a similar vein, Skrbis, Kendall and Woodward (2004) suggest adopting cosmopolitanism as embedded and “pinned down empirically” and “locating cosmopolitanism” as grounded in the context of nation-state structures. By viewing cosmopolitanism not as philosophical and ethical but as methodological and rooted in specific social and historical conditions, as sociologists of cosmopolitanism suggest, cosmopolitanism can be utilized as a more productive analytical tool to specify the empirical sociological dimensions as well as historical implications, which this dissertation is also grounded in.

In the meantime, reducing the status of the nation-state to one of several different agencies of the globalization process is the second major understanding of the nation-state and globalization. In so doing, the multi-layeredness and complex interaction in the globalization process become more visible and analytically accessible. Herein the (nation-) state can be categorized as one of four dimensions of the globalization process: the individual, state, society, and world on a conceptual level (Robertson 1992), or it can be considered one of the actors together with multinational corporations, international organizations, diaspora communities and networks, subnational groupings, and individual

actors as key actors of contemporary globalization (Appadurai 1996, 33).²⁰ The agency of contemporary globalization also embraces non-humane agencies such as technology, finance, global media and information, cities, and even material goods.²¹ The cultural perspective on globalization often takes such a point of view in following the interpretation of culture as a multi-layered and dynamic composition in making and transforming as the politics of daily practices where the conflict as well as negotiation recur (Morris-Suzuki and Yoshimi 2004, 15).

As such, it is now widely agreed that globalization has multiple faces and complexities in that several political, economic, cultural, geopolitical, and historical dimensions intersect and intertwine. Such entanglement and dynamism are reminiscent of the perspective of governmentality that does not merely cite the governing forces of specific nation-states but rather their functioning as one of many actors and techniques of governmentality. Either as an abstract notion of “nation” or as a specific physical agency as nation-state, the presence of nation and nation-state is an ongoing issue of globalization in the making. Such dimensions of the political creation and dialectical relation of nation-

²⁰On the other hand, the nation-state in globalization does not necessarily have to be the actual agency of the nation-state government, as it also can imply the more abstract agency of the nation-state as an imagined community. For example, Iwabuchi (2004) examines the penetration of Japanese popular culture into Asian countries after the 1990s and Japanese transnational desire in the phenomenon of media globalization. In this case, his unit of analysis is rather the industry and audience, not the exact Japanese state government as an actor of globalizing. But his interpretation points to the relationship between the national and the global on an abstract level in which ‘Japan’ is understood as an imagined community that desires cultural strength. As such, ‘nation-state’ can have two different but entangled meanings such as a state government in actuality as well as an imagined community of a nation, both of which are closely linked with the globalization process and the idea of the global (world).

²¹Kang and Yoshimi (2004) discuss that the urban space and media produced internationalized nationalism and the national narrative of internationalization, and they use diaspora and Okinawa as examples of public space cracking in such time-space. Grounded in the assumption of mutually non-exclusive hybrid characteristics of nationalism and globalism, they bring several agencies and intermediaries into focus. It is emphasized that scrutinizing the time and space of cultural contact is significant to examining such a complex cultural process.

state and cosmopolitanism/globalization underpin the plural assumption of globalizations or cosmopolitanisms, which also urge this study to examine the complexity and dynamism of globalization through a contextual approach.

1.3.2 Nation-State and Mobility Management

Modern State and Border Control

Among the diverse topics associated with the globalization process, this study locates itself within the theme of governing mobility and forming the social imagination of the global where the nation-state intervenes. This theme is linked with the authority of the nation-state, which gives permits and superintends the freedom of movement and its cultural politics including the practices, consequences, and context. Historical studies on the modern state's monopolization of borders and mobility control are representative cases (Torpey 2000; McKeown 2008; Ngai 2004; Leheny 2000). They analyze the modern state's mobility management as a way of controlling human mobility for the purpose of governing labor and the population or one of many examples of the creation of "legible people" by documenting individual identity (Caplan and Torpey 2001, 1). The Cold War added another purpose of mobility control in parallel with the changing international geopolitics. Mobility was utilized as a means of propaganda in the cultural Cold War to win the ideological war and attain the regime's legitimacy by regulating and promoting the flow of information and cultural interactions (Klein 2003; Endy 2004; Gorsuch 2011; Koenker 2013; Gorsuch and Koenker 2006). In other words, mobility in the history of globalization was developed and governed in two main ways: 1) through the dimension of identification and population regulation by arranging the border control system that functioned physically and directly on subjects on the move and 2) through the dimension of regulating the invisible flow and influence of information and ideas that worked in more

imaginary ways as shown in the examples of Cold War tourism and international cultural exchange.

As to the former aspect, mobility in modern states was institutionalized through two types of devices that clarified nationality (citizenship) or national territory (sovereignty). In other words, mobility control operated through two ways of governing: 1) the status and 2) the border. The status, also called nationality or citizenship, was a measure used to distinguish domestic citizens and foreigners, and the borders of national territory helped visualize the sovereignty of modern states. The passport system is the essence of such devices. Since the transitional period of the end of the 19th century, the passport law and border control systems applied to immigrants that were designed by emerging nation-states have regulated, managed, and identified every individual body moving across national borders. This legal system defined and categorized people, or 'identity' according to Torpey (2000), into those who can move and those who cannot. It has been a tool of identification as well as a standard of notarization and has been underpinned by the mutual contract among nation-states as part of an international agreement. In other words, by developing such effective methods, modern nation-states have engaged with permitting and prohibiting movements as well as governing populations including foreigners, particularly immigrants and travelers. Owing to this governmental efficiency, the system expanded to manifold modern states, and it indeed was a product invented by modern states. As McKeown (2008) states, this modern system of border control was not only administered as a practical means of governing populations but was even operated for and resulted in actualizing modern national ideas of territory as well as citizenship through creating the boundaries of modern states in very visible forms of national borders and registered citizens. As "the documentary expression of modern states' efforts to monopolize the means of legitimate movement" (Torpey 1998, 254), not only

passports but also other methods such as fingerprinting, photographs, and digitization were invented.

The passport law became a central apparatus for implementing subsequent legal acts of giving permission for entrance, detainment, and deportation from one country to another. In other words, individuals' migration and travel could get authorized and sustained based on the cooperation between sending and receiving countries and mutual credibility on the proper functioning of the passport as an efficient device right at the border. This authority of modern states was built up in parallel with the increasingly interlinked international community that agreed to such concerted rule of governing mobility. Within this global structure, since the 19th century, the 'freedom of travel and movement' has implied a restricted freedom grounded on and managed through such governmentality of mobility. As the history of passports shows, the passport and border control system is an archetypal institutional ground invented by western modern states. The historical practices and legislation of mobility control need to be highlighted further in order to explain the freedom of travel in the 20th century. The genealogy of mobility management demonstrates how the national citizen of modern states was formulated and specified through the physical and documentary categorization of people, for example, by distinguishing between colonized people, foreign immigrants and travelers. Thus, mobility management was also a problem of identity politics in modern nation building.

The Cold War and the Cultural Politics of Tourism and Mobility

Another major theme of governing mobility from a historical approach is role of the cultural politics of leisure and tourism in regulating mobility in relation to both physical cultural interaction and the intangible imagination over the course of the mid-20th century. A widely discussed topic is the question of states' intervention in mobilizing human

mobility and tourism, either domestic or international, across different countries and regimes. In those cases in point, the motive for tourism was occasionally linked with boosting tourism or international exchange for the purpose of promoting the nation's cultural identity (Leheny 2000; Ivy 1995), solidifying foreign relations with allies (Endy 2004; Gorsuch 2011), cultivating idealized subjects and envisioning the Cold War others (Klein 2003; Koenker 2013), or recovering or securing the nation-state's status in the international community (Abel 2015).²²

In particular, the studies dealing with the Cold War context and its geocultural politics draw more attention to the post-WWII era from 1945 to approximately the 1970s that was often entangled with postwar nation building. Tourism was discussed as a sphere of the cultural Cold War, where the bipolar powers – the U.S. and Soviet Union – actively utilized cultural dimensions for the sake of propaganda both domestically and with their allies. Tourism was used as an effective tool and an important institution of civil diplomacy to build friendly and trusting relationship with allies. It served not only political but also economic needs, as many historical studies on the cultural Cold War illustrate (Klein 2003; Endy 2004; Gorsuch 2011; Koenker 2013). Previous scholarship on globalization studies does not seem to include studies on the cultural politics of Cold War tourism as a research category. However, if considered as the history of globalization, the Cold War period, the international exchange and many cultural practices in those times can be relocated as certain types of globalization. This Cold War socio-cultural history narrates the interaction between the world and ideological nation-states. It shows the multiple ways

²²Although they are not directly related to international mobility, the studies on the politics of leisure have also highlighted the question of mobility with many cases of promoting domestic tourism throughout history from different times and spaces. See Leheny (2003) and Löfgren (1999). In the meantime, the states intervened in leisure activities and consumption against upsurging consumerism and extravagancy as described in the cases of South Korea during the 1960s and 1970s (Song 2013a; Song 2013b).

that the mobility of culture, human actors, and information were intertwined with daily practices and regulations and even with the formation and restrengthening of the bipolar world order.

Governing Mobility and the History of Globalization

As such, scholars dealing with different time and space explained that controlling mobility, either corporeal or imaginary, was deeply involved in rebuilding the state system or national identity. They highlighted the emerging role of the (nation-)state and relevant interest groups, which contributed to the compartmentalization of the nation-state as a fixed modern sovereignty grounded in international cooperation and agreement. As McKeown (2008) and Ngai (2004) problematize, the mobility management system and clarifying and governing border-crossing activities (re-)produced, or putatively stemmed from, the hierarchy dividing us (legal national citizens) and others (illegal foreigners). Thus, the mobility control system invented by modern states has turned out to be a problem to be solved from the perspective of identity politics in a cultural sense. From this perspective, nation-states that have the power to globalize mobility take the role of the transmission of culture (culture), the dispatch of people (population), the regulation of inbound populations and foreign cultures (the protection of territory and national culture). The active intervention of nation-states in mobility and the history of globalization ranges not only from foreign relations and the national economy, including foreign labor and national revenue, but also extends to culture, ideas, information, and identity. Existing studies on the history of mobility show that the dimension of culture and the dimension of migration/mobility are not mutually separate in the history of globalization. Governing mobility by regulating citizenship and borders meant governing information and identity that originated from certain types of geopolitical internationalism and imaginations of the world and otherness as reproduced and reinforced. As the cases of the mobility

management system of modern nation-states demonstrate, the development of mobility management was not merely reactionary to the transforming world-system, but was rather formulating the changing international system and the governmentality of mobility per se.

Previous studies on mobility and the history of globalization both adopt a contextual approach from a global perspective on the political economy or international relations that is not confined to a land that is enclosed and isolated and has self-contained sovereignty. The cultural politics of mobility can hardly be separated from the changing international circumstances. In articulating broad globalization discourses in terms of the globalizing process, topics on the cultural politics of mobility from a historical perspective speak to how the procedure and program of producing, interrupting, and perpetuating the flow of populations, cultures, and information were carried out in the local; the devices adopted and invented to perform such a process; the impetus and political context behind this process; and how such a process developed or even resulted in a global and local pattern, politically and culturally. Herein, the way mobility engages the globalization process is not so much a power struggle between external forces called the global and internal resistance of locals. What becomes more visible are particular and rather tangible traces of the intervention of nation-states in globalization through coordinating the spread or restraint of movements of populations, labor, cultures, and ideas by institutionalizing mobility management. In this sense, what is emphasized more here is not so much the division of the global and local/national and clear-cut structure of conflict, but more so the complicated underlying networks, interactions, and dynamics. Observing and tracing the movement of things, people, and ideas helps grasp and unfold the entangled process of globalization and the transnational flow.

1.3.3. On South Korea's Globalization

The Economic and Cultural Globalization 'of' South Korea and the Global Forces

Studies of the globalization of South Korea largely follow two veins of discourses in interpreting the influence of globalization and their main fields of interest, i.e. political economy and cultural politics. The former often focuses on the penetration of global capitalism through which culture is also determined, whereas the latter highlights the multi-layeredness, diversity, and hybridity of culture and identity, borrowing Kang and Yoshimi's (2004) distinction on the dimension of globalization, though those two are inseparable in many cases. In the former perspective of the political economy, the discourse is usually targeted at the criticism of (global) capitalism from which the history of globalization in South Korea is naturally defined as a history of neo-liberalization. If extended, Korean economic globalization is explained as a prolonged version of modernization in the specific form of economic developmentalism. The economic crisis of 1997 is then considered the critical juncture that revealed the problem of South Korean capitalism, from which the story turned drastically to the neo-liberal choice. The perspective of political economy that focuses on the economic facet of globalization is an ongoing way of understanding the origin of social conflicts and inequality that still exist. However, more attention should also be given to the missing piece in this taken-for-granted frame of economic globalization in South Korea.

Whereas the perspective of political economy in general relatively focuses on the globalization 'of' South Korea, studies on cultural and daily experiences rather deal with globalization 'in' South Korea. In the studies focusing on the changing socio-cultural scenery due to globalization in terms of daily experience, urban space, and identity, the popular analytic units are hybrid cultural texts and people on the move, mainly foreign

migrants or foreign brands. The cases in point are concentrated on the transforming media and ethnoscape after the rapid spread of globalization in the 1990s (Kim 2005; Kim HM 2014; Moon et al. 2006; Bak 1997; Bak 2006; Kim 2006).²³ The impact of the rapid spread of globalization often appeared in variant forms such as intensive English education, pre-college study abroad programs and the new arrangement of family life that included ‘goose fathers’, dual nationality and birth tourism, which emerged and were criticized on a societal level in South Korea. Such social phenomena demonstrate the increased desire to globalize oneself. Given this topical orientation on the cultural politics of daily experiences engendered by global forces, the wide and old debates on the problematic of Americanization throughout the 20th century in the Korean Peninsula cannot be excluded (Kim 2006; Kim and Won 2008; Lee 2009). The academic discourses on Americanization tend to engage the issue of global culture by singling out the clear counterpart of the U.S. and American culture as the cultural imperialistic power of the contemporary world. The global force herein indicates the military, cultural, and economic power of the United States.²⁴ The theories of Americanization in the Korean context, which mostly examine the

²³ The edited book *Foreign Cultures Within Us* (Moon et al. 2006) written by anthropologists covers diverse examples of intercultural contact with Japan, Southeast Asia, China, the U.S. and Africa via tourism, food, mass media, and exhibitions. The main theme is the tourist gaze and interactive dynamics in each situation, which often result in the othering process. The cases in the book zoom in on and contextualize different experiences of cultural contact in the globalization process, but, still, the assumption is the expansion of cultural contact with foreign cultures as the effect of high globalization. On the other hand, from a similar perspective, Bak (2006) discusses the meaning of ‘Americanness’ through the case of Starbucks changing coffee culture in South Korea after its export in 1999. She explains the phenomenon as a good example one can observe of both the particularization of universalism and the universalization of particularism at the same time (Bak 2006, 245). She interprets it not merely as the globalization of American culture or the cultural imperialism of American goods, but as the “consumption of global modernity” and “the globality that was reconstituted and fabricated by the U.S.” beyond the taste of the American middle class and as a more complicated cultural identity (Bak 2006, 255-6).

²⁴ After the Korean War, the U.S. Army, church, American popular culture, studying abroad, and Korean universities took on the role of importing American culture, and in the early decades of nation building in the 1950s, the U.S. Army base and the university had a significant influence on the masses. Commodities made in the U.S. and daily culture had

military and cultural intertwinement after the Korean War, are rather separately developed from the globalization theory of South Korea. However, from the viewpoint of the history of globalization in the sense of clarifying the dominant external forces and the major agency in different times, the theory of Americanization can also be located as part of historicizing globalization. Herein, the focus is a particular nation-state, the U.S., an abstract entity called global capitalism, and cultural or military forces dominated by the U.S. Although Americanization and global capitalism have explanatory power for understanding contemporary Korean society, those discourses have the possibility of reductionism, and it is necessary to contextualize and scrutinize the forms of articulation with other content and processes (Won 2008, 163). By underlining the respective emerging socio-cultural phenomenon, yet interpreting it from different frameworks, the cultural approaches attempted to grasp the changing lived experience and scapes of globalities through intercultural contacts. Through different frameworks and units of analysis, cultural studies on Korea's globalization have mapped out the international or internationalizing times of South Korea.

As such, the globalization theory of South Korea was referred to differently depending on the assumptions about dominant global forces and external agency. The assumptions are based on the idea of globalization as a political, economic, cultural, and military force vis-à-vis nation-states and societal reactions to those external influences. In this framework, globalization still implies social transformation by the forces outside Korean society, which the state defends against or compromises with. However, this process of globalization cannot be interpreted as the binary opposition of global and local/national or the segregation of economy and culture. Rather, it has complex and

an impact on the consumption culture, whereas the university took on the role of “the route to mediating ‘America’” as well as “the institution for receiving ‘America’” via the study abroad experience of the elite class (Lee 2009, 236).

overlapping characteristics that are mutually constitutive, as already widely acknowledged in globalization studies.²⁵ Globalization is not a simple grid that is clearly divided into rows of global and local and columns of political economy and culture. The constructivist perspective, on the other hand, shows the overdetermination and dynamics in the process of globalization and highlights the cases of endogenous/imploding globalization rather than the receptive point of view on the external forces.

Domestic Dynamics: Segyehwa Policy and the Discursive Constructs

Some scholars have given attention to the constructivist viewpoint of globalization as formed discursively and politically. First, the analysis of the globalization policy called the Segyehwa policy and its rhetoric by the Kim Young-Sam administration in the early 1990s formed a unique genre in the globalization studies of Korea.²⁶ Among many Segyehwa studies, I want to highlight three research studies focusing on the politics of discourse

²⁵Kang and Yoshimi (2004, 40) point out that, “if one follows such dichotomous frames, the multi-level negotiation and hybrid formations such as de-territorialization/re-territorialization or homogenization/heterotization that globalization pushes forward end up reducing the confrontation between the global as unitary and homogeneous and the national as local and particular, where the former merely assigns economy, and the latter allocates culture.” Robinson (2006, 4) also criticizes the dichotomy in perceiving Korea’s globalization experience that “has typically been rendered in all too familiar and generic terms: as a dichotomous face-off between global and national forces, wherein the dominant ‘core’ (Western capitalist economies and perhaps Japan) exercises agency, imposing globalizing dictates on hapless ‘peripheries’ (everyone else) left with few options but vain ‘resistance’ and eventual capitulation.”

²⁶The usage of “globalization” in Korean has its own context both academically and socially. It has many official names. *Segyehwa* (to translate directly “world-ization”) and *Kukjehwa* (internationalization) are widely used in the daily life-worlds. *Segyehwa*, *Global-hwa*, *Cheon-Jigu-hwa* (to translate, a combination of whole, earth-ization), and *Jiguhwa* (earth/globe combined with ization) are often used in academia. *Segyehwa* tends to be used when referring to the governmental policy of the 1990s and the overall globalization trend during that time. More recently, *Cheon-Jigu-hwa* and *Jiguhwa* have been widely used in the social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences. For example, global historians translate global history to *Jigusa* (the history of the earth/globe) (Cho 2008; Park 2012). In addressing global-something, “global” is used as it is both in academia and society; for example, ‘global human resources’, ‘global company’, ‘global education’, and ‘global standard’.

called Segyehwa (Kang and Park 1997; Ryoo 2009; Kim JT. 2014). They approach how the standards and norms of Segyehwa were made and distributed among society as a national identity and orientation formed through either the strong governmental drive or the discursive process in which different social sectors participated. From this perspective, Korea's globalization, which is referred to as Segyehwa, does not simply indicate external forces and international conditions. Instead, it is considered the "politics of discourse" (Kang and Park 1997), persisting "strategic discourses of developmentalism" (Kim JT 2014), and a "discursive construct" (Ryoo 2009), which has more complicated stories and internal/domestic dynamics.²⁷ Such analyses demonstrate that globalization in South Korea

²⁷Shortly after the rhetorical trend of Segyehwa and right before the economic crash called the IMF crisis in 1997, Kang and Park (1997) analyzed the discourse of globalization during the Kim Young-Sam government. They focused on four subjects of discourse production – the government, the mainstream media, capital including the Federation of the Korean Industries, and alternative interest groups – who struggled to win over the discursive hegemony in defining Korea's globalization. Through this process of the politics of discourse, they argue that the globalization discourse appeared as "the second modernization" in continuity from the first modernization of the Park Jung-Hee regime in the sense that economic developmentalism legitimated the growth-first policy, whereas democratization and redistribution were suspended. Thus, they analyzed the globalization discourse of the Kim Young-Sam government, which turned out to be the neoconservative and populist mobilization of public opinion in the end (Kang and Park 1997, 150-3). From a similar stance but for a different timespan and a specific focus on government rhetoric, Kim JT (2014) locates the globalization discourse as one of three sub-discourses of Korea's developmentalism, i.e. modernization, globalization (*Segyehwa*), and advancement. Each of them was publicized as a representative slogan of the Park Jung-Hee administration during the 1960s and 1970s, the Kim Young-Sam administration in the 1990s, and the Lee Myung-Bak administration in the 2000s, respectively. What they have in common is that they functioned in creating a sense of crisis in the middle of international competition, providing a goal to achieve, and thus setting a concrete direction for the state for change. In this sense, he argues that globalization was a strategic discourse of developmentalism based on "recognition of the change in the international economic environment" after the establishment of the WTO and the resulting spread of the perception of world integration (Kim JT 2014, 187-91). Globalization was "emphasized as a means of reinforcing international competitiveness", and "liberalization, opening, and rationalization" was set up as the main direction. Herein, Segyehwa indicates a "more systematic and extensive level of change than the previous 'internationalization' (*Kukjehwa*)" that requires "a leap of the view, awareness, system, and practice to the world level" as addressed in the president's press conference (Kim JT 2014, 188-9). Also, from the perspective of continuity, Ryoo (2009) explains globalization as a "discursive construct" and "not the objective substance but the logic that reflects the interests of the particular

emerged from its own context with discursive appropriation among many globalizations in the plural sense. Studies of Korea's globalization that focus on discursive dynamics point out the political aspect and the discursive power of globalization discourse that actively engaged the globalization orientation as well as the social transformation of South Korean society. In this perspective, globalization not merely points to a specific policy or rhetoric but takes "an essential mediating role that legitimates the mode of distribution of power and productive resources" (Kang and Park 1997, 124). The nation-state of South Korea was a potent agency of this politics of discourse, sometimes as a negotiating and triggering actor and institution (Ryoo 2009; Kim JT. 2014). However, one can find that the previous studies as above concentrated on globalization after speaking on 'Segyehwa' in the 1990s. Even though they shed light on the continuity of the globalization discourse of contemporary Korea, the internationalization and opening policy led by the Chun Doo-Hwan government is missing in that narrative. In this dissertation, I want to address the role of the 1980s as a waypoint or an intermediary.

In addition to the Segyehwa policy and discourse of the 1990s, the internationalization policy of the Seoul Olympic Games is another attempt to explain imploding globalization driven by the nation-state before the Segyehwa drive of the 1990s. As many scholars have pointed out, the Seoul Olympic Games of 1988 are an example of diplomatic globalization aimed at both an international and domestic audience. Analyses of

state, region, capital, and class as well as the discursive construct that actively formulates such logic" (Ryoo 2009, 344). At the same time, he suggests that globalization has been and can be a useful theoretical framework. He addresses that globalization reproduced and was expanded "as a theoretical frame that effectively interprets and constructs the temporality and spatiality called 'now here' as well as a discursive power that penetrated into our daily lives and perceptions" (Ryoo 2009, 341). In particular, by looking at how three consecutive administrations actively intervened in the culturescape, he argues that neoliberal globalization (*Segyehwa*) in Korea was a "negotiated globalization" led by the South Korean government, which was resistant to neoliberal discourse. Resisting the perception of "the extinction of the state", the state was understood as an actor or an institution of imploding globalization (Ryoo 2009, 345-7).

the Seoul Olympics often share similar perspectives on Korea's globalization with an emphasis on political economy and the state-centered narrative. More recently, scholars from international relations and historical sociology have incorporated the geopolitical and cultural perspective on that time and space. Such attempts not only broaden Olympic studies, they also expand the area of research on the cultural globalization of the 1980s as well as the understanding of the history of the 1980s. Lee (2000) explains the Seoul Olympic Games as "the foundation for diplomatic globalization" that demonstrated how the South Korean government faced the challenges of globalization. Their success engendered "a sense of national pride and a heightened awareness of internationalism" (Lee 2000, 171-2).²⁸ A recent socio-cultural historical study on the Seoul Olympic Games (Park 2016) also brings the international time of the 1980s into focus by examining the remodeling urban infrastructure as built upon the global gaze and its visualization of international events in daily experience. Even though it does not directly point out globalization, it is another example of globalization studies on South Korea from a socio-cultural history that investigates the imploding articulation of the world and us.

Agencies of Korea's Globalization

Most of the scholars take a short-term perspective on globalization by focusing on the Segyehwa project and emphasizing particular actors in this process as their main inquiries (Kim 2000; Chang et al. 2009). For example, Robinson (2006) identifies the state as one of "various Korean stakeholders such as mass media and civil-society groups" that responded to the "blunt force of global influences on Korean society", which was part of the 'local' aspect in his outlining of 'global-national-local interactions' "where the state signifies the

²⁸Not only in South Korea, the holding of the Olympic Games is often linked to the nation-state's drive to build or recover its status in international society, as other cases around the world show (Abel 2015).

national” (Robinson 2006, 3-4).

As such, the globalization theory of contemporary South Korea has dealt with both external influences to impose and major local agencies to act upon globalizing trends with a focus, on the one hand, on domestic agencies and their political, economic, and cultural drives and practices. On the other hand, the critical analyses from the constructivist perspective tried to dismantle the globalization discourse itself and determine how it functioned as discursive power and spurred social change. In the middle of the social transformation surrounding globalization, scholars on Korea’s globalization theory have given attention to how globalization was impelled as a political goal and was settled in society, how it produced nation-wide discourses and re-established national identity, and how it was performed in many different types of practices.²⁹ The existing scholarship on Korea’s globalization shows that the process of globalization is not a passive acceptance or simple resistance to that global trend as a unitary flow, but rather appears as active rearrangement and articulation. The nation-state government of South Korea was often highlighted as a major intervening agency due to its continuous engagement with policymaking toward globalization.

1.3.4 Going Abroad and Transnational Mobility in Contemporary Korea

Mobility is one of many practices that is performed by the individuals passing through the social change called globalization. Previously, I brought into focus the cultural politics of mobility that particularly appeared in the practices of tourism in different times and spaces, operating through the apparatus of regulating border and status as well as idea and

²⁹Park MK (2009, 38-9) points out that the changing national identity and a sense of belonging were also interlocked with the globalization discourse. He states, animated by the democratization and economic growth of South Korea in the 1990s, that “the national belonging and level of identification to the nation-state markedly increased”, and “this strengthened national pride was enough to adopt the globalization discourse as a new national vision.”

information. In the context of Korea, existing studies can also be categorized by the dimensions in focus: first, the institutional device of promoting, regulating, and disciplining mobility and, second, the cultural implications, i.e. the movement of information, ideology, and culture. Both corporeal and imaginary dimensions are not mutually exclusive and operated together in diverse ways, which I consider as the two facets of the cultural politics of mobility. I will discuss three major fields of existing scholarship dealing with the mobility history of South Korea, and those two facets are what I am most concerned with in reviewing the cases.

The History of Large-scale Dispatch and Migration

The first category is the outbound/sending policies impelled by the South Korean nation-state if the mobility regime were largely divided into inbound and outbound. From the perspective of the long-term globalization process, the related studies show the history of state-led labor and population export policy, the consequential lived experience, and the formation of Korean diaspora and migration networks. The dispatched and displaced people included miners and nurses to West Germany during the 1960s and 1970s, Korean immigrants to the U.S. during the 1970s and 1980s, adoptees to developed countries, Korean residents in Japan, etc.³⁰ The Korean nurses and miners in West Germany have taken a pioneering role both as research resources as well as in the history of migration. The dominant academic and social discourse related to them continues to explain them as a pillar of postwar Korean society that contributed to the national economy through their

³⁰About 8,000 Korean miners were dispatched to West Germany until 1977 and around 10,000 nurses according to the Korean Embassy in Germany. The adoption of Korean orphans and mixed-blood children started in 1953, showed rapid growth until the early 1980s (35,086 in a year), and began to drop due to international criticism of the export of children, which turned the adoption policy to domestic adoption and its legislation (Kim CM 2016, 41). On the other hand, the number of officially registered emigrant Koreans in the U.S. during the peak period from 1984 to 1989 was 149,599 in total and on average about 25,000 a year, not including adoptees (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2019).

remittance and economic aid called “commercial loans” by West Germany (Yi 2014; Lee and Lee 2013). Either by trade or aid, the extensive dispatch was widely understood as a mutual agreement for economic aims by both states (Noh et al. 2014).

In pointing to the nation-state’s involvement in the planned and strategic dispatch of its people, Korean adoptees were not exceptional. Kim CM (2016) traces the post-Korean War history of the overseas adoption policy in South Korea from around the 1960s to the 1980s. He investigates the enactment of the law (the Special Act for the Adoption of Orphans) and the following adoption policies with a focus on the role of the state as a key actor in legally creating overseas adoptees. He claims that this policy and legislation operated as a part of the governing population to incorporate mixed-blood or illegitimate children into “normal” families who were discriminated against economically and socially and framed by such prejudices. Kim HM (2013) explains that these groups of people were “infringed beings” who did not meet the standard as an ideal Korean and thus were excluded from “the process of making national citizens” for continuing monocultural and homogeneous Korean identity, and the migration history of Korea was “the export history of exclusion and expulsion” (Kim HM 2013, 25-27).³¹ In this approach from the outbound policy and dispatch program, the people on the move are often regarded as the objects of international trade who devoted themselves to the nation’s economic and political interests and as vulnerable individuals subjected to the nation-state’s governmental strategy.

³¹On the other hand, Klein’s (2003) study supplements the counterpart story of the U.S., a major adopting country, by illustrating the role of the adoption of Asian children such as Korean orphans in forming the postwar narrative of U.S. relationships with their Asian allies. As Klein (2003) states, the discourse of adoption in the U.S. in the late 1940s and 1950s shows the middle-class Americans’ political obligation to participate in the Cold War by adopting Asian children as their family members, which “offered a way to imagine U.S.-Asian integration in terms of voluntary affiliation” beyond racism or imperialism but toward a multiracial and multinational model for a “free world” community (Klein 2003, 146; Klein 2003, 190).

As such, the large-scale dispatch or immigration policies were grounded in persistent economic developmentalism that re-arranged the population by prioritizing the labor force to serve the national economy. As mentioned above, the push-pull factors of mobility do not indicate economic purposes only. The studies of dispatched Koreans to West Germany, Korean adoptees, and U.S. education funding all cited the high correlation with the political and strategic backdrop of Korean-German or Korean-U.S. relationships undergirding the labor and population export (Klein 2003; Na 2016; Noh et al. 2014; Im 1998). As Na (2016, 198) points out, this was because the “international relations of the Cold War, the cultural transference since modern imperialism, and the disparity in economic development” operated in complexity as macro factors.

On the other hand, more recent studies have restored the agency of people on the move and focused their voices and lived experience on their active practices, life strategies, and sometimes the empowerment of mobility experience for female actors (Lee and Kim 2014; Na 2009; Na 2012; Na 2016; Kim 2009; Yoon 1997).³² This line of studies demonstrates that mobile and global lives are not captured merely by one perspective of structure or agency but are multilayered and plural texts between voluntary migration and

³²In particular, Na’s (2009; 2012; 2016) work on the lived experience of Korean women dispatched to West Germany has drawn on the manifold dimensions of their life history living as a woman in German society such as a foreign worker (“guest-worker”), family member and mother, activist, overseas Korean diaspora member, daughter and breadwinner. In addition to the widely recognized nurses, she also sheds light on the Korean female guest-workers dispatched as technology trainees who barely received attention. By doing so, she restores the particularities of Korean women in West Germany including their work, daily life, marriage, and settlement that connect to the individual, societal, and national backgrounds. Kim W (2013) evaluates her research, stating that the multi-dimensional life experience is fully and meticulously described beyond the stereotyped female figure of the dispatched Korean woman as sacrificing and devoting themselves to the nation’s (Korea’s) prosperity and development. Instead, her research is evaluated as bringing fresh air and is seen as a turning point in the research history of dispatched Koreans to West Germany that was dominated by the ‘commercial loan’ discourse as the pay-off for labor forces between the Korean and West German governments.

settlement and forcible economic policy and international politics. Mobility herein implies migration that is conditioned and determined by those structural dimensions, but at the same time it is assumed as the active life tactics of individual subjects. Korean diaspora in modern history has been built on these negotiations and struggles, and the diaspora network continued onwards.

In the meantime, the migration history over the colonial period after the Korean War unfolded other structural and geopolitical conditions such as Japanese imperialism, the establishment of the modern nation-state of Korea, the Division System of the Korean Peninsula and (post-)Cold War. The life history of Zainichi Korean in the frame of migration history during and after the Cold War (Kim GO 2013) and the Korean emigration to Philippines in the early 1900s and after the Korean War (Kim MJ 2015) that shared similar temporality are examples. The context of the Korean Cold War in relation to mobility will be addressed again. More recent cases would be North Korean defectors, i.e. their movements and routes, life strategies, identity and performativity, relationships and networks (Yi 2012; Kim SK 2013; Lee 2018). On the other hand, Korean mobility studies after the 1990s approached mobility as a voluntary life choice and focused on the personalized purpose of migration or overall global and mobile lives that emerged from the more 'globalized' conditions such as the improvement of the domestic economy and foreign relations. Overseas Korean enterprises (Koo, 2011), travelers (Kim Ji 2008), study abroad students (Kim Jong 2008), and even pre-college study abroad students and their parents (Kang and Abelmann 2011) emerged as new actors and phenomena of such a narrative. The individual desire here is often regarded as a result of the increasingly competitive economic environment and the social pressure as semi-mandatory options.

In the above-mentioned historiography of global mobility, the question of mobility is directly connected to the cultural politics of diaspora (*isan*) in which the non-voluntary

dimensions of the economic and political context had more impact than the individual choices. In the reality in which free departure and travel abroad were extremely restricted, those diasporic movements were born as a collective type of border crossing. The mobility of dispatch and migration was given conditionally by the nation-state and international agreements and resulted in the quick formation of a large Korean diaspora community and network. Existing studies of transnational mobility have highlighted the institutional aspect of this process, the (geo-)political backdrop, and the lived experience as marginal people and unveiled the contemporaneity and historical reality of Korean society that has been influenced by the policy and experience of diasporic mobility.

Transnational Imagination and Modern Travelers

The second type of mobility studies of South Korea unfolds the transnational imagination and imaginary geographies of the foreign world that often contain the perception of the self and others. This travel was granted to limited groups of people such as intellectuals, artists, writers, expatriates, overseas correspondents, and study abroad students from the early 20th century onward. Mostly conducted as travel writing analysis of the literature and intellectual magazines, the description in the texts reveals the social imaginaries of that time and the formation of subjectivity in the given historical and geopolitical surroundings. Since around 2000, Korean literary scholars have actively produced historical case studies on overseas travel and the experiences of foreign culture, focusing on specific writers and their works from modern and pre-modern times, mainly from the early 1900s to the 1960s (Cha 2004; Son 2008; Kim SE 2011; Kim 2007; Lee 2007; Jung 2011). This group of travelers can be categorized as mobile youth or the early version of celebrity-travelers who shared and mediated their overseas experience of border crossing and cross-cultural encounters with/to their coevals in the homeland. Their travel accounts show how the individual imagination and experience were deeply rooted in and conditioned by the socio-

historical context, which encourages a comparative and contextual approach to the traveling experience. The travel writings herein are “discursive spaces as well as the intermediaries that tells about such time and space” (Schenck and Kim 2018, 24) in the sense that Pratt (2007) sees the discursive spaces of travel writings as containing the work of knowledge/power and negotiating subjectivity.

The existing studies on this topic are largely divided into three distinctive periods. First, the modern travel experience by intellectuals and elites from the 1910s to 1945 is brought up to illustrate the imaginary geographies and colonial subjectivity. The main destinations are Imperial Japan, Manchu, and rarely the United States. Second, the trips of some bureaucrats and writers from 1945 to 1955 disclose new geopolitical imagination, the negotiation of identity between post/colonial identities, and the emerging national identity that were entangled with the nation-building atmosphere of the times. The next example is the excursion and intercultural experience of study abroad students and writers from 1955 to the 1970s. Due to the passport control, travelers in this period often used the status of student to travel abroad, as found in the case of Kim Chan-sam, who went to the U.S. as a student and later became known as the first around-the-world traveler with his best-selling travel book series. The essays on intercultural experience are also in this category, which gained popularity because of their contents describing daily life and feeling like a stranger in a foreign land, which was a very rare experience at that time, as seen in the case of Jeon Hea Rin (Kim KR 2010), a widely known female writer who went to Germany to study language and literature. The emergence of the reading public (Yeon 2015; Woo 2010; Kim MY 2013) and the increasing readership indicate the growing interest and curiosity toward the foreign world and exotic experiences, and travel writing met such needs. Song and Kang (2018) explain that the pioneering travel writing of Kim Chan-sam, which was published in newspapers, magazines, and eventually as a complete series of travelogues,

functioned as a public discourse rather than an individual account in the sense that it expanded the public awareness of the concept of tourism through reifying the imagination of travel destinations and travel narratives, through which the discourse of travel circulated and activated. Regardless of their social background as intellectuals or artists with cultural capital, the authors of travel literature were more or less a deviant group of people in that they refused to settle in a sedentary society but were wandering in foreign places with a desire and curiosity for freedom and exoticism. In a similar vein, a more contemporary example of travel writings by Han Bi-ya, an influential female and so-called “daughter of the wind” who gained widespread popularity in society after her first publication of the around-the-world trips in 1996, shows how the national narrative was intertwined with the cosmopolitan vision in disseminating knowledge about the world back home (Epstein 2011).³³

The historical studies on transnational imagination and experience illuminate how the sense of travel and crossing borders emerged and how the geographical and geopolitical imaginations were internalized among the people at the time. In addition to reflecting those temporalities, the traveler-writer was indeed a “cultural translator” (Kim HM 2014). The studies unravel how the macro level of the global context is actually reflected in and embedded in the micro experience of travel. The travel accounts and records could function as a discursive space of meaning making about the world that people on the move encountered. However, travel experiences from the 1960s to the 1980s in South Korea and academic researches are rarely found, and the reason is most likely related to the legal ban on overseas travel during that period.

³³First as a courageous female traveler and then as a director of an emergency relief team in an international organization, she had a huge influence on the readers in building a cosmopolitan vision that also later became controversial. Her book was a best-selling and steady-selling series in the late 1990s and throughout the 2000s, and the YMCA nominated her for the Young Leader award in 2004.

Forbidden Border Crossing and Ideological Geography

Third, the history of ideological travel with the cases of ‘suspected’ ideological border crossing and the relevant academics verify the combination of mobility control and imaginary geography in the situation of the Korean Cold War, where the tension with North Korea continued and anti-communism prevailed in the social discourse and structure of feeling. As seen above, tourism and cultural exchange were often conducted as part of cultural Cold War projects to reinforce the international alliance or strengthen domestic solidarity. The two Koreas were closely connected to each bipolar power as allied nations and were influenced by their global Cold War strategy and cultural policy (Kim HJ 2011b; Kim HS 2013; Heo 2008). At the same time, both the South and North Korean regimes developed their own techniques of governing ideology (Kim et al. 2015; Lee 2012; Lim 2017; Lee 2017). In South Korea, the ‘north’ had a significant social and political meaning, and visiting North Korea and crossing the South-North border were highly politicized incidents.

The ideological connection with mobility in contemporary Korean society appeared in the form of censoring and controlling of the flow of information and people’s movement, which in fact was intended to block the flow of ideas and ideologies. The representative examples that show how anti-communism affected individuals’ daily lives, and their bodies are cases of censored and disciplined mobility during the Cold War. The mobile subjects were often considered as dangerous and precarious beings who were potentially exposed to ideological contamination at any time and place. South Korean citizens who practiced going to the ‘North’ were considered rebellious and condemned to punishment. In this sense, one of the areas of actual life that anti-communism had a serious impact on was mobility; in other words, the censorship and control of mobile bodies based on anti-communism ideology. The cultural politics of mobility herein point to the ‘border crossing’

per se, neither tourism nor travel. Existing studies also problematize the historical cases that widely affected Korean society such as the East Berlin Incident of the 1960s (Oh 2017; Jun 2012; Lim 2014; Lim 2017), the kidnapped and defectors to the North in the 1960s and 1970s (Lee 2017), and the Lim Su-kyung case of the 1980s (Kim SY 2014; Kim MH 2016). These symbolic examples demonstrate the danger of visiting the communist bloc and even crossing the border under the Cold War divide. Those cases were not directly linked to mass tourism, and the target was usually intellectuals, student activists, writers and artists who had knowledge of leftist ideas as well as the ability to visit foreign countries and could express their opinion on the nation's unification.

Among similar historical incidents in relation to public security and mobility, the border crossing 'incident' represented by Lim Su-kyung in 1989 demonstrated that the mobile subject, and particularly visiting Pyongyang, was considered as seriously problematic for the society from the government's point of view. Another breaking incident (and scandal) was the East Berlin North Korean Spy Ring Incident (abb. East Berlin Incident) of the 1960s and 1970s, an espionage case in which a large number of overseas Koreans were involved. As a result of that incident, overseas Koreans, including study abroad students, intellectuals and artists, emerged as the suspects of espionage, and the security officer's surveiling eyes were laid upon them. Also, foreign destinations such as cosmopolitan European cities and Japanese cities in which the possibility of inter-Korean contact was assumedly omnipresent appeared as contact zones and ideologically hybrid places. The cases above clarify the meaning of crossing the ideological border in the Cold War in South Korean society. As previous studies have demonstrated, the political meaning of going abroad and visiting unknown worlds was intertwined with the problem of the 'North' in South Korea as a very sensitive issue, wherein students and intellectuals were often deemed suspicious and subversive.

Such an ideological dimension not only appeared through politicized incidents but also widely affected the society's geographical imagination, as conceptualized in the notion of *ideological geography* (Lee HR 2012). Lee HR (2012) suggests this concept as an analytical frame and a way of thinking that combines Cold War geopolitics and imaginary geography. This term refers to “the Cold War situation wherein the imagination and discipline of the human being-place that is fundamental for organizing life and community was pivoting on the representation system that ideologizes certain territories or spaces” (Lee HR 2012, 143). This notion is developed from Edward Said's imaginary geography, and Lee used it to explain “the imaginary dimension beyond the empirical knowledge and experience that is activated on the ideologically hostile space” (Lee HR 2012, 144).³⁴ This notion implies a state in which geopolitical boundaries function as “the institutional and psychological disciplining system of expression”, and herein, the notion points to “the operation of power-knowledge that disposes and disciplines the imagination of being-place and movement/mobility” (Lee HR 2012, 144). She explains that this ideological geography did not remain at the individual's imaginary level but actually was imposed on the human bodies that were suspected to be involved with Leftist groups and was used to make them visible for the purpose of surveillance and ideological control. The most representative example is “Red Commies”(ppalgaeng-i) as a racial representation. It naturalizes the assumption of exclusive sovereignty. In other words, it is “the discipline that requires the triple combination of idea-body-territory” (Lee HR 2012, 144). Lee (2017, 249) points out that this ideological geography widely functioned as the primary mechanism of an ideological control system throughout contemporary South Korean

³⁴Under the influence of Edward Said, Derek Gregory (1994), a cultural geographer, explains geographical imaginations as a way of seeing the world that, in the end, present the constellation of power-knowledge.

history under the Division System.³⁵ Not only remaining on an imaginary level, this notion links to the performative level by connecting the geopolitical imagination and performativity.

Two Dimensions of Cultural Politics of Mobility in Modern Korea: Institutions of Mobility and Mediation of Imaginaries

Three different types of mobility and the previous scholarship bring into focus that the fundamental structure of mobility has been a dualistic practice of setting boundaries that are transgressed by the individuals crossing borders and going abroad. In explaining the foreign migrant as a “cultural translator”, Kim HM (2014, 173) describes, “When people migrate, they often carry with them their own cultures, and subsequently incorporate them into the new culture.” The description does not belong to the inbound foreigners only but also fits Koreans going abroad, as found in the history of overseas Koreans who migrated to foreign countries and delivered intercultural experience to their audiences back home.³⁶

³⁵His case was the ban on the kidnapped and the defects to North Korea until its lift in July 1988. He explains that the ban in the 1950s made the ideological geography of the defects to North Korea settle down as a cultural taboo in society and functioned as the mechanism of exclusion between then and the lift. During those decades, he argues, the ideological geography of the defected was institutionalized and solidified institutionally, socially, and cognitively.

³⁶Not directly targeting at the outbound domestic people going abroad, but the existing studies on foreign residents inside South Korea, another major agency of ‘the globalization within us (South Korean territory)’, is closely related to this mediating role of the global imagination. The foreigners herein cover the foreign migrants after the 1990s, U.S. soldiers and civilians after the Korean War, and foreign Olympic teams for the Seoul Olympic Games of 1988. In relation to the cultural politics of mobility and mediated experience of foreignness, Kim HM (2005; 2014) and Ahn’s (2018) monographs provide a comparative perspective on the issue in the contemporary South Korean society. In the transition from the labor export country to the import country in the early 1990s, foreign migrants became visible as the others inside South Korea, and, following this, multiculturalism began to be adopted as a policy. Grounded in such a social transition and with a focus on media representation and the discourse of mixed-race, Ahn (2018) argues that racial discrimination newly started and racism in Korea began to rearrange. Her research does not point to mobility itself and domestic Korean people on the move, but she certainly speaks to a vivid conjuncture of Korea’s globalization wherein racism and the racial

Studies on the cultural politics of mobility in South Korea show that the globalization of culture is not separate from the globalization of migration/mobility. Specifically, the dimension of imagination and information is entangled with the dimension of corporeal mobility. The keywords in the studies of mobility in Korea can be summarized as ‘crossing border’, ‘imaginary geography’, and ‘mediated experience’. In 20th century Korean society, not even travelling in a contemporary meaning, but going abroad or crossing a border was extremely difficult to realize under the restrictive circumstances. The individuals who could travel and go abroad were very limited. Thus, the transnational experience, regardless of their status and occupation as intellectuals, artists, bureaucrats, students, expatriates, illegitimate travelers, overseas Koreans and Korean adoptees, was the channel for the audiences at home that connected the closed homeland to the world outside and the others. The people on the move mediated the world-out-there as an indirect experience. The viability of movement was determined by the nation-state as the rule-maker and supervisor of the inbound-outbound policy and mobility regulation. Both the border control system in physical and visible methods and the censorship of ideas and information were active in that process. As stipulated in the Passport Law and National Security Law, crossing borders, either corporeal or imaginary, was subjected to physical punishment, including imprisonment. The preceding studies disclose the lived experience and narrative of such a state of exception or the imaginary geography and contemporaneity in the intermediary overseas experience that connected to the topics of cultural politics perspectives on mobility such as the nation-state’s violence, the biased imagination of the

imagination were mediated through the visualized body of the others in the media. Kim HM (2005; 2014), on the other hand, focuses on the people comprising the “diversity in us” and their everyday experience at home, in the workplace, and in the community. The space of encounters functions as a contact zone and cultural borderland, and she conceptualizes these migrants in Korea as “cultural translators”. Both of them bring into focus the connection of the expansion of mobility since the late 1980s and the changing landscape of the global imagination onwards, which provides a comparative idea on the conjuncture and the pattern of the entanglement of mobility and globalization.

others, class or gender identities, and geopolitical conditions. As addressed above, the cross-cultural and intercultural experience of the foreign world was delivered to the home audiences via various media such as literature, travel essays, film, television, and family networks. In this process, the overseas experience was rearranged and often securitized. As such, the cultural politics of mobility in 20th century South Korean society operated in two dimensions: the institutions of mobility and the mediation of imaginaries.

1.3.5. Positionality of the Dissertation: Historicizing Globalizing South Korea with the Question of Global Mobility in the (Post-) Cold War Period

Four realms of previous studies were reviewed to discuss less investigated dimensions that this study willingly engages. Both in mobility studies and globalization studies, the temporal rupture is found before and after the 1980s. The temporal scale is often grounded in three different times: the modern state before the World Wars, the post-Cold War era, and the age of globalization mainly after 1990s on a larger scale. The studies on Korea's globalization also have a similar issue of the rupture in periodization. In the case of globalization discourse, as above-mentioned, the narrative after 1993 is the mainstream and the transition before 1993 is often missing. As examples, in tracking down the origin of Korea's neoliberal globalization, Ji (2009) analyzed the type of the state and its way of imposing power, which were transformed from authoritarian developmental state to neoliberal state power by comparing the Park Jung-Hee government and Kim Dae-Joong government. Even though it is a comprehensive and sharp analysis, it intentionally mutes the role and contribution of such a transformation by the in-between governments of Chun Doo-Hwan, Noh Tae-Woo, and Kim Young-Sam.³⁷ However, if zoomed out to the long-term history of globalization, the Segyehwa policy and the preceding labor export policy

³⁷While it focuses on the aspect of nationalism in transition, Kim DN (2010) also has a similar issue of the selective mutation of situations in-between.

meet at some points but are relatively less considered in regard to the continuity and rupture from the perspective of historicizing global experience and imagination. I want to examine how the two different experiences and practices from distant periods are actually interlocked and became entangled in earnest during the 1980s.

This connects to the thematic blank of the cultural politics of global mobility. Also, the topic is often divided into either the policy and discourse level or the experience and imagination level. It does not seem to be examined enough how those two separate fields intersected with or influenced each other. In addition, in analyzing the history of transnational mobility, the labor and population export policy, the foreign immigrant policy, and the regulation of anti-communism are individually perceived and investigated as distinct cases both in terms of academic discourses and their periodical concentration. However, this study sheds light on the overlapping issue and the period that they crossed over, and it emphasizes this peculiarity as an essential part of globalizing South Korea as well as the history of Korea's globalization.

International mobility also relates to the question of cultural contact with foreign cultures and others. Especially during the times when going abroad was controlled, the people who had the opportunity to move had a socio-cultural influence. However, the existing studies relatively did not pay much attention to the mediated otherness in relation to the large-scale dispatch or export of domestic citizens and the meaning of the correlation between mobility, globality, and otherness in the history of globalization.³⁸ Unlike the

³⁸To compare, in the Olympic studies, the focus is more upon the domestic reactionary performativity to foreign visitors and the expanding internationalization inside the territory, which might function as an origin of the 'Visiting Korea' project by the South Korean government nowadays. Thus, the prior concern may differ in dealing with the issue of mobility and global imagination. Although 'internationalization' during the 1980s has been discussed along with a specific focus on the operation of the Olympic Games, the Olympic story is not the entirety nor the end of that historiography. The Seoul Olympic Games

influence of foreign culture and foreignness in ‘us’(our society), the overseas experience and its conditions were not analyzed enough to consider its diverse forms and contexts throughout the 20th century.³⁹

To understand contemporary Korean society, the story that should be investigated further is the role of the state intervention and the work of imagination in the practices of mobility and state-society dynamics in the rapid expansion of mobility abroad. This research attempts to explain this untold problematic of mobility in the 1980s and to discuss how this issue demonstrates the complex conjunctural cultural politics of Korea’s globalization as well as identifying the included dimensions. I will ask how such governmentality was practiced in the domain of mobility, why it cannot be disregarded in explaining the globalization process of Korea, how this process was actually related to international geopolitical fluctuations, how it appeared in substance in the fields of international exchange and cultural contact, and how it characterized as well as limited the experience and imagination of the world and the others in persistent ways. In doing so, I cast light on the narrative beyond the neoliberal globalization or cultural globalization of South Korea in the 1990s and onwards. I will examine the mentalité of ‘the global’ that was diffused in the society and infiltrated into the individuals as bodies on the move by examining the dimensions of the structure of feeling, imagination and performativity.

contributed to the spread of globality into the urban space and attracting both Korean people and foreigners to a newly developing country. However, the permeation of foreignness and exoticism by the mobile subjects who went abroad is not the history of the Seoul Olympic Games or any other international event held in Korea, and, at the same time, it does not necessarily belong entirely to the narrative of Korean diaspora either.

³⁹From the perspective of “cultural encounters”, globalization can be historicized to a broader sense with more diverse cases. Anderson (2009), in his following comparative project on “early globalization” during the late 19th century, drew upon the transnational interaction of people, in particular in regard to the intellectual circulation and exchange of ideas by anarchists. The range of analysis on “cultural encounters” in relation to globalization can be widely defined and accepted as such. Pratt’s (2007) influential concept of a “contact zone” can be read in this framework as well if imperialism were located within a branch of globalization in a very broad sense.

This will naturally leads to the geopolitical backdrop of the post-Cold War as a problematic of the times in discussing the changing relationship between the self and the world. It has been widely accepted that the historical juncture divides the Cold War period and the newly approaching era of globalization as part of the dramatic transition from Cold War to post-Cold War, but globalization does not undergo such linear and evolutionary progress. As global Cold War scholars claim, the reality is much more complicated. In regard to the Korean Cold War and globalization, the narrative of the Cold War is often detached from the theory of the developmental state or modernization, and the story of globalization is not developed in the theories of the South-North division system. In post-Cold War scholarship (Kim et al. 2015), topics such as international relations, domestic politics, and the international economy are more common fields of analysis than the social, cultural, and vernacular history. In addition, ‘the era of globalization’ is used like a cliché while not much is questioned. This study will highlight the aspect of cultural encounters that was lacking in the discussion of the (post-)Cold War globalization process.

Also, I hope to expand the research topics from political and economic interests to social and cultural dimensions, for example, by adding an explanation to the former discussion on the ‘simultaneity of non-simultaneousness’ of postwar Korean society. In this regard, the aim of this dissertation is to unravel and interpret how the simultaneity of non-simultaneousness appeared in the sphere of globalization and internationalization; how that simultaneity permeated South Korean society and was experienced by individual subjects. This inquiry connects to the clarification of the conjunctures of globalization in the (post-)Cold War situation and the specificities of globality, i.e. a conjuncture of how the globalization of South Korea was accelerated and inflected, which might form or linger in the contemporaneity of South Korean society.

1.4. Theoretical Perspectives for Historical Research

This study considers mobility, globality, and otherness as the tripod of the globalization process and aims to grasp a conjuncture of the tripodal dimensions increasingly entangled in actuality as well as on a perceptual level. In particular, this research examines the forces that amplify the imagination of the global and the other that operate on the micro-level of experience of overseas travel with a more specific focus on the performance of the nation-state and the policy effect in the expanding period of globalization, internationalization, and opening. In so doing, this research draws upon the following concepts and theoretical resources as referential frameworks. First, it adopts the concept of the global imagination from the perspective of the structure of feeling and, second, governmentality in specific relation to anti-communism and state-power. In the following chapters, this research will examine those global imaginations that were omnipresent as well as re-structured in the process of institutionalizing mobility.

1.4.1. Global Imaginations as a Structure of Feeling

Politics of Imagination and the Context of Globalization

To begin with, in the theory of imagination, imagination is understood as a capacity that creates and causes images. In suggesting the theory of the social imaginaries, Cornelius Castoriadis (2005) explains the imaginary as different from the reflected images, representations, and symbolic system that are the products of the imaginary or the accumulated institution.⁴⁰ It does not have to belong to individual capacity only, and the social imaginaries can be accumulated to the social institution itself. Scholars from

⁴⁰To cite in detail, he identifies “The imaginary of which I am speaking is not an image of. It is the unceasing and essentially undetermined (social-historical and psychical) creation of figures/forms/images, on the basis of which alone there can ever be a questioning of ‘something’. What we call ‘reality’ and ‘rationality’ are its works” (Castoriadis 2005, 3).

different academic disciplines have developed theories on the work of imagination, which is not always clearly seen through one's eyes but certainly is functioning and has social and political meanings (Anderson 1991; Gregory 1994; Delanty 2009; Taylor 2010; Appadurai 1996; Douglas 1966; Orgad 2012). With different focal points, as seen from the distinctive choice of concepts among imaginations, imaginaries, imagined, and imagining, these scholars tried to grasp different perceptual dimensions and their nature and process, which do not always correspond with reality, representations, substances, reason and rationality. Also, depending on the research interest, they specified, elaborated, and historicized the process of imagining or being imagined from cases of popular culture, everyday experience, moral order, and other mediated forms. It is in a way a work that investigates the structure and mentality behind the presented results, events, ideology and representations. The theorists of imagination, on the one hand, dismantle the process of imagining or imagined and reveal the social construction of reality and, on the other hand, emphasize the power of imagination as a social practice that can be changed and subversive. Pointing out "the paradox of an excess of imagination and a concomitant lack of it" in our epoch, Bottici (2011, 16) brings the politics of imagination into the discussion by highlighting "the ambivalences of today's politics of imagination, the fact that it can be a source both of liberation and of oppression." Such ambivalence in the politics of imagination both as liberation and oppression is the meaning of examining the work of imagination and what this dissertation is based on.

The imaginary aspect has often been included in theories of globalization and globalism, and the importance of the politics of imagination seems to be increasing in the context of globalization and global cultural processes.⁴¹ The growing interest in the linkage

⁴¹ Highlighting global media and mass migration as indicators of contemporary globalization as a new cultural phenomenon, Appadurai (1996) addresses the increasing

of the global and the politics of imagination led to thematizing the global imagination or cosmopolitan imagination as an analytic framework. For example, as Steger (2008) mentions, the global imaginary as social and political consciousness is often referred to as the replacement of the national imaginary. Delanty (2009) also explains that cosmopolitanism is “one such imaginary component of society and can be contrasted to, for instance, a national imaginary”. But beyond the dichotomic position of national versus global and reliance on Castoriadis’s notion of the imaginary, he stresses the capacity of the imagination to obtain new perspectives for self-problematization in encountering the world. Hereby, the imaginary is defined as “both a medium of experience and an interpretation of that experience in a way that opens up new perspectives on the world” (Delanty 2009, 14). The self-transformative moment and self-problematization that occur in global relations connect to the essence of the cosmopolitan imagination as the capacity as well as normative orientation in his understanding. He introduces “four capacities for immanent transcendence” that can function as an analytic category: the capacity for the relativization of one’s own culture or identity, the capacity for the positive recognition of the other, the capacity for a mutual evaluation of cultures or identities, and the capacity to create a shared normative culture (Delanty 2009, 86-87). Combining the idea of imagination and the context of globalization, the global imagination (and cosmopolitan imagination in a more philosophical sense) is put forth as a methodological framework to aid in the socio-scientific analysis of cosmopolitanism and global consciousness.

significance of the dimension of imagination and ‘imagined worlds’. He explains the social imagination in a global process as follows: “The image, the imagined, the imaginary – these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice. [...] The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order” (Appadurai 1996, 31). Not only acknowledging “the imagination as a social practice”, scholars point out the capacity of imagination leading to an alternative way of thinking and imagining in terms of globalization, as Canclini (2014) conceptualizes the term “imagined globalization” beyond imagined worlds or imagined nations.

Global Imaginations for Analysis

In its justification to choose the global over the cosmopolitan, Orgad (2012) explains that the cosmopolitan “may be seen as exclusive of alternative moral imaginations”, while the global “allows for a variety of imaginations (e.g., local, national, regional, global, cosmopolitan, public and therapeutic)” (Orgad 2012, 49). Orgad also delves into representations, questioning their “role in cultivating a global imagination” that “call actors to think about themselves and others, about current and possible lives, and about the world in which they live.”⁴² To understand “the work of media representations in the ages of globalization”, she offers the global imagination to frame her work and “highlights the dynamic and contested work of media representations in a global context, and their simultaneous descriptive, factual and fantastical, imaginary character.” As an analytic category, she divides the global imagination into five “sites of imagination” — imagining others, imagining ourselves, imagining possible lives, imagining the world, and imagining the self (Orgad 2012, 35-49). Based on the tripodal relations of globalization-representation-imagination, she mainly analyzes media representations in images and narratives in each site to read global imaginations.⁴³

I agree with Orgad’s point that the cosmopolitan imagination still implies a normative orientation or a more specified image of subjectivity. The global imagination in

⁴²The conceptual difference of imagination and representation is well addressed in the following discription: “If imagination is the faculty to produce images in the most general sense of the term, representation is what makes images ‘present’. Representation is therefore one of the crucial ways in which the struggle for people’s imagination takes place” (Bottici and Challand 2011, 12).

⁴³Orgad emphasizes that media representations matter because of the “power relations are encoded” and “in turn they produce and reproduce power relations by constructing knowledge, values, conceptions and beliefs.” In regard to power relations and inequalities, she exemplifies, “class, gender, race, sexuality, ethnicity, age and nationality” (Orgad 2012, 25). I think mobility and the (media) representation of mobility as the window of imagination also share similar enough issues to draw on her analytic framework as a reference.

the meantime can be relatively vague and vast, but it can cover the dimensions of different others and thus seems more relevant to this study in figuring out the relations of the others, the world, and the self. But as her starting point is to unravel media representations and stay grounded in the visual versus the textual, as opposed to discourse and ideology, I want to expand the range of the term beyond media analysis to the question of mobility.⁴⁴ To specify global imaginations for analysis, following Orgad's analytic framework, this research divides them into six different arenas: the others, ourselves, possible lives, the world, the self, and the mobility. Imagining global inevitably requires *the imagination of mobility*, the mobile and fluid per se, and *imagining mobility* was closely related to the freedom of overseas travel and going abroad in the particular temporality and social context that this study investigates. Also, imagining the world links not only to the idea of globality as a unified entity but also to that of the interconnectivity of global society. The category of 'others' will be divided into several types of others. To a large extent, the many diverse forms of globalization in history such as the global village, Americanization, and multiculturalism can be re-framed as forms of many global imaginations in the sense that they implied the imagining ways of the global/world and us/self. In other words, in

⁴⁴The institutionalization of mobility in this study means the institutionalizing and standardizing process in which a given type of mobility is introduced and settled down in practice. It indicates the empirical stage through which the imaginary mobility of going abroad changed from the imaginary to the actual. In this empirical dimension, the institution of mobility (in both the abstract and executive sense) takes the role of an intermediary of the global imagination. The meaning of examining the policy and social institutions of mobility is therefore to elucidate the functioning of them in specifying imaginations and intervening in the formation of the global imagination. In such a situation, the global imagination refers to the perception of the others and the world and the re-identification of oneself reflected through them. Meanwhile, the perspective of mobility in mobility studies also approaches the times of mobility and the work of imagination in a similar way as the theory of imagination in that it assumes the autonomy of mobility and individual agencies. However, this research does not intend to underline such autonomous ground. To theorize the principle and logics of mobility and imagination in general is not the purpose of this dissertation either. Instead, this research intends to clarify the non-autonomous dimensions of mobility; that is, the social, political, and historical conditions of mobility in a particular conjuncture.

this study, I am trying to dismantle the process in which something becomes ‘imagined’; that is, the process of ‘imagining global’.

Structure of Feeling and Socio-cultural History of Global Imaginations

In doing so, I approach globalization and global imagination neither entirely as a normative orientation nor as a mere pre-stage of representation. This study takes the global imagination as a conceptual framework to grasp historical conjunctures of globalization, relying on the idea of the *structure of feeling*. The structure of feeling was introduced by Raymond Williams in 1961 as a framework for perceiving the broader culture that lay in a society and was also found from visible cultural texts such as literature and mass media. Suggesting this as a methodological framework to use to think about social and cultural history, he emphasizes the difficulty of detecting “this felt sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time” in conducting historical studies, analyzing culture, and finding patterns. This “sense of the ways in which the particular activities combined into a way of thinking and living” is a structure of feeling (Williams 1965, 63). The notion of the structure of feeling pays attention to the arena of something “lived and felt” (Williams 1977, 132). The idea originates from the structural frame of the base and superstructure in the Marxist way of thinking, yet with specific concern for cultural processes and hierarchy. He chose ‘feeling’ to distinguish from “more formal concepts of ‘world-view’ or ‘ideology’” (Williams 1977, 132). As he explains, the structure of feeling has a twofold meaning; one “as firm and definite as ‘structure’ suggests” but on the other hand functioning “in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity”, and it is itself the culture of a certain period in the sense of “the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization” (Williams 1965, 64). He gives a more detailed definition and character of structure of feeling in *Marxism and Literature* in 1977. Williams (1977, 132) defines structure of feeling as “affective elements of consciousness and relationships” such

as impulse, restraint, and tone as a 'structure'. Structure herein means "a set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension". But in addition to affective elements that might belong to the private, in defining the structure of feeling, he also mentions "a social experience which is still in process." This social experience is something possibly "not yet recognized as social" but often becomes "more recognizable at a later stage, when they have been (as often happens) formalized, classified, and in many cases built into institutions and formations." When it becomes perceptible and more visible, according to Williams (1977, 132), it is the time when "a new structure of feeling will usually already have begun to form, in the true social present."

As such, the structure of feeling does not have a static and fixed form but has the internal dynamics of an actual process. Such dynamism of a cultural process is also conceptualized in the relations of the *dominant*, *residual*, and *emergent*. To explain the internal dynamic relations of actual cultural and social processes, especially in "epochal analysis", Williams (1977,121) identified three different elements: the dominant, the residual, and the emergent in the social and cultural formations and process. The dominant means the effective and the hegemonic as "the ruling definition of the social" (Williams 1977, 125). The emergent and the residual can be fully understood in relation to the dominant. The residual is from the past but is "still active in cultural process" unlike the archaic and can be "consciously 'revived', in a deliberately specializing way", which Williams (1977, 122) regards as "crucial", as it "may have an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant culture." The residual and the emergent "reveal of the characteristics of the 'dominant'" (Williams 1977, 122). The emergent on the other hand implies "new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships" that are in constant creation (Williams 1977, 123). But according to him, as opposed to the residual, it is extremely difficult to distinguish between elements of the "new phase of the dominant

culture” and “substantially alternative or oppositional to it”, thus careful observation is required (Williams 1977, 123). The condition of *pre-emergence* connects to the structure of feeling. Investigating the structure of feeling is necessary to “understand more closely this condition of pre-emergence as well as the more evident forms of the emergent, the residual, and the dominant” according to Williams (1977, 126-7). In other words, the significance of exploring the structure of feeling is to seize the cultural process and epochal formations, the conditions and practices that make such a process.⁴⁵ The dynamic relations of the dominant, residual, and emergent culture can be re-interpreted as the analytical units to dismantle as well as to compose the simultaneity of nonsimultaneousness.

Relying on this framework to conduct an epochal analysis of the past, this research explores the emergent culture of globality to a large extent in relation to the condition, content, and mediation of this emergence.⁴⁶ The global mobility experience newly appeared along with the changing legal, economic, and geopolitical conditions. I refer to the conceptual framework of the structure of feeling to illustrate an ambivalent but mounting atmosphere of globality and mobility that emerged and spread in various ways in manifold arenas as well as in social discourses. The structure of feeling is connected to the

⁴⁵His historical-cultural criticism of analyzing the structure of feeling was based on the European, especially British, society mainly in the 1960s and the 1840s, with its changing social surroundings of the Industrial Revolution, communication technology, and democracy. As he explained, the structure of feeling of a certain time and space was well expressed in the cultural texts and records such as literature and arts, and his analysis of socio-cultural history was also grounded in art and literature texts. As a cultural process and cultural hypothesis, he also added that the structure of feeling corresponded to the process of class formation in his cases.

⁴⁶Pointing to “a newer sensibility based on newer sensual perceptions”, Dissanayake (2006, 28) suggests understanding globalization as a new structure of feeling. The globalization phenomena he includes as the new structure of feeling cover a range of global events from the 1960s onwards: “global capitalism, the transnational corporation and the new division of labour, the power of information technologies, the end of the cold war, the undermining of the nation-states, the resilience of nation-states, decolonization, feminist and ecological movements, global entertainment, and the rise of newer forms of imagination.”

meanings and values as actively ‘lived and felt’. It brings the affective dimensions of consciousness into focus, which is the “practical consciousness of a present kind in a living and interrelating continuity in a generation or period” (Williams 1977, 132). In this sense, what I mean by global imagination is different from Delanty’s political ethics as an ideal cosmopolitan subject. It is also different from Orgad’s global imagination as contemporary global imaginaries presented in the media representations. In this study, global imagination implies a structure of feeling in which the dynamic cultural process is going on and is shared as a lived and felt experience and sentiment among the people in a certain society, if not clearly identified or literalized at that time. In particular, this study problematizes the global imagination as formed under a number of social and historical conditions and contexts. The notion of the structure of feeling helps examine the affective dimension as well as the structural conditions of social imagination at the same time. In that sense, this notion suggests the dual meaning of ‘imagined’ as socially constructed and ‘imagination’ that may belong to individual experience and capacity. In this study, global imaginations as a structure of feeling of ‘the global’ imply, first, the increasing global consciousness and, second, the specified idea and imaginaries of others and the world in which the transformation of South Korean society is embedded.⁴⁷ This study aims to read the structure of feeling of globality and mobility through the culture and institution of overseas travel in the 1980s, an intermediate and dynamic period.

1.4.2. Governmentality and South Korean Society

In exploring the conditions of the structure of feeling and social imaginaries, this study

⁴⁷Some researchers point to the framework of the structure of feeling to underpin historical researches from different fields of interest in explaining the constituents of Korean society after the 1950s. Klein (2003) brings into focus the American cultural hegemony under the Cold War system, Lee H (2012) addresses metamorphosing yet persisting anti-communism in the Korean context of the Cold War, and Won (2008) underlines the Americanization of South Korean popular culture not by a mere transplantation but by domestic socialization.

examines how the process of internationalization actually proceeded on a societal and policy level and how the global imaginations worked in that process. To engage power/subject relations and interpret the cultural politics of mobility, this study draws on the perspective of governmentality introduced by Michel Foucault on the problematizing and historicizing of molding subjectivity and the development of governing and disciplining methods.

Geneology of Governmentality and Mobility Management

In his genealogical inquiries and problematization on the microphysics of power, Foucault developed analyses of practices about the technologies of power and revealed the changing conditions combined with those practices at certain historical periods, yet not bounded to a given policy, theory, or ideology. This history of governmentality is, in other words, the investigation of the emergence and development of the technologies of government that engage the power/knowledge/subject relations, not the causal relations as in traditional historical studies.⁴⁸ In *Discipline and Punish* (1975), described as the microphysics of power, Foucault investigated how the mechanisms and techniques of power emerged and changed, especially by looking at the penalty and prison system that functioned as disciplinary power. The surveillance and punishment system in more systematized but

⁴⁸His first direct definition of governmentality that inspired governmentality studies onwards is found as follows: “By this word (governmentality) I mean three things: 1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. 2. The tendency which, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led towards the pre-eminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, etc.) of this type of power which may be termed government, resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of savors. 3. The process, or rather the result of the process, through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages, transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gradually becomes ‘governmentalized’” (Foucault 1991, 102-3).

individualized ways spread to other social institutions such as hospitals, factories, schools, and military barracks. Beyond the direct functioning of disciplinary power on the body, the problematic of the technologies of power and the analysis of those practices evolved to the idea of the *conduct of conduct* that connected to the self-disciplinary methods of the internalization of norms in *The History of Sexuality* (1976) and *Security, Territory, Population* (1977-8). Such government techniques and the invention of certain devices, combined with the knowledge system and social institution in specific historical times as well as historical events, have contributed to the history of governmentality. To encompass, all these programmes and technologies are linked to the problematic of how subjectivity is formed through ‘the technologies of the self’. Entering the modern state system, the state system changed from an administrative state to a governmental state, and the disciplinary power on the body transformed to biopolitics on the population and labor forces through the apparatuses of (social) security. This transition implied more individualized, microscopic, and invisible forms of power and politics, and the state became “governmentalized” and centered on the power relations in this process, according to Foucault.⁴⁹

The question of mobility is entwined not only with such two dimensions of governmentality – disciplinary power upon the human body and the governance of populations and labor forces – but also through the methods of reinforcing territories. This is why the pioneering studies on mobility management in both migration and tourism history developed discussions based on Foucault’s framework on governmentality. As

⁴⁹It is a difficult task to summarize Foucault’s extensive and dense development of ideas into a few paragraphs. This research does not locate itself as theoretical research on Foucault’s philosophy nor on governmentality studies. As Foucault himself emphasized his theory as the “problematization” of power, knowledge, discourse, and subject, this study aims to problematize its own themes, globalization and mobility by drawing upon his framework of governmentality and his genealogical methodology on the work of power and its effect as thought-provoking theoretical resources. As to the main references for this section, see Foucault (1975/2003; 1976/2011; 1991; 1976/2015; 1978/2011).

addressed above, the relevant mobility studies have highlighted the particularity of the modern nation-state's role and practices in a specific historical context. Torpey (1998; 2000) investigated the invention of the passport system and other tools of identification as the governing technology of the modern nation-state on its population and territory. The governing technology as such played a crucial role in distinguishing citizen from foreigner and contributed to the development of modern territorial states and the international system of supervising flow. Consequently, it made foreign aliens, including immigrants and travelers, visible either as legal residents and visitors or as illegal and "impossible subjects" (Ngai 2004). It also generated a new identification system that was individualized based on racial categorization (McKeown 2008). These systems of identification and border control were re-produced as a global standard of mobility control. On the other hand, also under the influence of Foucault, Aihwa Ong (1999) takes an anthropological stance on observing "translocal governmentality". With the case of Chinese diaspora, Ong explains their transnational strategies as "systems of governmentality – in the broad sense of techniques and codes for directing human behavior – that condition and manage the movements of populations and capital" (Ong 1999, 6).

As such, the space of mobility is another significant area of governmentality wherein the disciplinary power upon human bodies and behaviors as well as the state authority on population management concurrently operate. Mobility management and regulation as an extension of discipline and punishment connects to biopolitics in the modern administrative state system. Influenced by the perspective of governmentality, this study will discuss the devices of mobility regulation and technologies of mobility government. As a further discussion, it will explore how such an idea was adapted and developed in regulating ideological imagination and how it appeared on the level of social discourses and norms surrounding the liberalization of overseas travel and people on the

move.⁵⁰

Types of Governmentality as Political Forces in Contemporary South Korea

The notion of governmentality refers to the effect of power that inherently implies the dynamics created by multiple agencies. Bearing in mind this complex functioning of power-knowledge-subject, this research mainly elucidates administrative state power first as a case in point with the subsidiary examination of societal counter conducts. The topic of governmentality and state power has often been discussed due to its political urgency and persisting influence on human life in contemporary Korea. Coping with the question of governmentality and contemporary South Korean society, several dimensions were brought up as part of the condition and context of South Korea after the Korean War: Cold War governmentality, authoritarian neoliberal governmentality, nationalism, extrajudicial politics of fear by military regimes, and anti-communism. From different focal points on the governing practices and agencies that are not mutually exclusive, these types of governmentality have explained how certain types of subjectivity were molded in South Korean society as an effect of the power/knowledge combination and political strategy.

Focusing on the activities of information agencies of the U.S. and South Korea after the Korean War, Kim HJ (2011b) argues that the Cold War governmentality was the

⁵⁰As for the previous scholarship that questions of the making of imagination and its power relations, rearranging Foucault's thoughts on power/knowledge into the dimension of cultural contact, otherness, mobility and imagination, and gaze, see Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1977) on the construction of knowledge and images of others in the interaction of discourse, knowledge, and power; Mary Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* (2007) on these issues in the context of cultural contacts between the Empire and colonies; and John Urry (2002) on the tourist experience in the modern times. My research also closely relates to and is influenced by these thought-provoking works. The reason why I put forward the theoretical framework of the structure of feeling, governmentality, securitization and ideological geography in this thesis is to unfold the process of institutionalization wherein state power still takes the initiative and also to explore the dynamic conjunctures from a micro-historical and anthropological stance of observation and investigation rather than the discursive inquiries of power-knowledge-subject.

“combination of security and freedom” that sustained the ‘state of exception’. He explained Cold War governmentality in South Korea through three aspects: the strategy of U.S. global governance during the Cold War period, the technologies and strategies of power that materialized in the specific institution of the U.S. military government, and the newly constructed state in which several models converged. In the meantime, Chung (2010) defines the current state of the political economy of South Korea as authoritarian neo-liberal governmentality, i.e. the underdevelopment of liberal governmentality in that the liberal market and non-liberal politics are conjoined. This characteristic of the South Korean state and the development of democracy reflect the mixture of the Cold War system on a global level and the Division System on a Korean level.⁵¹ From a different dimension, Kim DN (2010) identifies nationalism as a form of governmentality that operated in the contemporary Korean society with a specific focus on the political leaders’ political strategies. He explains that nationalism was made into discourses in diverse ways by manifold political subjects after the liberation of Korea, and the discourse of nationalism was utilized as the primary political strategy at a critical moment in domestic politics. He compares the former presidents Park Jung-hee and Kim Dae-jung in their utilization of nationalism for constructing and reconstructing the nation-state’s structure and underlines that the state-oriented nationalism of Park Jung-hee especially functioned in integrating individuals to organize the state into a higher dimension of collectivity as a nation beyond individualized beings. This integration and mobilization of individuals did not merely belong to the economic dimension of the modern state’s governmentality but also acted on an ideological level.

⁵¹As turning points, he categorizes four temporal frames: the “48 regime” of the division and war, the “61 regime” of the subordinate development of capitalism, the “87 regime” of the liberal democratization, and the “97 regime” of neo-liberal globalization (Chung 2010, 93-5).

On the other hand, analyses of the military dictatorship often unravel the technologies of the government of the state as disciplinary power that were highly repressive and even violent. Im (2014) describes the political leadership of the Chun Doo-hwan regime during the 1980s as regressive authoritarianism to a new caudillismo by military chieftains. He defines such a system as “caudillismo governmentality” that is characterized by the patrimonial dictatorship instilling fear in people through a “reign of terror” in which the extrajudicial institutions of governments such as the Special Committee for National Security Measures and the Committee for Social Purification wielded enormous power (Im 2014, 588-95). The persisting authority of the extrajudicial state apparatuses was a critical issue in power-subject relations in contemporary South Korean society, which makes the perspective of actors in governmentality a case in point that cannot be neglected. The state information agencies and the secret police were the representatives of the so-called reign of public safety. In the 1970s during the Yusin regime (1972–1979), the reign of terror was mixed with the social welfare policy (Hwang 2012). Penetrating into daily life worlds and practices, the regime invented new types of government devices such as “neighborhood meetings” (*Bansanghoe*) to get people morally reformed, to elevate economic performance (Seo and Kim 2015) and to reorganize spaces such as rural communities as well as schools not only for economic purposes but also for the ideological purpose of anti-communism (Heo 2015a; Heo 2015b). Such governmentality, connected with the state of exception and the postwar nation-building project under the Cold War influence as well as local authoritarian regimes, is also deemed East Asian governmentality (Kim HJ 2011a).⁵²

⁵²The timeline from the 1960s to 1980s, which was ruled by the military regime in South Korea, is also evaluated as “Fascism” (Hwang 2012). By articulating the European experience of Fascism and Nazism, Lim (2004) draws the framework of “mass dictatorship”, arguing for the mass collusion with totalitarianism. This radical

Anti-communism is often portrayed as a rationale that ideologically constructs governmentality in contemporary South Korean society by legitimizing the state's violence and anti-communist discourses that cause the vulnerability of lives. By describing the fierce experience of the "Other Cold War" that is distinct from bipolar Cold War narratives, Kwon (2010) asserts that the Cold War world was in fact a "death-world" that destroyed manifold human lives and left many victims through the state's anti-communist violence and other forms of organized violence. Many scholars indicate the omnipresence of anti-communism in South Korea as a political strategy and reality. Lim (2000) explains how anti-communism has penetrated into this "anti-communist disciplinary society" as a state of "collective consciousness", a form of non-humane "militarism", and a "totalitarian legal system". *The Era of Anti-communism* (Kim et al. 2015) maps out diverse ways of articulation in which anti-communism is associated with or disturbs other ideologies and social phenomena, for example, the labor movement, popular culture, religion, human rights, pro-Americanism, etc. By drawing upon Foucault's notion, Yu (2015, 253) emphasizes the necessity of understanding anti-communism as "dispositif" that reproduces power relations, "functioning as a principle that organizes social practices under specific power relations and as the technology of the subjugation/subjectification in discursive ways." Not only a social discourse, it was also the governmental technology of power that

interpretation stems from a comparative perspective to see similarities with other countries in global history. Other scholars also point out shared issues of state violence by the state apparatuses that were "justified in the names of security, anti-communism, war, and crisis" in East Asian countries during the Cold War, but indeed went through the Hot War. Such a "state of exception" in the times of nation-building and "War-Politics" was not a Korean phenomenon only, as it appeared in other Asian countries and even in the U.S. (Kim DC 2011; Kim HJ 2011a; Kwon 2010). On the other hand, another scholar puts emphasis on this gap and discordance of this Korean time from the international and East Asian time of the Cold War by saying that the division system is inherently "weak to the external change and susceptible to the internal change". This in itself is the distinctiveness of the Korean Cold War system called the division system, which "has always been presented in the control inside the society in Korea." He views this "discordance of East Asian Cold War times and the Korean Cold War" that was formed in the mid-1970s as increasing the social control in domestic South Korean society (Jung KS 2011, 106-7).

was activated to recover “the normalcy of order” by punishing ‘abnormal individuals’ and condemning them as spies (Lim 2014). In this regard, anti-communism has been functioning as an ideological tool of biopolitics, through which the state power decides life or death for ‘unjustified’ human beings and practices.

As demonstrated above, a few types of governmentality were theorized to interpret the contemporaneity of Korean society, and not every case seems to accord entirely with Foucault’s original thought on governmentality.⁵³ The existing studies on South Korean society share a critical and genealogical perspective on the effect of power and the meticulous practices of the technologies of government, but at the same time, they underline the regional and national particularity as historically and geopolitically conditioned. They both pay attention to the functioning of specific ideologies as the dominant forces in Korean society at given times and concentrate on power agencies such as the state and its ideological state apparatuses that exerted ideological ruling power. In this regard, the state is considered an active agency as the decision maker of structural transformation, the planner of the conduct of conduct and disciplinary institutions, and even the institutions exerting violence that set the state of exception and urgency.

⁵³On the other hand, with the case of governmentality on the cultural policy in South Korea, Ryoo (2009) puts more emphasis on Foucault’s original problematization on the perspective of governmentality on how the effect of power functions and evolves in certain directions in contrast to the relatively targeted criticisms of specific political power and its political strategies. He locates the state as an institution in the sense that it plays and interacts with other agencies. He argues that the perspective of governmentality can demonstrate that “the state is not the governing power that repressively rules the individuals but the dynamic process in the making where the members of society as the subject govern themselves and support and participate in the institutions and regime of truth” (Ryoo 2009, 351). Taking the state’s governmentality as a unit of analysis, he explains that governmentality is useful as a conceptual framework for understanding how the state policy and institutions aiming to change the cultural scape are put into effect. His stance certainly has explanatory power, but it is still in need of investigation as to the question of governmentality that is entangled with the state power and of unraveling the technologies of governmentality, given that the realpolitik and the contestation over political legitimacy have widely affected daily human lives and society.

This study, which deals with the governmentality called globalization and the state's intervening in the process, does not simply aim to verify how the repressive regime dominated power but to elucidate how the process of globalizing was developed and what the effect was. In other words, the reason why this research approaches global imagination and mobility through the framework of governmentality is to unfold the process and details on the technologies and programme of government and their consequences. It aims to understand the particularity of the governmentality functioning in the arena of mobility and to unravel the subjectivity and otherness that appeared in the process and programme of government. By doing so, the question of power and its agencies will be re-examined and problematized again for this underinvestigated field of research as academic practices. Drawing upon the problematic as such, this study is located in the intersection of the genealogy of globalization and mobility in the particular temporal and spatial context of South Korea during the 1980s, with a specific focus on the nation-state's intervention in mobility policy and the construction of the direction of the globalizing nation's mobile subjects from inside.

1.4.3. Conceptual Framework: Securitization and Global Imaginations

To combine the perspective of the global imagination as a structure of feeling and governmentality as a function of power, this research finally draws upon a more rooted theoretical framework of securitization and PTC (*Policing the Crisis*) study to set the analytical framework of the securitization of imagination for understanding (post-)Cold War globalization.

Theory of Securitization and the Analysis of "Policing the Crisis"

Both securitization theory by the Copenhagen School that stemmed from IR studies and the PTC project by the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS)

from media and cultural studies are interdisciplinary approaches that unfold the process of governmentalization and its effect, focusing on agencies and institutionalization. Both approaches are grounded in temporal and social conditions as well as political and cultural practices. Engaging in the issue of articulation of the reality with the microphysics of power, these intellectual works respectively shed light on how the discursive process of securitization and the process of policing (as a broader meaning of controlling domestic affairs) engendered the security issue and the sense of threat. Securitization theory stems from the traditional security theory as an alternative and reflexive challenge that expands the connotation of *security* as a steady and stubborn notion of national security in international relations (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1997). It provides a more general framework that is available as a unit of analysis by setting the fields of securitization and constructing a model by dividing them into the military, environmental, economic, societal, and political sectors, which are not mutually exclusive but synthesized in the construction of 'security'.

Policing the Crisis (1978) was the result of a six-year collaborative research project by the CCCS after the first mugging incident in 1972 by racial minority teenagers who were sentenced to a more severe penalty than normal. This project was an academic practice that aimed to intervene in the problems of British society encountered in the 1970s, as the authors addressed. Based on Althusser's notion of ideological state apparatuses (ISAs), they traced the process of how the deviant behavior of mugging turned out to be an alarming and perilous social phenomenon that caused societal moral panic while being criminalized and naturalized by the active association of state apparatuses, such as the police, court, and media, so as to stabilize 'law and order'. In doing so, it was revealed that mugging was not a deviancy of teenagers with racial minority but in actuality a complex phenomenon and a constructed reality in which the problems of postwar and post-colonial

situations such as race, labor, urban life, youth, and even the image of America were all entangled. As such, mugging presented the social and political conjuncture of British society. In comparison to securitization theory, which is more focused on specific speech acts of securitization in different sectors, PTC studies takes the audience's side into consideration and how they react to and interact with social phenomena. In these ways, securitization theory and PTC studies present examples of performing cultural politics research wherein socio-cultural dimensions and political dynamics cross over, per se. Both of them shed light on the way that the perceptive and discursive level, possibly rephrased as 'knowledge' for Foucault, is combined with the institutional level to form disciplines and social norms and release the intention of power. Although the specific terms used in each study might be different from one another including Foucault's, i.e. risk/threat/crisis, they are connected in the sense that they discuss and investigate reactionary work for ensuring the security of a society in changing conditions and the technologies of government operating at the given conjunctures. Compared to Foucault's broader and universal idea on the 'state', securitization theory and PTC studies bring into focus the specific historical conjunctures, social and political situations and events, and the particular 'state as an agency' in active operation.⁵⁴

The topic and unit of analysis in this research might not exactly coincide with the

⁵⁴In the meantime, in contemporary Korea, securitization is already a vernacular act under the Division System and contestation with North Korea as a threat. As previously addressed, the issue of 'public safety governmentality' or "War Politics" via "state security discourse" that reinforced the national security regime was a means of authorizing the political legitimacy of the regimes as the dominant ruling position and giving power to decide the life or death of individuals. In the case study of the Yusin Regime during the 1970s, Hwang (2012, 135) explains that the fundamental grammar of "state security discourse" is binarity, from which "extreme politics is realized". In the case of the Yusin Regime, state security discourse was not reduced to anti-communism but contained both internal and external enemies as objects of security, and the head of the state had absolute power to decide life or death as the controlling power of biopolitics. The spy was "a very useful being for the internal disciplining" of this security state due to their ambivalent existence between citizen and non-citizen (Hwang 2012, 133).

division of sectors, their criteria and characters, nor deal with youth crime as in PTC studies; yet, it shares the problematic of the state's governmentality and the dynamics of societal-cultural politics in given political and geopolitical conditions, underpinning the story in the contemporary world. Specifically, it discusses the process and technologies of securitizing a 'threat' or 'crisis' and the state's governmentalization as well.

The analysis takes its reference from the premise and categorization of securitization theory as well as the investigative conjunctural analysis of PTC. Based on this setting, this study will delve into the process of the institutionalization of mobility by looking at the institutional practices, sectors and contents, actors, conditions, and consequences of that process.

1.5. Methodology and Data

Socio-cultural History of Global Mobility and Unit of Analysis

This study is grounded in the genealogical perspective, and it aims to fill gaps in the narrative of mobility and global imagination in the history of globalization in South Korea.⁵⁵ As in the genealogical perspective, this research also aims to develop a story that has explanatory power to discuss the continuities, ruptures, and particularity. However, this does not mean that this study is a genealogical study that traces a long-term period or changes over time, but instead I intend to examine first a conjuncture for about a decade. As mentioned, the conjuncture is the 1980s, during which, I assume, the genealogy of

⁵⁵Addressing that historians have rarely paid attention to globalization, Osterhammel et al. (2013, 31) reframe the historical perspective and analysis on globalization by defining it as "a consequential phenomenon in progress by the long-term interactive process and mutual reinforcing" and by emphasizing it as the question of now and here wherein "we are living at the center" of that historical process.

globalization and that of mobility intersect and entwine.⁵⁶ The meaning of conjuncture was already addressed above, but to cite Taylor's suggestion as the antidote to the errors in the theories of modernity, it is worthwhile "to remind of some conjunctures in the long and uneven itinerary of the theory that passed through to dominate our imaginaries" (Taylor 2010, 36). In this research, the 'theory' can be rephrased to the imagination on the global and the mobile. To borrow a definition from mobility studies, traveling the world is a method to perform the world as a connoisseur of place (Urry 2014, 474), and the rapid form of mobility generates the way people experience the modern world in reality, namely, the fundamental effect on the production of subjectivity per se (Lash and Urry 1998, 376). This study takes the issue of overseas travel in the 1980s in South Korea as a case in point to understand the method used to perform the world; the way people experienced the world in reality and thus the effect on the production of subjectivity in the recent history of globalization. Assuming that the question of mobility is linked with the three dimensions of politics, policies, and individual mobile subjects, this study will look at both the institutional side and performative side of overseas travel as connected to each other.

The units of analysis consist of four major cases: first, the global imaginaries that spread in daily social and cultural space to examine the overall mapping of globality and mobility during the 1980s; second, the concept and institutionalization of overseas travel as a method of internationalizing mobility, particularly focusing on status and qualifications, procedure, education and promotion; third, the detailed education program for overseas travelers and the educational film; and, finally, a study trip program to socialist countries

⁵⁶This can be rephrased as an attempt to look at the social process of path-shaping (Ji 2011) as well as the path-crossing of globality and mobility in a certain conjuncture. In analyzing the neoliberal transition in South Korea, Ji (2011, 11) introduces the perspective of the "social process of path-shaping". "Path-shaping" is "the formation of a social path through which specific social relations and activities are guided and the formation of a structure wherein those social relations and activities are stably reproduced."

around the ‘end of the Cold War’ and the participants’ practices.

Research Materials and Data Collection

This study can be identified as a social and cultural history of (post-)Cold War globalization, following the perspective of historical cultural studies. This interdisciplinary research mainly employs document analyses of various texts.⁵⁷ Since Raymond Williams read the structure of feeling from the literature and art texts, many literature and cultural studies scholars have approached cultural texts to grasp the structure of feeling. From the same purpose, this study explores various types of texts including travel accounts, policy documents, educational films, production records, popular magazines, and several other official reports and yearbooks as cultural texts used to understand the micro history of global mobility and to read the structure of feeling between the lines. In this regard, although I studied documents and conducted archival research, I also defined myself as doing ethnographic research in the sense that PTC is defined with its link with conjunctural analysis; that is, “the journey towards a detailed empirical knowledge of a particular ‘social world’” (Hall et al. 1978, xi-xii).⁵⁸ Kim (2005, 7-8), a Korean cultural

⁵⁷To find a new structure of feeling, Williams (1965, 65-66) explains that we have to look at “the documentary culture”, particularly in the case of historical research “when the living witnesses are silent.” He emphasizes that the documentary culture “expresses that life to us in direct terms” more clearly than anything else. The documentary culture can be rephrased as “the recorded culture”, which refers to every kind of documentary culture “from art to the most everyday facts: the culture of a period.” This is based on the understanding of culture, with regard to cultural history as “more than the sum of the particular”, cultural theory as “the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life”, and the analysis of culture as “the attempt to discover the nature of the organization which is the complex of these relationships” (Williams 1965, 63).

⁵⁸The full description is as follows: “Although the classic methods of ethnography are participant observation, listening and interviewing, any approach that assists the journey towards a detailed empirical knowledge of a particular ‘social world’ can be ethnographic: wading through mounds of newspapers; reading masses of secondary material in the form of books, articles and commentaries; and living and working in the ‘social world’ of Handworth. It is this pragmatic approach, an ethnographic orientation combined with

anthropologist who has actively engaged the field of ongoing globalization, mainly with migrant issues, emphasizes the importance of considering the meaning of ‘global’ in concrete fields and phenomena. She utilizes the concepts of “diversities in us” and “cultural translation” as conceptual frameworks in approaching these fields. This study, on the other hand, approaches globalization and the history of globalization by drawing on the framework of (post-)Cold War globalization and the securitization of imagination.

The research materials include travel essays, policy papers, yearbooks and reports, the National Overseas Tourism Survey, and selected articles from travel magazines, lifestyle magazines, daily newspapers, tourism industry journals, and several other related journals. They can be largely categorized into documents and statistics, visual materials, and travelogues. A few interviews with the participants of the following case studies were conducted as a supplement for the written-text-based analysis. Not only the official policy paper and confidential government documents but also the articles and columns of mass media and the tourism industry were examined to grasp the social discourses and atmosphere surrounding overseas travel and to scrutinize the story of the condensed times of the 1980s. The analysis of data is not confined to the surface level of representation and the relevant policy. It aims to broadly examine the process of how global mobility settled in a society, how such a process intersected with the temporal and spatial context, including historical particularity and geopolitical international relations, and what kind of global imagination was formed and transformed throughout such a process.

In detail, for the process of data collection, for the archives, I mainly visited and utilized the National Library of Korea (www.nl.go.kr/nl/) and National Assembly Library (www.nanet.go.kr/main.do), which provide old magazines and official documents in

varieties of sociology and media studies framed by a Marxist approach to conjunctural analysis” (Hall et al. 1978, xi-xii).

systematic ways by making available printed documents and digital versions on site. As to the news articles, I utilized the NAVER News Library (<https://newslibrary.naver.com/search/searchByDate.nhn>), an online news archive provided by the major portal website in South Korea. I used the online archive of the National Law Information Center (www.law.go.kr) for the law and legislations for passport law, the Tourism Knowledge & Information System (www.tour.go.kr) provided by the KCTI (Korea Culture & Tourism Institute) for tourism statistics, the KTV archive of the visual historical materials (www.ehistory.go.kr) for the official visual materials, the National Archives of Korea (www.archives.go.kr) under the Ministry of the Interior and Safety for the government documents, television news clips from the online database of MBC (www.mbcarchive.com), and the website for used books (www.bookisland.co.kr) to search for and buy historical publications on travel etiquette, travel guidebooks, and individual travelogues.

Next, as for the details of the research materials, the following documents were the sources I referred to and analyzed for each chapter: *Korean Tourism Yearbook* from 1984 to 1994; *Monthly Travel & Leisure* from January 1984 (Vol. 1) to June 1988 (Vol. 40); *Monthly Overseas Travel* from July 1988 (Vol. 41) to April 1990 (Vol. 62); *Lady Kyunghyang* from July 1988 and July and August of 1989; *Kwanhyup (Korea Tourist Association Bulletin)* from January 1980 (Vol. 55) to June 1992 (Vol.233); *Nation-wide Survey on Travel 1976, 1984, 1988, and 1991*; *Nation-wide Survey on Overseas Travel* 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997; and *The Annual Report on Tourism Trends* (1981–1993). In reviewing the materials such as travel magazines and the periodicals from the tourism industry as described above, I read through the documents and extracted the relevant issues and articles from around 1980 to the early 1990s. As to the lifestyle and leisure magazines, I used the table of contents and cover page to pick out the relevant articles on overseas

travel and global imaginations. News articles from daily newspapers, other monthly travel and lifestyle magazines during the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, columns and opinions in the published forum and journals, and the travel-related books were also referred to based on the keyword search at online archives with the keywords overseas travel, liberalization of overseas travel, and Soyang education. The research materials were collected during the fieldwork conducted for several months from 2014 to 2016.

In specific, for each chapter, for Chapter 3, the discourse analysis was conducted with a focus on largely two dimensions: the legislation and the discourses in tourism media. This shows how the nation-state (as the governing sector of mobility policy) and the tourism industry (as the interest group) understood and arranged the guideline of overseas travel that was strange to that period and what kind of reactions in society and expectations to that issue arose. The main materials to be covered include the passport law and the immigration control law, *Korean Tourism Yearbook* (from the 1st edition in 1984), *Annual Report on Tourism Trends*, the nation-wide survey reports on travel, the confidential government documents on the travel ban in the 1960s and 1970s, a few articles on the issue of the travel ban, and the opening remarks of mass tourism magazines since the 1980s.⁵⁹

As to the data and analysis for Chapter 4 and 5, an additional explanation is necessary. In addition to the government documents on the mandatory education program for overseas travelers and other official documents and travel media as abovementioned, I analyze the film text, narrative, and the relevant government documents on the specific film production of *the security film for overseas travelers*. The main texts for text and

⁵⁹Tourism was initiated since the 1960s in the Republic of Korea, and the Tourism White Paper was published in 1965 for the purpose of promoting government policy. The annual report on tourism trends started its publication and distribution in 1976 with content on tourism policy and records based on the Tourism Law established in 1975 (Kwon 1990, 12).

narrative analysis were the films *The Trap* (*Hamjeong; The Shadow 2*, 1983) and *The Shadow* (*Gurimja*, 1980). For the former, the following archive provides the original visual material, but for the latter, the original script was found only without the visual source of the film. The clips and information of the films were found and extracted from the online archives of the National Audio Visual Information Service (www.ehistory.go.kr) and National Archives of Korea (www.archives.go.kr).

As for Chapter 5, the “East European Study Trip”, the visiting program to the socialist societies, and travel essays with other reports were selected for the case study. This was a mix of a tourism and education program for carefully selected university students and professors organized by the South Korean government and Korean universities with the support of counterpart institutions in the socialist societies. This trip started in 1988 and was terminated in 1992 and was the first official attempt to remove the ban on visiting communist countries. In this thesis, this trip is not chosen as a representative of overseas travel during this era, but as a critical symbolic example that unfolds the non-simultaneous temporality and ambivalences of the transitional cosmopolitan moments, borrowing Bhabha’s words, the “contested” and “disjunctive” characters of that time (Bhabha 1990). This study considers the space of foreign travel and the interactive experience as a contact zone. The travel writing analysis has the meaning of a window to perceive the changes in global consciousness and imagination that also reveals the representational convention and discursive dimensions in the experience of the contact zone.⁶⁰ Travel writing is also regarded as a form of “translation” (Duncan and

⁶⁰Travel writing has two dimensions: travel writing as life writing and as a witness account. In analyzing the Eastern European trip, the second dimension is important, “a window to grasp how the actors view the self, the others, and the world at a given time and place” (Schenck and Kim 2018, 6). In relation to this, travel writing as “a genre especially reflective of, and responsive to, the modern condition” (Thompson 2011, 2) can never be a “neutral observation but is indeed a powerful mediator that reflects and constructs the

Gregory 1999, 5) that mediates the destination. At the same time, it is not free from power relations in the sense that it “re-presented (“translated”) the periphery back to the center in ways that reinforced official discourse of authority” (Gorsuch and Koenker 2006, 8). As a complex of expressive representation, travel writing works as first-hand material that composes representations of us and interrogates about representations (Appadurai 2004, 117). In particular, this study approaches travel writing and overseas travel of the Cold War and post-Cold War as a text of the (post-)Cold War contact zone.

For the details of the research material, I analyzed seventy-four travel essays collected by the Korean Research Foundation of the Ministry of Education as a five-volume publication for each round dispatched every summer and winter vacation from 1989 to 1991.⁶¹ After the trip, students submitted team papers or individual essays, and selected essays were published in five volumes of an essay collection and a book, *Visiting a New Companion, China: Look out the Wider World, Youth* (1992).⁶² In particular, the

subjectivity of the era” (Schenck and Kim 2018, 6). In *Imperial Eyes*, an influential historical work on travel writing in the milieu of European imperial expansion to America from the 1750s, Pratt (2007) regards travel writing not as a closed literary text but as historical material “to suggest its heterogeneity and its interaction with other kinds of expression” of the time (Pratt 2007, 12). The interaction of text with its context – the era, or possibly, global history of the time, was more important to her project than other conventions. Similarly, Klein (2003), who in analyzing the imagination appeared in postwar travel and travel writing in the U.S., explains, “The discourse and practice of travel served as a cultural space” in which the certain sentiments can be “expressed, managed, and imaginatively resolved”, and therefore “functioned as a cultural space” in which readers (Americans) “could be trained to imagine and practice the kinds of exchanges that would strengthen the nation’s global ties” (Klein 2003, 103).

⁶¹The five volumes of essay collections will be marked I, II, III, IV, and V, and as to the number of essays in each volume, I will use Arabic numerals; for example, ‘II-3’ refers to Vol. II, No. 3.

⁶²It is in fact both difficult and dangerous to generalize the travel essays written by seventy-four people. Each traveler’s perspective and impression is unique. Each experience and description has its own distinctiveness, and two contrasting points of view occasionally appear in front of the same site. Depending on the person’s attitude and presumption on the other and other culture as well as the preparation before the trip, the depth of interaction with local people and understanding of the local culture vary. Taking into account such diversity and particularity of experience, this research focuses on the

earlier participants were often exposed to the mainstream media in the format of news reports and special interviews for daily newspapers, and I also included the relevant media coverage into analysis. To compensate for the limitation of this essay collection, which is the possibility of self-censorship as a required report submitted to the organizer, this study conducted a complementary interview with two former participants of this trip from June 2015 to August 2015. As the participants were ordinary university students thirty years ago, it was not easy to find the former participants, but I could hear the story from one of them face-to-face and another through exchanging several emails, as this person was not currently staying in Korea. One of them I found through snowballing, and another one I found from a blog entry this person briefly left on the memory of this trip. All the offline and online interviews were recorded and documented into the script for analysis.

Reflections on the Archive and Doing Historical Study

The issue of credibility of historical materials and the archive, especially official government documents, including statistics and reports and the travel essays for Eastern Europe study trip, has to be mentioned. The bias originally embedded in those materials has significance connecting to the theme of this research as well. Not only the contents, but also the production and structure of these data are connected to the entire plan of internationalization and the functioning of governmentality, as will be seen later. In the case of the archives, the National Archives of Korea is a unique one, as its data are only concentrated on government records and can be found and read at this archive only. Many data used to be confidential, and, depending on the issue, some of them are bound to thirty years of confidentiality by law, specifically the Public Records Management Act, and are

aspect of imagined geography by looking at how and what kinds of multiple imaginations operated at the same time in order to discuss the meaning of such topology to South Korean society.

closed to the public, even for research purposes.⁶³ The government documents in this research are all from that database. Documents about the film production process cited in this thesis are open to the public but are not online. As I am looking at the 1980s, I still did not have access to some of them due to the limitation, and some of them I luckily discovered as new materials to investigate, as found in the analysis of the chapters on policy, education films, and the study trip. This archive that has gradually opened to the public in recent years is a significant source for research given the previous research trends on contemporary history that highly depended on oral history and open documents such as magazines, books, and literature as accessible records. As the archive itself implies, the database in the National Archives of Korea helps to learn how the (state) power and ISAs operated and intervened in policy making and society building in recent history. In the meantime, the film record and the related documents analyzed in this thesis have not been found as research material up until now, and the archive itself is rarely used either in film studies or in history. Williams (2003) points out the impact of televisual communication in the social construction of security issues and suggests drawing on the securitization theory to include these materials as communicative practices beyond the speech act. As Heo (2014) addressed, the visual materials, including the film records, are not often used for historical analysis, and even film studies have focused mainly on feature films. Thus, this new finding of the research material and archive is another challenge and reason for the importance of this research. The information on the material analyzed in each chapter will be addressed in the respective chapters in more detail.

The critical approach to the historical material is an important issue in conducting

⁶³“First open of the secret government records to the public in thirty years” (*Kyunghyang Shinmun* 2004); “‘Confidential’ to the documents sending outside?” (*Hangyeoreh* 2005a); “Impossible to browse the documents for 30 years, even if ‘the secret’ is unsealed!” (*Hangyeoreh* 2005b)

document studies for historical research. It is also important in this research that the documents are “not the transparent representation about the social facts” (Lee 2005, 124). In reflexive examination of the historical research methods in communication studies, Lee (2005, 124) emphasizes that the materials “are the product of the social interactions from the past, thus the circumstances of those interactions have to be properly analyzed and interpreted”, and “the materialistic characteristics of the media also have to be recognized as an important historical material” in the case of dealing with media materials. He describes how “the traces from the past are most of the time contaminated by the manifold observers, and furthermore the institution and cultural forms, and damaged and corrupted by time” (Lee 2005, 128). This point is quintessential in this research. This is because the materials used in this research, especially the government records, films, and travel reports, are located in the middle of power relations and politics. Therefore, the range of documents and their production process, context and the effect of power have to be considered together in the process of conducting research, which is Foucault’s legacy of historical studies (Lee 2005, 133). This research also takes this stance into consideration for conducting the analysis of historical documents, as exemplified in the following chapters on interpreting government documents including the definition of the terms and statistics. Based on such a premise of the historicity of the data per se, which is also linked to the overall theme of this thesis, this study will conduct a critical analysis of historical data on the given conjuncture.

1.6. Chapter Overview

The following chapters consist of the analyses of four dimensions where the global imaginations entangled with the practices of mobility. In Chapter 2, the mapping of global imaginaries across different social arenas and the implication of ‘mobility’ will be drawn upon in the increasingly omnipresent global imaginations of the 1980s in South Korea.

Chapter 2 gives a more detailed background of the era by drawing on quintessential issues for enhancing the understanding of that period and exploring its temporal and spatial meaning that can eventually be linked to the geopolitical circumstances. The discursive formation of global-scapes that were formed together with other socio-political events and incidents will be illustrated, as it also became visible in travel discourses and thus was not irrelevant with tourism and coevals' 'global' and 'foreign' experience of that time that also closely connected to the question of mobility. This illustration gives a backdrop for better understanding overseas travel during the 1980s.

In Chapter 3, I will examine the process of opening and internationalization epitomized in the liberalization of overseas travel in the 1980s. This section first focuses on the concept and policy of overseas travel and its transition that implied more than the meaning of tourism and travel that the contemporary people are familiar with. Next, I will delve into the policy making and implementation process of movement and mobility through which overseas travel was actualized. The details of these governmental plans largely determined the substantial ways of engaging in 'overseas travel' with regard to the qualification, length, selection, condition, administration, and rationale for permission/regulation. Such an institutional setting and practices were the conditions of mobility in the name of overseas travel that indeed disclosed the contemporaneity via the lens of mobility.

The topic of Chapter 4 is the mandatory education course called *Soyang kyoyuk* (courtesy education) that functioned for disciplining people going abroad. I will examine the overall procedure and structure of the education program and then describe an audiovisual education program called the "Security Education Film for Overseas Travelers". This will show how the state-regime tried to educate people before their going abroad in the given geopolitical circumstances and also the otherness and imagination of

the world drawn in that process.

Chapter 5 follows the itinerary and experience of the South Korean student delegation of “university students’ Eastern bloc trip” (hereafter, Eastern-bloc trip) from 1989 to 1992, a trip aimed at transforming socialist societies, i.e. the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, and East Germany (the Unified Germany after October 1990), organized by the Ministry of Education and South Korean universities. I will examine the goal and details of this study abroad program conducted during the post-Cold War transition and how the imagination of the world, the self and others vary or were re-structured in the middle of the global historical change at the edge of the withering Cold War period.

In the conclusion, I will wrap up these cases of overseas travel between 1980 and 1992 with the conceptual framework of the securitization of imagination in relation to the institutionalization of mobility and will discuss the implications for the globalization process of South Korea.

CHAPTER 2. Aspiration and Anxiety: Contesting Global Imaginaries of the 1980s

In this chapter, everyday globality, the increasing global consciousness and *global imaginaries*, will be illustrated.⁶⁴ I utilize the term *global-scape* here, and the expression -scape is chosen to convey the everyday topographical image and rhythm of the time and space. ‘Scape’ is also influenced by Arjun Appadurai’s widely known conceptualization of the fluidity and interconnectedness of the increasingly contemporary globalization after the 1990s. In this manner, global-scape is used to explain the structure of feeling at that time and to illustrate an ambivalent but mounting atmosphere of globality and mobility that appeared and spread in various ways in manifold arenas and social discourses.⁶⁵

2.1. The World and Us: Global Imaginaries in Everyday Life

“Korea in the (integrating) World (*segye sok ūi hankuk*)”— The perception of the world as an interconnected globe, in other words, a *global village*, became settled in South Korean social imaginaries.⁶⁶ Korean society and people actively located themselves as a part of the map, which often refers to ‘one of the world’s advanced countries’. It was mainly formed and experienced at the vernacular level through everyday experience with the strengthened influence of vivid visuality. However, ‘the map’ was a highly selective and therefore

⁶⁴As addressed in the Introduction part in Footnote 4, I use ‘imaginaries’ as materialized and visualized forms, the result of the imagined through the work of imagination. Therefore, ‘global imaginaries’ can refer to the represented or materialized form that implies what is imagined as the global in various ways.

⁶⁵It should be pointed out that here I do not intend to argue that this ‘global thing’ is a new or contemporary phenomenon. The emphasis here is not laid on the continual debates since the 1990s about whether globalization is new. It can be both yes and no depending on the perspective and problematic. This paper accepts the historian’s criticism on the history of globalization. What I am trying to emphasize is that the debates might no longer be meaningful. Rather, taking into account its historicity, a more descriptive approach and investigation might be needed for the current discussion.

⁶⁶As is widely known, the metaphor of the global village was introduced by the media scholar Marshall McLuhan (1962) as a prospect of an interconnected world through the development of media technology, which in fact is a metaphor of the global imaginary in the interconnectivity of people to “imagine themselves as part of one world” (Lule 2012, 11).

limited and imbalanced one often made of representative and banal images that reinforced and internalized the distinction in the world through day-to-day intimate media experiences in a broader sense.

2.1.1. “The World to Seoul, Seoul to the World” and Olympic Fever⁶⁷

The 1988 Summer Olympic Games in Seoul was a grand plan throughout the late 1970s and 1980s in South Korea. Another international sport events, the Asian Games in 1986, functioned as a preliminary stage to test the nation’s ability to hold international sports and media events and create a nationwide fever.⁶⁸ Because of their potential high revenue that could be attained from the expected inbound tourists, these international events were directly connected to the industry’s and the nation’s economic interests. Thus, the aim of attracting as many foreigners – inbound tourists – as possible was a shared mission for both the tourism industry and the South Korean government. The final result of ranking fourth in the Olympics was interpreted as a demonstration of the advanced nation’s power as a newly developed country. It had successfully recovered from its poor and devastated past and now was in line with other advanced countries, which boosted national pride in the South Korean people. The physical and mental strength of the South Korean people, which was allegedly proven throughout the Olympic Games, was regarded as an indicator that represented the nation’s improved economic and technological power, including in science and technology. The 1988 Olympics was a vivid case of cultural politics in which the politics of sports nationalism, post-Cold War international politics, oppressive developmentalism and the exploitation of the urban poor, and the internationalization of

⁶⁷“The World to Seoul, Seoul to the World” was the widely used slogan for the promotion of the Seoul Olympic Games.

⁶⁸A chief of public relations of the Seoul Olympic organizing committee described the sport events of 1986 and 1988 as “the great fortune for the nation that hardly visits”. The Olympic Games was highly expected to be “a trigger to attract international inbound travel” and “create a Renaissance of national tourism” (*Gwanhyup* July 1985, 8-9).

South Korea were all combined.

The 1988 Olympics was a major international event intermingled with the tourism industry, and Olympic narratives were often found in the accounts of tourism industry periodicals and tourism yearbooks.⁶⁹ Such discourses, expressed in manifold forms of nation-wide slogans, advertisements, prospects and plans, messages from chief government officers, and the self-reflection and pledges by partakers in the industry, reveal the aspiration and anticipation for the Olympic games held in Seoul for the first time. The articles and campaigns also served an educational purpose both for the people in the industry as well as the South Korean citizens to help get ready before this mega event. The Olympic narratives in relation to tourism were developed along two lines: to promote domestic tourism and encourage an ‘internationalized attitude’ to welcome foreign visitors and to improve the overall manner as an internationalized citizen through self-regulation.⁷⁰

⁶⁹The preparation plan for foreign tourists, not only for the industry but also for the public, to improve the tourism environment was a major topic in tourism yearbooks and industrial periodicals such as *Kwanhyup*. Not only the governmental reports, but travel magazines, which assumedly targeted potential domestic tourists for domestic and international destinations, also introduced relevant special columns on the strategic analysis of tourism strategy for the ‘86 Asian Games and ‘88 Olympics (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* 1984, 22-5).

⁷⁰As examples, see “New Year’s Remark” (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* January 1988, 15) and special columns on “The Year of Olympics” (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* January 1988, 52-4). The public advertisements by the Korea National Tourism Corporation also narrated that the bright smiles and kind minds of the Korean people were tourism resources for the ‘86 Asian Games and ‘88 Olympic Games, and that each one of “us” was the agency of patriotic tourism (*Kwanhyup* September 1985, back cover).

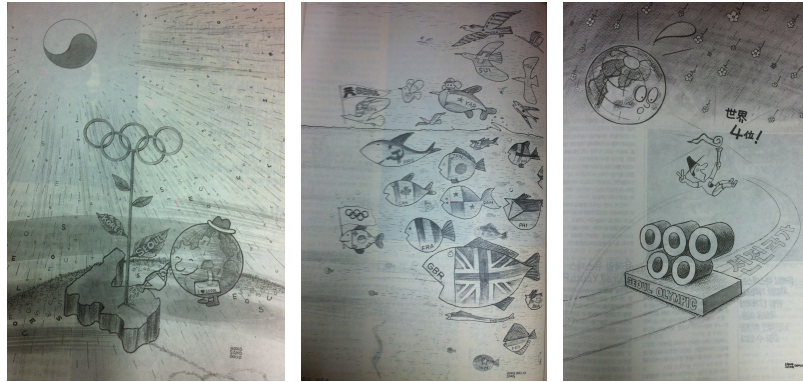


Figure 1. Cartoon Series in *Monthly Travel & Leisure* (February 1988, August 1988, September 1988)⁷¹

In the public imagination, the Olympics gave the South Korean people a sense of belonging in the world society. As shown in the cartoon above (Figure 1), we can see the imagination of the world and us (Korea) evolving throughout 1988. In the first cartoon from February 1988, the smiling globe is watering the Korean Peninsula and a blooming Olympic flower and is holding a letter that says “I love Seoul” in its hand. In the middle, holding the Olympic flag, South Korea is swimming together with other nation-states. On the other hand, the cartoon from September 1988 shows that the globe is now an observer that is surprised by the achievement of South Korea, represented by a man wearing a traditional hat and a T-shirt that shows the national flag. “Advanced country” is written on the track wherein the Seoul Olympic logo is running quickly. This dramatic change in the cartoon epitomizes the changing social imagination on the relationship between the world (the globe and other countries) and us (South Korea). First, it was grown with the support of the world (globe), but as time passed by, the image shows that the confidence and national pride are strengthened.

The Olympic fever demonstrates the important axis of globality and internationalism that were appropriated at that time. The Olympic and tourism industry had a very close relationship during the 1980s. The Seoul Olympics was highly believed to

⁷¹Hereafter, all images without citations are taken from the fieldwork of the author.

“contribute to the expansion of the nation’s sense of opening, and as the liberalization of overseas travel advanced, the number of tourism passports issued greatly increased to 152,300, which is eight times as many as in 1987” (*Advertising Yearbook* 1989, 126).⁷² The Olympics and the liberalization plan of overseas travel were the two pillars, or cogwheels, that formed the internationalization in relation to human mobility. The former was in charge of attracting inbound tourists, whereas the latter pushed South Korean citizens abroad.

2.1.2. World Imaginaries in the Leisure-Tourism Space

In addition to the Olympics and its urban and media configurations, large-scale amusement parks joined in reproducing world imaginaries as another local spectacle. These sites were designed and built beginning in the late 1970s in tandem with the expanding domestic leisure industry and the investment in relevant facilities. The South Korean “conglomerates” (*chaebol*) – Samsung, Lotte, Handuk, etc. – and the city governments were the main players involved in this urban construction. The strategic investment and development led by the city governments and big corporations generated tangible outcomes in urban spaces. Beginning with Children’s Grand Park (which opened in 1973 on the East side of Seoul), Everland (since 1976, located in Yong-in, one of the suburban areas of Seoul), Lotte World (planned from 1983 and opened in July 1989 in Jamsil, a southwest district of Seoul), Seoul Land (built from 1986 and opened in May 1988 in Gwacheon, another suburban area nearby Seoul), Dream Land (since 1987 in the north-eastern district of Seoul) were opened

⁷²In addition, such market analysis often aligns the Olympics, the liberalization of overseas travel, the opening of the market and the purchasability of foreign brands, income growth, the rapid expansion of the sports and leisure industry, and increasing car ownership altogether in describing the changing daily life of the nation to that of an advanced society. This combination not only explains the intermingled dimensions of the changes in the everyday situation at the crossroads of mobility and globality but also shows popular imaginaries of the changing atmosphere of the times in its specific imagination of new signifiers.

consecutively and began to re-design the urban landscape and the patterns of leisure. Another urban spectacle and landmark of Seoul from the mid-1980s was 63 Building, which started its construction in 1980 and opened in 1985. Also invested in and owned by one of the conglomerates (Shindonga, later merged to Hanwha), 63 Building literally implies that its 63 floors made it the highest building in Asia until a Singaporean building surpassed it in 1987. The facilities contained high-tech installations for entertainment and education including an aquarium and Imax movie theater.⁷³ Such amusement parks were also publicized and introduced in travel magazines as new domestic touristic attractions.⁷⁴ As written in their foundation histories, the construction of these facilities – the theme parks – was not irrelevant to the blueprint of preparing for the 1988 Olympics and its economic outcomes. Arranging and developing entertainment facilities and the urban environment was expected to attract tourists-visitors, both domestic consumers who were increasingly capable of having leisure and cultural time and foreign guests, the number of which would rapidly increase beginning with the Olympic Games.⁷⁵



Figure 2. World Imaginaries in the Theme Parks in South Korea in the 1980s (Left: Seoul Land, Center: Fantasy Land in Lotte World, Right: An Attraction called “Global Village” in Everland)⁷⁶

⁷³In the IMAX theater, imported panoramic documentary films such as *Living Planet* (1979), and *To Fly!* (1976) were screened, and the first South Korean IMAX film *Beautiful Korea* (unknown) was said to be produced and screened (*Kwanhyup* November 1985, 32-3; *Monthly Travel* September 1987, 94-8).

⁷⁴For example, “Special Feature - Lotte World” (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* May 1988, 26) described it as “the 21 century cutting-edge life space”, not only consisting of an indoor and lakeside theme park but also other cultural spaces such as a hotel, department store, folk museum and sports center.

⁷⁵“Special Feature - Lotte World” (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* May 1988, 26-7)

⁷⁶ Images are retrieved June 30, 2019 from the links below: [https://terms.naver.com/imageDetail.nhn?cid=40942&docId=1111288&imageUrl=https%](https://terms.naver.com/imageDetail.nhn?cid=40942&docId=1111288&imageUrl=https%0)

In addition to the establishment stories, the “worlds” depicted in each of the enclosed spaces and its composition are worthwhile to review to grasp the underlying global imagination. Keywords such as “global village” (*jiguchon*), “foreign countries” (*oekuk*), “tradition” (*chǒntong*) and “folklore” (*minsok*) are all inclusive and linked in this imagination. The visual construction of these theme parks and the ‘themes’ embedded in them seem influenced by Disneyland and its world imaginaries including a geodesic sphere called Spaceship Earth (left and center in Figure 2). Emulating Disneyland to some extent, they modified and created their own narratives and spatial structure that were not necessarily originated from original Disney stories. Postmodern critiques on simulacra, pastiche, and spectacle might be applicable to understand these urban fabrics, images, symbols and signs that are conditioned by mass consumption and late capitalism, considering its timeline, features and style, but this is not the whole story. The discussion on global Disneyfication not merely from the perspective of cultural imperialism but also from that of local appropriation does not fully fit this case either.⁷⁷ There is a problematic to be discussed further beyond this widely known cultural criticism. What kinds of experience did these spaces provide, and how did they affect coevals’ minds and imaginations in practice? How did the concurrent global atmosphere formulated by those

3A%2F%2Fdbsthumb-phinf.pstatic.net%2F2765_000_45%2F20181009194821072_95GVYK0BF.jpg%2F28039.jpg%3Ftype%3Dm4500_4500_fst%26wm%3DN&mode=entry&clickArea=relatedImage&categoryId=31929;
https://terms.naver.com/imageDetail.nhn?cid=40942&docId=1088761&imageUrl=https%3A%2F%2Fdbsthumb-phinf.pstatic.net%2F2765_000_34%2F20180930210349541_VSS0VDE89.jpg%2F498730.jpg%3Ftype%3Dm4500_4500_fst%26wm%3DN&mode=entry&clickArea=relatedImage&categoryId=34709; news.joins.com/article/18602714

⁷⁷Wasserstrom, Jaffrey N. “A Mickey Mouse Approach to Globalization.” *YaleGlobal Online*, 16 June 2003.

world imaginaries “mold the minds” and in which direction?⁷⁸

The “worlds” depicted in each enclosed theme park show how the global imagination was composed. Not only Lotte World but also Seoul Land highlighted the vision and value of the future, adventure, and fantasy (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1988, 40). The two-fold value underpinning such space construction was ‘the world as a global village’ and ‘the tradition as ethnic-national origin’. As seen in Figure 2, the spatiality was built upon three components: a space providing the virtual experience of an uncharted foreign world, a symbolic monument of the gigantic globe in the center, and Korean traditional and ethnic attractions that featured ethnic and traditional events, places, and goods. Such a combination, commonly represented in the major leisure spaces at the time, was somewhat different from the Disneyland of the U.S. or Japan that were originally based on more concrete Disney texts and the worldview designed in Disneyworld.⁷⁹

Therefore, given the different structure and style of thematization, it is rather plausible to argue that these theme parks create and reveal another landscape that diverges and is distinguishable from Americanization, albeit still westernized in its fairytale form. When their foundation histories are considered, in terms of the political intervention and government-led leisure politics for the nation, such domestic factors need to be highlighted, aside from the economic development that enabled the increase in purchase power and the American influence. The case of South Korean theme parks, the spectacles and embedded

⁷⁸Herein, I borrowed the expression “molding minds” from Garon (1997). In describing the forms of social management and control that states engage in everyday life and the efforts put forth to mobilize the populace with the case of modern Japan, Garon extracts the expression “molding minds”.

⁷⁹Bringing contextual understanding into discussion, Yoshimi (2000) explains that the Americanization of Disneyland does not simply mean cultural imperialism of the American cultural text of Disney and its worldview but the expansion of new types of consumerism that are more widely linked to the American way of life that is experienced in the enclosed world of Tokyo Disneyland.

experience shows locally appropriated globality beyond consumerism with Americanization as another case of the cultural politics of theme parks. This uniqueness of South Korean theme parks in the 1980s is written clearly in the following description. The meaning of going to the theme parks cannot be separated from the indirect experience of exotic culture as a supplementary of foreign travel that was difficult to reach. The meaning of ‘adventure’ and ‘fantasy’ was closer to that of world travel rather than a fictional trip to Disneyworld.⁸⁰ The places represented in South Korean theme parks were not Neverland but signifiers of the actually existing foreign countries expressed through the cultural symbols selected based on cultural and ethnic stereotypes. They were not enclosed spaces such as Disneyland but imaginary miniatures of the world, imperfect, yet enough to function as an educational tool to build global imagination and literacy.

The yellow part of the egg in Lotte World is the leisure section. If you see Fantasy Land, everyone including the customers and employees, every generation regardless of the boundaries of gender and age, can experience the adventure and fantasy, and you can fully enjoy the fun and joy as the hero or heroine in that stage for yourself. Not only that, but the entire park is divided into the thematized areas of Arabia, Europe, Renaissance, France, Morocco, Germany, Spain, and Italia, so you can actually experience the foreign travel you longed for through the cultures and customs of the different countries in the world (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* May 1988, 29).

As “must-visits” for students for school picnics or family excursions, these sites attracted innumerable people in the 1980s and 1990s.⁸¹ Such urban construction of entertainment and educational spaces culminated in the Daejeon Expo in 1993 (The Daejeon International Exposition, Korea, 1993). Under the main theme of “The Challenge

⁸⁰In this sense, the experience of theme parks was rather similar to that of world fairs as the cultural institution of gaze on the world and others that was structured and mobilized by the power-knowledge system (Yoshimi 2004).

⁸¹In the survey of the desired one-day trip domestic destination, Bugok Hawaii, Everland, the Korean Folk Village, and Seoul Land ranked fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, respectively, in 1984. In 1988, Everland, Bugok Hawaii, the Korean Folk Village, and Seoul Land ranked third, fourth, fifth, and eighth, respectively. On the other hand, in 1991, only Everland and the Korean Folk Village ranked fifth and seventh, respectively, which possibly shows a decrease in the curiosity for domestic theme parks (*National Tourism Survey* 1991, 149).

of a New Road to Development”, the expo invited 108 countries and 33 international organizations. For the 93 days of events from August 7 to November 7, 1993, 14,005,808 people visited the venue, 156,000 per day on average according to the official records.⁸² Although its focus was laid on science and the future of humans, the storytelling and mapping of the site followed a similar narrative structure, presenting the world’s diversity and the idea of the global village, in which the nations with advanced information and technology gathered together and shared their achievements and scientific and cultural progress. Not only does the expo have similar characteristics as theme parks in its spatial structure including the central sphere as a signifier of the globe, it also shares commonalities with the previous Seoul Olympics. As seen in the video clip made by the South Korean government in 1993 to promote an attitude of hospitality – cleanness, public order, kindness – as a host, one can find a similar rhetoric as the 1988 Olympics. As narrated, the Daejeon Expo maintained the theme “the new way of takeoff” that provides ‘us’ (Korea) “the opportunity to show our strength and excellence” and allows us to “enhance our nation’s status again.” The event venue was considered as a field for “people-to-people diplomacy”. Moreover, as narrated in the video clip, “the expos used to belong to advanced countries, but this time, by being held in South Korea, it can give power and courage to developing countries.”⁸³

The popularity of these sites demonstrates the increasing interest in world imaginaries of that time, and they also evoke the high probability of the affect on visitors’ consciousness or imagination of the globe/world. Not only did this unidentified and ostensibly stateless space stimulate global imagination among the coevals, but by actually

⁸² Official Webpage of Daejeon International Marketing Enterprise. Accessed July 1, 2019. www.dime.or.kr:81/kor/page.do?menuIdx=646

⁸³ KTV 1993. “93 Daejeon EXPO.” Accessed October 23, 2016. ehistory.go.kr/page/pop/movie_pop.jsp?srcgbn=KV&gbn=MH&mediaid=1090&mediadtl=7463&quality=W

designing and visualizing the map of the virtual world, it also educated South Korean mass visitors across generations on the image of the global village wherein different countries and people were harmoniously coexisting. However, this idealized vision of the world concealed the reality, which was a world filled with conflict. In that sense, such imaginaries were highly selective and thus limited to merely emulating the real world on the surface. The experience provided in these spaces affected the coevals' imagination in practice, especially the South Korean people who were not allowed to freely travel abroad due to the travel ban in place until 1989.

2.1.3. Global Literacy in Education-Entertainment: the Case of *Blue Marble* and *Far Country, Neighboring Country*

In addition to occasional visits to the sites stimulating world imaginaries that were increasingly being built throughout the late 1970s until the mid-1990s and also their educational effect, the daily activities performed mostly by children and adolescents also need to be explored. The popular form of world imaginaries appeared in the mixed form of education and entertainment and gained popularity not only among children. This section is focused on two examples: a Korean board game called “Blue Marble” (*buru mabül* referring to the image of the earth) and “Far Country Neighboring Country (*mön nara iunnara*)”, a cartoon book series on world history. Both of them were domestically produced in the 1980s and are still in production.

Blue Marble (since 1982), which is made by a South Korean toy company (Ssiat-sa), was the first locally produced board game.⁸⁴ The game is based on the idea of mapping the world through knowledge of city names and locations as well as the idea of learning the basic skills of monetary exchange through virtual real estate transactions. This idea of

⁸⁴ Doosan Encyclopedia. “Blue Marble.” Accessed July 1, 2019. terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=1223744&cid=40942&categoryId=31944

monetary exchange with real estate is similar to that of *Monopoly* (1933~), a forerunner board game made in the United States. The gamers, made up of 2–4 people from age 8 and above, buy, sell, and build properties such as houses, buildings, and hotels, and the person who owns the most expensive properties in sum wins the game. But the unique and distinctive feature of *Blue Marble*, as indicated by its name, is the fundamental idea of the globe and its mapping.⁸⁵ As shown in Figure 3, the board is composed of forty cells with the names of cities as well as world famous forms of transportation. With the city name, brief information on the city is provided as well, written in both Korean and English, i.e. the capital of XXX, the biggest city of XXX.⁸⁶ The monetary value of each city differs, and one can easily see this variation through the price of properties. When the gamers own a certain city, a small card of the city is distributed to the owner, on which the flag, continent, and price are all written. The cities are concentrated on widely known western countries and neighboring large Asian cities. This board game gained widespread popularity, and 16,000,000~17,000,000 (approximately) have been sold, and it still occupies 20% of Korean board game market.⁸⁷

⁸⁵The visual image of the globe as the Blue Marble had spread since the Apollo 17 spacecraft sent the first colored photograph of the Earth in 1972. It was in a sense a moment of “the rise of the global imaginary”, and the image of the celestial Blue Marble has provided one representative way of imagining the world (Lule 2012, 51). It was nestled as a prototype for depicting the globe/world and was widely distributed while proving the power of visual images in the public imagination.

⁸⁶From the starting point, the cities are arranged in the following order: Taipei, Hong Kong, Manila, Jeju Island, Singapore, Kairo, Istanbul, the Desert Island, Athens, Copenhagen, Stockholm, the Concorde (a passenger plane), Zurich, Berlin, Montreal/Ottawa, the Social Fund, Buenos Ares, San Paulo, Sidney, Busan, Hawaii, Risbon, Queen Elizabeth, Madrid, Space Trip, Tokyo, the space shuttle Columbia, Paris, Rome, London, New York, the Social Fund, and Seoul (later the Seoul Olympics 1988 and the World Cup 2002), and the home base. It has changed slightly in its representativeness; for example, in the case of Canada, in the beginning it was Montreal as the most widely known Canadian city, but then it changed to Ottawa as the capital city. According to the founder, the countries are selected based on GNP.

⁸⁷Online news articles on the interview with the Director of Ssiat-sa. Accessed December 29, 2019. www.hankyung.com/it/article/201509293305v



Figure 3. *Blue Marble* (Left) and *Far Country Neighboring Country* (Right)⁸⁸

In the meantime, *Far Country Neighboring Country* is a world history cartoon series that has been continually reissued until the present as a steady seller similar to *Blue Marble*. It was published by Won-bok Lee, a cartoonist and a professor in visual design, as a collection with six volumes in 1987. The cartoon itself was originally published in a boy's magazine called *Boy's Hankuk Ilbo* in 1981. The first edition of the book collection, published in 1987, introduced the story of the Netherlands, France, West Germany, Britain, Switzerland, and Italy in that order. The series gradually added new countries: Japan Vol. 1 (Japanese people), Japan Vol. 2 (History), 'Our Country' (Korea), United States 1 (American People), United States 2 (History), United States 3 (President), China 1 (Modern period), China 2 (Contemporary period), and Espana (Spain). A guidebook on the history of the cartoon wrote, "since it was first published in six volumes, it is considered an 'ultra super' bestseller with five million volumes in sales" (Son 2005). The cartoon was initially aimed at introducing world history based on the author's "first-hand experience of the world that he saw and felt with his own eyes and skin at foreign countries" from his ten-year study abroad experience in Germany, where he obtained his degree in art design

⁸⁸The three images of *Blue Marble* on the left represent the cover print of the box, the cartoon in the 1980s playing the board game, and the advertisement flyer of the board game with the catchphrase "Dad! Let's go on the around-the-world travel with the Blue Marble game!". (The official webpage of Ssiat-sa producing the board game. Accessed December 30, 2019. www.twitter.com/bluemarble1982; <https://tumblrbug.com/bluemarble1982>). The image on the right represents the edition of *Far Country Neighboring Country* in 2012 (Accessed December 30, 2019, https://book.naver.com/bookdb/book_detail.nhn?bid=6962494).

and art history (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* March 1988, 79). The revised edition was published after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and in 2000 a new edition was published by another publishing company with the addition of Japan. In the early 1990s, daily newspaper editors selected the book as “the best book in the humanities”, and the author self-evaluated the book as, “if Daedong-yeojido produced by Kim Jeong-ho was the land map of Korea grounded in his territorial exploration, and this cartoon could be valued as the Korean mind map in which the consciousness and way of thinking of the Korean people that are hardly recognizable from our own eyes are arranged through overseas travel and contact with foreign countries”(Son 2005).

A travel magazine also conveyed an interview with the author in March 1988, and the excitement for the Olympics and liberalization of overseas travel is apparent throughout the interview. In the interview, the author stressed the importance of international contact, in particular world travel, for young people. He touched on the meaning of overseas travel by saying, “As for travel, the concept of ‘see the world’ has to be established. The critical weakness of us is that life itself was locked up and thus was a problem. To see the world means that our places of living have to stretch out to the whole world, and one has to learn an international sense from various angles. (Then, one will also realize how important it is to learn foreign languages).” The youth, “‘the leaders of the future’, have to open their eyes to an international sense in order to survive in the fierce world economy and trade war.”⁸⁹

⁸⁹“Human Report - Prof. Lee Won-bok, the author of the world history cartoon series, ‘The whole world stage has to be our homes and lives’” in *Monthly Travel & Leisure* March 1988, 76-9.

On the other hand, in the actual public education field, a supplementary textbook full of maps with geographical and democratic data was lined up. The cover images from different versions are worth comparing, as one can see the changing perspective on the ways of perceiving the world and us (Korea) (Figure 4). In the case of the cover image of the textbook in South Korea, also in many similar types of the globe image circulated, we can see a two-dimensional image in which the Korean Peninsula is spotlighted in the center of the hemisphere while facing Japan and the Pacific Ocean on the right side and China on the left side. This trimmed-down image is inevitably a ‘director’s cut’, where if we visualize and compare to another type of representation of the globe the Korean Peninsula appears like a small spot clinging to the edge of the widespread Eurasian continent.⁹⁰ This visualization and editing implies certain ways of viewing the world and the self (Korea): the world is tied up with each other in this small globular planet, and in the middle of it, there Korea is, as part of the world and sometimes as the center.



Figure 4. Cover Pages of the Textbook *Social Studies Atlas*⁹¹

⁹⁰If one thinks of a three-dimensional miniature of the globe that you can turn and roll, you can find that it is centerless. Therefore, a user can play with it by rolling and pointing at a spot randomly or by finding a specific country or one’s own country. This three-dimensional miniature of the globe and the celestial photographic image of the globe present the globe as a whole, as if the fact that we are tied up is the only significance here, and it does not contain other regional, natural, or religious information, unlike the old maps in the medieval and early modern period. Rather, what is represented by this celestial image is a new type of composition of us versus others – the earth versus universe – or, the earth and human technology that have marvelously advanced enough to take our own photo from space.

⁹¹The image of the version in 1967 (left) was collected from the online blogs posted by users (Accessed December 29, 2019. <https://blog.naver.com/dokken0109/120108049086>). The two versions from 1979 (next two to the version from 1967) and the three images from

By weaving these cases of ‘fun learning’ and educational tools, a hypothesis can be made that its function is to impart distinct yet connected narratives and imaginaries of the world wherein we live together. The board game *Blue Marble* allows users to get familiar with information through the noteworthy assemblage of capital cities as well as their economic value and hierarchy. On the other hand, *Far Country Neighboring Country* from the selected history of certain countries directly teaches that readers, especially children (boys), have to learn the world.

Playing and reading the abovementioned texts can be interpreted as a literacy practice that helps practitioners and readers, i.e. South Korean people and, moreover, boys and girls to get accustomed to what the world looks like and what the globe is comprised of — a combination of nation-states and national histories. Nations, including capital cities, are not the sum of entire national entities but a selection of limited information about certain nation-states. They are selected based on their proximity to South Korea and their historical and economic achievements that are worth remembering and providing educating on; these are mainly developed Western countries and the equally developing neighboring countries.

2.1.4. Mass Media and Imported Foreign Images

Assuming that increasing visibility is connected to the emerging global imagination, the changes in traditional mass media such as magazines and television cannot be underestimated in their contribution to disseminating the idea and images of the ‘foreign’. Not only the increase in imported content but also the formative changes in those mass media played a significant role given the affective impact of visibility on everyday experience. The latter includes the alterations in the media industry and technology. The

1980 (right) from different publishers are retrieved from the online archive of the National Museum of Korea (www.emuseum.go.kr).

number of magazines including domestic and imported magazines increased with the deregulation of the industry, and the format diversified to large-size and color prints.⁹² Color television was introduced and rapidly penetrated into households beginning in December 1980, when color broadcasting was on-air.⁹³ The growth of the video industry is also remarkable, as it expanded from 1981 with the domestic manufacturing of video equipment starting from 1982. Not many empirical research studies were found, especially those based on specific media content regarding such foreign imaginaries during that period.⁹⁴ One of those few studies gave the definition of “foreign programs” (*oehwa*) as part of imported programs: “*imported programs* in a narrower sense can include foreign movies as well as dramas, foreign news, sports and, in a much broader sense, ‘foreign elements’ in domestic programs”(Park 1983).⁹⁵ As of July 1983, the programs were imported from the U.S., Japan, Europe (the U.K., Germany, and France), and others in that order (Park 1983, 68-74).

From the same article, the atmosphere and opinions on the reception of imported

⁹²Multiple color printing started to be used in 1980 with female magazines and student magazines aiming to provide “better visual effects”, which was a “signal of change from magazines for reading to those for watching” along with the distribution of color TV (*Korean Publication Yearbook*. 1983, 69-70).

⁹³“The era of color television” started in 1980, and color television was often evaluated as “the ultimate realism” (Kim 1982, 32-5), a “sensual revolution pushing the blind culture behind” for “731 days of color” (*Monthly Broadcasting* December 1982, 33-47). According to the survey result by the Economic Planning Board, the nation-wide percentage of those who watch television increased from 54.8% in 1977 to 84.0% in 1979 and to 85.2% in 1980 (Kim 1983, 37). The rate of households with a TV rapidly increased from 6.4% in 1970, to 30.2% in 1975, 86.7% in 1980, and 99.1% in 1985 (*Social Indicators in Korea 1991*, 315).

⁹⁴The criticism or suspicion on Americanization and westernization are found at the level of journalism discourse, but not so many academic researches were conducted based on the empirical analysis with the actual media texts in popular media such as television program and magazine (both domestic and license) content. Although conducted with commercial films, Oh’s (2014) study analyzed the cinematic representation of Americanism from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s.

⁹⁵*Oehwa* means a foreign image to translate the Chinese character into English directly and has been used to cite foreign television programs or films.

media content can be found, taking into account the author's affiliation with the KBS (Korean Broadcasting Service) as a relevant industry figure. Under the title "Road to Internationalization" in a later part, the author discusses the criticism called "the alert for foreign images", by quoting another comment that states, "the culture of one nation rather develops and advances when it actively accepts foreign culture and takes it as a fertilizer. Therefore, isolationism, seclusion, the chauvinism of culture, and vice versa are harmful thoughts and perspectives to the development of national culture" (Park 1983, 78). The author underlines that, as a response to the controversy of the impact of foreign culture via television, "the amount of time allocated for foreign programs is very small compared to other countries. They are not allocated in prime time either, and South Korea is the only country in the democratic world that has double tools for restriction at both the selection and inspection levels" by the government sector (Park 1983, 79). In another section, he asserts that in the 1980s, the programming share of foreign programs was decreased, and such programs were not allocated for prime time compared to the 1960s and 1970s, when the domestic production techniques of television programs were not as good. However, the author acknowledged the criticism of the possibility of subtle and invisible influences, as he mentioned, "in the case of television, the media itself can be the message, as McLuhan puts it, and in particular in the case of foreign programs, a flag on the screen or a colored beard of the character can be the message; therefore, attention has to be given to the possibility of containing more than a mere comparison of numbers" (Park 1983, 79). Thus, the paper emphasizes how a selective and conditional procedure can lower the influence and prevent the side effects of imported television programs. The article concludes the discussion by proposing a further suggestion after introducing the survey result by KOBACO (Korea Broadcast Advertising Corporation) conducted in July 1982. The poll indicates that the respondents wanted foreign programs "to be increased (52.4%)" rather

than to be “decreased (7.3%)” or “likes the status quo (13.6%)” (Park 1983, 80).

As the article states, the significance of foreign programs was reduced on the programming level, but the proportion of imported programs for children was still very high and concentrated at certain time slots. Another study from the same volume points out that the reception of foreign programs could be problematic, especially as to the impact on children’s perceptions and cultural norms. He gives the example of *Sesame Street*, which was on-air on South Korean television. The author calls attention to such educational ramifications, “because it can make children confused or have a huge impact on their conscious structure if our children recklessly accept the program as it is, as it is organized for American children and immigrants to educate on American lifestyles, values and norms”(Lee 1983, 87-8). As such, the influence of imported programs on viewers’ perceptions and viewpoints was a highly concerning issue. The rhetoric about ‘internationalization’ as a wave or road often appears as the surroundings of such an influence. The double-sided reaction toward foreign influence shows the complexity of accepting something global or foreign at that time. This will be explored more with other examples in the next sections.

Although the main subject of this thesis is overseas travel, this chapter continuously gives the overall backdrop of geographical imagination with regard to ‘the foreign’ and ‘the world’ that are permeated in everyday experience.⁹⁶ In discussing increasing types of everyday spectacles of global imaginaries, the role of mass media cannot be neglected in

⁹⁶For further discussion, which is not the main topic of this paper, the deviation and overlap between westernness and foreignness (or exoticism) have to be analyzed and discussed in depth as well as the role of visibility. To specify, for instance, the West, the Western, the West as a place of exoticism, the West as a remote foreign continent, the West as the foreign other, the foreign country as all other countries outside the national-ethnic boundary, and the foreign country as an exotic land, all of these complicated conceptualizations and imaginations need to be scrutinized and developed further. However, that work will be left for future research.

its relation to visibility, the compression of time and space, the sense of connectivity, and the formation of global imaginations.

2.2 The Wave and the Foreign: Growing Sense of Penetration from the Outside

As was discussed above, the world was deemed as in existence outside the national territory, toward which the imagination was activated; at the same time, the world was not a static whole but often imagined as an influence flowing inward from the outer world. This fluidity was acknowledged with more specified substances such as foreign goods and imported materials. As Appadurai (1996, 33) states in his description of contemporary globalization in five different scapes: ethnoscape, technoscape, financescape, mediascape, and ideoscape, emphasizing its fluid but not mutually exclusive characteristic, these ‘moving things’ are not necessarily confined to the visible products or contents only but also contain arguably invisible ideas and finance. World imaginaries do not simply imply the image of the world or globe but at the same time the social imagination of the flow; in other words, the coeval’s understanding of how the world is acting and moving is another axis to use to grasp the formation of global imagination in its connection with mobility.

2.2.1. Metaphors and the Mass Perception of “Flow”

As a metaphor as well as a perception of the near future, the ‘wave’ metaphor often appeared in public discourses. I will start by briefly introducing the example of *The Third Wave* (1980) written by Alvin Toffler. Although it was not until February 1989 when the book was translated into Korean and published, shortly after the book was originally published in 1980, it had an impact on the South Korean media and public. Major daily newspapers introduced the author as a futurologist, and an interview with him was printed in mainstream media, as he was seen as providing trustful diagnoses of contemporary society and prospects for the future (*Kyunghyang Shinmun* May 14, 1980).

The expression of ‘wave’ as a signifier of the movement and transition to the new era often appeared in manifold spheres as the buzzword of a new era and change until 1994, when the book was finally reissued after several reprints. The popularity of the term reflects the expectation and aspiration toward the change, which stirred the mass readership to think of the necessity to prepare for the upcoming future. The recognition of “global currents” as well as the sense of a “changing era” was apparent in South Korean society in rather sensory and affective ways, regardless of the full awareness of its actuality. Then, what was the task for the new era, and what was assumed to be, or indeed was, newly flowing and penetrating into? What was the domestic reaction to this? Some examples can be listed by citing media discourses from that time.

As found in media discourses until the early 1990s, the ‘wave’ metaphor appeared not only in major daily newspapers but also in tourism-related media space. In *Kwanhyup*, a major industry periodical, the term was used to explain the unavoidable current situation wherein the world and “us” (South Korea) were located, specifically to describe the international flux already in progress outside the national territory. As was demonstrated in lines of the discourses, the ‘wave’ during that time was depicted as the influx against which the nation’s seclusion policy could barely resist any longer; therefore, “we” (the nation-state of South Korea) should eventually get on board with this change. Hence, in the earlier stage, “our reality” was often portrayed as “the situation of the late Chosun Dynasty”, “stubbornness that would not work”, the “backwardness”, and the “contemporary version of the seclusion policy” in that “(we) only look at the world from a very limited viewpoint as if a frog in a well”. Nevertheless, “the wave of internationalization is approaching, no, has already approached, and is increasingly putting pressure on us”, and that was what “the era of the third wave” meant. And the writers asserted, “it is highly necessary to make the conditions so that (we) can see and feel a lot”,

and “to cultivate the international competitiveness of our industry in order not to be stranded” or “for our brands to actively ride the wave of internationalization”.⁹⁷ In this manner, ‘wave’ was drawn as the backdrop and circumstances, the crossroads at which Korean society had to choose either opening or seclusion.

In addition to such a structure of feeling about the flow and influx in an abstract sense, the following section will look into more specific phenomena related to the supposed dangers as another expression of the global imagination of mobility projected in materialized forms and discursive (re-)actions to it. What were deemed as moving around and having impacts, and who appeared as players? And who were the border-crossing subjects in reality? As abovementioned, at that time in South Korean society, one of the discursive responses was the uneasiness about the unpredictable consequences of seclusion, which necessitated the effort to open. On the other hand, there was also anxiety and resistance over the things that were flowing in and allegedly flowing in both in visible and invisible ways.

2.2.2. Defending National Goods Against Foreign Imports

Problematizing consumers’ behavior of buying foreign goods can be one of the examples showing the antagonism against increasing foreign goods that were assumed to result in foreign influence on people and economic loss. The imprudent consumers were judged in the name of the responsibility as “nation” (*kukmin*).

So-called western goods such as jeans, beer, and guitars first became in vogue in subcultures in the 1970s. Imported goods from the American military base were circulated

⁹⁷The expressions in the quotation marks are retrieved from the following news articles: “Editor’s Comment: The Third Wave” (*Kwanhyup* February 1986, 56); “Journalist’s Note: Turbid Current of Internationalization” (*Kyunghyang Shinmun* May 20, 1989); “The Era of Internationalization” (*Maekyung* July 10, 1992).

as daily commodities after the Korean War. In tandem with the growing purchasing power, the opening policy on importation and trade as well as the increasing foreign travel in the early 1980s allowed imported goods and brands to become more purchasable than before.⁹⁸ Some critics said that westernized youth culture in the 1970s was an indicator of the counterculture opposing the dominant culture under the influence of the countercultural movement of the late 1960s in Europe and the U.S. (Joo 2006; Kim CN 2008). Another opinion interpreted that the subcultural consumption of cultural icons revealed a westernized cultural taste (Lee 2006). The American goods that spilled out from the military base were often regarded as the part of the American influence and Americanization that had been omnipresent since the occupation of 1945. The issue of generational fads based on foreign cultures among some young people expanded to problematizing a “preference for foreign products” that was shared in a wider consumer group and even in South Korean society as a whole. In the public criticism of this tendency, the defensive expression attacked “westernization”, “extravagancy”, “vanity”, “excessive spending”, and insisted on “social purification” and the necessity “to use and buy domestic products”. In 1983, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry announced *The Comprehensive Plan about the Foreign Brands*, and, in the same year, another governmental plan was released, the *Countermeasures about the Liberalization Policy for Overseas Travel (1983)*, wherein regulations on imported products as well as the promotion and encouragement plan for domestic products by small- and medium-sized businesses were stipulated.

The Social Purification Committee played a pivotal role in disciplining and

⁹⁸The South Korean government announced its import liberalization plan in 1985 for three years until 1988 and finalized the categories of products in 1986 and implemented liberalization in July 1986. The U.S. also applied pressure to open the market in the mid-1980s (Jung 1986, 22-25).

promoting the campaign called social purification, which was also publicized in the column series in tourism industry periodicals.⁹⁹ In the column series titled “Purification Column”, the preference for foreign brands was severely rebuked without adjustments, for example, by borrowing sensitive terms such as “cultural toadyism”, “hypnotizing”, “the destiny of the second and third economic colony is waiting”, and “the foreign disease”.¹⁰⁰ The tone and manner of such columns were always unreserved and highly judgmental. Sometimes such trends were criticized as an immature attitude for the upcoming Olympic event to get prepared for. In the same column series focusing on the fever for imported sports brands, a strong discontent was enunciated; “Whereas the Munich Olympics gave birth to Adidas, and the Tokyo Olympics made Mizuno and Asics world-wide brands, we, vice versa, might eat American gochujang (red-pepper paste) and wear French Hanboks (a traditional Korean dress).”¹⁰¹

Some empirical research studies conducted surveys on consumer behaviors and perceptions of foreign and domestic goods in the mid and late 1980s. The common topic was determining reasons for foreign preferences and finding suggestions for the domestic manufacturing industry.¹⁰² Both the nation-state and spokespersons from the market-side

⁹⁹The campaign’s plan for social organizations outlined its tasks as follows: nation-wide movement for 1) order, kindness, and cleanliness, 2) thrift and saving, 3) to respect senior citizens and guide adolescents. The second task was dedicated to the use of domestic products and avoiding empty formalities and vanity (*Kwanhyup* April 1986, 25).

¹⁰⁰“<Purification Column> Social trend of preferring foreign products”, *Gwanhyup* December 1985, 20-22; “<Purification Column> Mental immaturity – Is it reasonable to prefer foreign products and brands?” *Gwanhyup* October 1985, 20-21. The campaign against extravagancy and foreign luxury goods continued, and the public campaign advertisement emphasizing its harm to the national economy also continued until 1991 (*Kwanhyup* November 1990; *Kwanhyup* December 1991).

¹⁰¹“<Purification Column> Social trend of preferring foreign products.” *Kwanhyup* December 1985, 20-2.

¹⁰²“Urgent need to put in effort to surpass the foreign products by increasing the product quality and price advantage” (*Excellence Marketing for Customers* September 1986, 22-5); “Consumer survey on the domestic and foreign products: Preferring foreign products for TV and American films for fun” (*Excellence Marketing for Customers* June 1990, 50-5);

performed the role of protecting domestic industry's interests. In the meantime, the consciousness and behaviors of the consumer/citizen/masses were condemned as thoughtless and needing to be altered through guidance and self-reflection, and the so-called imprudent housewives-women and tourists were often targeted for rebukes. The territorial border sites such as airports and port customs areas, and personal belongings such as overseas travelers' luggage were assumed as the place where illegal or dangerous things were conveyed and therefore had to be blocked and controlled on site. Thus, the physical regulation was concentrated on those sites along with the public guidance on the traveler's consciousness on their overseas consumption.

2.2.3. The Fear of Foreign Influence and Anti-U.S. Discourses

In the previous section, the economic aspect of international trade and consumption was taken as one of the examples that showed how the foreign was perceived and imagined while engendering both anxiety and aspiration. In this part, political, ideological, and cultural arguments will be brought into focus. The heated debate on cultural imperialism is the case in point. Both cultural toadyism and cultural imperialism discourses and, moreover, the actions in violent ways shared serious concerns about the expansion of global capitalism and U.S. imperialism. The United States was often portrayed as the nation that had to be overcome for the independent future of both Koreas.

First, such movement appeared in the student activism by questioning the U.S. responsibility for the Gwangju Incident in 1980. 'America' was suspected of facilitating the military coup and massacre in Gwangju. Groups of university students established a plan to problematize this issue. The chain of actions was put into practice, i.e. the Arson

"How are foreign products distributed?" (*Excellence Marketing for Customers* December 1990, 98-102); Wan-Soo Lee. 1991. "A Study on the Problem of Buying Domestic Products in the Era of Free Import and the Preference for Foreign Products," *Korean Management Review* 21(1), 295-344.

attack on the U.S. Culture Center in March 1982, the Occupation of the U.S. Culture Center in May 1985, and the all-night demonstration in October 1986. “Against foreign power and against dictatorship” was the widely used slogan for this movement. According to a statement by the National Students Federation titled “Why we had to go to the U.S. Culture Center” in 1985, students asked for “1) an official apology by the U.S. administration for its responsibility in supporting tyrannical oppression in the Gwangju citizens’ demonstration, 2) to immediately stop the American support of the current South Korean regime, and 3) American citizens to put sincere effort into establishing a proper U.S.-South Korea relationship” (*Monthly Journal Mal* 1985, 9). The students affirmed their stance, the goal of which was not “Anti-U.S.” but establishing the right U.S.-South Korea relationship. *Monthly Journal Mal* stated that, “the national tragedy of Gwangju caused suspicion that the U.S. is deeply involved in the issue and changed the established perception of the U.S. as a firm ally.”¹⁰³ However, such student activism faced domestic criticism and punishment by the authoritarian military regime, stigmatizing it as a pro-communist group.

The resistance to foreign influence, especially that of the U.S., was also seen in the controversial presence of the U.S. Army in South Korea. The harmful effects and mistakes of the U.S. Army were criticized and problematized among the proponents of the withdrawal of troops. Quoting an article in another issue of the same journal, the U.S. base in Yongsan, Seoul was named “the number one colony” of Korea. The U.S. base town, spread nation-wide in almost 40 different places, was pointed to as the place where anti-U.S. sentiment could be naturally born and manifold social problems were embedded.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³“The Meaning of the Sitting-in Demonstration at the U.S. Culture Center: Whose responsibility was the Gwangju tragedy.” *Monthly Journal Mal* June 1985. Vol. 1, 8-10.

¹⁰⁴“Close-up, Yongsan U.S. Base.” *Monthly Journal Mal* Vol. 24, June 1988, 21-8.

It was found that the worries about foreign – American in particular – influence and its penetration in everyday life as well as the direct impact on local society were heightened, especially on issues and areas where U.S. connections were more noticeable. The discourse on imported cigarettes was one of the micro cases. Against the pressure of importing cigarettes, concerns were expressed in the rhetoric of domestic losses for both the national economy and human health. The exemplary depiction of imported cigarettes as “the second opium”, “indiscriminately invading Korea” showed the highly sensitive and offensive reaction in describing the current situation of “a red light sign that the domestic share of imported cigarettes increased from 1.45% in 1988 to over 4% in 1990.”¹⁰⁵

The final case that shows the attention given to cultural penetration by foreign power is related to popular media and culture, including film. Here, we can see another metaphor for “opium” in the title of the article, “The opium of the masses, the tyranny of American films – the issue of the direct distribution of U.S. films and the response of the Korean film industry” (*Monthly Journal Mal* 1988). The article reported that the import of American films rapidly had increased since late 1985, when the South Korean government helplessly opened the film market under American pressure. Criticizing the cultural impact of American films containing false ideology with fantasy elements, the article wrote that the Hollywood film was wrapped up with “imperial ideology that spreads out the Cold War logic, glamourizing war, racial bias” and “violence, obscenity, fetishism”. It continued to describe that the current Korean film was “at a critical moment in which it will fall to a cultural colony or stretch out to a healthy national culture”.¹⁰⁶ Other examples

¹⁰⁵“Imported cigarettes using toxic pesticides cause diseases such as lung cancer and emphysema” (*Monthly Journal Mal*, 20 February 1988, 60); Hye-Seon Shin. 1990. “Saturation Coverage - Black Gimmick of Western Cigarette Penetrating into the Korean People” *Monthly Journal Mal*, June 1990.

¹⁰⁶“The Opium of the Masses, the Tyranny of American Films – The issue of the direct distribution of U.S. films and the response of the Korean film industry.” *Monthly Journal*

of criticisms in popular media and advertisements also connected the foreign content to plausible cultural imperialism that generated a preference for foreign products and the penetration of people's perceptions. The subject of cultural imperialism was usually either the U.S. or the West.¹⁰⁷

However, it should be mentioned that the main sources quoted here took a critical and radical stance on such issues. These can be categorized as left-oriented journals, so they may not reflect all diverse opinions.¹⁰⁸ Still, even when taking into account the straightforward tone and manner of the abovementioned discourses, we can still assume that there existed uneasiness about the foreign influence. One last thing that should be pointed out is the recuperation of the historical memory of colonization and imperialism, which led to the alert on imperial influence and the second colonization in a cultural sense as a shared anxiety. A column in a major daily newspaper, *Dong-A Ilbo*, in August 1988 epitomized such an example, encompassing the abovementioned metaphor of flow (seclusion versus wind, instead of a wave), the concerns on foreign influence, and historical references. The title is "Let us not repeat the tragedy of foreign power".¹⁰⁹

Mal Vol. 29, November 1988, 97-100. A photo is attached in the article in which a group of people in the film industry are participating in a demonstration with people holding signs saying "AIDS is already nerve-wracking and now Yankee films?", "Economic invasion! Cultural invasion!! End Americal films!", etc.

¹⁰⁷Kang, Joon-man. 1991. "Special Feature – Korean Popular Media and Cultural Imperialism." *Monthly Journal Mal*, February 1991, 88-93; "The Advertisement is Brain-washing You." *Monthly Journal Mal* Vol. 48, June 1990, 150-4. The second article targeting commercial advertisements by criticizing them deepened and instigated the foreign preference through "equating globality with westernness and making people think that the West is superior to us".

¹⁰⁸In this section, I often quote *Monthly Journal Mal* as a source of data. This journal started in 1985 and can be considered a controversial text due to its radical criticism of the authoritarian regime as well as U.S. influence, which is often described as 'imperialism'. The discourses from that journal can be understood as a window to look into one of most critical social responses on relevant issues.

¹⁰⁹"Let us not repeat the tragedy of foreign power." *Dong-A Ilbo*, August 8, 1988, Accessed July 7, 2019.

2.2.4. Protecting Territory and Bodies from Alien Diseases

Thus far, examples of reactive anxiety over external influences and its unpredictability were reviewed by presenting the coeval understanding of foreign influence, which I argue, are types of global imagination. The embodied version of such an influx and agitation is epitomized by the social phobia about AIDS. The case shows the social imagination of the penetration and influence of unidentified external factors by revealing how people imagined that something hazardous could penetrate and was penetrating into individual bodies and society and how such unpredictability could be fatal. The disease called AIDS herein can be read as a symptom of the hybridity of that period. “Overseas traveler’s disease” is another case to be underlined, as it helps understand how overseas travelers were perceived as representative bodies on the move after the full liberalization of overseas travel.

To begin with the latter case, in the summer of 1990, a year after 1989, when overseas travel was fully opened to all age groups in South Korea, *Monthly Medicine Information* published a special article series titled “The Overseas Traveler’s Disease” before the summer vacation season. Dealing with manifold categories of disease, medical doctors from different fields contributed articles on each disease, introducing its symptoms, its cause and cautions, precautions and advice.¹¹⁰ An exemplary illustration connecting the diseases with the expanded policy on overseas travel is as follows.

Recently in our country, in accordance with the ‘Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel’, many people are going to travel for tourism purposes to many countries in the world including Southeast Asia for most, the U.S., western Europe, and the Middle East area. Depending on its regional character, each area has different types

newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1988080800209205003&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1988-08-

08&officeId=00020&pageNo=5&printNo=20568&publishType=00020.

¹¹⁰“Special Feature: The Overseas Traveler’s Disease.” *Monthly Medicine Information*, June 1990, 29-91.

of endemic and infectious diseases. Especially in tropical areas, due to the weather and environmental conditions, terrifying endemic diseases are out there. [...] Therefore, overseas travelers must be aware of such diseases and take precautions before their departure.¹¹¹

The underdeveloped countries and tropical areas in Asia as growing tourist destinations were often singled out as the route of endemic diseases and were collectively categorized as the others in the binary mapping of safe and unsafe places to visit.¹¹²

As such, the special features of medical magazines preparing for the summer in 1990 are good examples that show how far the impact of the upsurge in overseas travelers had reached. In that imagination of mobility, the liberalization policy of overseas travel was brought up as a pinpoint and watershed of the change. It was also the reality at hand guiding perceptions of the potential threat that could result from contact with the others. The case of foreign disease therefore reveals the societal concerns on the possibility that human bodies on the move could be infected and contaminated by external factors.¹¹³ In line with such contagions and occurrences in various foreign districts, the discourse and

¹¹¹Ibid. 80. In a very similar way, another medicine magazine *Monthly Pharmacy* also addressed the correlation of the liberalization policy of overseas travel and traveler's diarrhea by emphasizing that readers must remember to "Boil it, cook it, peel it, or forget it" when they travel to developing countries (*Monthly Pharmacy* June 1990, 76-84).

¹¹²On the actual data and pathology of problematic diseases such as cholera, malaria, influenza, and AIDS, see Park (1993).

¹¹³The following description would be an exemplary discourse: "Nowadays, epidemics are no longer the major cause of death in this nation, but diseases such as cholera and malaria, once assumed extinct domestically, are re-imported from the outside, and new infectious diseases such as AIDS are flowing in, so the category of infectious disease is diversifying. As overseas travel was liberalized after holding the Olympics in 1988, numerous international human exchanges became possible with foreign countries, and the trade and exchange also expanded with many different overseas regions through the increasing dependency of the national economy on international commerce and trade. In particular, with the increase in the number of tourists to Southeast Asia, the import of cholera is often found from this region, and the possibility of importing other infectious diseases is predicted. Especially after the overseas workers in the tropical areas have returned home, increased cases of infection of tropical endemic disease that hardly occurred domestically have been reported. Also, recently, many people from Southeast Asia and China have started to work in this country, so it is necessary to prepare and predict properly for Third World contagious diseases" (Park 1993, 283).

representation of AIDS is another symptomatic example that shows the anxiety about the foreign influence and hybridity with foreign culture. In contrast to the “overseas traveler’s disease” that appeared in the late 1980s at the beginning of mass tourism, the fear of AIDS was widespread throughout the 1980s as a new type of global disease.¹¹⁴ Medical journals forecasted an increase in the number of cases due to the growing number of travelers going to infected areas such as Thailand. As a recurrent keyword, AIDS emerged in conjunction with other issues such as lifestyle, culture, the Olympics, the U.S. Army, leisure, and overseas travelers. The fear of AIDS escalated as the Olympic season approached. An exemplary article is found in a daily newspaper from September 1988, “Shadow of Olympics, the Fear of AIDS” (*Dong-A Ilbo* September 5, 1988). The article discussed a rally held by a number of civic groups who claimed to conduct mandatory health screening of foreigners and U.S. Army members in Korea as a requirement and to set up plans to protect the nation’s health and life before the Olympics (Figure 5, left).¹¹⁵ Travel magazines, lifestyle magazines, women’s magazines, and monthly journals on current

¹¹⁴The first case was found in 1981, and in South Korea the first case occurred in 1985, and as of June 1993, 276 HIV infectees were under disease management, fourteen cases of AIDS had occurred, and twelve of them could not survive (Park 1993, 283-8).

¹¹⁵“Shadow of Olympics, Fear of AIDS.” *Dong-A Ilbo* September 5, 1988. Accessed July 8, 2019.

[newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1988090500209209001&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1988-09-](http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1988090500209209001&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1988-09-05&officeId=00020&pageNo=9&printNo=20592&publishType=00020)

[05&officeId=00020&pageNo=9&printNo=20592&publishType=00020.](http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1988090500209209001&editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1988-09-05&officeId=00020&pageNo=9&printNo=20592&publishType=00020)

The article described the U.S. Army as the “ammunition of AIDS” by quoting a pharmacist. It also addressed a draft of a legislative bill in the previous year that was finally unrealized. The draft of the prevention plan for AIDS stipulated “the obligation to examine the antibody test of AIDS and attach the confirmation document of a negative result at the time of issuing a visa if the Minister of Health and Social Affairs asked for foreigners to enter the country to stay for a designated time”. This clause was determined to be deleted at the Parliament, and the article explained that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Transportation, and Ministry of Sports declined to accept it “because it could obstruct the successful holding of the Seoul Olympics as well as the national export and tourism policy.”

issues also contained similar content, mainly from around 1987 to 1989 about general knowledge on the disease, precautions, and civic voice to expel the disease.¹¹⁶



Figure 5. News Article on the “AIDS Fear” and a Cartoon about AIDS in *Monthly Travel & Leisure*, October 1987

Such anxiety and fear can be read as a symptom of this transitional period of mobility and opening epitomized by the Olympics and the liberalization of overseas travel for domestic Koreans. AIDS was a disease that could possibly infect people who were open to cultural contact with foreign cultures and people by traveling to exotic destinations, visiting clubs and urban districts where foreign cultures and foreigners were concentrated, and meeting foreign visitors, including American soldiers. Even the term AIDS was used to describe the invisible infiltration of something hazardous, as found in its connection to the negative influence of illegal culture or foreign cultural content.¹¹⁷ The cultural code

¹¹⁶An article introducing a new publication in a travel magazine, for example, described AIDS as “the Black Death of the 20th century” and “a monster of fear”. It introduced the new book that was providing accurate knowledge on AIDS in order to reduce the groundless fears and to guide essential action plans. But what is interesting here is the fact that it actually increased fear at the same time by mentioning that the number of infectees could potentially reach one hundred million by the end of the 20th century, but no vaccine had been invented (“New Publication - *What is AIDS.*” *Monthly Travel & Leisure* July 1987, 141). There are many examples of columns and news article reflecting societal anxiety on AIDS, and *Monthly Journal Mal* was not an exception as found in articles such as “Anti-AIDS movement will be widespread” (September 1988, 11); “Nation – Counterplan for AIDS is Urgent” (October 1988, 82-8).

¹¹⁷“Root out the cultural AIDS, illegal videos.” *Monthly Travel & Leisure* August 1987, 120-1. In this column, the author, an editor in chief, illustrated a social phenomenon in which “illegal, obscene and violent videos continued to increase despite the relentless efforts, which was even called ‘cultural AIDS’ turning to a serious social problem.” As such, AIDS evolved to be used as a metaphor to explain an uncontrollable and invisible threat to everyday life and cultural practice.

called AIDS implied an invisible threat to normal life, and it was assumed to be even more terrifying because it silently approached without any sign like a snake as shown in Figure 5 (right, *Monthly Travel & Leisure* October 1987). This disease elicited both an extreme and symbolic case of social and emotional reaction to foreign influence. It exemplifies how such an influx as well as cultural hybridity was viewed and imagined in the coeval's gaze in the fast-increasing global interaction. To rephrase, 'AIDS as a metaphor' of hybridity, similar to how Susan Sontag (1978; 1989) described "illness as metaphor", was the 'face' of the bodies on the move that involved the possibility of physical contamination. The disease as an indicator and metaphor is found in other temporal and spatial contexts. The social imagination of certain diseases is reminiscent of the panic about the Minamata disease and Itai-itai disease in Japan in the 1960s, which were caused by industrial mercury poisoning and cadmium poisoning, respectively, both of which were a result of industrialization and developmentalism. If these Japanese cases were symbols of industrial accidents and environmental disasters, AIDS and the so-called overseas traveler's disease would be the symptoms of internationalization, globalization, and opening. Furthermore, while AIDS presented either a relatively narrow range of groups or nervousness about its unpredictable expansion, "overseas traveler's disease" was connected to expanded destinations abroad and wider categories of potential travelers after the full liberalization of overseas travel in 1989. Both of them shared the idea of influx (contagion) and contact (hybridity), but due to its high possibility of death as well as its unknown path and unidentified cure, the case of AIDS markedly illustrated the peculiarity of the stage of internationalization that was yet very closed.

Therefore, the disease is also a case in point to grasp the context of mobility and flow in the 1980s and early 1990s. It can be read as a reaction to the influx and flow; in other words, an expression of imagining global mobility as the structure of feeling. The

body on the move was regarded as a container that could carry something hazardous, and the tourist destination – underdeveloped countries in particular – and exoticism in general – including the foreignness of the people – were often deemed as suspects for that unhealthy contamination and contagion. Certain types of anxiety were floating around discursive spaces and manifested in the expression of activism at times — the anxiety of being polluted (or infected) by alien or exotic cultures and products penetrating into the territory from the outside (“foreign”). In this imagination, national territory was equivalent to the individual body, and a body was considered as if it were the shrunken version of the nation-state that was vulnerable to the foreign influence.

2.3. Crossing the Border: People on the Move and the Conditions of Mobility

Finally, before moving on to the next chapter on overseas travel in the ‘long 1980s’, the problematic of mobility as the actual movement of people needs to be elucidated. What has to be considered together when we think of the border-crossing practice and transnational mobility in the South Korean context?

2.3.1. A Short History of People Going Abroad after the Korean War

When it comes to investigating the South Korean people who crossed national borders and went abroad so as to trace the history of overseas travel, it will be appropriate to start from the 1960s, given the liberation from Japan’s colonization, the occupation period by the U.S. and Soviet Union, and the concentrated restoration period after the Korean War, all of which happened intensively during the 1940s and 1950s.¹¹⁸ For these decades, the two Koreas could not afford to stand by themselves and make decisions as independent nation-states, putting aside the histories of the upcoming nation-states that also embraced other

¹¹⁸This section mainly focuses on the situation after the Korean War. It will be outside the scope of this research to cover and accumulate all cases of mobile subjects in modern Korean history.

severe problems and issues, both new and continued. Both economically and politically, going abroad for personal purposes was something beyond the coeval's imagination and reality. Border-crossing people during the 1960s and 1970s were still confined to limited groups of selected people. Several reasons can be identified, i.e. international tensions from the Cold War split and diplomatic relations, the underdeveloped economy and low income levels, military dictatorship and anti-communism, and postwar restoration with top-down developmentalism. In addition to this overarching context, the more direct and decisive factors that permitted and chose who would go abroad were at the policy level, i.e. the bilateral international labor contracts (or cooperation treaties), passport and visa policy through which individuals were determined to be able to go abroad or not.

To specify the groups who emigrated or went abroad for a fixed-term, the larger groups include dispatched mine workers and nurses to West Germany; dispatched soldiers to Vietnam; engineers to the Middle East and North Africa; study abroad students mainly to the U.S., Western Europe, and Japan; adopted children to Western Europe and the U.S., including war orphans and abandoned children; marriage emigrants and family emigrants mostly to the U.S.; and defectors to or abductees by North Korea.¹¹⁹ The numbers varied and fluctuated depending on the groups and periods in accordance with policymaking. The return rate to their home country was not always estimated. Such 'travel abroad' was conducted from rather clear motives and objectives such as paid labor, troop dispatch, study, and immigration grounded in the expectation for better opportunities and lives in advanced foreign countries. Apart from the elite students or expatriates who were assumed to come back and participate in the home society as social elites and human resources,

¹¹⁹On the other hand, major inbound foreign visitors or fixed-term residents would include U.S. Army and civilians, sports players, Japanese tourists and student tourists on school trips, foreign missionaries, and individual travelers, toward which the immigration and tourism policy was targeted.

other migrant groups were situated in a different position. For them, going abroad was an alternative choice determined by economic conditions as a rather underprivileged class. With the increase in the population living and working abroad, overseas experience was also shared and circulated through personal networks of relatives and friends as well as mass media. For example, autobiographies and essays written by students abroad and expatriates often appeared and circulated in the media form as the mediator to introduce life abroad, cultural contact, and exotic imaginaries (Yeon 2015). The dispatched soldiers and South Korean emigrants, in the meantime, were taken as dramatized characters in films with exoticism. The latter subjects, in their fictional form, were used and dramatized in heroic or tragic stories through which the severity of life abroad was conveyed (Oh 2014; Jeong and Jeong 2016).

Another exceptional example of the transnational subject was South Korean flight attendants who were allowed to go abroad as the national airline opened their international business. As they could go abroad and, moreover, could meet travelers-passengers at their workplace on a daily basis, some mass media such as travel magazines and daily newspapers shared sections on a regular basis about their overseas experience as observers in the title of the ‘diary’ (“Airport Diary” in *Dong-A Ilbo*, 1960-1974; “Flight Attendant’s Travelogue” in *Monthly Travel & Leisure*, 1984-85). The ‘reports’ from Gimpo international airport functioned in similar ways. The places of mobility – airlines, ports, and airports – were the best sites for observing flowing-in-and-out, the travelers and people on the move, that could fulfill the curiosity of the world and travel, at least as a substitute. As aforementioned, the individual’s overseas travel and the material conditions – passport, visa, money, and information – were either exceedingly restricted or restrictively opened during the 1960s and 1970s. Hence, to the people staying and living one’s everyday life within the national boundaries, the story of overseas travel or foreign worlds was often

consumed as anecdotes that happened in far foreign lands and was delivered via someone else who could go there exceptionally.

2.3.2. Changing the Infrastructure of Mobility

Unlike the abovementioned transnational mobility that were promoted and supported by the nation's policy, other types of the individual's free travel abroad were limited to selected people based on their status and were also confined to areas by nation-to-nation treaties. Such physical and material conditions for crossing borders including the infrastructure and passport policy drastically changed and gradually expanded during the 1980s.¹²⁰ To begin with, it will be worthwhile to point out the growth and investment in the overall leisure and tourism industry from the mid-1970s targeting domestic infrastructure. Domestic tourist destinations were discovered and developed by the government and industry sectors, the transportation system was improved, the number of international tourist agencies increased, a tourism bureau was set up, the perception of tourism and leisure as human rights emerged and so on (In 2007, 128-139). Such investment and systematization allowed people to enjoy domestic tourism and leisure and to challenge them to go elsewhere.

Transportation, budget, passports and visas were the obstacles to overcome in order for the people in the 1980s to go abroad to travel. First, in terms of transportation, under the geopolitical constraints of South Korea, both the natural border – the sea – and the artificial border – the Military Demarcation Line – made the territory impossible to cross. With the increase in international airways and new players in the airline business, air travel

¹²⁰In the 1980s, tourism consumption saw widespread growth due to domestic growth in the economy and increasing interest in leisure. The working hours were not yet decreased, but the income level had increased. The tourism experience also rapidly increased in the 1980s from 29.9% in 1970 to 52.1% in 1980, and then to 69.0% in 1988 (In 2007, 133-4).

became more accessible to passengers.¹²¹ The South Korean government and industry initiated investment in tourism. For instance, in March 1986, the Ministry of Transportation announced new tasks and plans for the improvement of tourism competitiveness, development of tourism resources, establishment of tourism facilities, and the enlargement of air transport capacity. The details include the expansion construction of Gimpo airport, the repair and renovation of flight strips and main buildings at Gimhae and Jeju airport, and completing the enlargement of the Gwangju, Yeosu, and Sachoen airfields for the expansion of domestic airways.¹²²

On the other hand, given the average income, going abroad was still a very expensive experience in terms of paying for flight tickets and expenditures.¹²³ And the deposit system to prove the applicant's economic capacity for their budget as well as the parameters on the total amount of money one can possess were the safety nets for the government to keep the trade balance and functioned as another barrier for the people who wanted to go abroad. Some measures were imposed to support them financially, e.g. installment savings for going abroad.¹²⁴ As unofficial ways, some budget travelers and study abroad students took alternate routes to pay for flight tickets, e.g. accompanying

¹²¹Since June 1962, Korean Air Lines had monopolized the domestic airline business, but during the 1980s, foreign airliners started flight services one by one actively from 1985 (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1985, 111-2). After the Ministry of Transportation finalized the policy for opening the business license of the second civil aviation in February 1988, Asiana started their business in late 1988 and opened their international line in 1990. (Korea Civil Aviation Association. Accessed July 17, 2019. <http://www.airportal.go.kr/life/history/his/LfUnhJa001.html>)

¹²²“1986 is ‘the Take-off Year of Tourism.’” *Kwanhyup*, March 1986, 2.

¹²³For example, in 1985, the per capita gross national income (GNI) was 209,000 won (2,400 US dollars), and the price for a package tour ranged from 798,200 won to 4,897,800 won, depending on the region and date (“K-indicator.” *Statistics Korea*. Accessed July 18, 2019. www.index.go.kr/unify/idx-info.do?idxCd=4023; *Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1986, 159-61).

¹²⁴For example, a women's lifestyle magazine in 1988 introduced financial product information including savings and loans for overseas travel (“Overseas Travel Anyone Can Go”, *Sweet Home Bonus Book*, July 1988, 116; 182-4).

adoptees that had been given one-way tickets by their new parents. As time passed, the limit of money that needed to be possessed was adjusted, and credit cards were increasingly issued after 1984 including VISA cards.¹²⁵ Although in many cases overseas travel still belonged only to rich people who could afford to pay for it, at the same time several solutions were gradually adopted and expanded to lower financial barriers.

Travel agencies dealing with guided tours and flight tickets both with inbound and outbound tourists also increased compared to the previous period by the policy for lowering the regulations on opening businesses.¹²⁶ As such, in tandem with the support of policy and industrial drive, the tourism infrastructure was gradually established for air travel during the 1980s. Material boundaries were seemingly disappearing, and the bounded world imaginaries began to be released step by step for the realization of overseas travel. Yet, the biggest constraint was passports and visas, a complicated and quintessential aspect. This will be explored in the next chapter in more detail.

2.3.3. Unauthorized Border-crossing and Unpredictable Threats Abroad

As abovementioned, the ‘approved’ movements of large numbers of people continued in modern Korean history, and the South Korean government arranged plans for this, mainly for the purpose of boosting the national economy. In the meantime, in the history of crossing borders in a broader sense, there also existed prohibited types of mobility. In

¹²⁵*Monthly Travel & Leisure* July 1987, 70-1; *Monthly Travel & Leisure*, January 1988, 107.

¹²⁶In late 1981, the Ministry of Transportation modified the legislation for international travel agencies from the licensing system to the registration system as part of a project to improve the tourism industry and prepare for the liberalization of overseas travel. Changing its restraining policy on opening new business, in 1982, the Ministry of Transportation allowed the opportunity to open new tourism businesses (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1986, 151). So-called “package tour” products also started to be developed by major travel agencies in 1983, when overseas travel for tourism purposes began to be allowed to citizens over 50 years old according to the liberalization policy (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1984, 134). But the demand was still very low (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1985, 199).

addition, unexpected threats and physical conflicts occurring abroad by North Korea hindered the expansion of overseas travel and the development of infrastructure. Such unallowable cultural contact and overseas terrorism proved and strengthened not only the existing barriers but also the imaginary border rooted in the ideological divide.

First, for ideological reasons, certain types of border crossings were strongly prohibited, as found in the case of a female university student, Lim Su-kyung's, visit to North Korea in 1989 and several other politicized incidents that involved crossing borders. Above all, the former and its consequences was an emblematic example, considering that 1989 was the official first year of full liberalization of overseas travel for South Korean citizens. A female university student's visit to North Korea to attend the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students (from July 1 to July 8, 1989) was a highly controversial incident in its political and cultural meaning, and, moreover, it was a clear legal case of violating the National Security Law. It is an emblematic and historical event because it reaffirmed and vividly showed the South Korean spectators 'what could not be realized', no matter how much the Cold War tension seemed to be mitigated and how many barriers that blocked people from going abroad were removed.

In 1989, this breaking event drew attention not only from domestic viewers but also from international and North Korean observers.¹²⁷ The festival was planned as a countermeasure to the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 of the democratic bloc.¹²⁸ Lim Su-

¹²⁷She was indeed an iconic media figure who was mentioned by numerous mass media outlets and an active correspondent and interviewee as well. Her interviews and memoirs were found until 2010. Her story was made into a documentary in 2012 by an Argentinian filmmaker with the title *The Girl from the South*. For the footage, see the following links, accessed October 26, 2016: <http://youtu.be/E0pQwZynWIo>

¹²⁸Koh, Tae-woo. 2000. "A Complex about the Seoul Olympics 1988, Pyeongyang Celebration." *101 Scenes of North Korean Modern History*. Garam Publications; Lim, Chun-woong. 1989. "What Pyeongyang Celebration Left." *Monthly Korea Forum* Vol. 1, 149-54.

kyung, a twenty-one-year-old female university student who was staying in France as an exchange student was selected as the delegate of South Korea for the festival. After a few stopovers in Germany and China, she arrived in Pyongyang, wherein the North Korean crowd was waiting to welcome her, as she was called “the flower of unification”.¹²⁹ She was eventually accused by the South Korean government of violating the National Security Law after her crossing the Military Demarcation Line to return on foot because of the symbolic meaning of crossing the South-North border in this way, and she was eventually sentenced to five years in prison. She was released on parole in 1992 and then granted amnesty and reinstated in 1999 under the Kim Dae-Jung administration. Heated debates in the public sphere were the aftermath of her crossing. Some evaluated her action as a step toward unification in the post-Cold War period as an act of peace activism, while others opposed it as an indoctrinated action that jeopardized national security and liberal democracy.¹³⁰ This issue exposed the complexity of crossing borders in South Korea, particularly during this conjunctural period on the edge of the Cold War. In the South Korean context, the so-called post-Cold War transitional moment was grounded in the ‘supposed’ expectation for a peaceful era beyond the ideological divide yet locked in exclusive otherness.

Also in the 1980s, another major conjunctural event generated a sense of threat based on actual physical casualties. In the mood of emerging mobility and transnational exchange, accidents happened unexpectedly in other territories. The major incidents were the KAL 747 incident on September 1, 1983; the Rangoon Bombing on October 9, 1983;

¹²⁹On the reception from North Korea, see Kim SY (2013).

¹³⁰Lim, Su-kyung. 1997. “Standing at the Basement of Agency for National Security Planning.” *Monthly Mal*; “Special Column - To Defend the Liberal Democratic Regime and the Road to Peaceful Unification.” *Kwanhyup*, August 1989.

and the KAL Bombing on November 29, 1987.¹³¹ Such destructive acts such as bombing and missile shooting escalated the tension, not only inside the Korean Peninsula but also between the two Cold War camps. The tragic incidents proved that the Cold War was not over, and South Korea was located in the middle of that power struggle.

Those incidents made 1983 and 1987 a critical historical juncture. The incidents not only had an impact on the international Cold War but also on domestic political decisions in South Korea. From such conflicts, I think the unpredictability and dangers represented by foreign lands became highlighted in South Korea, and the uncontrollability of outer factors as well as mobility itself in the sense of crossing national boundaries turned out to be an urgent issue. The delay in implementing free overseas travel and the intensification of regulation and re-education on potential overseas travelers, which will be discussed in the next chapter, seem to be related to such circumstances. It will be discussed further, but the abovementioned cases entailed the South Korean government's risk management and preparation for such unpredictability.

In the 1980s and early 1990s, one could also witness complicated and contradictory moves surrounding reconciliation with North Korea and the national unification that indicated the complexity of the 'Korean post-Cold War'. The examples are 1) the Family Reunion Event, a nation-wide broadcasting project that involved finding separated families in 1983 and homecoming visits for family reunions in 1985, 2) the discussion to co-host the Seoul Olympic Games, and 3) the concurrent joining the U.N. by both Koreas in

¹³¹In September 1983, KAL 747 was shot down by the Soviet Union, and 269 passengers, including flight attendants, died. In October 1983, 17 South Korean high-ranking government officials and four Burmese were killed, and 15 officials were injured in the bombing in Yangon, the first destination of the president's itinerary to Southeast Asia and Oceania. On the other hand, in 1987, two North Korean spies set off a bomb on KAL 858 heading to Seoul from Bagdad, which left no survivors among the 115 passengers and flight attendants (*Dong-A Ilbo* March 10, 1984; *Kyunghyang Shinmun* August 7, 1997).

1991.¹³² The double-sided historical events demonstrate the complexity of realpolitik in the Korean case. The double-sidedness originated from the antinomy of the delicate neighboring other called North Korea as both enemy and family, which was (and assumedly still is) an inextricable part of South Korea's globality, global imagination, and mapping of the world.

As aforementioned, the case of unauthorized travel to North Korea and communist societies and the consecutive attacks in foreign countries exposed the ongoing issues of communism and the Cold War as the shadow of new global mobility. The anxiety over the ideologized border crossing was both discursive and actual contention. The meaning of such actions was sometimes overstated, but the societal peril was on more than an imaginative level and was a visible likelihood to those who observed the causalities and consequences they might face. The menacing 'troublemakers' were communist enemies such as the Soviet Union and North Korea as well as the Cold War situation itself. But in a more abstract dimension, it was the unpredictability of the outer world and still the problem of ideology.

Concluding Remark

In the pursuit of historicizing globalization, this research casts light on the multi-faceted globality of the 1980s in South Korea, the transformative moment in the making. It argues that the peculiarity of this era's globalization was a result of its schizophrenic coexistence of an apolitical cosmopolitan imagination and highly politicized reality that stemmed from concurrent geopolitical and ideological tensions under the ongoing influence of the Korean Cold War. This chapter drew a map of the global imaginaries that comprised the conditions of mobility from the 1980s onwards, and three dimensions of global imaginaries were

¹³²Newsweek Korea. 2007. *Korea, Who Are You?: 1980~90s*. Seoul: Joong-ang Daily Sisa Media.

elucidated: the increasingly omnipresent world-imaginaries, the growing sense of flow and penetration, and the problem of going abroad. Based on archival research, in each sub-theme above, I examined the configuration of ideas regarding “the world” and “the foreign”, a number of reactions to the imaginary/actual influx, and the contradictory position of emerging subjects crossing the border who were allegedly exposed to unpredictable threats abroad. I argue this as a reflection of, and in itself, a structure of feeling of the period as the emerging global consciousness that was accompanied with the anxiety about mobility and penetration from the outside, in which the transformation of South Korean society was embedded. This chapter functions as an expanded background of that time and deals with the expansion of global imaginaries inside the national territory and its double-sidedness.

The focus of this chapter was on the quotidian experience that filled daily lives and cultures of that time, i.e. the space and experience of leisure and culture, mass media, consuming foreign goods, anti-foreign power, and hybrid bodies as well as the related discursive space where both global and anti-global imaginations were generated and exchanged. By exploring the various dimensions of daily space and the life worlds where the geographical imagination of the world became specified, this chapter examined what kinds of emotions and imaginations were entangled and coexisted in terms of the increasing global mobility, opening and internationalization. By stimulating the imagination of the world and its mapping and influence, those spaces indirectly provided experience of the world outside the border, which was almost impossible to reach. These emerging places of the global that represented and mediated the geographical imagination functioned as domestic touristic spaces for acquiring literacy about the world that also absorbed and expressed aspirations and anxieties about globalizing. These aspirations and anxieties were constituents of the non-simultaneousness that coexisted as simultaneity in

its growing awareness of the interconnected world in that global mobility was often securitized.

CHAPTER 3. The Emergence and Institutionalization of Global Mobility

This section emphasizes the necessity of the research on “overseas travel” as both discourse and practice and delves into the conditions of mobility in the 1980s from a different angle. It analyzes another axis of the conditions: the institutional policies and alterations that both enabled and limited mobility as an obstacle and substantial threshold. The system of controlling mobility, which was concentrated on the passport system and border area, has not been confined to the times when the freedom of movement was permitted to limited groups of people for diplomacy, business, or specific types of migration. The institution has been consistently valid in the current period, wherein the majority of people have ‘the right to travel’, if they can afford it. Therefore, the passport system cannot be portrayed as unique to only the 1980s in the South Korean case. Nevertheless, the attempt to connect passports and the border-crossing system with related institutional decisions and the domestic and international context would show why the mobility of the 1980s was important in South Korea. The keyword for unraveling that particularity is the term “overseas travel”. This does not merely mean an emerging phenomenon of overseas travel. As elucidated in this section, “overseas travel” implies various types of individual mobility, so the conceptualization is necessary to scrutinize. While focusing on the nuanced meaning of overseas travel, I will examine how the relevant policies and institutions were planned and enacted. In doing so, I will discuss the meaning of mobility at the time and the contemporaneity revealed by such mobility. The “Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel” is centered on that institutional change, but, first of all, I will examine how “overseas travel” was defined in official documents and social discourses at that time. The conceptualization and categorization reveals an imagination of global mobility of the time.

3.1. Changing Definition of “Overseas Travel”

In Korean, *haeoe yōhaeng* (海外旅行) literally means overseas travel.¹ *Yōhaeng* (travel) from the Chinese characters signifies “go to travel”, implying mobility that does not necessarily include any designated direction or intention. “Foreign travel” is another relevant concept, but it has a slightly different connotation, considering its literal meaning and the geographical context of South Korea. The word “overseas” (*haeoe*) evokes the geographical condition of the South Korean territory, which is surrounded by the sea on three sides and politically segregated from the northern side. Given this circumstance, the term “overseas” travel has a strong implication of the movement across oceans, crossing borders, and going abroad beyond South Korea’s enclosed national land, as the public imaginary signifies (Figure 6). On the other hand, “foreign travel” (*oekuk yōhaeng*, 外国旅行) in Korean means traveling to a foreign country. Two notions have distinguished conceptual orientations that indicate respective characteristics of travel: ‘crossing beyond national territory’ and ‘visiting other countries’. The characteristics of “foreign” and “overseas” coexisted in travel culture. In that sense, the objective of this research can be rewritten for reconsideration of the meaning of “foreign” and “overseas” and, moreover, the correlation of both terms.²

In addition to the multiple and intrinsic attributes of overseas travel in general, the

¹The concept of ‘overseas travel’ is itself something to be questioned, but it has not been elaborated on in previous tourism-related studies. Defining it for analytic purposes is not an easy task. It is somewhat strange to accept the term as given compared to the endeavors to define tour/travel and tourists/travelers as separate sets of groups, as found in widely known tourism scholars such as MacCannell (1999), Cohen (1972), and others.

²Given that the action of crossing the border had a special meaning for South Korean people, who were not able to go abroad freely as they do now, this research utilizes “overseas travel” as the main terminology to describe that particularity of the historical juncture. Yet, it needs to be emphasized that ‘foreignness’ per se was also an essential part of that story, considering the coeval’s feelings of strangeness and newness in encountering other societies and cultures at that time.

specificity of overseas travel of the 1980s in South Korea requires further consideration of the discursive dimension of conceptualizing overseas travel. This inquiry relates to the categorization and institutionalization of the activity called overseas travel. The historical perspective on the term “overseas travel” and its settlement process will help in considering the societal meaning of overseas travel, i.e. its imagination and reception, which continually changed and were repeatedly re-discovered. Emerging concerns on human rights, the new development of the “nation’s tourism” (*Kukmin kwankwang*) and “nation’s overseas travel” (*Kukmin ūi haeoe yōhaeng*) will be brought into focus in this chapter.

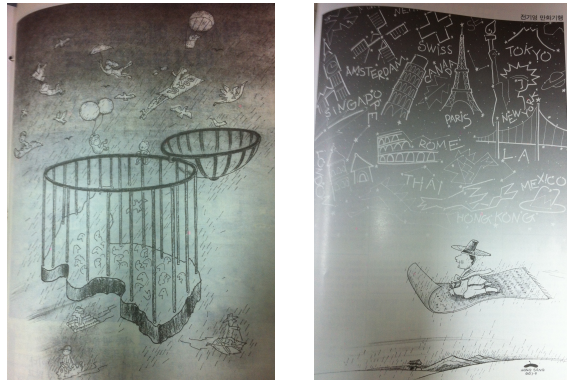


Figure 6. Cartoon Series in *Monthly Travel & Leisure*
 (Left: “Arrival of the Era of Liberalization of Overseas Travel” June 1988, Right: “The Constellation after the Liberalization of Overseas Travel” July 1988)³

3.1.1. New Categorization and Measures of Overseas Travel

“Overseas travel” was first drafted in official documents, if not clearly defined, through the passport law and immigration control law in the process of building constitutional and institutional structures of the liberated South Korean government after 1945 and the U.S. occupation period until 1948. From the 1950s to the 1970s, overseas travel was permitted

³The cartoons herein show the social imagination on going abroad outside the Korean territory and the coeval’s strong impression and anticipation on the liberalization of overseas travel.

to extremely limited groups of qualified people for public purposes including diplomacy, government affairs, business, and cultural exchange.⁴ The example of a special section called *The Airport Diary (1960–1974)* in the major newspaper *Dong-Ah Ilbo* demonstrates an atmosphere in which the experience of overseas travel was uncommon and unfamiliar and thus expected to draw the attention of readership. *The Airport Diary* was news in brief that contained information of outbound tourists, such as their name, occupation, purpose, and destination, who were mostly South Korean travelers and occasionally foreigners. This shows the rarity of experiences going abroad, as going abroad and returning by flight had newsworthy value.

Legal Definition: Overseas Travel as an Overall Going Abroad Activity and Tourism as a Purpose

Overseas travel is not clearly defined in the Passport Law and the Immigration Control Law. The statutes do not provide any visible explanation of the geographical boundary of “abroad” either, as it is used as a self-evident concept indicating space outside of the national territory. The Immigration Control Law from the first legislation divided “national people” (*kukmin*) and foreigners based on the possession of nationality/citizenship. However, in any case, neither overseas travel nor foreign travel had a legal definition in the relevant statutes but were rather adapted as given as concepts referring to a wide-ranging action of going abroad.

In the meantime, when the term “tourism” (*kwankwang*) is concerned, the early Immigration Control Law stipulated that tourism belonged not to domestic citizens but to foreigners. According to “the terminology” part of the legislation established on March 5,

⁴The restriction of overseas travel was also related to the poor economic condition of South Korea. Unless the host or public money covered the travel expenses, going abroad was often beyond one’s economic capacity.

1963, “tourism” referred to “the entry (to South Korea) for the purpose of tour only as a foreigner.” That provision, citing foreigners only, remained in the revision in 1978 as well and was eventually eliminated in the following revision in December 1983 (implemented from July 1, 1984). In other words, by 1983, it had become meaningless to specify tourists as purely foreigners, which implies that domestic citizens appeared visible as tourists in the early 1980s. From its early legislation, among the details of articles that were applied to Korean citizens (“the report of departure”, “ban of departure”, “inspection”, “the entrance and departure of overseas Koreans”), the law described “the ban of departure” (Article 4) by specifying cases. According to this law, outbound departure was not allowed in cases deemed to be 1) at high risk of violating the interests of the Republic of Korea and 2) inappropriate for departure due to an ongoing criminal investigation. That is to say, the supervision of mobility of the citizen and foreigners has been justified and continued under the clear national self-consciousness of nation, national territory, and national interest.⁵ The Immigration Control Law functioned for the protection of the border to control movement over the national boundaries under the inspection of law enforcement authorities such as the Immigration Bureau and the Ministry of Justice.

On the other hand, the Passport Law appointed domestic citizens as qualified to go abroad by specifying and categorizing (limited) types of passports, the (complicated) qualifications to obtain a passport, the procedure of issuance, restrictions, penalties, and other necessary dimensions. The Passport Law in South Korea was enacted on December 31, 1961 and enforced beginning in January 1962. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs took charge of the administrative process. Passports are issued for “the nation’s people (*kukmin*)

⁵For the details of the Immigration Control Law and its history of revision, access the website of the National Law Information Center. Accessed July 31, 2019. <http://www.law.go.kr/LSW//lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=4943&ancYd=19831231&ancNo=03694&efYd=19840701&nwJoYnInfo=N&efGubun=Y&chrClsCd=010202#0000>.

who want to travel to foreign countries” (Article 2) who are obligated to possess the passport outside the country. It has been a set of guidelines to efficiently manage mobility, but at the same time, by stipulating the boundaries, the law has kept exerting the nation-state’s power as the official authority that decides who can have a passport and go abroad and who cannot. In other words, the Passport Law has operated as the legal foundation underpinning the nation-state’s authority over citizens’ mobility. The first version of the law established in 1961 is a good example that shows how the Passport Law limits and excludes. In those early days of the Republic of Korea, through that law, extremely limited groups of people were selected to receive a passport for official use, business purposes, and diplomatic purposes, and the remainder – the majority of South Korean people – were fundamentally excluded from the opportunity to go abroad.⁶

South Korean passports are now classified into three broad categories (general, public, diplomatic passport), but those who could obtain passports in the initial stage were mainly government officers and businessmen whose official and business purposes were approved by the Ministry of National Defense after selection and recommendation by the relevant competent authorities. The term “overseas travel” (*haeoe yōhaeng*, 海外旅行) was used to describe going abroad in the first enforcement ordinance on February 9, 1962, which implied overall activities of going abroad, including migration, studying abroad, and business trips, but did not include travel for personal purposes. It clearly defined details such as “study abroad students, overseas Koreans for residence, emigrants, marriage emigrants, and adoptees to foreigners.”⁷ After the 1975 enforcement, the purpose of travel

⁶For the details of the Passport Law and its history of revision, access the website of the National Law Information Center. Accessed July 31, 2019. <http://www.law.go.kr/%EB%B2%95%EB%A0%B9/%EC%97%AC%EA%B6%8C%EB%B2%95>.

⁷Establishment and enforcement of the Enforcement Regulations of the Passport Law, May 4, 1962, Ordinance No. 28 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

became more refined and diverse and was subdivided into business, culture, cohabitation, visiting, studying, employment, technical training, and residence. The expression “overseas travel” (*kuk’oe yōhaeng*, 国外旅行) first appeared in this enforcement regulation. However, “tourism” as a category of purpose and the article on the issuance of tourism passports were not addressed until the revision in August 1981.⁸ In other words, “travel” meant all-inclusive movement or visiting foreign countries, whereas “tourism (sightseeing)” was categorized as one of the traveling purposes. Interestingly, in the revision of 1988 (December 31), right before the full liberalization of overseas travel to all age groups, the word “tourism” disappeared along with the elimination of Article 4 on the passport categorization. This means the necessity to stipulate the purpose of travel on each passport was eliminated. As the passport policy based on travel purposes was withdrawn, one could obtain a normal passport without reporting the purpose to the authorities or getting travel permission before departure. This legal change, on the one hand, exemplifies the simplification of the passport issuance procedure according to the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel, and, moreover, it shows that the travel experience of going abroad as well as sightseeing-oriented travel became more general and popular than before.

To summarize, concepts such as overseas travel/foreign travel/travel abroad were not clearly specified in the legislation but vaguely referred to as going abroad activities in general. The Passport Law and Immigration Control Law did not give extra definition regarding traveler-travel or tourist-tourism either. Instead, they presumed the “nation’s people” as the potential recipients of passports as well as a comprehensive category of actors going abroad in opposition to its binary counterpart called “foreigners”. Travel to a foreign country was something to give permission for and govern through legislation under the frame of the state’s management. In the initial period, both the Passport Law and

⁸The passport for the purposes of tourism (*tourism passport*) started to be issued in 1983.

Immigration Control Law did not give any guideline or direction with regard to the definition of tourism. The laws instead clarified the space called the national boundary as the territory where the nation-state's power could reach the nation's people, who had to possess a passport. By doing so, the law finalized the subjects and procedures the state institutions and legal system could intervene in and determine. The case shows the state-centered language and planning of mobility in circumstances where the nation-state took the initiative and power to issue passports and govern entrance/departure. Under this legal framing of boundaries, individuals' movement to foreign lands, namely the act of overseas travel, was restricted and governed.

Visualization of Tourists and Narratives of Policymaking

The previous section examined the legal aspect of how the law provided a fundamental frame for overseas travel. This section explores the design of tourism policy from the viewpoint of policy implementation by focusing on the process through which touristic behaviors were gradually particularized as an analytic category. This process was also quantification and categorization guided by newly utilized scientific measures. As addressed above, the early perception of tourists and overseas travelers was divided into domestic citizens and visitors-foreigners. Along with the gradual opening of the opportunity for going abroad, the subject of tourism became segmented in tourism policy in the 1980s. The new categorization of "overseas travel" appearing in government documents such as *Korean Tourism Yearbook* (1984~) and the annual report on tourism trends in 1981 is evidence of the changing meaning of tourism and overseas travel and their recognition as growing phenomena and leisure activities. The purpose of tourism was added to the statistical calculation of outbound tourists from 1983 (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1984, 1-3). Due to the increasing necessity of scientifically analyzing tourism behaviors and outlining the nation's tourism policy, the relevant government sectors and

institutions systematically took part in research projects on tourism. These attempts prove that overseas travel both as a phenomenon and concept was unstable and under construction. As such, in addition to filling out one's purpose as "tourism" on the departure card, other methods were developed to categorize tourists/overseas travelers.⁹ For the authorities and industry, it was necessary to define and measure what was a "tourist" as well as the act of overseas travel enough to calculate and analyze for policymaking purposes. The examples of such definitions and measurements are as follows.

The classification of an overseas traveler in the Foreign Exchange Control Act is one such example. From its convenience of measurement to set limitations on overseas payments, the law defined what an overseas traveler was by dividing it into three different groups based on the period of stay, unlike more subjective criteria such as the purpose of travel in the Passport Law.¹⁰ This legal boundary was designed because of the financial regulations on the available amount of foreign exchange and on the maximum possession of money at the time of going abroad. The standard of 60 days was drawn based on a proper daily budget within the limits of maximum possession.

Another example of the creation of a measurable definition is the nation-wide survey on overseas travel used since 1984 that was initiated by the Korea National Tourism Organization (now Korea Tourism Organization). The operational definitions of "overseas travel", "period of stay", and "purpose" were relatively clarified so as to reduce the respondent's confusion in answering the questionnaire. This nation-wide survey first started in 1976, and "overseas travel" was included as part of the questionnaire in 1984. The questionnaires from 1984, 1988, and 1991 defined overseas travel as follows:

⁹This process proceeded at the same time as the expansion of the social understanding of the definition of "(proper) tourism" in society, which will be discussed in the next section.

¹⁰General overseas traveler (less than 60 days), long-term overseas traveler (over 60 days), other overseas traveler (invitation, etc.) (Kim 1980, 37-8).

“overseas travel in this questionnaire does not imply whether the purpose is sightseeing or not. It does not limit the period of travel to the past 1 year only but includes every travel you have done up to now.”¹¹ This definition of overseas travel seems to be vaguely outlined on purpose. As to the question on the purpose of travel, “sightseeing, business, academic purposes and studying, international organization activity, visiting family and relatives, religious activity, etc.” were all included in a multiple-choice question. The questionnaire did not offer determined sets of answers regarding the period of stay, destination, purpose, transportation, or budget, but asked about them in the form of open-ended questions. This shows that the survey was aimed at collecting wide-ranging information on the slowly growing phenomenon of overseas travel and identifying broad trends. At the same time, similar to the case of legislation, the meaning of overseas travel still covered all-inclusive movement to foreign countries and was not specified to the purpose of tourism (sightseeing).

Such examples demonstrate the process of building standards and categories in visible and verbalizable forms. International indicators and definitions were utilized as referential points to measure and conceptualize what was a domestic “tourist” and touristic behavior. For example, a number of pages in the *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1990* were dedicated to the definitions of tourist that could be utilized for tourism statistics by referring to the standards of the UN, OECD, IMF (on the balance of payments), and WTO (World Tourism Organization). The criteria used to divide tourist and non-tourist were often the purpose and duration of stay. In another definition, the tourist was divided into

¹¹The report was published quadrennially until 1991 as a section in nation-wide tourism trend research, and it began to be published annually as a separate volume after 1993. The operational definition on overseas travel at the beginning of the questionnaire disappeared from the report of 1993 as well, which implies that the social understanding of “overseas travel” had become widely shared since the previous decade (1980s). Since then, the aim of the tourism survey was no longer about grasping an idea of what overseas travel was but about producing a usable dataset for the analysis on a regular basis.

international tourist (or visitor to stay) and excursionist (one-day visitor), based on the period of stay. *The Korean Tourism Yearbook* tended to approach the definition of tourism on the basis of the divide between international tourist and domestic tourist.

From such an impetus to develop analytical concepts, one can see the efforts that the South Korean government made to define troubling terms such as “tourism”, “overseas travel”, and “travel” in its official language so as to capture the emerging phenomenon and social understanding of travel and tourism. At the same time, in public language and official documents from earlier stages of overseas travel, “overseas travel” (*haeoe yōhaeng*) indicated outbound tourism of local Korean people in general regardless of their purpose or destination. The category of “general travel” from the policy papers in 1981 included overseas employment, business, immigration, visiting and inspection, study-abroad, and government affairs, for example.¹² Again, the documents show that the concept “overseas travel” referred not merely to travel as a purpose and main activity but rather to a larger scope of going abroad. To summarize, this conceptualization presents two different but co-existing meanings of the word “travel”: 1) “travel” as an expression in general to describe the act of moving (to foreign countries in particular), and 2) a specific leisure activity of “traveling” that was often divided into “domestic travel” and “overseas travel”. In the 1980s, when both domestic and foreign travel as a leisure and recreation activity increased in accordance with the country’s growing economic status, the understanding of “travel” as a leisure activity rather than mobility itself gradually became dominant.

3.1.2. National Tourism and the Top-down Imagination of Global Mobility

So far, it has been examined who was (eligible as) a tourist and what was (counted as) overseas travel in the legal and administrative definition from the perspective of the

¹²National Archives of Korea. Document No. BA0883737, 11.

institutionalization of overseas travel as an emerging phenomenon. In this section, I focus on the depiction of tourism and travel created by policymakers in relation to the characteristics of tourism and travel, providing norms and guidelines on what tourism and travel should be. To put it briefly, a top-down design and promotion of the “right” travel and tourism was embedded in the depiction of tourism and travel, which reveals the governmental imagination of the nation’s leisure, overseas travel, and global mobility. It formed the direction of domestic and international tourism policy and accordingly the orientation of the tourism and leisure activities of the citizens. Therefore, the questions for this section are: What was considered as proper travel and tourism? And who was regarded as a righteous tourist and traveler?

Distinction of Tourism and Travel, and “Kukmin”

The early versions of policy papers and industry reports spent considerable space on the distinction between tourism and travel, in which the tourist was also specified. The 1980s was a period of searching for proper definitions and methods for better measurements in the field of tourism and travel. South Korean tourists became visualized as a unit of analysis with new data and were verbalized as noticeable actors who increasingly participated in leisure and later went abroad for travel. The KNTTO (Korea National Tourism Organization) and government research institutes took charge of research and analysis to provide useful information for policymaking and industry by publishing reports and yearbooks.¹³

Major issues associated with the earlier version were building the concept of

¹³The contents include annual trends, the year’s major issues, thematic reports, the government-led tourism development plan and its results, definitions of concepts, the structure of organizations, industry information (aviation, transportation, hotels, and travel agencies), data on national tourism, national overseas travel, international tourism, and other tourism-related statistics. This structure of content continues until now.

“tourism” and putting Korean tourism history in order. For the former, the conceptualization was grounded in 1) the separation of tourism and travel and 2) the differentiation of “national tourism” (*kukmin kwankwang*) and “international tourism” (*kukje kwankwang*). The comparison of tourism and travel was a necessary process to locate an unfamiliar leisure activity called tourism on a more conceptual and analytic level. In the meantime, national tourism, in opposition to international tourism, was chosen to arrange the executive plan effectively for both areas. The first edition of *Korean Tourism Yearbook* in 1984 explained that “Tourism is likely to contain the psychological personal motivation to move, while travel tends to be decided by the will of others based on career and institutional drive” (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1984, 71). This means that in the early 1980s in South Korea, tourism was a matter of personal choice, whereas travel (all kinds of going abroad) was related to other life choices such as employment or immigration; therefore, tourism was distinguished from other going abroad experiences. Such an approach is different from the current understanding of tourism/travel division in that travel refers to individuals’ freestyle traveling, while tourism refers to standardized mass tourism. As such, on the policymaking level, “travel” was not dedicated to personal recreation or expedition but to overall movement to both domestic and foreign regions. The understanding of travel as various types of movement regardless of purpose or destination also appeared in the nation-wide tourism survey in 1976.

In distinguishing travel and tourism, *Korean Tourism Yearbook* (1984, 71) made travel conceptually equivalent to migration by explaining; “movement is largely split into migration and travel, depending on the intention.” From the viewpoint of intention, while migration meant moving one’s life zone, such as through emigration, “travel points to a movement to leave one’s roots with the intention to come back again.” Any act of going abroad without the intention of settling down was counted as “travel” in this definition.

The “come-and-go types such as official business trips, commercial business trips, rest and recreation, and sightseeing” were listed as examples. Thus, this report addressed that “travel and tourism seem slightly different in the expression and interpretation in relation to the purpose and need, but in fact we use both terms identically.” The particularity of tourism in relation to the modernist approach of mass tourism was not yet included, and both travel and tourism were considered identical in the traveler-tourist’s intention. One can see the ongoing confusion in defining concepts in this first ambitious edition of the tourism yearbook. It also clung to the criterion of self-willingness to divide tourism and travel, which does not seem very persuasive from the current viewpoint. On the other hand, it also mentioned that other countries usually counted inbound tourists as “people who stay longer than 24 hours”, regardless of the purpose or motive. It also addressed that as long as one’s return was affirmed, there would be no actual difference between tourism and travel, as both were “an action to satisfy one’s needs by moving from one’s own place to other places in order to return”, quoting an international tourism organization. As such, it brought a new criterion, the “will to return”, to blur conceptual boundaries, which brought confusion and more of a grey zone to the definition. What is important here is the attempt and intention to clarify the definition and to render the relevant categories, even if it was not successful and confusing. In other words, this confusion and effort per se demonstrate that the increasing mobility – travel, tourism, and overseas travel – was a new social phenomenon, an “emergent culture” (Williams 1977) that had to be defined and deciphered for the authorities as well as the society. This identification process is a noteworthy particularity of the 1980s transition.

Development of National Tourism

“National tourism” or “nation’s tourism” (*kukmin kwankwang*) was an appropriate term that could bind the unsettled definitions of travel/tourism/movement together by naming it

‘national’. According to *Annual Tourism Trend Report* from 1981, “national tourism” (*kukmin kwankwang*) had “a meaning of social welfare and the state’s policy to give equal tourism opportunities at a convenient and reasonable price to the nation’s people for their health care and cultivation of ‘sound’ (健全) emotion through the good use of leisure and travel for the low-income class and ‘nation-public’ (国民大衆)” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981*, 179). As is shown, this put stress on the significance and necessity of the policy. On the other hand, the version from 1983 first defined the concept “national tourism” (*kukmin kwankwang*) as “a moving activity of domestic residents (Korean citizens and foreigners) for ‘recreation’, aiming to change one’s mental and physical life by temporarily escaping one’s own daily living through enjoying and seeing the nature, culture, scenery, customs, society, and industries of other regions, or through learning, experience, activity, recreation, and event participation” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report 1983*, 73). These two statements on national tourism show the multifaceted dimensions of its character; the actor’s nationality, the place of tourism activity, the category of activities, the ways of participation, the motivations of tourists and the nation-state, and the positionality of tourists and the nation-state.

A clear comparison was its distinctiveness from “international tourism” as divided in the policymaker’s outline. National tourism and international tourism were deemed separate. As a different category at the beginning, national tourism indicated domestic citizens’ (*kukmin*) domestic tourism, whereas international tourism was designated as foreigners’ visits to South Korea. As the overseas travel of domestic citizens evolved as a new topic, the categorization developed to include three sub-themes, i.e. international tourism (foreigners coming to Korea), national tourism (domestic tourism by the South Korean people), and “national overseas travel” (overseas travel by the South Korean

people) (*Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981*, Ministry of Transportation, 184, 195).¹⁴ To historicize, the needs of the South Korean government to invest in the tourism industry for visiting foreigners after the establishment of the Republic of Korea necessitated and enhanced international tourism. The catchphrase “Building the nation through tourism” (*kwankwang ibkuk* 觀光立国) was a good example. The notion of ‘national tourism’ was introduced to encourage the growth of domestic tourism from the 1970s and overseas travel throughout the 1980s. According to the section “The correlation between national tourism and international tourism” in the trend report of 1983, “a complementary and organic relationship would be ideal wherein international tourism is accelerated based on the solid foundation of national tourism.” Further, it stated, “however, we have put considerable efforts into the promotion of international tourism, focusing on the acquisition of foreign currency, but did not pay much attention to the advancement of national tourism, which was still bounded to the spontaneous level until recently” (Ministry of Transportation 1983, 75). As such, international tourism for economic purposes preceded national tourism in modern Korea, and the new government of the 1980s emphasized the significance of the promotion of national tourism by raising the issue of people’s welfare in relation to leisure and tourism.

The idea of national tourism covered various definitions of types of tourism such as domestic tourism, mass tourism, and popular tourism, but at the same time, it actually diverged from them. This difference stemmed from the terminology used such as “national” (not domestic) versus “international” and designated “nation” (*kukmin*) as a subject of tourism versus “the tourist”. This naming and categorization in policy-related documents demonstrates the particularity of South Korean tourism and overseas travel in the 1980s, which shows the nation-state’s gaze on tourism and tourists and the direction from the

¹⁴The third one sometimes was integrated with the second one.

viewpoint of the nation-people linkage. In that imagination and policy design, the tourist was not counted as an independent individual subject, a consumer nor a free mobile actor. The nation-state herein worked as the designer of this policy and direction.

Also, the policy-related documents actively introduced the definition of “national tourism in foreign countries” as an example and reference to conceptualize tourism and to orientate policy in its incipient stage. It shows the South Korean government’s effort to follow a “global standard” that was influenced by international currents.¹⁵ In particular, the first volume of *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984* covered the definition of the WTO and that of eighteen countries on national tourism.¹⁶ However, these definitions barely implied national tourism per se and were closer to domestic tourism or tourism in general, in which the main actors were not tied up with nationality, or so-called “nation” (*kukmin*), but rather indicated a tourist, traveler, or sojourner in general.¹⁷ On the other hand, the report also pointed out the academic definition as well as the Social Tourism Movement that had emerged in Western countries after WWII (*Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984*, 412). This citation underpinned the meaning of social welfare in national tourism, which was

¹⁵Tourism policy and the liberalization of overseas travel in neighboring countries’ cases such as Taiwan and Japan were written for reference. See, *Korean Tourism Yearbook* (1985, 64) and *Expansion Plan of Going Abroad* in 1981 (National Archives of Korea, Document No. BA0883737).

¹⁶“The WTO defines national tourism as domestic tourism that involves moving to another place from one’s own residence with at least a one-night stay and for pure tourism purposes and not aiming at getting a job or working, regardless of the traveler’s nationality.” The list of countries were Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, France, West Germany, Greece, UK, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, United States, Japan, Turkey, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. The reason why these countries were selected is unknown, but the major tourist-sending countries and destinations seem to be included (“The definition of ‘national tourism’ in foreign countries.” *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984*, 411).

¹⁷It also mentioned the diversity in definitions as following: “The definition of national tourism differs from country to country. It means domestic movement or staying from place to place regardless of whether it involves staying overnight. As to the purpose of tourism, it can depend on the country, but it covers recreation, sightseeing, sports, visiting relatives, religious events, etc.” (*Ibid.* 411).

described as “the tourism activity based on the idea of social welfare for national people’s physical and mental health to help them enjoy worthwhile tourism with easy and reasonable expenses provided by the government.”¹⁸ However, if compared with the definition of social tourism in the *Manila Declaration on World Tourism* in 1980 (Article No. 10. “Social tourism is an objective that society must pursue in the interest of those citizens who are least privileged in the exercise of their right to rest”), one can see a subtle difference in interpretations between the South Korean government’s and the WTO’s approach. As presumed from the gap between nation and society, the latter emerged from the social consciousness of the human right to rest and the social welfare to support the underprivileged class, while the former was more focused on the state-given social benefits that cared about the nation’s healthy mind and life.¹⁹ Although both shared ideas on tourism development from the perspective of the recipient’s economic advantage, the difference was in the approach to the state’s role and the state-people relationship.

In addition, *Tourism Yearbook 1984* addressed the standard of international organizations and other big tourism countries as a reference when it emphasized the importance of national tourism, for example, by quoting the *Manila Declaration on World Tourism* of the WTO in 1980 and the *Rio de Janeiro Declaration* of the OAS (Organization of American States). The influence of external factors as a policy reference, i.e. “global standard”, was apparent, which shows how conscious the Korean government was of global trends on social issues. It unveils the tacit agreement among policymakers on the idea that it was better to follow the flow of internationalization and opening. However, the additive “nation” (*kukmin*) to tourism and its reiterating emphasis on national tourism

¹⁸This kind of description is reiterated in almost every tourism yearbook afterwards.

¹⁹This ideation of tourism serving for building the healthy body and mind of the people and the state’s role in it is very similar to the characteristic of the Soviet tourism (Koenker 2013).

are still questionable when compared to the more general approach to tourism in which the “tourist” was centered as the main agency. In addition to the slight misunderstanding of social welfare, national tourism in the South Korean context was arguably planned as a dispensation policy for the people. At the same time, it was a way of governing people’s “health and mind”, as written in the statements. Therefore, “national” is a more significant descriptor than “tourism” if the invention of national tourism in South Korea were to be discussed.²⁰

Vision of National Tourism

How then did the South Korean government and tourism policymakers envision national tourism? What kind of orientations did national tourism embrace in detail? What was the motivation for the national government to develop and promote national tourism, and what kind of expectation did the authorities have for tourism-subjects or nation-subjects, and what did they attempt to achieve or cultivate? What was the anticipated effect of this “social welfare policy” of national tourism? The following statement in *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984* exemplifies the vision of national tourism.

National tourism contributes to the advancement of international tourism through mutual understanding and the creation of solidarity through income distribution, the construction of a beneficial environment for the entire national economy, and the development of domestic tourism (as addressed in the Manila Declaration on World Tourism in 1980). The Rio de Janeiro Declaration by the OAS says, “the state gives the right to enjoy rest and recreation to most of the nation’s people, and by doing so, it can be an effective means for cultural advancement and national solidarity.” The effects, expected from the promotion of national tourism, which has meanings for public policy and social welfare, are as follows. First, it can contribute to the construction of a bright and cheerful society by guiding young people by encouraging the will to reproduce through providing opportunities for the good use of leisure to the general populace, by cultivating citizens’ emotions, etc. Second, it

²⁰Given that *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984* was the first edition, an ambitious publication for systematizing and specifying all tourism-related issues, content, and data, this material epitomized the direction of tourism policy and its institutionalization. The basic outline and contents of this first draft have been repeated in the following yearbooks without notable changes.

can strengthen national harmony by creating a feeling of solidarity via contact and conversation among people from all kinds of backgrounds. Third, it can promote balanced regional development through the development of local tourist attractions. Fourth, it can foster patriotism and inspire a love of cultural heritage and nature by providing a chance to understand the motherland correctly through the guidance of sound national tourism. And fifth, it is a driving force of international tourism because the development of domestic tourism resources is the foundation of attracting foreign tourists (*Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984*, 411-2).

This grandiose description shows the ambition and high expectation for national tourism the policymakers had in mind. However, as shown in the paragraph, it did not mention the perspective that tourism had to be promoted to improve social welfare, promote the right and freedom to enjoy leisure, or enhance the diverse cultural experience of traveling. In short, it was the vision written from the planner's (nation-state) perspective, not from the (would-be) tourist's perspective. As is written, "encouraging the will to reproduce", "cultivating citizens' emotions", and "good use of leisure" were dedicated to building a "bright and cheerful society". "Contact and conversation" were meant to create "national harmony", and "local tourist attractions" were intended for "equal development between regions". Moreover, tourism, if healthy enough, was supposed to increase patriotism, the proper understanding of homeland, and national belonging. Also, last but not least, it was assumed to help the national economy by attracting foreign tourists. As such, tourism was regarded as a cure-all solution that would bring national growth and unity if it were properly carried out through guided "national tourism". This is what the government envisioned and expected for national tourism, not what was expected by people-tourists. In other words, the promotion of 'national tourism' was not closely related to the merits of the tourism experience itself such as fun, rest, inspiration, etc. It was part of a grand plan in that developmentalism-nationalism operated as an ultimate goal in the name of national development, national harmony and solidarity, social building, and patriotism.

It is indicative and intriguing to analyze the discursive meaning in the usage of language, i.e. “reproduction”, “construction”, “foundation”, “development”, and “advancement” in explaining the pursuit of national tourism as well as the naturalized rhetoric of “guiding”, “giving”, “encouraging”, “forming”, “leading”, and “providing” in explaining the nation-state’s role. Such terminology sheds light on the underlying scheme and premise of the nation-state. The former examples are reminiscent of the state-led developmentalism and its goal-orientedness, and the latter examples reveal the hierarchical power relations between nation-state and people.²¹ The expression “good use of leisure” also embodied the state governmentality and its view of people (and their lives) at that time. Taken literally, this expression uncovered the idea of the value-oriented, not value-neutral, social role of leisure that had to be ‘used right and good’. Such vivid direction was far removed from what people usually expected from leisure, social welfare, and tourism in their daily lives, and this value-included instruction was due to the political nature of the state-led social welfare and tourism-leisure policy.²² In the meantime, as time passed, another approach to tourism also emerged in policy discourses on tourism, i.e. mass tourism and popular tourism influenced by the growing tourism demands and consumption generated by the increasing income level. For example, the opening remark of *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1986* described the contemporary atmosphere as vigorous growth in

²¹The causative verbs, often used in government documents and policy papers, exhibit the foundational conception to ‘make someone (national entity) do something’.

²²This tendency was interrelated with the expectation toward the overall tourism industry at that time as appeared in the following case. Before the 1980s as well, for the South Korean government, the tourism industry meant more than “a mere service industry”. Rather, it was an important business that could contribute to manifold areas such as “earning foreign currency, enhancing national prestige, promoting international friendship, developing local society, enlarging employment, encouraging national emotion, good use of leisure, increasing the will for reproduction, and national harmony”. From this forecast, the report puts stress on the necessity to prepare the upcoming “leisure industry society” of the 1980s (“Opening Remarks” in *Nation-wide Tourism Survey 1976*, KTO). As such, national tourism was developed by the strong initiative and action plans of the government along with the industry development plan.

industry due to the rising demands of popular tourism and tourism information.²³ In the visible transition of “mass tourism” and “popular tourism”, the perception of the tourist as a consumer increased. In other words, instead of one-way instruction and policymaking by policymakers, the demands and needs of tourists were taken into account as well. However, the overall structure and working process (setting rules and drawing a big picture) were led by the state, and the other actors were given little consideration in the frame of national tourism.

From the cases addressed so far, a popular question in tourism studies can be raised again: Who is the tourist? The tourist in the South Korean context of “national tourism” (*kukmin kwankwang*) during the 1980s had different implications from the widely acknowledged descriptions of the tourist as members of the leisure class, modern subjects, or post-modern consumers.²⁴ The gaze, projected onto tourists in the South Korean society in the 1980s, had four different but correlated meanings: 1) the beneficiaries of social welfare of leisure, 2) the workers who were anticipated to contribute reproduction after recharging productivity through leisure activities, and 3) the consumers who were expected to bring profit to the national tourism industry. Furthermore, above all, tourists presented 4) *Kukmin* (nation’s people). The nation-state and national interests preceded the interests of individual tourists. This typology of gaze overlapped the gaze and perception casted over “nation’s people” (*kukmin*) before touring subjects.

What, then, was national tourism for? The key phrases in answering this question can be “good use of leisure”, “social welfare”, “emotional cultivation”, “encouragement of

²³This article evaluated the 1960s as the groundwork, the 1970s as the rapid growth of (domestic) tourism industry along with economic growth, and the 1980s as a stabilizing period facing a mass tourism era.

²⁴The scholars who were interested in the actors and phenomena of tourists and tourism often approached them to understand modernity or post-modernity (MacCannell 1999; Boorstin 1992; Urry 2002).

the will to reproduction”, “health care”, and “patriotism.” The ‘would-be’ tourists were anticipated to become the actors who could create the virtuous, ethical, and productive cycle of healthy leisure → increase in production capacity → contribution to the industry (both as consumer and labor) → patriotism and national harmony. There were two roles required of tourists — the labor force contributing to national economic development and the citizen being loyal to the state. These were the foundational premise that led to the establishment of “national tourism” as well as the state’s tourism industry in the 1980s.

Nation’s Overseas Travel

To meet the goal set by the nation-state, what were the tourists (people/citizens/*Kukmin*) expected to perform in relation to national tourism and overseas travel? Before tourism was popularized, travel and tourism for personal purposes were often criticized based on ethical concepts in society. “Thrift and saving” was a righteous attitude needed to achieve the societal objective of economic development in the ‘period of growth’ in South Korea. Thus, pleasure-seeking and money-spending activities such as traveling abroad and sightseeing were deemed improper, thoughtless, and immature behaviors. As the demand for tourism increased (and escalated with the liberalization of overseas travel), concerns about extravagancy also emerged as one of the responses. The guidance and promotion of re-educating proper attitudes of tourism and overseas travel was largely focused on that issue. As the government actively initiated the national tourism promotion plan and liberalization plan of overseas travel, the voice as well as action plans also proliferated to lead and shape tourists’ behaviors toward a ‘bright, cheerful, and sound’ direction. Detailed methods were implemented as well.

“Soundness” (*Kōnjōn* 健全) was one of the discourses that frequently appeared in

manifold fields.²⁵ What was meant by “soundness” in “sound national tourism” and “‘upbringing’ (*hamyang* 涵養) sound national emotion”? “Soundness” at first meant a healthy mind and body that could return to productive activities and showing a love of their own country by protecting nature and culture. Manifold policy papers and reports addressed “sound national tourism” in the tourism development plan.²⁶ The connotation of the word could go further with regard to “sound leisure” and “sound overseas travel”.²⁷ If it expanded to overseas travel, conduct – such as wise consumption, learning of advanced foreign cultures, consciousness of one’s own behavior, international manner and etiquette, and ideologically right judgment – were addressed through the phrase “soundness”. And as such, ‘etiquette’ as an international citizen and frugality, in particular not buying foreign goods, were much more important than restraining one’s immature or impulsive behavior as an individual traveler. Rather, it was connected to a kind of social responsibility as a member of the nation-state.

The following case, the book *Overseas Travel and the Manner of International Society* (Kim 1988), is a good example that demonstrates the virtues expected of “the nation’s (*Kukmin ūi*) overseas travel”. It was published a few months ahead of “the full liberalization of overseas travel” and was written by a board member of the PR division of

²⁵*Kōnjōn* can be translated to “healthiness and soundness”.

²⁶The annual reports on tourism trends from 1991, 1993, and 1994 all included themes such as “the fosterage of the spirit of sound national tourism” (1991) and “the settlement of sound national tourism” (1993, 1994). The emphasis on promoting healthy and sound overseas travel was addressed as a category of a tourism promotion plan in the annual report on tourism trends in 1981. In the section “Building the Foundation of National Tourism”, the report listed the contents as the following: a national tourism masterplan, to start a nation-wide trend report, to guide sound overseas travel, to promote and guide the social ethos of sound national tourism, and to develop national tourist attractions. It emphasized the necessity of guiding sound overseas travel as a nation-wide task according to the full liberalization of overseas travel from 1983 (*Annual Report on Tourism Trends* 1981, 322-3).

²⁷The third implication of soundness will be discussed in chapter 4 in relation to the security part and its relation to another Chinese character “*jōn* (全)” from “security” (*anjōn* 安全).

the Korean Tourism Organization. The preface and the paragraph on the definition of tourism (*kwankwang*: “to see the light”, to see and learn culture) show the aim of the publication, the idea of national tourism, and the expectations surrounding national tourism and overseas travel (Kim 1988, 16-7). Also, this book demonstrates how understanding of the role of tourism/travel as a representative international experience was entangled with the perception of “the era of internationalization” at that time.

This ‘manner guidebook’ was in fact a rich travel guidebook that covered general information on overseas travel thoroughly from A (passport) to Z (return). As overseas travel at that time was an unfamiliar experience to the ordinary people while increasingly acknowledged as an emerging culture, travel information from the preparation to the end was difficult to find for individual (potential) travelers. This type of comprehensive information handbook that did not focus on any specific destination or region therefore was more frequently published after 1988.²⁸ Such an encyclopedic handbook that covered the overall procedure of overseas travel and specific things to remind the reader of, was in a way a travel guidebook before it was named a ‘guidebook’ based on the specific destinations. Often written by government officers (including diplomats), professors, journalists, and expatriates, these publications functioned as a bridge to connect policy and citizens and also as a medium between domestic readers and selected groups of people who could go abroad. The abovementioned book on etiquette guidance is particularly intriguing, as the author was a former military officer who also served in the US Army in South Korea. It discloses three different issues of historical particularity of tourism in South Korea: 1) The power of former military authorities appointed to an important post in policymaking, and 2) the close relationship between tourism and militarism (both in reality

²⁸The handbook-style of travel information was not the only form of publication. Lifestyle magazines in 1988 and 1989 also included special supplements about overseas travel.

and as a metaphor). It is difficult to find out how this book was circulated and who received it, but the writer's background may be meaningful. As the author was in a representative position in the KTO, the executive organization for the promotion of both national and international tourism, the contents of the book can be a good reference that indicated the KTO's position on the issue of overseas travel and internationalization. The book was written in a very meticulous style with abundant details. It might not be a textbook for official education for overseas travel. However, it is still emblematic in its how-to approach to "sound overseas travel", which demonstrates the third particularity, 3) the disciplining and enlightening themes in informing South Korean overseas travelers about the direction for righteous travel.

This guidebook taught the manner for overseas travel in a reader-friendly way, asking South Korean people to bear in mind international common sense that did not spontaneously emerge from a natural etiquette and consideration as a social being but from a self-regulative way of thinking to behave properly as "advanced citizens from an advanced country". Because "we are now living in 'the era of internationalization'", "the time has arrived where one has to travel not merely as 'A' traveler but while keeping in mind a sense of mission as a diplomatic delegate who promotes the Republic of Korea to the world." Therefore, it asserted that one "should not forget the fact that each of us people (*kukmin*)'s every movement represents the entire Republic of Korea." As such, this discourse shows the internalization of the gaze from the outside – the world – through which self-regulation was strengthened. Also, the author emphasized that the purpose of tourism and travel "is not for sightseeing but for learning", and "it is a 'no no' to merely pursue pleasure or to spend time without any productivity." A clear direction was given here, and the meaning of "good travel" was predetermined as well. To perform "fruitful tourism", one "had to make plans thoroughly" and prepare themselves with "rough

information on the destination's politics, economy, society, and culture as well as all other tourism information", "similar to how soldiers simulate military operations with a map before a war"(Kim 1988, 15-9). This last sentence in the preface of the book strongly resonates with the military-authoritarian governmentality in South Korea throughout the 1980s and also with additional information from the author's profile. Tourism was certainly a task that involved taking action, embracing "a sense of duty" and becoming 'armed' with a strong will and an action plan.²⁹ A desirable image of national tourists and the promotion of and education on righteous overseas travel were implemented in other related government plans on national tourism, the Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad, and the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel through multiple methods. Details will be provided in other sections.

3.1.3. Freedom and the Right of Movement and Leisure

Meanwhile, in opposition to the top-down viewpoint on tourism, the social discourses on the right and freedom to movement and leisure show the emerging recognition and demand for travel as a human right and individual choice. Unlike the social welfare rhetoric provided by the new administration, this contrasting discourse appeared as a rather bottom-

²⁹A similar case of imagining tourism as (military) action is found in the celebration remark of the publication of the Tourism Yearbook in 1984 written by the chair of the Korean Tourism Association. In this remark, the current international situation of increasingly severe international competition was described as if it were a "global cultural war". In that circumstance, nation-ethnicity was summoned as a tourism resource as well as a way to help the community cope with international conditions. To quote part of the content that was written in a serious and stimulative tone: "Now, we should deeply feel the duty of national history to spread the image of 'Tourism Korea in the World', and to do so, we must create 'the take-off of Tourism Korea' through our wisdom and effort. The success or failure of the tourism industry depends on national power as a whole as if it were an international 'cultural war'. Therefore, it is a far and perilous road to win over the tourism war, the global cultural war. The hardship we in the tourism industry have to endure is to achieve victory in this cultural war, and to do so, there is no need for the second talk to emphasize that serious research and reflection for this field has to occur" ("Special Celebration", *Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984*).

up voice to argue that travel and leisure had to be basic human rights, even though they had been ignored. Again, travel here covered not just tourism but a broader freedom of movement to choose where to go and live on their own. Also, leisure implied the individual's right to rest and to have free time for holidays, recreation and relaxation out of labor. In particular, such an opinion was noticeable in mass travel magazines and tourism industry periodicals, which had different characteristics compared with previously described sources such as policy papers and legal codes. The arguments were often expressed in a more direct manner requesting the right and freedom to travel abroad by asserting that travel had to be given by nature, and tourism had to be enjoyed by everyone who wanted to. They both criticized the current situation in which these natural human rights were restricted and required permission from the authorities. Two perspectives – social welfare policies directed by the state-power and basic human rights – seemed conflicting on the surface. As a matter of fact, however, the two viewpoints supplemented each other and concurrently stirred debate as part of the process of coping with the new freedom of mobility. The defining qualities of that era were the increasing recognition of one's rights and freedoms as well as the opening of a secluded society. In this sense, it can be interpreted as a reception process of social change — a reaction that appeared in ongoing changes such as income growth, an increasing sense of freedoms and basic human rights as human beings living in democratic society, and the changing reality of internationalization and global influence.

Early Perceptions and Control Policy of Overseas Travel

In fact, the 1980s was not the first time the discourse of 'overseas travel as a basic human right' had appeared in government documents. Two rare examples show advocacy for the right to travel abroad for the nation's people and a request as the consequential role and responsibility of the government to legalize the relevant processes. In the first example,

“Nation (*Kukmin*)’s Overseas Travel” (1963) was written by a former advisory committee member at the Foreign Affairs and National Defense Commission board and published in the organizational bulletin of the Supreme Council for Nation Reconstruction (*Supreme Council* 19).³⁰ Another article, “The Freedom of Overseas Travel and the Passport Law Article 8, Section 1, Number 5” (1963) was written by a law professor at Seoul National University as a lecture on the exercise of legal thinking on controversial issues and was published in a bulletin of the state bar exam *Gosigye*. They are illustrative because of the journal’s specific positionality that represented the administrative and legal authorities of the time in the early days of the military authoritarian regime in the middle of an ongoing nation-building process by the strong nation-state. The authors argued and stressed that the state had to permit its people to engage in overseas travel, pointing out the problem of passport issuance, its procedural complexity, and the lack of legal grounds to prohibit the right to travel abroad.

Nevertheless, such criticism was neither accepted in actual policy nor publicized enough to be discussed in the public sphere because of the country’s political and economic situation. Rather, the Park Jung-hee regime considered overseas travel as an issue that was not essential or urgent and even as something to closely control. In such circumstances, the chances for going abroad only belonged to a highly limited group of people such as government officials and dispatched soldiers. A few advocacy groups raised issues about the regime’s strong control over overseas travel and the abovementioned right to movement, but in reality it was difficult to make any visible changes against the top-

³⁰The Supreme Council for Nation Reconstruction was a military-based think-tank and semi-constitutional institution that functioned as a control tower that shaped the image of the upcoming government and administered state affairs. As to the role of the organizational bulletin *Supreme Council* on propaganda for national reconstruction see Suh (2013), and as to the organization and activities of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (May 1961–December 1963) that constructed the legitimacy of the Park Jung-hee regime and strengthened its power structure see Cha (2006).

down decision-making process and the state's existing policy. In other words, it was untimely to claim basic human rights and to activate legal discussion as well as actual implementation in the South Korean political situation. As the "Control Plan of Overseas Travelers" (July 19, 1965) showed, overseas travel was strictly classified as a target of "prohibition" and "control" in the name of "preventing the waste and leakage of foreign currency." The special regulation plan was set up for government officials and soldiers who were unavoidably dispatched on public purposes.³¹ To rephrase, the government prepared and implemented the management plan of overseas travel based on its fundamental control policy. As examined previously, such a way of governing mobility became more standardized and systematized along with the institutional arrangement of relevant devices such as passport and immigration control laws. This basic direction of the 'control and regulation' policy continued until the late 1970s, when step-by-step liberalization appeared once again as a suggestion for allowing overseas travel by the South Korean government.

Increasing Awareness of Human Rights about Travel and Leisure

The early 1980s witnessed a slow expansion of the understanding of tourism, leisure, and overseas travel as basic human rights. Looking at the changes in the "overview" in *Annual Tourism Trend Report* (Ministry of Transportation), it was found that the focus moved from the importance of the tourism industry and re-creation activities for productivity to that of the quality of life and basic human needs.³² Leisure was gradually recognized as a

³¹In May 1963, a report titled "Research on the Control Plan for Overseas Travel for Government Affairs" was written and submitted by the Cabinet Secretary General. Overseas travel by government officials was required to be supervised strictly by a judging Committee of Overseas Travel for Government Affairs and the regulations of Overseas Travel for Government Affairs legislated in December 1962 ("Control Plan for Overseas Travelers", July 19, 1965, National Archives of Korea).

³²The concept of human rights in *Annual Tourism Trend Report* first appeared in 1983.

necessary and sufficient condition for the pursuit of a better life beyond the elementary necessities of life such as food, clothing, and housing.

The description of the right to travel and rest can be understood in two lines. First, it shows that the government acknowledged and reflected citizens' growing needs of basic rights, and therefore, secondly, it evoked the necessity of promoting national tourism policy, a timely task. However, at the same time, this official report added a conditional requirement by stating "if 'people' (*kukmin*) understood the true meaning of tourism correctly and practiced it in their lives, then it could be settled down" (*Annual Tourism Trend Report* 1985, 80). In other words, the government's position on this issue can be considered as follows: It was understandable that tourism and travel were natural human rights, but the state took the lead to decide the criteria for and direction of what sound or unsound tourism was. Then again, it supported the legitimization of state-led tourism policy in relation to both the urgency of the issue and concerns about the immaturity of the people. The logic of the former was that 'because it was an urgent human rights issue (and also a growing industry for national profit), the state willingly took the responsibility and initiative to develop tourism nationally'. On the other hand, for the latter, it was regarded as 'a human rights issue, but people were not ready enough to behave properly so that the state would set the frame and manage to educate people.' The reality, however, was full of unsolved social problems. The labor environment (working hours and income level) had not improved for every social class as evidenced by continuous labor movements and strikes. Overseas travel was still partially allowed and delayed, consumption was socially condemned, and democracy and basic human rights were widely repressed. Given such limitations, the government's comments on freedom and the natural human rights of tourism and leisure look baseless and unavailing. The state government, instead, specified a plan "to lead tourism toward sound and productive orientation" through "a nation-wide

sound tourism campaign” under the slogans “good use of leisure”, “sound national tourism”, and “sound overseas travel” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report* 1985, 82). This statement confined the freedom and the right to travel and rest to a limited frame and desirable direction. In a way, it exposed the concerns of a nation-state to keep the nation’s leisure time and culture under a controllable boundary.

On the other hand, as mentioned above, in making the definition and enlarging the general understanding of human rights in relation to travel and leisure issues, the report often referred to the imported concept and declaration made by international organizations.³³ As aforementioned, the 1980s was the time for the South Korean government to actively engage in tourism policy, both for domestic and outbound tourism by the South Korean people. In particular, the frame was established with three axes — inbound tourism by foreigners, social tourism for the domestic South Korean citizen, and outbound tourism by the South Korean citizen (Kwon 1990, 17). The globally shared knowledge on human rights and freedom affected the spread of ideas about “the right to travel” in South Korean society, which enabled the government to include overseas travel as a new category to be advanced. The often-cited contents were 1) “the freedom of movement and residence”, “the right to rest and leisure”, and “the right to a standard of living” in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and 2) “the freedom to travel within a broader framework of free time and leisure” in the WTO’s *Manila Declaration on World Tourism* (1980) that was evolved from the previous UN Declaration.³⁴ The latter

³³UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights in “Overview” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report* 1986) and “Right to Rest, Right to Travel” by the World Tourism Organization in “Overview” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report* 1985) were exemplary references.

³⁴The original articles in the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” are as follows: Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person; Article 13. 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. 2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country; Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security

described tourism, holidays, and leisure as ways to pursue individual rights and freedoms as well as a quintessential life condition to be satisfied. The South Korean government's emphasis on the significance of tourism and its reasoning for expanding international tourism also seem to be influenced by that vision.³⁵ Referring to that declaration, the contribution of world tourism to international cooperation, international understanding, economic development, and the creation of better living conditions were also values expected by the South Korean government to be upheld in developing tourism. The only difference was the nation-state's strong focus on national interest and unity, supposedly

and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality; Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay; Article 25. 1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. 2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection (Accessed January 6, 2020. https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf). On the other hand, evolved from the UN Declaration, WTO's *Manila Declaration on World Tourism* explains: "1. Tourism is considered an activity essential to the life of nations because of its direct effects on the social, cultural, educational and economic sectors of national societies and their international relations. Its development is linked to the social and economic development of nations and can only be possible if man has access to creative rest and holidays and enjoys the freedom to travel within the framework of free time and leisure whose profoundly human character it underlines." and "7. Within each country, domestic tourism contributes to an improved balance of the national economy through a redistribution of the national income. [...]" To quote the expectation of *World Tourism* (Partial quotation): "AWARE that world tourism can only flourish if based on equity, sovereign equality, non-interference in internal affairs and cooperation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems, and if its ultimate aim is the improvement of the quality of life and the creation of better living conditions for all peoples, worthy of human dignity" (*Manila Declaration on World Tourism*. Accessed August 9, 2019. <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/unwtodeclarations.1980.01.01>).³⁵The Manila Declaration was officially published as a policy paper of the case study on foreign countries on January 1, 1980. In a column on overseas travel after one year of implementation in 1990, a critic also evaluated its influence, stating that "the impact of the Declaration was huge for the representatives of every attendant country", and "this Declaration manifested that every person has the 'right to rest' and 'right to travel' as equal to the 'right to work'" (*Ibid.*; Sohn. 1990, 111).

engendered by national tourism in the South Korean case.³⁶

Reactions to the Travel Ban and Regulations

Lastly, the viewpoint of mass travelers will be examined by looking at a mass travel magazine.³⁷ Travelers and interest groups in the tourism industry were two representative recipients of the abovementioned policy and faced the ramifications of the policy. As a window that projected their reactions, travel magazines show what overseas travel meant for readers who were interested in going abroad. In that mass media, the needs and aspirations for overseas travel as well as the oppositional opinion to the travel ban were directly stated, which presented the perspective and understanding of the emerging mass travelers as subjects of consumption and leisure activity.

The opening remarks of publication in mass travel magazines provide a clue to understanding the transformation of tourism and overseas travel in the public imagination.³⁸ By following the trajectory of what was written from the 1980s to 2000s, the changing figure of overseas travel becomes visible from the embryonic period, to its

³⁶On the other international treaties and statements on tourism that influenced the concept of tourism and tourists' ethics afterwards, including the UN Global Code of Ethics for Tourism in 2001, see the report on the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (KCTI 2004).

³⁷In this section, a number of travel magazines are covered, mainly those published between the early 1980s and the late 1990s including *Monthly Travel and Leisure* (*Monthly Travel Abroad* after 1989), *Monthly Tourism*, *Monthly Wayfarer*, and *World Tour*. *Korea Tourist Association Bulletin* (*Kwan-hyup*) is partially cited. Before the 1980s, tourism and travel media were targeted at inbound foreign tourists and relied on promotional content of domestic tourist attractions. The content was often provided in Japanese or English. Mass travel magazines per se had not emerged yet. *Tourism* (1973~, Korea Tourism Information Center) and *Korean Tourism* (Korea Tourism Agency) were examples that vividly demonstrate the target, direction, and intention of tourism at that time, as these were oriented to international tourism rather than domestic tourism and leisure by Korean citizens. These magazines were supported by the Ministry of Transportation. The language of publication shows the major readership of those magazines were Japanese tourists and U.S. soldiers and their families.

³⁸Cheon (2013) conducted cultural historical research on the opening remarks of a number of representative magazines from 1945 to 2000s. His research shows that opening remarks, as resources for historical studies, reveal aspects of the culture and intelligence of changing times.

spread and popularization, and to its settling as a more standardized form of mass tourism. In 1984, when *Korean Tourism Yearbook* first ambitiously started its publication, one of the representative travel magazines, *Monthly Travel & Leisure*, also kicked off by identifying it as “a kind guide for life travel” in its subtitle on its cover page. In the opening remark (January 1984), the editor-in-chief highlighted the magazine’s objective as follows: “‘travel’ is now not an excursion only for rich people and celebrities but a big part of our lives that we all have to know, live and enjoy. The responsibility of publishing this magazine starts from such an impetus, and our path for the future exists there...” By the mid-1980s, travel was perceived as a right of daily life.

Another magazine, *Nagune*(Wayfarer), also began to be published in this year, 1984, the following year of the liberalization of overseas travel that was activated with the issuance of tourism passports and the adjustment of the target age group in 1983. It explained the background of its publication as “the pressure of the era” and “the request of the times”, which referred to “the fact that everyone is feeling the changing lifestyle of the South Korean people from static to kinetic.” This implied that the sense of flow and influx was spreading, as explored in the previous chapter. In this magazine, travel was defined as “a privilege among human privileges” and “an experience to go, see, hear, meet people, and eventually open your eyes.” It was not confined only to overseas travel but also indicated departure in general until one returns. At the same time, it was defined as “a form of leisure and the third life for recreation and refreshment” and was described as “a good method for lifetime education” that helped the individual’s “emotional life.” As illustrated, it started from the perspective of individual travelers, whose emotional and eye-opening experience mattered most. Unlike the state-centered discourse, travelers were referred to as human even before “national people” (*kukmin*). The subject of travel was illustrated in the language used such as “human”, “reader”, “us”, “I”, “individual”, and “modern being”,

and travel was assumed as “the right to enjoy as a human being”.

Therefore, the overseas travel ban and regulations were deemed as unreasonable from the perspective of human rights and freedom. Such a reaction was often found both in travel magazines and tourism industry bulletins. In the column “Travel Restriction is a Minus to the National Interest” (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* February 1984), the contributor (a journalist at *Chosun Ilbo*) criticized the government’s restriction on overseas travel as “a short-sighted view”. This opinion seems to stem from the limiting of the liberalization policy of overseas travel from 1983, in which a number of originally planned actions were postponed. From his own personal experience of overseas travel since the 1960s, he objected to travel restrictions, arguing that “one can compare oneself with the other and also one’s own country with another country.” He claimed that overseas travel was “also beneficial for the country, as the person came to reconsider one’s homeland from a distance through traveling and opening one’s eyes” (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* February 1984, 20-21). The feeling about one’s own country in this article was slightly different from patriotism in the government-side discourses, which shows a perceptual gap between top-down and bottom-up thoughts. National attachment or belonging (that might spontaneously encourage national development) was closer to the feeling that travelers obtained from a distance, as the column described. In that sense, it was not the same as the unconditional patriotism or national pride that was instilled by the state’s education, as shown in the promotion plan for national tourism. If compared with metaphors such as “world cultural war” and “military action” as seen above, the magazine research reveals a large difference in the approach to travel. This was the difference between the political power (leading the industry and policy) and the general public (travelers going abroad), in relation to the desire and sense of overseas travel as well as one’s positionality in the opening era. The former was attached to the responsibility and mission as “nation’s people”

(*kukmin*), whereas the latter was linked with rights and freedoms as an individual human being.

As such, the discourse in mass media and in policy and legal documents shows different characteristics in terms of the perspective on travel, overseas travel, tourists, and the role of the state. At the same time, a number of commonalities were found as well in terms of the recognition of the new social change called overseas travel as well as the changing landscape of “opening and internationalization”. A sense of transformation to the “global”, namely the structure of feeling called “flow”, was perceived and operating among the coevals in the field of tourism and travel as something new.

From about 1988 to 1990, around the so-called “full liberalization of overseas travel”, this sense of transformation seemed to escalate. The opening remarks of *Monthly Travel Abroad* in July 1988 commemorated the new version of the publication by upgrading its size and changing to all color print, starting with the sentence “The gates of overseas travel are now wide open” (*Monthly Travel Abroad* July 1988, 10). The definition of overseas travel or travel in general was no longer necessary, as it was already much more widely acknowledged than before. The column from August 1988 described travel as “the thing that can give richness and composure to the desolate mind of contemporary people”, and it suggested going abroad for summer holidays.³⁹ In the case of *Tour de Monde* in 1996, the opening remarks mentioned travel as one way of “pursuing higher value to improve the quality of life to abundance” that came after arts, leisure, and social welfare. As such, the meaning of travel was settling as a personal experience to gain emotional satisfaction and relaxation.

³⁹Supplementary booklet from the women’s magazine *Overseas Travel Anyone Can Go* (*Lady Kyung-hyang* 1989).

3.2. National Project of Going Abroad and Internationalizing Kukmin

As examined previously, overseas travel was managed under the “National Tourism Masterplan” (Ministry of Transportation 1981) with its objective of providing “Guidance for Sound Overseas Travel”.⁴⁰ The “National Tourism Masterplan” was used to approach overseas travel and the issue of the liberalization of overseas travel from the perspective of tourism and leisure policy. In the perspective on tourism policy, tourism and leisure were experiences that contrasted with labor and daily living and were aimed at encouraging reproductive capacity. However, another essential issue was entangled with overseas travel in South Korea in the 1980s, i.e. the national policy of sending South Korean people abroad, which also connected to the abovementioned basic human right called the right to movement and residence. From this standpoint, the implication of ‘going abroad’ per se draws new attention as a key context of overseas travel, and overseas travel is re-located as a sub-category of outbound mobility. Clear evidence was the connection between the blueprint named the “Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad” (*Kukmin haeoe jinch’ul hwakdae bang’an* 国民海外進出拡大方案, hereafter “Expansion Plan”) and the “Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel” (*haeoe yōhaeng jayuhwa joch’i* 海外旅行自由化措置), both initiated by the Chun Doo-Hwan administration in 1981.

Taking these two governmental plans together into consideration, the problem of overseas travel is re-contextualized with another peculiarity—the initiative of ‘sending

⁴⁰In *Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981* (Ministry of Transportation, 321-2), the section “Construction of the foundation of national tourism” was composed of the “National Tourism Master Plan” and “Survey of National Tourism Trend”, followed by “Guidance for Sound Overseas Travel”. According to the report, “with this year’s partial liberalization of overseas travel and the expansion of study abroad, the nation’s overseas travel is now on an increase, and the government plans to fully liberalize overseas travel in 1983, which necessitates the nation-wide guidance of sound overseas travel for South Korean citizens. Therefore, it plans to systematize the tour guide system, to simplify the relevant work, and to publish a guidebook for overseas travel.”

Koreans abroad'. As mentioned in the previous analysis, the question and notion of overseas travel was intertwined with a broader movement to foreign countries and specifically with the history of the national policy of sending citizens to foreign countries. Dispatched labor, emigration, adoption, and study abroad were all included in that history. This section will investigate how in practice South Korean people were 'sent' or recommended to go outside the national territory through the state's policy on overseas travel. What kind of power relations was included in that series of processes under the politics of the South Korean regime, and what kind of subjectivity emerged from such a process? It was impossible for individuals to travel abroad for pure traveling purposes before 1981, and the door was 'widely opened' after 1989. What, then, happened between those years and how?

3.2.1. The Act of Liberalizing Overseas Travel

"Liberalization" and "Act"

First, it seems necessary to clarify the confusing term "Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel". This ambiguous notion might raise several questions for readers who first encountered it. If more complicated terms were added as in reality, for example, "partial liberalization", "staged liberalization", and "full liberalization", it becomes more perplexing to grasp their meanings. The notion of the 'liberalization of overseas travel' was like a bricolage of incongruous concepts of 'overseas travel', 'liberal', and '-ize' that require a background explanation of South Korea's recent past for anyone unfamiliar with this history. To understand the meaning of the term 'liberalization' at that time, additional information is needed, i.e. a series of 'liberalization/autonomy acts'.⁴¹ At the same time,

⁴¹"Liberalization (*jayuhwa* 自由化) of overseas travel" was often called "autonomy (*jayulhwa* 自律化) of overseas travel" as well. Both terms were utilized without any

“act” (*joch'i* 措置) was another problematic notion for which supplementary information is also needed.

First, a series of government actions in the name of liberalization/autonomy took place during the first half of the 1980s in similar patterns, for example, the “liberalization of hair and school uniforms”, “lifting curfew”, and the “liberalization of campuses”. The socio-cultural history of the 1980s shows the 1980s as a time when the alleviation of conventional regulations and new types of censorship co-existed. Restrictions on individual bodies and daily lives were eased in the name of ‘liberalization’ and ‘autonomy’.⁴² These policies were often evaluated as the cultural politics of everyday life by the authoritarian military regime to gain public support and to suppress criticism of the regime’s legitimacy and thus were another form of control and discipline (Jung and Choi 2016, 109). Such criticism sounds more reliable, considering other cultural policies such as *Gukpung 81* (国風: national customs 81 from May 28 to June 1 in 1981) and the kick-off of a professional baseball league (1982).⁴³ These cultural policies were equally criticized as diversion projects by the regime to distract citizens’ attention from politics and society to

conceptual clarification, but actually the two words – liberalization and autonomy – have different but related connotations.

⁴²One of the PR firms of the government in 1982 described the new ruling ideology as “From Regulation to Autonomy” (National Film Production Center, *The Progress of the Nation*, January 1, 1982). Accessed August 11, 2019. <http://ehistory.go.kr/page/view/movie.jsp?srcgbn=KV&gbn=MH&mediaid=1759&mediadtl=8532&quality=W>.

⁴³*Gukpung 81* was a large-scale national cultural festival manufactured by the KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) and the presidential secretariat. It was aimed at the revival of national culture by mustering a nation-wide ethnic culture including food and folk games for two nights and three days. As to the cultural politics of *Gukpung 81*, especially in relation to the political intention to erase the Gwangju uprising, see MBC (2005), Han and Ahn (2004), and Kim JY (2014). Han and Ahn (2004) compared two different scenes of festival politics in the early 1980s: *Gukpung 81* as concealing festival politics and the campus festival as disclosing politics. On the other hand, Kim JY (2014) interpreted *Gukpung 81* as an earlier attempt to mobilize cultural resources before it changed the direction to a more softened version of consequential liberalization and then deepened authoritarian control policy. For the cultural politics of the Korean baseball league, see Jung and Choi (2016).

less serious culture and sports issues. Thus, it has also been accepted as reasonable to cast doubt on the political intention of the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel that was suddenly and aggressively promoted by the government in critical moments, similar to other ‘liberalization’ projects.

Second, the meaning of the notion *Act* in general – how, why, to whom, and what in detail – can be raised as a related question. In Korean, ‘take (emergency) action’ is a widely used expression for the term ‘act’. It implies the meaning of taking actions, for example, by setting a countermeasure plan against certain problems and issues or by making preparation/prevention plans for certain occasions and events beforehand or afterwards. It gives an impression as if one reacted to something happening urgently, usually at the level of the institution or government that has power to impose actions. A well-known example in Korean history was the “Emergency Measures” (*kin’gŭp joch’i* 緊急措置) implemented by the Park Jung-Hee regime in the 1970s.⁴⁴ Hence, the liberalization ‘act’ evokes a feeling that the government grudgingly made the extralegal decision to enforce state-power in extraordinary circumstances. Then, again, what was the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel, and what was it responding to? Why was it initiated?⁴⁵

In other words, the “liberalization act” was a very context-specific concept in the

⁴⁴“The Emergency Measure” (*kin’gŭp joch’i*) in the Yusin Constitution was a device used for surveillance and punishment and contributed to the fear politics in the society. It was the article that authorized the president’s juridical power to take emergency actions on overall state affairs including domestic affairs, foreign relations, national defense, the economy and finance, and jurisdiction in cases where the president judged the public order and national security would be put in danger. Based on this suprallegal device, freedom of speech and expression were severely repressed. The Emergency Measure in the Yusin Constitution was promulgated in 1972, first activated in 1974, and the last one, No. 9, lasted until the end of Park regime in 1979 (Chae 2016).

⁴⁵For example, in 1973, “The Actions to Take for Overseas Travelers” was proposed by a director of the Korean CIA in addressing intensification of security education and tightening the examination of belongings before outbound departure.

South Korean case. During the 1980s, it meant the amelioration of a number of regulations and also the control that was often interpreted as the state's management of everyday life and a way of disciplining people led by the military authoritarian regime. "Liberalization" entailed the agency/actor, the state-regime, that decided whether to give freedom and autonomy or not. At the same time, it was related to a sense of free will, freedom, and the right of individuals as was newly given. This aspect cannot be denied when its actual impact on people's minds is considered. It is the impact of giving people the freedom and opportunity to choose on their own on given issues by lifting bans and extending physical boundaries in daily experience, which possibly opened and increased the 'sense of freedom' as 'liberalized' from oppression to alleged liberation. Therefore, it needs to be taken into account the actual experience and sensory extension of freedom from the coeval's narrative during the times of 'liberalizing'. From such a possibility for sensory expansion as another structure of feeling, the issue of liberalization in the 1980s cannot be separated from the pivotal issue of democratization in that era. Therefore, to understand the concept of the liberalization of overseas travel, its social and temporal backgrounds need to be examined.

From Control to Autonomy

The liberalization act/policy was initiated in 1981 and began in earnest in 1983 with the first issuance of tourism passports.⁴⁶ To understand the rationale and purpose of the

⁴⁶There are other countries that restricted overseas travel for political or economic reasons and lifted the ban in modern history of mobility, as found in the case of the U.S. after WWII, Japan in 1964, Taiwan in 1979, and Mongolia and China after the 1990s. In the case of Japan, overseas travel for tourism purposes for ordinary citizens was liberalized in April 1964. This was a gradual liberalization but based on limiting the frequency and budget from an economic point of view (*Korean Tourism Yearbook 1985*, 64). As the government documents introduced the examples of Japan and Taiwan and used the similar title 'liberalization of overseas travel', these previous cases in neighboring countries seem to have been influential to some extent. On the other hand, the South Korean case is very

liberalization of overseas travel, the logic and content of the pre-existing travel ban have to be examined first. Why and how did overseas travel start to be banned? What were the reason and rhetoric for the control and restriction? The clearly addressed reason for the restriction in the government documents was “the aspect of national security and the international balance of payments” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981*, 196). The “regulation-oriented policy” in place until the late 1970s was aimed at restraining dollar expenses so as to reduce the trade deficit on international balance through placing sanctions on overseas travelers (Lee 1986, 91). As such, domestic citizens’ overseas travel was highly dependent on the political and economic factors, with the political reasons implying “international security, incompatibility between nations, and the prevention of illegal behaviors that can occur inside and outside the country” (Kim 1987, 92-3). Based on such reasoning, going abroad activities were restricted without special permission with the approved purposes, and overseas travel for the purpose of tourism was fundamentally prohibited. The document “1965 The Plan for Controlling Overseas Travelers” (July 19, 1965) clarified the content of the political reason called “national security” (*kukga anbo*).⁴⁷

This document, issued by former president Park Jung-Hee, contained instructions for the heightened control policy of overseas travel, the intensification of the qualification exam, and the additional establishment of a qualification examination committee. It identified that the aim of the control was “to control non-essential and unimportant overseas travelers so as to prevent extravagance in using foreign currency.” However, the ban was not merely for economic purposes. The actual strategic direction of control was mainly concentrated on domestic political issues. For example, in addition to the existing “Recommendation Screening Committee of Overseas Travel” that consisted of relevant

unique in its criteria, which are based not simply on purchasing power but also vaguely on the age group, though the reasoning behind this limitation is not clarified.

⁴⁷As one can see, the document used the term “control”, a stronger form of “regulation”.

government departments, a new “Comprehensive Screening Committee for Overseas Travel” (by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was established to intensify the screening process.⁴⁸ For the committee, the main member was the head of the information division in the Police Bureau, the head of the security division in the fifth division (the Anti-communism Investigation Bureau) of the Korean CIA. The Anti-communism Investigation Bureau was literally the team for investigating domestic espionage activities as part of an anti-North Korea and anti-communism initiative.

Also, to understand the background of the travel ban for political reasons, the particularity of the period from 1963–1965 needs to be underlined. As seen in the articles on the right to overseas travel in the previous section, the period from 1963 to 1965 was a transitional time for the South Korean political scene from which conflicting arguments and discussions were born.⁴⁹ Park Jung-hee was inaugurated as president in 1963, South Korean soldiers were dispatched to Vietnam in 1964 and 1965, and the Immigration Control Law was enacted in March 1963 (complete revision in May 1967). Along with the strict control over the recommendation and selection process, “background check” (*sinwon johoe* 身元調回) were also utilized for the inspection of applicants under the supervision of the Korean CIA. The target to be filtered was “a person who is ideologically seditious, implicated in a criminal case, wanted as a suspect, could possibly damage the nation’s reputation outside the country, has unclear travel purposes, or who has testified or filled in false information.”⁵⁰ Strong expressions such as “nonpermission”, “strict control”, and

⁴⁸The committee members were the former chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the director of the Foreign Exchange Administration of the Ministry of Finance, the director of the Immigration Bureau of the Ministry of Justice, the director of the Police Bureau of the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, and the director of security (the 5th Bureau) of the KCIA.

⁴⁹The articles from the *Supreme Council for National Reconstruction* (formerly military junta) and law-related public space were written in 1963.

⁵⁰National Archives of Korea. 1965. “The Plan for Controlling Overseas Travelers” (July 19, 1965), Document No. DA0154032, 25.

“nonessential and unimportant” insinuate the strong forces of the state that owned the power to decide.⁵¹ This screening process and strict examination of overseas travelers continued until the early 1990s, when the background checks were finally abolished.

As such, overseas travel in South Korea as a suspicious target of control and regulation encountered a transition with the new liberalization act in the early 1980s. The South Korean government expected to implement a turning point from this policy, as it would “provide the opportunity for the people to expand their viewpoints to the world, and beyond that, from the reciprocal point of view, the promotion of overseas travel would eventually bring an increase in inbound foreign tourists and therefore create an ideal harmony between inbound and outbound. By doing so, it would create the opportunity for South Korea to grow into an inevitably advanced tourism country” (*Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981*, 196-197). Ironically, at the beginning of the 1980s, the logic of prohibition – international balance (economic) and national security (political) – now changed to the logic of opening. This transition, which was accelerated before and after the 1980s, was also influenced by international influence such as emerging globalization and the changes in Cold War politics.

Structure of the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel

The liberalization act consisted of two parts: 1) the targeted expansion by age group and purpose of travel and 2) the reformation of relevant policies such as the management of efficiency in the passport issuance process and other requirements (for details, see Table 1).⁵² The first group that was newly allowed to apply for permission were visitors of overseas relatives (April 1981) and students for short-term study abroad (August 1981). In

⁵¹ Ibid., 26-7.

⁵² *Countermeasures for the Liberalization of Overseas Travel*, March 2, 1983, Administrative Control Room of the Prime Minister’s Office

the first step of liberalization (April 1981), because tourism passports did not exist yet, visiting close relatives living in foreign countries was the easiest way to go abroad for personal reasons. As of April 1981, the range of relatives was broadened from parent-child, husband-wife, and siblings to uncle/aunt and nephew/niece as well as grandparents-grand children based on the family tree. On the other hand, “short-term study trip” joined as a qualified candidate for going abroad on August 1, 1981 through cultural exchange passports.⁵³ In the case of “Visiting”, in order to obtain a passport, an official invitation letter and financial support certificate from overseas relatives were required to be submitted for the reference check and to prevent the outflow of Korean won. In the backdrop of the “Invitation of Relatives”, the already omnipresent Korean diaspora network functioned as the determinant that had been formed throughout modern Korean history. For example, for married couples over fifty years old, in the early 1980s, it was highly probable that they would be allowed to visit their children who were studying abroad, siblings who were married to foreign citizens or overseas Koreans, close family who went abroad as migrant workers, and family members who were Korean-Japanese.⁵⁴ These cases indicate that the demand to visit overseas relatives was taken into account enough as a practical issue and urgent request to be contained in the new policy. Visiting relatives came to be authorized after July 1982, regardless of the closeness of their relationship on the family tree, if there was a proper reason. This special permission could function as a bypass to go abroad for some people who were regulated by the age limit.

Also, group study tours for students was another opportunity to perform semi-tourism for young people who did not qualify as an official ‘overseas traveler’ due to the

⁵³ Enforcement Regulation of the Passport Law, Article 22 (04/01/1981), Article 13(08/03/1981), Article 17(08/18/1982), Article 28(06/14/1983), National Law Information Center. Accessed July 31, 2019. <http://www.law.go.kr/main.html>.

⁵⁴ Cases of going to Japan to visit parents, children, siblings, uncles/aunts, nephews/nieces, grandparents or grandchildren were exceptionally allowed in the 1970s as well.

age limit. As tourism passports started to be issued in 1983, overseas travel for tourism purposes was authorized in sequence by age. However, the original schedule was delayed from its supposed opening by 1985.⁵⁵ In reality, after 1983, the next chances were given in September 1987 for the age group over 45, January 1988 for those over 40, July 1988 for those over 30, and finally for all age groups in January 1989 at the time of the “full liberalization of overseas travel” (*chŏnmyŏn jayuhwa* 全面自由化).⁵⁶

Table 1. Details of the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel⁵⁷

Objective	Category	Contents	Managing Department	Starting Date	
Expansion of the Target of Liberalization	Travel for Visit	Abolition of the age limit for married couple's trips	Ministry of Law, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1981.8.1	
		Only when travel expenses were covered by the host		1982.7.1	
	Travel for Business	Regardless of the export performance and the applicant's tenure		1981.8.1	
	Phased Permission of Travel for Tourism (Step 1 Limitation on Tourism → Step 2 Liberalization)		Tourism for those over 50 years old *1985 for those over 35 years old	Ministry of Law, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1983.1.1
			Gradual addition of other age groups		
			All age groups		1989.1.1

⁵⁵To be specific, the expected date for implementation was January 1983 for citizens over 50 years old, which was planned to gradually expand to citizens over 45 years old, over 40 years old, and over 35 years old as of 1985.

⁵⁶“The Development of National Overseas Travel”, *Annual Tourism Trend Report 1988*, 142-3. It is difficult to find a visible reason for this delay in the government documents. It also is not clear why the liberalization had to be employed based on age.

⁵⁷The major sources of the overall content are as follows, but the starting date refers to the finalized version based on the news article and the revision of the Passport Law: “Countermeasures for the Liberalization of Overseas Travel” (March 2, 1983) Administrative Control Room of the Prime Minister's Office; “Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad (Action Plans)” (June 1981), Planning and Coordination Office of the Prime Minister's Office; “Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad” (June 9, 1981), Planning and Coordination Office of the Prime Minister's Office.

Improvement of the Passport Issuance Process	Issuance of Tourism Passport	Males and females over 50 years old, one month traveling period, limitation of two years until next departure ⁵⁸	Ministry of Law, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1983.1.1
	Multiple Passport			1981.8.1
	Abolition of the Required Information on Purpose and Destination	Exception: Communist countries		
	Soyang Education	Extension of the validity: From 3 years to 5 years		Agency for National Security Planning, Ministry of Culture and Public Information
		Shortened waiting period after application: 10 days → Less than 2 days		
		Enhancement of the education content (Destination information, foreign materials)		
	Simplification of the Passport Issuance Process	Abolition of the recommendation requirement by the relevant Ministry in principle ⁵⁹		
		Simplification of the required documents and information (e.g. Identification document: Residence after the liberation to the current, etc.)		Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Domestic Affairs
		Reduction of the period (Background check for 7 days → 3 days, Issuance 3 days → 2 days) (*slight change from the plan of June 1981)		Ministry of Domestic Affairs
		Abolition of group tour background check (In case of a number over 10 persons, 10~15 days)		

⁵⁸*Maeil Business News Korea*, January 24, 1983; *Dong-A Ilbo*, December 30, 1982 and January 7, 1983. In the revision in 1982, the limitation in the period expanded to three months (Enforcement Regulation of the Passport Law Article 28, 29 (08/18/1982)).

⁵⁹It said that the requirement of recommendations would be abolished in principle in August 1981, but it seems to have remained as exemplified in the Guideline of Recommendations for Students' Overseas Travel announced in December 1981. It is also possible to assume that this recommendation process was adopted again in 1983 with the reinforcement of the regulation.

In the meantime, the reform of the passport issuance procedure contained two categories: 1) the simplification and computerization of the procedure and 2) the gradual abolition of outdated and unnecessary steps. The first category included the initiation of passport-related services in local governments and the computerization of background checks (as of March 1983). The main goal was to increase efficiency as preparation for the growing demand of overseas travel. The second category was peculiar in the South Korean case, i.e. the background check and cultivation process called “Soyang education” (*soyang kyoyuk*, 素養教育 in Chinese characters that implies manner/courtesy/knowledge education). The background checks were aimed at verifying if the applicants had been involved in any trouble and if they were qualified to go abroad as South Korean citizens. It was not limited to reviewing the applicant’s personal information and history and also included reviewing family members and other relationships as references. For example, in 1981, the passport applicants had to submit a document called an *Identification Statement* with the pledge to return after filling in detailed information such as family register, travel plans (destination, stopover, purpose, duration, date and place of departure, transportation information, information of and relationship with host and reference, past history of background checks), information on previous travel, education and work history, family information both from the mother’s and father’s side, place of residence after national liberation in August 1945, family members’ passport information, property, etc. This inspection took many days (even months depending on the situation) for the meticulous examination by the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, where the Headquarters of the National Police was located. This system was, to a large extent, grounded in the history of the Korean War and the ideological split in the Korean Peninsula. The inspection was aimed at investigating if there were any ‘suspicious’ connections or criminal histories including ideological issues that had to be filtered and prevented from the early stage before the

dispatch. On the other hand, the South Korean applicants for overseas travel for any purpose had to attend the education program for several hours and submit the certificate with the passport application form. The contents, time and place, main organization, and other processes gradually changed as well. This mandatory education was stipulated by law (enforcement regulation of the Passport Law in September 1975) with details about the submission of the certificate as a requirement, but the program was conducted in the 1960s as well in the name of security education. This education program will be discussed more as the main subject of Chapter 4.

The staged and gradual liberalization demonstrates the state's meticulous approach and the governing devices on overseas travel. The projection and careful preparation of "side-effects" from the very early stages reveals the points the South Korean government paid attention to, as addressed in the document "Countermeasures to the Liberalization Act" (March 2, 1983). Even though this was the initial stage, and the traveling population was still small, the government took this issue seriously and set a supplementary plan with specific directions. As a control tower, the Prime Minister's Office took charge of comprehensively arranging the strategy and delegated tasks to each administrative department. "Countermeasures to the Liberalization Act" (March 2, 1983) was the foundational document that underpinned the rationale of relevant education programs and regulations and was distributed to government officers, schoolteachers, general travelers, and members of the tourism industry. Continuous feedback and revisions followed the original set-up.⁶⁰

The next announcement on the overall plan to manage overseas travel was "The Guidance Plan for Sound Travel at the Time of the Liberalization of Overseas Travel"

⁶⁰ Examples are found in Document No. BA0830920, BA0568201, BA0589868, BA0911746 (National Archives of Korea).

(Ministry of Transportation) in April 1988. As opposed to the one from 1983, when overseas travel was largely restricted and required a complicated verification and recommendation procedure, in 1988, the number of overseas travelers for tourism increased, and the legal limitations were lowered. Thus, the plan was more focused on customs declarations and inspection of the traveler's belongings to control prohibited items and extravagance.⁶¹ In other words, the focus of surveillance and inspection of illegality was changed from travelers to products.

To emphasize, the problem of overseas travel was not a mere economic issue involving the international balance of payments or domestic income, as pointed out in the government's rationale for control and liberalization. As the complicated procedure for passport issuance and the practices of liberalization demonstrated, overseas travel (i.e. going abroad at large) was a political and ideological problem of "national security". And that was the question of the contemporaneity of the 1980s, which has widely and continuously affected South Korean society as an unsolved problem throughout the post-Korean War Korean society, and previous Korean studies have constantly raised the question as such (Kim DC 2011; Lee and Lee 2007).

3.2.2. Design for Internationalization in the *Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad*

The work of locating the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel in the long-term planning of a nation that is sending its citizens abroad enriches the interpretation of the governing mobility mechanism. The analysis of the Expansion Plan, the upper project of the

⁶¹The specific description of these particular objects and behaviors involving South Korean travel at that time were as following: "Preference for foreign goods among the majority of travelers", "lack of self-reporting to customs declarations", and "concerns about importing products harmful to the nation's security". The people under surveillance and the peculiar person's identity were also codified in the report (National Archives of Korea. 1989. "Plan for Improvement of the Inspection System of Travelers' Belongings." Document No. BA0911746, 42-3).

liberalization act, will show the cultural politics of mobility – overseas travel – of South Korea during the 1980s, a transitional time and space of intersection where ‘internationalization’ (another name for globalization) and (the nation-state’s) mobility management intertwined.

National Dispatch Project: Population as Resources

“The Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad” (国民海外進出拡大方案) was a (labor) dispatch project and a successive form of the national projects for exporting labor in the 1960s and 1970s that were partially reviewed in Chapter 1. It was a full-scale national plan in a more systematized style that promoted a number of ways of going abroad concurrently. The plan was announced on June 9, 1981 and imposed on August 1, 1981, partially with the people who were ready and qualified.

The plan categorized the form of movement into largely four types: general travel (business, visiting and inspection, public, etc.), overseas employment (general employment, crew employment), emigration, and study abroad.⁶² According to this policy paper, the “Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad (Action Plans)” (June 1981), as of 1980, in terms of the purpose of going abroad, the biggest outbound population percentage-wise was for employment, followed by business, emigration, visit & inspection, public, study abroad, etc. The purpose of tourism was not counted as a separate category at this time. (Figure 7)

⁶²At the time of the announcement of the plan, the report forecasted that the expansion would increase by three times until 1986 and four times until 1991. In the data from 1991, it was forecasted to increase six times for general travel, ten times for study abroad, 2.5 times for employment, and about two times for emigration. The report predicted the most growth for study abroad and general travel (Planning and Coordination Office at the Prime Minister’s Office. 1981. “Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad (Action Plans)”, 39).

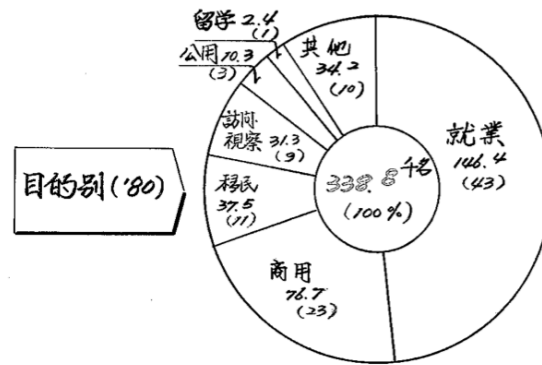


Figure 7. The Purpose of Koreans Going Abroad⁶³

The Necessity of and Rationale for Expansion

The policy paper pointed out the domestic circumstances for expansion, namely push factors, such as the dense population (including the current density of the population, the increased rate of population growth, and the unemployment rate), the narrowness of the national territory, the shortage of (natural) resources, and insufficient technology.⁶⁴ In the midst of the disadvantageous domestic environment, the only abundant resource was deemed “the diligence of the people” (*kukminsŏng* 国民性), including their adaptability, abilities, and patriotism.⁶⁵ Therefore, it suggested exporting (while not using the word “export” directly) such diligent people to overseas countries as a way to solve the environmental restrictions. In other words, dispatching the population and learning technological knowledge – the grounds for making overseas human power a national resource – was advocated as an excellent solution to disentangle the problems of the population and the limited national territory, resources, and technology all at once.

Also, the “global trend” of 1) “internationalization and opening-the-door policy”

⁶³National Archives of Korea. Document No. 0883737, 11.

⁶⁴According to this paper, the density of the population ranked third in the world (385 people/km², the highest if mountain areas were not counted), and the unemployment rate was 6.3% as of December 1980 (Document No. BA0883737, 3).

⁶⁵This myth of diligent and patriotic ethnicity was invented throughout the Park Jung-hee regime’s Samaeul Movement and Economic Development Plan (Song 2013b).

and 2) “intensification of the competition to obtain advanced science technology” triggered the plan as external factors. Namely, in the midst of the international environment of global competition and opening, the expansion of the South Korean people was perceived and adopted as a problem of necessity. In the description of the world’s increasing competition for learning advanced science technology, the number of study abroad students and the ratio of study abroad students per capita in neighboring Asian countries were given as indicators by citing UNESCO. This indicates how the South Korean government considered their relationships with neighboring countries, who were counted as rivals, and in which context. As of 1976, data showed that the number of study abroad students in South Korea (5,079) was much lower than that of other countries such as Hong Kong (20,854), Malaysia (19,811), Taiwan (18,517), and Thailand (9,803), and the gap became even bigger when the ratio per population was calculated. In addition, the report raised issues of South Korea’s belatedness in liberalizing overseas travel by comparing it with Japan (1965) and Taiwan’s (1979) cases and citing data such as on GNP, the amount of exports, and storage of foreign currency at the time of liberalization. Thus, the level of internationalization and South Korea already being behind neighboring countries became another rationale for liberalization. As a solution to improve its internationalization level, the liberalization act was deemed necessary. In this discourse of a “global trend”, “global” implied Asia —Korea’s rivals in the increasingly competitive global resource market. This example demonstrates that the actual reason for liberalization and the Expansion Plan was the sense of urgency in the competition with other developing countries, not an abstract expression of a global trend such as opening or internationalization.⁶⁶

In other words, the Expansion Plan was a way-out plan in pursuit of national

⁶⁶Though, it is questionable whether such an explanation was a true reflection of the urgency and anxiety of the government or a rhetorical rationale to communicate the plan to the administrative institutions and citizens. I think both intentions were influential.

development by utilizing manpower – the only available resource – in the midst of negative domestic conditions and global competition. Given this impetus to return revenue to the national economy that was earned from working abroad as well as the will to learn advanced technology and knowledge from foreign countries, this plan was a successor of the labor export project before the 1980s. In the meantime, in comparison to the long-term (sometimes life-long) choices to export/send people such as through emigration, adoption, and long-term employment, this plan highlighted relatively short-term movements such as studying abroad and overseas travel. Through the short-term dispatch, it was expected that the experience of internationalization would be returned to the motherland. In this sense, this plan was an investment from the government’s perspective. The encouragement of short-term experience to help one contribute overseas experience (not merely remittance) to the national economy seems to be a major difference in this new plan from the earlier ones.⁶⁷ As such, the state’s idea of people as the main resource was connected to the ideation of “national tourism” that focused its outcome on the productivity side of leisure. To emphasize, in the backstage of the right to rest and movement was the nation-state’s gaze upon its citizens as resources and laborers. At the same time, it was described that anyone could choose the method of going abroad if they wanted to with the support of the government.

But still, from its overall direction, it seems relatively ambiguous on the position of general travel (the liberalization of overseas travel). Compared to the student group as valuable future human resources and the overseas workers group, who could send remittance as immediate profit, overseas travelers who were senior citizens in the early stage could not be considered a productive age group that could contribute to the national

⁶⁷The expression “expansion” (*jinch’ul* 進出) underlined the active and progressive characteristics of such a movement by both the state and voluntary individuals.

economy by returning with international experience. This was especially true if the strategy for the phased liberalization plan was considered, which started from elderly groups and moved down to the age groups in their twenties in 1989. The logic employed, i.e. the scarcity of resources and “global trend”, does not seem to be convincing enough to validate the necessity of liberalizing overseas travel. Other forms of going abroad – work, emigration, study – were closely linked to a specific utility such as the relocation of the population, overseas employment, and obtaining advanced technology and knowledge. However, in the case of overseas travel for sightseeing, “the request of the times” was in fact the only direct objective to achieve. This weak linkage supports the hypothesis that the government’s urgent task and interest was actually the rearrangement of the population (as a resource) for enhancing national strength. It is plausible that the emphasis on ‘exporting manpower’ did not make a visible difference from the previous policies, so the liberalization of overseas travel had to be included to highlight the points of its transitional moment and the increasing possibility, i.e. freedom, as separate from the previous regime. But the issue of overseas travel was indeed a troublesome one both in terms of the imbalance of international payments and the presumed backlash of liberalizing.⁶⁸ Therefore, thorough preparation for its negative effects and the staged implementation might have been needed, which made up a large part of the action plan. The presumed backlash included side effects such as disharmony between the rich and the poor,

⁶⁸The issue of international payments makes the timing of announcing the liberalization of overseas travel in 1981 questionable. Why did the government push forward liberalization when the trade balance was at a loss? Why did the government promote this in that circumstance, even by making installment saving systems? Why was the liberalization postponed until the mid-1980s? Why did it have to be 1981? How can this be explained? One of the data shows that the government was also concerned about this issue and made a plan for this by addressing its estimate that the foreign expenditure from overseas travel and emigration would be compensated through the remittance from work abroad at least for the following five years (Ibid., 40). The following countermeasures were arranged by the government in 1983 to restrain foreign expenditures and extravagance and also show the unexpected economic consequences along with the increasing number of people going abroad.

create the new image of Korea in the world in accordance with the internationalization and liberalization trends of the times.” This short paragraph is emblematic, as it revealed a number of mentalité of the times; the binary metaphor of ‘close’ and ‘open’, the emphasis on ‘transition’ implying the discontinuity between the 1970s and 1980s, the alleged global trend called “internationalization and liberalization”, and the self-recognition of “Korea in the World”. To rephrase, it shows the government’s (or the president’s) strong will to publicize that they were enthusiastically following the global trend and needed a drastic change in policy and leadership, which in a way supported and secured the regime’s role.

The second direction, the “simplification and unification of the related works on expansion”, as well as the fifth one, “the establishment of the management system”, covered the issue of the systematization and efficiency of administrative procedures, the amelioration of regulations and restrictions, and institutional rationalization. The fourth direction, “to attract high-quality overseas manpower”, revealed the target group of this policy and its substantial goal. In its details, the direction addressed the necessity of grasping the situation of overseas South Korean students and recruiting them back and utilizing them for national interests. This designation also connected to the aforementioned epitome of “the right citizen” (*kukminsang* 国民像) that contributed to national interests and revealed the blueprint of institutional support to make that subjectivity. On the other hand, the third direction, “the removal of side effects followed by expansion”, made clear the problematic of that time (at least for the regime); that is, a sensitive political issue that was not addressed directly in other parts of the executive plan. It shows another face of the Expansion Plan that seemingly focused on the economic narrative such as human resources and national interests. The instruction put stress on “powerful sanctions” on crime, illegal behaviors, and side-effects and then urged the reader to prepare solutions for those negativities by clearly citing “North Korean puppets” as the hostile other that infiltrated

into overseas expansion such as study abroad programs.⁷² The ideological problem resulting from the Cold War split and the governmentality of anti-communism in South Korea were entangled with and embedded in the regime's regulations and restrictions on global mobility. From this view, "the guidance of figuring out the activities of study abroad students" in the fourth direction was highly relevant to the anxiety surrounding 'ideological contamination', as found in other political moves to repress domestic students at that time. As such, the president's instructions uncovered the viewpoint on what the former president Chun Doo-hwan, as a top decision maker, thought about the issue of going abroad. The rhetoric in this guideline frequently appeared not only in the Expansion Plan and the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel but also in Chun's keynote speeches, which evoked the regime's expectations of the drives of "internationalization", "liberalization", "Korea in the World" and its project of priority as the emerging subjects that South Korean society was dealing with in the early 1980s.⁷³

All-round Push Forward and Systematic Teamwork of Management

As seen above, this policy was a national project that most of the administrative departments were involved in under the president's and PM's supervision. The Prime Minister's Office built a blueprint and gave directions and work assignments, with the approval of eight ministers and a reminder of the president's instructions (Figure 9). Then, each department took charge of the substantial executive works. The assignment was

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³The inauguration speech and the context (location and importance) of opening and internationalization in the annual president's speech are exemplary. From the very beginning of his inauguration speech, Chun Doo-hwan kept emphasizing "internationalization" (*kukjehwa*), "opening" (*kaebanghwa*), and "liberalization" (*jayuhwa*) while not mentioning "democratization" (*minjuhwa*). Inauguration Speech on January 1, 1982, in KTV Archive. 1982. "Nation's Progress." Accessed November 30, 2019. <http://ehistory.go.kr/page/view/movie.jsp?srcgbn=KV&gbn=MH&mediaid=1759&mediadtl=8532&quality=W>.

distributed based on the characteristics and purpose of movement. For example, the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs and later the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade was responsible for emigration, the Ministry of Labor for overseas employment, the Ministry of Education for study abroad, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was responsible for travel in general.⁷⁴ As found, the groups on the move were categorized as migrants, workers, travelers, and students. The Prime Minister's Office not only designed the masterplan but also specified details such as executive plans, schedules for legal revision, collecting progress reports from those departments, and the overall PR plan and its schedule. This task assignment was not merely confined to the directly relevant departments based on each industry but also spread across other departments such as the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Domestic Affairs, National Police Agency, Ministry of National Defense, Agency for National Security Planning (ANSP), and Ministry of Culture and Public Information (PR organization). More details on the tasks assigned to each department are listed in the footnote.⁷⁵

⁷⁴According to the revision of the overseas emigration enforcement ordinance (August 6, 1981) and enforcement regulation (August 12, 1981), the role was transferred from the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Also, the application system was changed from the approval of recruiting the corporation to the individual's declaration.

⁷⁵As to the details of job assignments for each organization, they were largely divided into two types of tasks: first, planning and promotion and, second, the management of side-effects and countermeasures. For the former, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, and Ministry of Education set up the plans for the relevant groups and activities and managed the progress and overall procedure. The Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Science-Technology, and Ministry of Education collaborated to expand the trained human resources and made long-term plans for this. On the other hand, for the latter task, each organization set up the action plan to prepare and prevent side-effects in the field of domestic and international illegal activities (public order), international balance of payments (economy), and mass perception (public opinion) that were constantly revised and added to. Among others, the Ministry of Domestic Affairs was assigned to conduct background checks as well as to cooperate on nation-wide promotion. The Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Finance, and the Headquarters of the National Police under the Ministry of Domestic Affairs collaborated to build a comprehensive plan to cope with external affairs and surveillance on security issues. The Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Law took charge of the supervision and control of

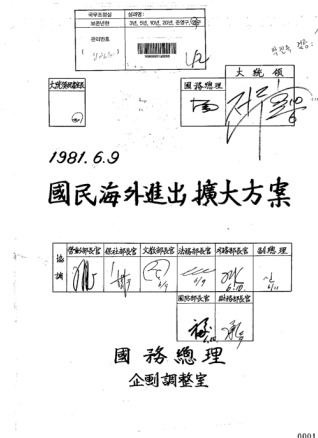


Figure 9. Front Page of the Report

A series of policies was imposed under the all-round cooperation among different administrative departments and with detailed logistics. The speed of implementation was also fast based on the guideline of the timeline, prompt decision-making, feedback and supplementary actions. (See Table 2)

Table 2. Timeline of the Action Plan⁷⁶

Administrative Action	Date (Expectation)
• Submission of the Plan for Computerizing Background Checks	May 21, 1981
• Reporting the Expansion Plan (Revision Plan) of People with Military Duty and Sailors (to the Prime Minister's Office) (Military Manpower Administration and Korean Maritime and Port Administration)	May 30, 1981
• Agreement and Approval of the Expansion Plan and its Action Plans by Prime Ministers in 8 Ministries	June 9, 1981
• Confirmation by the President, Prime Minister, Chief Secretary	June 10, 1981
• Report to the President and the President's Instructions	June 11, 1981
• Delivery of the Action Plans to Administrative Departments	June 19, 1981
• Meeting of the Coordinating Council for Overseas Expansion	June 29, 1981
• Nation-wide Public Relations on 1) the necessity for the	

foreign exchange and offenders through reinforcing the punishment, the Ministry of Law and Ministry of Foreign Affairs worked together on the criminal extradition agreement, the Public Prosecution's Office and the Headquarters of the National Police worked together on illegal activities inside and outside the country, and the role of the Ministry of Culture and Public Information was to build the PR plan for going overseas to improve public perceptions and instruct on the policy and procedures. As such, the Expansion Plan was a huge project in which almost every government organization participated, and their task assignments were specified and clarified from the start (Document No. CA0030127198106, No. BA0883737).

⁷⁶“Notification of the Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad (Action Plans)” (June 19, 1981), Document No. CA0030127, No. CA0314162

reformation of the system, background of the act, and its improvement direction Nation-wide Public Relations on 2) the changes to the system and information for the procedure	1) June 1981 2) July 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making Executive Plans for Regulating Crimes, etc. 	From June 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Submission of Executive Plans (Each Department — General Travel, Overseas Employment, Emigration, Study Abroad) 	July 5, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restriction to People on Administrative Sanction 	July 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Report Monthly Progress to the Prime Minister's Office 	July 10, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey Analysis Report on Public Opinion 	July 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of Laws for the Administrative Actions from August 1, 1981 (Executive Order, Ordinance of PM, Ministerial Order, Rules) 	July 30, 1981 (Due Date)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation of the Expansion Plan 	August 1, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of Enforcement Ordinances and Enforcement Regulations of the Emigration Act and Implementation 	August 6, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notification of the President's Instruction on the Action Plans (e.g. to the Seoul Metropolitan Police) 	August 12, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notification of the "Evaluation Plan for the Progress of the Expansion Plan" (Prime Minister's Office) 	September 10, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Notification for Submission of the Regulation Results for Crimes by the Expansion Plan 	September 11, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Submission of the Evaluation Result for a Month and Countermeasures for the Side-effects 	September 14-17, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Other Staged Implementation Plans 	December 31, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revision of the Law 	Until December 31, 1981
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrangement of the Rules and Regulations 	Until February 1982
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation of the Items with Revision of the Law 	March 1, 1982

The action plan was largely divided into four stages: plan-making and instruction, reports on the progress by each department, the preparation of countermeasures, and legislative provision, all of which took only nine months from the beginning to the revisions of law. Given that almost every department was engaged, the rapid progress of every step is noteworthy. In the case of June and July, it took only about a month after the announcement of the plan and ten days from the distribution to the administration until the report was collected and one month until the legislative revision. This fast rhythm and working capacity seem particularly difficult to imagine given that this season overlapped with summer holidays when the working speed usually slowed down. Given the

implementation of policy (including the liberalization of overseas travel) that started from August 1, 1981, the schedule seems too tight for one month to cover evaluation, feedback, reporting and revision.⁷⁷ Besides, this report (June 9, 1981) also specified the role of the new task force committee called the “Coordination Council for Overseas Expansion” under the supervision of the Prime Minister’s Office and even clarified the possibility of using supplementary budget, both of which prove the high concentration of government support. However, the intention of the president and Prime Minister’s Office about why they wanted to get the result as soon as possible is still questionable.

Why in this period, this quickly, was this policy that was not impressively new or fresh, other than the part on the liberalization of overseas travel, extensively planned and implemented? Considering this, the situation wherein the Chun Doo-hwan regime was located as well as the timing of implementation needs to be reconsidered and compared. This also connects to the problem of politics in cultural policies throughout the Chun regime.

The aforementioned cultural policies that were criticized because they were making people ignorant of political issues were concentrated in the early stage of the Chun Doo-hwan regime. Among them, *Gukpung 81*, a “national spectacle” that mobilized “people” (*Minjung*) culture under the name of the “development of national culture” was a representative case of state nationalism as political power (Chae 2010; Kim JY 2014). It

⁷⁷Sending the evaluation plan on September 10th, the headquarters of the Prime Minister’s Office asked to submit the evaluation report and the following plan for improvement by September 16, a week after the announcement. The detailed form delivered together shows the director’s intention to gather the data systemically from the initial period. In the form, it was required to fill in the departure number, the budget provided, data on previous years, prospects for the future, specific acts imposed on, additional acts planned and the starting date, the reason for delays, and achievements. Based on this guideline, the relevant government departments such as the National Police Agency, Public Prosecutor’s Office, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted the report on September 17th (National Archives of Korea. Document No. CA0314162).

represents one of two axes of state nationalism in the 1980s with another archetypical project entitled “Korea in the World” that created the subjectivity of “internationalizing *Kukmin* (nation’s people).” Chun Doo-Hwan, who was inaugurated as president in September 1980 at first and again in March 1981 through an expedient indirect election, faced the denunciation of his legitimacy as well as resistance to mark the first year of the Gwangju Democratic Movement (May 18, 1980). Thus, this new administration was arguably in need of a counterstrategy to gain legitimacy. The revision of the Passport Law to lift the travel ban, its implementation from January 1981 after only one-month’s discussion, and in particular the rapid progress of the Expansion Plan with the core issue of the liberalization of overseas travel seem relevant to the regime’s political moves.⁷⁸ By taking substantial steps on a series of “liberalization” plans, the regime attempted to change the public’s interest in sensitive daily issues and minimize the ‘repercussions’ of the Gwangju Democratic Movement. An exemplary case was the front-page coverage in daily newspapers during the period before and after the first memorial day of Gwangju, which demonstrates how front-page stories were selected under the government’s control to silence mass condolences. For example, on May 20, 1981, major newspapers reported on the “epoch-making liberalization plan of overseas travel” by citing “a government source”.⁷⁹ But the value of the news is doubtful not only because of the anonymity of the source but also because the news did not introduce any fixed policy or schedule. News articles only announced that this plan was under consideration to possibly start in July 1981.⁸⁰ This sudden appearance of news about liberalizing overseas travel all at the same

⁷⁸It started to be discussed at the government level slowly from the late 1970s.

⁷⁹“Permitting free travel to all countries except the 22 hostile countries” *Mae-il Economic Daily* May 20, 1981.

⁸⁰Although the new Passport Law had already been enacted since April 1981 and the Expansion Plan had been shared in government departments since June, interestingly, May 20 was picked for the news announcement without any timely significance. Details of the news article on the front pages: e.g. abnormal heavy snow (May 18, 1981, *Kyung-hyang*

time on the front pages of major newspapers can be interpreted as ‘making another issue of May’ to distract people’s attention.

In fact, in the Expansion Plan, the first guideline was “to make a bold improvement in the field through a bigger ripple effect.”⁸¹ Although the meaning of “ripple effect” was not clarified, questions can be raised about the political intention of this policy to achieve this “ripple effect” in the people to reduce the criticism on the legitimacy crisis of the regime. This suspicion can be considered reasonable if the international balance issues and actual national income level are considered. The regime was eager to secure its position and return to normalcy as soon as possible by implementing the strategies of autonomy/liberalization/amelioration to appeal to citizens. Namely, to draw attention to other issues, the images of “change”, “freedom” and “opportunity” were given as promises. Therefore, the liberalization act, which functioned as an axis of the Expansion Plan, is a complex, multi-layered issue that should be critically approached from the framework of cultural politics in relation to state control over everyday life and culture and discipline and

Shinmun and *Dong-A Ilbo*), consideration of a five-day school system for elementary schools (May 16, 1981), no-issue day (May 17, 1981), consideration of the revision of university entrance exams and the semester system (May 18, 1981), the liberalization of overseas travel (improvement of the passport system, expansion of travel destinations), etc. In the case of news articles on the 16th and 18th of May, the contents dealt with the level of issues raised at the National Assembly, which were neither decided nor submitted to the cabinet council, and for the articles on the 20th of May, according to “a government source” the news “under consideration from about July” was released at the same time in every major newspaper for front-page coverage. (“General passport reuse for 3~5 years under consideration” *Dong-A Ilbo* May 20, 1981; “Drastic extension of the passport expiration date” *Kyung-hyang Shin-mun* May 20, 1981; “Permitting free travel to all countries except the 22 hostile countries” *Mae-il Economic Daily* May 20, 1981. All retrieved from March 30, 2017 at <http://newslibrary.naver.com>.

⁸¹As to the details of the guideline: 1) to make a bold improvement with the fields with a bigger ripple effect, 2) to proceed concurrently with the relevant application policy – to strengthen diplomatic activities such as the expansion of overseas employment and emigration, 3) to rearrange the regulatory laws and legislations and to simplify the procedure, 4) to increase the administrative capacity, 5) to reform the national consciousness through promotion and enlightenment, and 6) to supervise the side effects while enduring some of them (security and international balance of payments) (National Archives of Korea. Document No. BA0883737, 10).

punishment by the military authoritarian regime represented by the cases of the 3S Policy and Saemaeul Movement. As with the 1980s, the key signifier here was the notion of ‘liberalization’.

3.2.3. Location of *Kukmin*

To summarize roughly, the South Korean government needed justification for its “Expansion Plan” and approach to the nation’s citizens as human resources to support national interests. Considering this, what was the expectation of the government for what people would do when they actually went abroad? Otherwise, what were the government’s predictions or concerns in terms of the negative things that could happen that it was eager to prepare for? In other words, what was the role and positionality of the “people” (*kukmin*) in the nation-state’s mapping? To understand the state’s image of the people and imagination of the act of internationalization, this section will look at its PR strategy and the aspects of illegality and side effects identified in the Expansion Plan. By doing so, it will discuss how the nation-state objectified the activities of “overseas expansion” and identified going abroad experience as the target for supervision, punishment, and discipline.⁸²

“Everyone is a Diplomat”

With the high expectation for the growth of overseas travel, it was a crucial task for the South Korean government to establish the right image of “Korean” (*kukmin*). The Ministry of Culture and Public Information (MCPI) took charge of the establishment and

⁸²The survey material, “Survey analysis on the national overseas expansion plan” (July 1, 1981, political affairs secretary of presidential secretariat), shows how the Chun Doo-hwan regime keenly reacted to public opinion and seriously approached this issue.

implementation of the promotion plan for overseas expansion.⁸³ As to the specific PR plans, each administrative department cooperated with the MCPI. To improve the “lack of recognition” of the Expansion Plan among people, the PR plan was established under the following four directions: “the inescapability of opening the gates in response to the request of our times and international trend, the necessity of going abroad and learning technology for domestic improvement, enlightenment on the significance of expansion by giving specific examples of direct and productive effects, the attitude of travelers – ‘everyone is a diplomat’ – contributing to the nation’s advancement”.⁸⁴

The plan seems to have been aimed at attracting the people who did not feel the necessity to go abroad by persuading them that they now had to and could go abroad. The logic to emphasize the necessity or needs of individual citizens can be rephrased as ‘the current situation is critical so we cannot do anything but open, and we are eager to. So, “people” (*kukmin*) must go abroad for their own country as well.’ In such a description, travelers were supposed to perform travel not for personal reasons or fun but as a way to contribute to their country. This state-centered gaze on travelers was epitomized by the expression “everyone is a diplomat”. The depiction of the role of the traveler as a civil diplomat also appeared in the 1960s and 1970s. The idea of the ‘civil diplomat’ implied that each person had to be aware of one’s representativeness of a nation in foreign countries and their associated responsibilities, and that national interest and development

⁸³This organization was an institution for the nation-wide promotion of public policy and the supervision of public opinion. It was established as the Public Relations Bureau at the time of the establishment of Republic of Korea and reformed to the Ministry of Culture and Public Information in 1968, when it started work related to culture and art (Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs. 1998. *History of the Government Organization*).

⁸⁴The aim of the promotion was to reform the national consciousness and make people “perceive the implication of the Act correctly”, which directly expressed its purpose in the executive plan by using the phrase “enlightening/civilizing (*kaehwa* 開花) consciousness structure” with the “objectification of oneself and a nation” (“Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad”, June 1981, 38).

came before other things in their overseas activities. From such a perspective, the goal of the promotion of the Expansion Plan, which was targeted at domestic citizens, was to build their consciousness properly and to correct incorrect behaviors to be qualified as a member of the nation-state.

In the meantime, this PR plan also contained details such as the category of media to use and instructions for media coverage. In the case of the announcement of new processes and changes in the policy, it gave the direction “to use neighborhood meetings no later than July in cooperation with the Ministry of Domestic Affairs.”⁸⁵ It shows the utilization of the smallest unit of the local community as a window for promoting national policy as well as the systematic and meticulous planning, which gave designs for such a peripheral branch in the blueprint report.⁸⁶

New Types of Violations

While promoting the image of ‘the right traveler’, illegal and irregular behaviors were targeted for guidance and regulation. The supervision of feasible illegality and the side effects of overseas expansion – the categorization of anticipated side effects, the establishment of countermeasures, and follow-up on the progress – were also key themes of this plan. The process of supervising the negative sides revealed the state’s anxiety and approach to overseas travelers within the atmosphere of opening and increasing movement. The government was concerned about the uncontrollability of things that had been under control inside the national territory such as security, economic losses, the lack of manpower, and extravagance if the situation changed with overseas expansion. Therefore,

⁸⁵ Document No. CA0030127. “Regulation of Criminal Behaviors, etc. After the Implementation of the Expansion Plan” (Public Prosecutors’ Office), June 1981.

⁸⁶The precaution “not to report items that should not be reported because of the foreign relations” was also written in the same document as the announcement of the action plans on June 19, 1981. However, the specifics of those items were not identified in that document. (Full information on the promotion plan does not remain in the archive.)

the plan for sending people abroad ‘had to’ “be implemented toward a sound and healthy direction that could minimize the side effects and maximize the original intention of opening.”⁸⁷ This is why the government took into account the ramifications and foreseeable aftermath of the Expansion Plan from the very early stages so as to estimate the state’s boundaries that the governing power could control as its urgent problem. As seen above, the major side effects were largely security issues and the international imbalance of payments, which also hindered overseas travel in the previous regimes. Both were assumed as a traveler’s problem brought on by overseas travelers who had a higher possibility to acquire rebellious ideas from improper contacts or overspending due to the envy of foreign cultures and goods when they went abroad.

The first negative effect listed in the government documents was related to “foreign affairs” (*oesa* 外事) and security. Many types of illegal acts were assumed to increase, domestically and internationally. This included law-breaking conduct in foreign countries, so-called anti-government activities, escape after domestic illegal acts, employment fraud, smuggling, and draining foreign currency. More precisely, overseas employment irregularities, foreign currency crimes, drug trafficking, smuggling, the overseas escape of domestic criminals, domestic infiltration of international criminal organizations, studying abroad with North Korean financial support, and passport crimes were all considered new types of crimes emerging from overseas expansion. They were the problems identified as being caused by the movement of money, people, goods, crime, and ideology.⁸⁸ A number of government departments were involved in reducing and preventing such crimes through

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸It is interesting to compare and contrast with the five scapes of globalization that addressed the flow of money, people, technology, ideology, and media in the era of globalization (Appadurai 1996).

monitoring, regulating, and imposing penalties.⁸⁹ As complementary measures, several methods were broadly adapted including the intensification of surveillance and control on the border, strengthening penalties, the expansion of jurisdiction, and the enactment of relevant laws.⁹⁰ The results of the regulation of crimes had to be reported every month according to the manual for keeping track of data on the cases, procedural details, punishments, problems, suggestions, and plans. This was also conducted at the same time as computerizing targets under the administrative regulation and the bans on departures.⁹¹

For the second ramification, the government was worried about the increase in foreign currency payments (e.g. resettlement payments, remittance abroad for students, travel expenses, and the outflow of domestic property), which would put pressure on the international balance of payments. A number of complementary measures were proposed to prevent deficits and imbalances of international payments: 1) to punish the increasing number of “anomalous travelers” (referring to troublesome overseas travelers who violated and circumvented the law) and agents when tourism and study abroad escalated, 2) to augment foreign currency imports by attracting foreign tourists, promoting overseas employment, and supervising overseas employees’ remittances, and 3) to encourage overseas Koreans to invest in domestic assets. According to the report, the gradual liberalization of overseas travel by age group also resulted from the consideration of the “foreign exchange situation”.⁹² The government assumed that a one-by-one liberalization policy would prevent the upsurge in overseas travel.

⁸⁹Immigration Bureau, Police, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Domestic Affairs, Agency for National Security Planning, Customs Administration, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, and Ministry of Culture and Public Information

⁹⁰National Archives of Korea. Document Nos. BA0883737, CA0030127.

⁹¹National Archives of Korea. Document Nos. CA0314162, CA0030146.

⁹²National Archives of Korea. Document No. CA0030127.

In this process of negativity management, new types of mobile bodies emerged as the object of surveillance and potential suspects of overseas crimes. The groups under special surveillance and screening were overseas students with military duties, the targets of administrative regulations and travel bans, study abroad students in general, recommended students for short-term study tours, South Korean illegal aliens in foreign countries, escaped criminals, sailors, etc. These groups were supposed to go through a more severe screening process to get permission for travel, and their information was computerized. If they broke the law, the disadvantages were not limited only to them but also to their references for background checks. The process of background checks was deemed crucial as an efficient device for screening. As mentioned before, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Domestic Affairs supervised the background checks as a compulsory process in order to obtain the passports. The applicant's information and the information of their relatives and close networks were subject to screening. The information included the criminal history as well as ideology-related issues (communism); in other words, this screening process was an inspection of one's family history to find out if anyone had been involved in ideological trouble.⁹³ At the time of June 1981, seven days were needed for this research, and the background check was one of the reasons for delaying passport issuance due to the amount of time required and the complexity of the document, resulting in calls to ameliorate the system. As it was a device used to select and filter any suspicious travelers before sending them abroad, the background check was a distinctive and symbolic example that demonstrated a form of state population management based on (Cold War) ideology and the history of Korean War. Despite the improvement in the Expansion Plan, through which the duration for inspection was

⁹³National Archives of Korea. "Identification Statement." Document No. DET0037021; National Human Rights Commission of Korea. "A hearing on how to improve the identification system", January 2005.

shortened and the items to be filled out were simplified, this screening process remained until the early 1990s as a procedural obstacle.

As such, in the middle of promoting and encouraging overseas travel and expansion, the state drew a guideline and set the limits in order to decide and select appropriate individuals who could go abroad or not. It was still necessary to let (potential) travelers be aware of the right and healthy direction of overseas travel through the devices of discipline and guidance. The state's power in mobility management operated consecutively through the stages of screening, nation-wide PR, preliminary education, and follow-up countermeasures. Individuals' behavior, self-control, and obedience to domestic laws while traveling abroad were something for the state to manage and govern. One of the key factors of 'behaving' was closely related to the issue of security that was markedly emphasized in the mandatory education program before going abroad, which will be discussed more in the next chapter.

Concluding Remark

The early understanding of overseas travel and the process of gradual institutionalization demonstrate that the notion of "overseas travel" as a new phenomenon was unstable and a work in progress. The multi-layered characteristics and the frequent confusion in concepts such as overseas travel and national tourism were particularities of the times that explain the historical process of how "overseas/foreign" and "travel" were intertwined in imagining going abroad as well as in the nation-state's mobility management practices. The meaning of mobility was more heavily emphasized than leisure. Around the mid-1980s, the group called overseas travelers and the activities called overseas travel, in contrast to other groups on the move, started to attract policymakers' attention and emerged as new categories for both development and regulation that needed new analytic

measures. These categorization and conceptualization (and occasionally scientification) efforts show that the idea of overseas travel and the interest in overseas travelers as both consumers and a nation-state's citizens were signs of the emergent.

The institutional setting and practices underpinned the conditions of mobility that engendered overseas travel in rather standardized and normative forms that fit the nation-state's interests. In creating the new overseas travel policy, "soundness/healthiness" was actively promoted for the guidance of travelers' behaviors. These slogans were closely connected to the Chun Doo-Hwan regime's pledge on cultural policy.⁹⁴ Underpinned by this major orientation of governing mobility, the act and plan of internationalizing people shaped the subjectivity of globalized human resources as well as infiltrated the norms of the freedom of movement. According to the rhetoric of 'internationalization', individuals could finally have and must use the opportunity to go abroad to develop one's capacity by their own choice, which was also beneficial to the nation's interest. The activity of going abroad and travel was assumed to be equivalent to being a 'civil diplomat'. The particularity of the 1980s uncovered another subjectivity of globalization in transition that was situated on the border of the nation-state and the outside world — globalizing "nation/people" (*kukmin*) summoned and cultivated by the disciplining and supervising of the nation-state.⁹⁵ But at the same time, as the policy-making process and ongoing restrictions show, conceptualizing national tourism as social welfare given by the

⁹⁴The plan to promote national tourism as paired with international tourism within a broader orientation of guided cultural policy was well described in the tourism policy paper as follows: "From now on, our country will also develop national tourism and international tourism as equally balanced in accordance with the establishment of the Fifth Republic that aims at the realization of a society of justice and the construction of a welfare society as its policy goal" ("Overview", *Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981*, 14).

⁹⁵This emerging subject is different from the so-called neo-liberalistic subjectivity often brought up in the globalization debate. It is also different from the nationalistic devotion or feeling of debt of the elite students to the motherland in modern history and also distinctive from the cosmopolitan or transnational identity that is not bound to the pinned-down national identity.

beneficial nation-state was conflicting with the idea of the right to rest and travel as a basic human right. In this regard, the changing perception of tourism and travel and its reflection at the policy level can be read as a result of the increasing needs, demands, and voices of the growing number of mass tourists. As opposed to political and economic restrictions, travel in general was explained as in line with individual rights and freedoms, in particular, the freedom of movement and leisure that was yet to arrive in South Korean society. This self-awareness of rights and freedoms in daily choices affected the reception of overseas travel in South Korean society during the 1980s.

By moving a focus to the policy of globalization, this chapter investigated the nation-state's imagination of globalizing as projected to and facilitated by the so-called internationalization project. However, the custom of top-down policymaking was occasionally in conflict with the emerging senses of freedom and human rights, which exposes the different perspectives on the individual's right of (global) mobility. This chapter drew attention to a contemporary history of globalizing subjectivity by providing an integrative view on the state-led nationalistic plan of internationalization to make provisions for the changing global circumstances and the growing perception of the freedom of mobility that was also influenced by the standards and norms in global human rights. At this time, the non-simultaneous nationalistic internationalism and individualized senses of freedom and human rights grounded in global standards formed the simultaneity of globality. The new objects of securitization were the increasingly competitive global market as an external factor and the domestic problems associated with new global mobility such as unsound tourism behaviors and uncontrollable deviances.

CHAPTER 4. Discipline and Dispatch: The Dual-face of the Education for Overseas Travelers

The liberalization of overseas travel was a crucial part of the South Korean government's ambitious project to encourage going abroad and also was a part of how continual top-down liberalization affected daily lives and leisure activities in the early 1980s. The Expansion Plan was designed to encourage overseas employment, emigration, studying abroad, and travel in order to keep pace with the global trend of internationalization and opening up. However, the devices of regulation and surveillance that had been utilized since the 1960s persisted despite the ostensible tendency for de-regulation and amelioration of the policy. Background checks and mandatory education programs as prerequisites to obtain a passport were the epitomizing examples of such regulatory and disciplinary practices. This chapter explores a device of disciplinary power based on the perspective of Foucault's "conduct of conduct", i.e. the mandatory education course "Soyang Education" (*Soyang kyoyuk*) and the main visual material used for educating overseas travelers under the category of "Security Film for Overseas Travelers" (*Po'an kyokuk yŏnghwa*). What did *soyang* mean in that education? Who were the actors of educating and organizing? What were the contents of the security education films, and how were they produced? What was the background of these government-made cultural films, and how were they different from commercial films for public release? What was the objective of this disciplining education that persisted in the currents of "opening" and "liberalization"?

4.1. Soyang Education and Disciplinary Power

Soyang education, a mandatory education course for passport applicants, was a space where disciplinary control over mobility and education on internationalization

(globalization) were intermingled.¹ It corresponded to the promotion, education, and guidance plan for overseas travel in the aforementioned Expansion Plan and Liberalization Act. In the institutional regulatory system of passport issuance, South Korean citizens had to pass through numerous courses that filtered as well as trained these ‘would-be’ travelers. To obtain a passport and get qualified in 1989, when overseas travel was finally fully liberalized, the complicated procedure one had to complete was as follows: apply for a background check, attend an education program and get a stamp on a document showing proof of attendance, and apply for the passport with the documents (the stamp, a pledge to return, a certification letter of the travel deposit, and the application form). If the applicants were confirmed as qualified to go abroad, the traveler still had to report after coming back, and a confirmation letter of return had to be issued. This complicated process was employed in April 1988, a few months before the Seoul Olympic Games (August 1988) and the full liberalization of overseas travel (January 1989) (*Monthly Travel & Leisure* April 1988, 59). The background checks and soyang education show the technology of power in a Foucauldian sense through which certain types of governmentality operated. These two devices were adapted for political purposes in the geopolitical circumstances of the Cold War split of the Korean peninsula, and they persisted in the increasingly global atmosphere of the 1980s. The new subjects under surveillance and discipline were overseas travelers. The main contents of the education program were national security, tourist consumption and the national economy, and, gradually, internationalized etiquette. They were the main concerns the South Korean government had in mind as the side effects of overseas travel.

¹The term “soyang”(素養) is difficult to translate into English. It implies the nuances of manners, knowledge, cultivation, courtesy, virtue, talent, and attitude. It was settled on as the term to use for describing cultural education led by the government and has been used as an official term for the education of travelers, soldiers, government officers, official tour guides, employees, and volunteers for international events. In this thesis, I use ‘soyang’ as it is, and for the education program, I use soyang education.

4.1.1. Development of Soyang Education and its Purpose

Soyang education started in 1966 (*Kwanhyup* April 1992).² The first time the term was found to appear in the media and in government documents was in 1966 and 1967 respectively. In 1966, *soyang education* appeared in a daily newspaper explaining an engineer dispatch.³ Two documents in 1967, “Improvement of security and soyang education before overseas departures” (1967) and “Announcement of meeting of authorities” (1967) written by the general affairs section of the Ministry of Science and Technology, were found to deal with the issue of soyang education.⁴ According to “Improvement of security education upon overseas departure” (1973), the earliest document available in the National Archives, the foundational rationale of this education was “the rules of security-related work” based on presidential instructions announced in May 1969. Grounded in the geopolitical circumstances at that time, the education was developed from security education as anti-communism education and then was gradually reinforced and expanded to cover general soyang education.⁵ As the overseas dispatch of

²But the data are not found at this moment on when exactly, by whom, under which circumstances, and with what purpose and contents it began.

³“In need of Institutional Unification for the Selection.” *Mae-Il Economic Daily*, September 24, 1966. Accessed April 15, 2017.

[newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1966092400099203004&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1966-09-](http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1966092400099203004&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1966-09-24&officeId=00009&pageNo=3&printNo=158&publishType=00020)

[24&officeId=00009&pageNo=3&printNo=158&publishType=00020](http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1966092400099203004&editNo=1&printCount=1&publishDate=1966-09-24&officeId=00009&pageNo=3&printNo=158&publishType=00020)

⁴Unfortunately, these two documents were not found in the National Archives of Korea due to an internal error of the institution. Considering the source of the document and news article in 1966, the content seems to be related to education on South Korean engineer dispatches.

⁵This government document from 1973 was written by the KCIA and delivered to relevant administrative departments such as the Korea Customs Administration. The document categorized the education into security education and soyang education. Security education was supervised by the KCIA and managed by the Police Bureau (治安局), and soyang education was under the control of the Police Bureau and managed by each ministry and administrative department based on the purpose of travel. In the case of soyang education, the organization for the administration and actual education was divided into four different types of institutions: general travel (organized by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information and educated at Korea Information Service Inc.), migration and overseas

workers and soldiers increased in the late 1960s, and emigrants and students studying abroad gradually emerged as transnational actors, the necessity of such official education seems to have intensified as well.⁶ In the early stages, under the name “overseas travelers education”, soyang education and security education were more clearly distinguished. As the proportion of security education decreased, soyang education began to be used as the integrated name of the entire program. It continued as a compulsory procedure during the 1980s and was eventually abolished in 1992. A systematic top-down plan “Guideline for Overseas Travelers Education” was continuously revised and improved with the

employment (organized by the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs and educated in the Korea Overseas Development Corporation), study abroad (organized by the Ministry of Education and educated by the American-Korean Foundation), and short-term training (organized by the Ministry of Science and Technology and educated by the International Technology Cooperation). Depending on the purpose of departure, the education took from three to eight hours, and “national spirit” content was included as a co-requisite course. The soyang education program for “travelers” (implying every overseas traveler except those traveling for migration, studying abroad, and training) contained lectures regarding “national spirit” (60 mins), “not purchasing presents” (30 mins), and “the plan for reunification” (90mins). In the meantime, security education was organized by the Police Bureau, and its common courses were “security (120 mins)”, “foreign affairs and crimes” (60 mins), and “film” (60 mins). The attendance for the program was valid only for a year, so the applicants had to attend this program again when they went abroad after a year. As the number of outbound departures was not large yet, the education course was held three times a week in cases of general travel, migration, and employment and conducted monthly in case of studying abroad and training. As of August 1973, 40,000 people had attended the program in total, and the most frequent groups were travelers (49.2%) followed by emigrants (34.2%), employees (14.1%), trainees (1.5%), and study abroad students (1%). The category was not clearly identified though, as demonstrated by the ambivalent category of ‘traveler’. The entire program was a group education session that two hundred people at a time attended. This caused attendants to complain that the government was also worried about its educational effects. The document also mentioned Japan and Europe as vulnerable areas for anti-communism that needed special care. In the document, the KCIA requested to focus more on security education rather than soyang education (“Improvement of Security Education before Overseas Departure.” 1973. Document No. BA0137290).

⁶On the other hand, in 1970, Korea Information Service Inc. organized an orientation course every morning for an hour and half (except on Sundays) to “provide necessary preliminary knowledge about South Korea” so as to “give a good impression to foreigners” (*Daehan News* 773. 1970. “Orientation for Overseas Travelers”. http://ehistory.go.kr/page/pop/movie_pop.jsp?srcgbn=KV&gbn=DH&mediaid=1008&mediadtl=6141&quality=W). As to Korea Information Service Inc. (*Daehan'gongronsa*, 1953-1978), see the following link:

<http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=1081661&cid=40942&categoryId=31763>

cooperation of several government departments including the president, Prime Minister's Office, KCIA (ANSP), Ministry of Education, Government Information Agency, Anti-communism League, and henceforth the Ministry of Transportation and Korea Tourism Organization.

A travel magazine article from April 1988, only a few months before the Seoul Olympic Games and the full liberalization of overseas travel, provided general information related to the aim of the education, overall structure and administration of soyang education, as follows.

Soyang education is a process to help travelers enhance their personal safety while staying abroad and maintain their dignity as Koreans, and, moreover, to help them contribute to enhance national prestige as is their duty in civil diplomatic delegation. Through this education, travelers will get to understand the local circumstances and regulations related to the purpose of travel and acquire basic knowledge (*soyang*) on travel ("If you want to go travel easily", *Monthly Travel & Leisure* April 1988, 55).⁷

As is written, the guideline of the early 1970s presented a clear division of the roles of soyang education and security education. This basic structure continued with a gradual change toward the simplification and modification of its theme, times, and the main organizations as found in the next revised versions of the guideline.⁸ In the 1980s, the education increasingly dealt with other issues such as tourists' attitude and consumption as

⁷In this period, the program was conducted separately in two groups: one for general travelers (business, culture, visiting, training, and official purposes) and the other for special travelers (study abroad, employment, and emigration purposes). The course for general travelers was further divided into a special group and a general group. Travelers for tourism purposes seemed to be included in the latter group.

⁸The guideline was revised several times and announced to the relevant government departments. The list of the guidelines are: "Improvement of security education upon overseas departure" (1973), "Announcement of the revision of education guidelines for overseas travelers" (Ministry of Law, July 21, 1975), "Announcement of the revision of education guideline for overseas travelers" (KCIA, July 1977), "Education guideline for overseas travelers (Revision)" (Ministry of Education, March 1981), Revision (Ministry of Education, July 1981), "Countermeasures after the liberalization of overseas travel" (Prime Minister's Office, 1983), "Countermeasures to guide sound national tourism after the liberalization of overseas travel" (Ministry of Transportation, 1988), and "Improvement of the soyang education system for tourism" (April 1989).

well as an ongoing focus on national security. As the education for overseas travelers was integrated with broader government plans such as the Expansion Plan and national tourism promotion policy, it became necessary to underline the importance of tourism behaviors in general and the alert on international etiquette and extravagance.

2) 班別 教育時間

教育主管部処	教育班	教科目	備考
文化公報部	特別班 2時間	保安教育 映 画	※ 保安 및 弘報教育 을 統合 實施
	一般班 3時間30分	保安教育 映 画 民族精神 統一政策	※ 民族精神科目에는 国家政策指標 및 民 主福祉国家 理念, 經 济發展相을 包含
文 教 部	留学生班 6時間	保安教育 映 画 留学生的 姿勢 및 手続節次 國際情勢 民族精神 統一政策	※ 民族精神科目에는 国家政策指標 및 民 主福祉国家 理念, 經 济發展相을 包含

Figure 10. The Contents of Soyang Education as of March 1981⁹

As aforementioned, the education for overseas travelers was closely related to changing the perceptions of South Korean people on national overseas expansion as well as national tourism. From the context on national overseas expansion, it was highlighted to keep in mind a healthy viewpoint of the nation and engage in virtuous conduct outside the country, as was represented with the phrase “everyone is a diplomat”. From the national tourism perspective, the aspect of “sound and good use of leisure” was emphasized. The national consciousness and awareness of security for the former (civil diplomats) and the ethics and a sense of public order for the latter (cultured citizens) were the main themes at large.¹⁰ Two directions as such were given in soyang education. In particular, the emphasis

⁹Ministry of Education. 1981. “Education guideline for overseas travelers (Revision)”.

¹⁰The promotion of national tourism was conducted using various types of media, materials, educational institutes, and events. In the 1980s, multiple methods were drawn on; for example, the enlightening guidance booklet titled “Tourism and Our Lives” was to be published and distributed to middle schools and high schools nationwide, and a

on “soundness”, especially in the 1980s, and ideological security education since the mid-1960s were equally important and combined within the educational program for overseas travelers. For example, the revised “Guideline for overseas travelers education” from 1981, the year the expansion plan and liberalization act were implemented, clarified its educational purpose as the intensification of the “nation’s total security system” as its single objective. The aim of the education in detail was as follows.

Amid the current domestic and international political circumstances, in order to cope with the North Korean Puppet’s intensifying total diplomatic war including psychological warfare activities and detour penetration via third countries, to make every overseas traveler aware of the North Korean Puppet’s communization strategy against South Korea and aware of security precautions, and at the same time to correctly promote the actual situation in the homeland as well as the unification policy for overseas Koreans and local people in foreign countries and to lead them to enhance the national prestige, so as to strengthen the national total security system (“The Education Guideline for Overseas Travelers (Revision)” enacted in March 1, 1981, 1).¹¹

So to speak, “the protection of travelers” and “the commitment as civil diplomatic delegation” strongly implied self-recognition as a member of the liberal democratic regime.¹² The security education film for overseas travelers also strongly emphasized this, as is seen hereafter. What becomes clear here is that such psychological warfare between

promotional film for national tourism to use for promotion via thirteen local governments and social organizations (*Annual Tourism Trend Report 1981*, 197-200).

¹¹In the document, the extremely hostile expression “North Korean Puppet” was used to describe North Korea. Based on the mutual agreement “not to slander or malign each other” in the South-North Dialogue in 1972, the South Korean government decided not to use the term “North Korean Puppet” in order to be respectful and to recognize each country’s regime, both in governmental public relations (*Dong-A Ilbo* 1972) as well as in public education (*Kyunghyang Shinmun* 1973). But this agreement did not last a year, and, as found in the research material in this study, the hostile and contemptuous perception remained in official government documents until the early 1980s.

¹²This concept seems to be influenced by the American case in the postwar era, i.e. the emphasis on “overseasmanship” to cultivate ideal tourists by referring to them as “American ambassadors”. Klein (2003, 112-3) illustrated the efforts of American middlebrow intellectuals in travel essays and magazines “to shape tourists into cosmopolitan subjects” by emphasizing “cosmopolitan sensibility” while abroad in the global expansion of America.

two regimes and anti-communism propaganda education was made a priority in public education and persisted as real issues from the 1980s onwards.

On the other hand, along with the first step in the liberalization of overseas travel and the implementation of the expansion plan, another ramification became apparent in relation to the issue of buying foreign goods. Accordingly, “Countermeasures to the Liberalization of Overseas Travel” (Prime Minister’s Office, February 9, 1983) were announced, covering “buying domestic goods” as the main issue. The issue that needed to be addressed was “the tendency of indiscriminately purchasing foreign goods by inconsiderate travelers” that made the reformation of consciousness a priority.¹³ As such, there were inconsistencies between the political concerns of the government and travelers’ actual behaviors. Questions and doubts about the effectiveness of soyang education, which was focused on security education, were raised not only by the attendants but also by the relevant authorities. Such opinions brought up the necessity of a different approach to overseas travel education that “is not biased to anti-communism but providing the essential knowledge that one needs to know for overseas travel”, as written as follows.

I took the education course at the Anti-communism League in Jangchung-dong, but I didn’t find any big difference from soyang education 10 years ago. Just a subject

¹³The document gave instructions to relevant government departments in terms of the promotion plan as follows: “to inform about using domestic products and rejecting foreign preferences and inform sound overseas travel and customs clearance (Ministry of Domestic Affairs); to put stress on the relevant news articles; to plan special news reports on sound overseas travel (Ministry of Culture and Public Information); to promote this as a part of the social purification movement and to use various publications including the film *Confession* and newsletter on the purification campaign (Social Purification Committee); and to promote the Saemaul (New Village) Movement for using national goods” (Ministry of Domestic Affairs and Ministry of Trade and Industry). The document also mentioned the reinforcement of the preliminary education for overseas travelers, focusing on the promotion of sound overseas travel and ‘not-buying-souvenirs’ attitude, and information on customs inspections (Prime Minister’s Office, 1983. “Countermeasures to the Liberalization of Overseas Travel”). The Social Purification Committee was launched in November 1980 to pursue nation-wide social purification activities as an affiliated organization to the prime minister.

about the reformation of consciousness structure was added, and the education was conducted using slides. While attending the course, I thought about whether such an explanation could infiltrate people's minds when they were full of the excitement about going abroad. It is also problematic that the education is conducted based on the assumption that all people are the same travelers, without distinction of sex and age and regardless of the intellectual and educational level. [...] If an old person attended soyang education to go abroad for the first time, I think the most important education would be to teach him easily the culture and customs of the destination so as for him to bear the minimal adaptability in mind, prior to the education of anti-communism and reforming consciousness (Park 1983a, 23).

Underpinning the necessity for revision of the education course, this article listed examples of problems such as the misunderstanding of ethnicity and historicity of visiting countries, racial issues, traffic rules, and troublesome behaviors of South Korean tourists in various regions (Park 1983a; Park 1983b). Anti-communism education was outdated and did not fully consider the reality of the changing international Cold War geopolitics and domestic policy of internationalization; nevertheless, it was hardly abandoned, as potential threats still existed. Therefore, security education continued to be primary content in soyang education in the 1980s. Clear evidence of the lingering ideological character of overseas traveler education was the administrative departments in charge of it such as the Headquarters of National Police, ANSP, Anti-communism League (for males) and *Yejiwŏn* (for females) that managed the actual procedures. The Anti-communism League and *Yejiwŏn* also provided the main venues for the education courses.

The next comprehensive guideline and instruction on overseas travel education found was from April 1988, a few months before full liberalization ("the Guidance plan for nation's sound travel upon the liberalization of overseas travel" 1988). Up until that point, no other specific overall instructions on travel education were found. Instead, the capacity of public education and promotion seems to be concentrated on the preparation of other internationalization-related events such as the Asian Games and Olympic Games held in Seoul in 1986 and 1988 respectively. This education was focused on preparing domestic

citizens to invite foreign guests and show them internationalized citizenship. In the guidance of 1988, the time and contents of soyang education were simplified compared with previous versions. The objective of the guidance plan in 1988 also presented a more simplified version with its focus on the encouragement of enhancing knowledge through overseas travel and not traveling for extravagance or relaxation. Other than the problem of travelers' lack of knowledge and ill manners that could harm national prestige, the new problems to cope with were instead related to the tourism industry such as over-competition among travel agencies and the resulting damage to tourists, excessive salesmanship resulting in unnecessary purchases, and travelers' deviance being interpreted as a 'security' issue (i.e. a South Korean traveler's attempt in Hong Kong to visit North Korea) due to travel agencies' irresponsible guidance. To solve such problems, this document proposed a guidance plan to 1) arrange a separate education course for tourism purposes under the supervision of the Korea Tourism Organization that was previously included in the broader category of general travelers, 2) to reinforce administrative guidance for travel agencies, and 3) to systematize and promote the provision of travel information. The allocation of the content in security and soyang education also changed. In the case of security education, the required time was shortened from two hours to one hour. For soyang education, the focus moved from national spirit and travel guidance for two hours, to travel manners and using basic common sense in destination countries for one hour, and other soyang education (the details are not clearly mentioned) for thirty minutes.

The overall courtesy education program was managed by a number of institutions and organizations such as Korea Information Services Inc., the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Headquarters of National Police, the Anti-communism League (*Pan'gong Yŏnmaeng*, 1954–1989), the Korean Freedom Federation (*jayuchong'yŏnmaeng*, after

1989), *Yejiwŏn* (an institution for traditional culture and courtesy education, 1974–present), the Tourism Training Institution, the Korean Tourism Organization, the Korean CIA (later the National Security Agency, National Intelligence Service), the Ministry of Transportation, and the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. Until the late 1980s, the Prime Minister’s Office, Ministry of Culture and Public Information and National Security Agency set the overall plan and guideline, whereas other organizations took part in the management and education. During the 1980s, the role of mass education was gradually transferred to the tourism industry, popular travel media and mass media. The rather politicized security education was slowly replaced by content related to the manner and etiquette of internationalization as well as prudent consumption.

As such, although the logistics (time and venue, details of content, main organization) changed slightly, the fundamental themes and structure based on security and soyang education did not change from 1966 to 1992. If one wanted to get a passport, the certificate proving full attendance of the education program had to be submitted to the Passport Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

4.1.2. Public Discourses on Invalidity and Abolition

As aforementioned, questions on the effectiveness and validity of soyang education were raised intermittently, but upon the full liberalization of overseas travel, complaints and dissenting views became more frequent. This changing atmosphere was also related to the transition of the social atmosphere from repressive regulations and restrictions to alleged democratization. As time passed, regulation and discipline in the form of mandatory education was ameliorated, with criticisms of its inconvenience, outdatedness, and other complaints by both industry and travelers. For example, the columnist and readers’ opinions in one travel magazine show the sentiment against the strict passport law, the

ineffective procedures, and (the state's) "posture of giving a great favor to its people," which often referred to the "freedom of movement" and "human rights" (*Monthly Travel & Leisure*, May 1987, 47). To quote one of the reactions:

For a long while, the industry criticized the problems of soyang education and the background check process, (no one) dared to raise an issue about it. [...] although (people) attend soyang education because it is legally required, the effect is very limited. Because of its consistent concentration on anti-communism, one can easily see the atmosphere in which most of the attendees do not pay attention to it (the session) and use it for killing time. [...] Of course, it is true that anti-communism education is the most important, considering our situation. However, given the majority of opinions saying that the current soyang education does not function at all, it would be better to abolish this and distribute a booklet instead. Taking into account our position and dream of 'Korea in the World' and the liberalization of overseas travel, [...] the unnecessary procedure is expected to be abolished like in neighboring Japan and most countries.¹⁴

This reaction shows the mixed sentiment toward the issue, i.e. the discontent, ongoing anxiety about communism, and the uneasiness about criticizing the government, which itself demonstrates the structure of the underlying feeling of the phenomenon called overseas travel. A similar discourse is also found in a news article published in January 1989. It describes the controversial argument over maintaining soyang education between the Ministry of Transportation (and the Korea Tourism Organization) and the Ministry of Culture and Information Service (the organizer of this program). The MOT and KTO raised objections to the anticommunism-dominant soyang education, which was conflicting with the MCPI's position that supported maintaining the divide of South and North Korea. According to the article, "soyang education consists of two parts, security education (80 mins) and travel information (80 mins). But, the anti-communism education (security education) is drawing criticism from the attendees, because it is merely using slides or delivering coercive contents such as 'you will get this punishment if you do this

¹⁴Park, H. 1988. "The Abolition of ID Check and *Soyang Kyoyuk* is a Natural Act...." *Monthly Travel Abroad*, December 1988, 18.

behavior’.” The article also points out the problem of delays and waiting due to the number of applicants (800 per day) (*Mae-Il Economic Daily* 1989).

Reflecting such an atmosphere, *Nation-wide Survey on Travel 1988* also added a question about the difficulties with and complaints about the procedure. The exemplary answers (and percentage) were given as such: the procedure of passport application (29.9%), the procedure of issuance (6.2%), soyang education (8.9%), preparation of the document in relation to military duty (2.2%), the inhospitality of public officers at the passport desk (1.8%), others (3.2%), no idea (14.0%), and blank (33.8%) (KTO 1988, 400-3; KTO 1988, 460). Given the number of respondents to this question (113 who had overseas travel experience) out of the total sample of 2,000, the survey result might not seem significant statistically. Yet, the result is still meaningful, as it shows that many people (including the survey organizer) highlighted the need to improve the preliminary procedure for overseas travel.

As of July 1990, after a year and half had passed since full liberalization, the education for overseas travelers convened two times every day, but the program could not fully cover the increased travel population, and some people had to wait for more than ten days to attend the education (especially in high-season for summer holidays). At that point, the content included 1) a security course – a film screening about the Kim Jung-Il hereditary system (20 mins), and a lecture by the ANSP instructor about the importance of security (70 mins), current international political situations, and the right viewpoint of the nation – and 2) a soyang course delivered by the Korea Tourism Organization – a film screening on “pleasant overseas travel” (30 mins) and a lecture on common sense in travel, preparation procedures, international society, manners, foreign culture and customs, ways to prevent overspending, and aspects of overseas travel that first-time travelers needed to

be reminded of.¹⁵ In 1992, this education system was terminated “to reduce the inconvenience of people and improve the administrative system”. A booklet was distributed with passports instead of having to attend mandatory education, and the contents of the booklets contained basic information such as traveler and security alerts. Travel agencies took the responsibility for giving orientation before departure. Also, security education for “special regions” such as China, Vietnam, and Russia was also abolished. At the same time, background checks were simplified and automatized.¹⁶

4.1.3. The Meaning of Education in Context

To contextualize the conception of ‘education’ as a means of disciplinary power, two different but connected ideas of “education” at the time – Reunification and Security Education and Spiritual Education of People (kukmin) – need to be considered together. In particular, Spiritual Education of Kukmin was a program intended to guide and educate people imposed by the South Korean government during the 1980s. The idea of “guidance/enlightenment” (*Gyedo*) of the people was embedded and naturalized in this project. The mind and spirit of people was regarded as reformable and could be ‘armed’ through education and guidance. From the very beginning of the 1980s, the idea of *gyedo* was broadly disseminated to the various units of society, i.e. the military, schools, and companies, under the aims of “social purification,” “societal stability,” and “reforming consciousness.”¹⁷ The campaign was actively led by the so-called Social Purification Committee, which it was a descendent of the Saemaoul Movement (the new community movement) from the early 1970s. The tourism industry also adopted and practiced the idea,

¹⁵“Overseas Travel Boom, More than Ten Days of Waiting to Take *Soyang Kyoyuk*.” *Dong-A Ilbo*, July 7, 1990.

¹⁶“Entire abolition of the soyang education system for overseas travelers.” *KwanHyup (Korea Tourist Association Bulletin)*, April 1992, 37

¹⁷National Archives of Korea. Document Nos. BA0883676, C11M11641.

and the state's record showed the connection of the project with promoting/regulating overseas travel. The use of the term "guidance/enlightenment (*Gyedo*)" in the documents on *The Expansion Plan for Koreans Going Abroad* (1981) and the *Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel* (1983) were examples of this linkage.¹⁸ *Gyedo* was an expression of military imagination, and in this hierarchical imagination, the "people" (*kukmin*) were deemed child-like objects that the State protected and corrected. Soyang education and security education films for overseas travelers were located in this broader context.

4.2. Security Education Films for Overseas Travel and the Shadow of the Liberalization of Overseas Travel

"Security education film for overseas travelers" (*Haeoe Yŏhaengja Po'an Kyoyuk-yong Yŏnghwa*; 海外旅行者保安教育用映画), was the visual text shown to the attendants in the mandatory education program. It is a quintessential example in discussing the securitization of overseas travel and governmentality of mobility because of two reasons: 1) it demonstrated that national security came before any other educational goal in the early stages of the Expansion Plan and Liberalization Act, and 2) it functioned as a channel to connect policy and people through which disciplinary power was exercised on the mind of mobile actors. The work of disciplinary power appeared in both physical and imaginary ways. The physical power was grounded in the role of compulsory education in the mobility control system that required physical attendance to get permission to cross

¹⁸The emphasis on spiritual education is found in the "President's Instructions" (1983) to the government sector. The original paragraph is as follows: "to deeply acknowledge that the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel is aimed to respond to the internationalization era and improve the level of the nation's consciousness as a part of the policies of autonomy and opening; to minimize anticipated problems; and to push ahead constantly PR activity and guidance toward people so as to instill the love of the home country and confidence through autonomous overseas travel that can become a new turning point in the nation's spiritual education" ("Countermeasures to the Liberalization of Overseas Travel", March 1983, 33).

borders. The imaginary power originated in the content and message of the film that could affect the global imagination on mobility, others, and the outside world. As aforementioned, the security education film for overseas travelers was a subset of mandatory courtesy education called *soyang kyoyuk* that was conducted from 1966 to 1992. It was an emblematic case that showed how Cold War propaganda lingered in the practice of ‘internationalization and opening’ in South Korea in the 1980s. Although the details of the education program changed, it lasted until 1992. Based on archival research and textual analysis, this section investigates two films produced in 1980 and 1983 by the National Film Production Center. The film texts reinforced anti-communism by using the re-enactment format and combining dramatized episodes of what could happen to ordinary South Korean people who went abroad. North Korea was depicted as an omnipresent danger that South Korean travelers could encounter abroad. The idea of educating potential travelers was connected to the abovementioned government’s conception of “education” at that time. It indicated how “nation’s people” (*kukmin*) and the freedom of mobility were located in that imagination. By examining the narrative as well as the multi-layered surroundings, the scheme of state management over human mobility and the nation-state’s intervention in the globalization process will become visible, which presents the dual face of the (post-) Cold War period.

4.2.1. Narratives and Representation: “The Danger Anyone Can Encounter”

Among the different types of films and video clips relevant to overseas travel produced by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information of South Korea, this research analyzes the content, production, and context of “the security film for overseas travelers,” focusing on four interrelated films: *The Trap* (*Hamjŏng; The Shadow 2*, 1983), *The Shadow* (*Gŭrimja*, 1980), *Far Away from Homeland* (*Joguk ũn Mŏrŏdo*, 1976), and *The Confession* (*Go-baek*, 1976). This section mainly analyzes the narrative and representation of *The Trap*

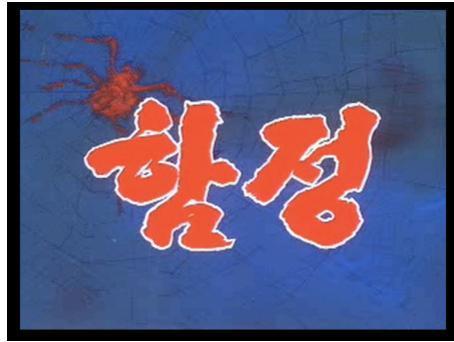
(*Hamjǒng* 1983, 60 mins), as the original film remained in archive, unlike the other three films.¹⁹ Three other films will be discussed based on sources such as government documents and scripts. *The Shadow* series are omnibus films composed of a number of short episodes that are 5–10 minutes each. *The Trap* (*The Shadow 2*) is a patchwork of nine cases dealing with different locations, settings, characters, and their status as different types of “overseas travelers” (for details, see Table 4). The film clearly identified the purpose of its production from the beginning: “in the pursuit of personal safety of travelers in accordance with the government’s Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel.” The opening sequence and narration put emphasis on the fact that the stories shown are based on real incidents by projecting the subtitles and narration in a vivid way that is reminiscent of the opening sequence of *The Star Wars* series and saying that “all episodes are dramatized versions that are grounded in incidents that actually occurred.”²⁰ As will be shown in the next section on the production process, this format and the emphasis of the stories being reenactments was apparent from the earliest stages of production.²¹

¹⁹KTV e-Visual History Archive. 1983. “The Trap of North Korea (1)”. Accessed September 29, 2019.

<http://www.ehistory.go.kr/page/view/movie.jsp?srcgbn=KV&mediaid=1750&mediadtl=8550&gbn=MH>, KTV e-Visual History Archive. 1983. “The Trap of North Korea (2)”. <http://www.ehistory.go.kr/page/view/movie.jsp?srcgbn=KV&mediaid=1750&mediadtl=8551&gbn=MH&quality=M&page=1>

²⁰For example, in the first episode, the names of characters and restaurants in the video clip were exactly the same as the ones released in daily newspapers in 1982.

²¹One can see a very similar style in the preceding film *The Confession* (*Go-baek*, 1976), which the government document categorizes as “a documentary record film.” In *The Confession*, it is highlighted not only that the film was based on a real story of North Korean espionage, but it also stresses that the person involved in the actual incident is acting (re-enacting) in the film. The re-enactment format of these films seems to be utilized to amplify their effect as propaganda films through visual ways from the pre-production stage.

Figure 11. Title Sequence of *The Trap* (1983)Table 3. Government-produced Video Clips on Overseas Travel (1960s–1990s)²²

Title	Production by	Year	Category and Main Theme	Target	Material
<i>[You Are Representing South Korea] “Overseas Travelers are Citizen Diplomats” (8:23)</i>	National Film Production Center	1970	PR Film/Cultural Film	South Korean people (Potential travelers)	Video Clip
<i>[Daehan News 773] “Orientation for Overseas Travelers” (00:38)</i> ²³	National Film Production Center	1970	Newsreel Individuals’ responsibility as citizen diplomats	South Korean people	Video Clip

²²The clips and information of the films in the Table 3 were found and extracted from the online archives of The National Audio Visual Information Service and National Archives of Korea. This does not mean that the list covers every example of visual material relevant to overseas travel, but it includes the up-to-date search results by the author.

²³*Daehan News* (Korea News) is the name of a government-made newsreel that was used for governmental public relations for both domestic and international audiences. It was shown at film theaters, on televisions, and at public institutions (Lee and Park 2011, 305). It started from *Joseon Sibon* (Joseon Time Signal) in 1945 and the format was changed to weekly news. Its production finished with No. 2040 at the end of December 1994 (“History of Daehan News.” *Daehan News* No. 2040, December 13, 1994. Accessed September 19, 2019. http://film.ktv.go.kr/page/pop/movie_pop.jsp?srcgbn=KV&mediaid=11537&mediadt=25917&gbn=DH&quality=M). The total number of reports was 1,686 in the 1950s, 3,638 in the 1960s, 2,888 in the 1970s, 3,305 in the 1980s, and 1,287 in the 1990s until 1994. During the nation-building years from the 1950s to 1994 under the authoritarian and military dictatorship, it functioned not only as an informative communication channel with the national public but also as a tool of propaganda to promote the achievements of the government.

<i>Far Away from Homeland (60mins)</i>	National Film Production Center	1976	Cultural Film (Security education) Patriotic mind, national pride, correct knowledge of home country	Koreans at home and abroad (U.S. residents)	Documents and Script
<i>The Confession (50mins)</i>	National Film Production Center	1976	Cultural Film (Security education)	Koreans at Home and Abroad	Documents and Script, Video Clip
<i>The Shadow (60mins)</i>	National Film Production Center	1980	Cultural Film (Security education) Alert for the North Korean maneuver	Overseas South Korean travelers (Domestic)	Documents, Script
<i>The Trap (The Shadow 2, 60mins)</i>	National Film Production Center	1983	Cultural Film (Security education) Alert for the North Korean maneuver	Overseas South Korean travelers (Domestic)	Documents, Script, Video Clip
<i>[Daehan News 1688] Central Government's Work Report</i>	National Film Production Center	1988	Newsreel Liberalization policies "Authoritarianism is disappearing"	Koreans at home and abroad	Video Clip
<i>[Daehan News 1735] "Let's Learn Overseas Travel"(1:25)</i>	National Film Production Center	1989	Newsreel, Increase of Overseas Travel and the Importance of Education	South Korean People (Potential travelers)	Video Clip
<i>[Daehan News 1792] "Traveling Frugally" (0:32)</i>	National Film Production Center	1990	Newsreel (Campaign) Emphasis on frugal travel	South Korean people (Potential travelers)	Video Clip
<i>[Daehan News 1873] "Campaign (Frugal Overseas Travel)" (0:36)</i>	National Film Production Center	1991	Newsreel, (Campaign) Foreign goods	South Korean people (Potential travelers)	Video Clip

The plots of each episode (see Table 4) are similar to one another, and the structure is not unambiguous. It usually starts with a bird's eye view of the destination and a sketch of cityscape followed by the introduction of the main character that will be entrapped in the near future. The main characters had their own desires and weaknesses, i.e. the extension of a stay due to the "vanity" (according to the narration) of a female character in the film, the loneliness of living abroad, the economic hardships associated with staying and studying, longing for one's own mother and relatives living in North Korea, a romance in a foreign country, curiosity about North Korea, and the greed for money. While the main characters were situated in unsecured circumstances, the intermediaries led her/him into a trap. Sometimes, overseas North Koreans directly approached them, or seditious booklets or phone calls were unexpectedly delivered to their rooms. Depending on the individual's choice and behavior at the juncture, the results of such abrupt encounters diverged. Some of the characters got involved in espionage and then got arrested, while others bravely confronted the threat and overcame the dangerous situation. Sometimes, the ending remained open by merely showing them entrapped while zooming out.

As to the representation of space, the countries and cities shown in the films were in fact the main destinations of outbound travelers at the time. According to statistics from 1983, Japan was the first-ranked destination (155,727 in total number, 31.6% in share); United States was second (84,649, 17.2%); and Taiwan (called "Free China", 20,951 and 4.2%), Hong Kong (17,900, 3.6%), Libya (16,925, 3.4%), Singapore (14,616, 3%), and Iraq, France, and Thailand follow.²⁴ However, the imagination of the space was confined to a limited place, which eventually appeared as the main stage of encounters with North Koreans — the *contact zone of ideology*. For example, regardless of the city, Japan was

²⁴As to the purpose of visit, 40.7% of total overseas travelers went for employment, 25% for commerce, 6.7% for emigration, and 4.5% for inspection (*Korean Tourism Yearbook 1984*).

merely illustrated as a place where problematic Korean Japanese people (from the *Chongryŏn* community, the” pro-North Korea organization in Japan”) lived. The cityscape of Tokyo such as Tokyo Tower and Imperial Palace opened the sequence in order to give a visual explanation that the stage was now Tokyo. The neon sign and marketplace might be reminiscent of the flamboyant metropolitan Tokyo, but it actually indicated the daily space where members of the overseas Korean community (especially *Chongryŏn-gye*) would work and live. According to the narration in the film, the *Chongryŏn-gye* people “are abetted by the North Korean Puppet and trying to perturb the overseas Korean community in Japan as well as penetrate into South Korea.” In this frame, Japan is neither connected to a collective memory of colonialism nor the “contemporary Japan” of the 1980s that were often found in other travel accounts in mass media, travel essays and guidebooks of the time. In Japan, the most-visited destination as well as the residence for 700,000 Korean people, overseas travelers were illustrated as precariously exposed to the omnipresent danger of North Korea. The United States and West Germany were also deemed as open, and thus hazardous, places where overseas travelers could meet “contaminated” Koreans abroad as well as dispatched North Korean people in daily circumstances. Libya and Singapore, countries where South Korean companies actively expanded their business, were also described as potentially dangerous because of the presence of North Korean embassies. In the film, foreign places and popular destinations were not politically neutral but regarded as a forefront of ideological contamination. Other historical aspects, contexts, and various local attractions were not paid attention to. When ‘overseas travel experience’ was discussed, the only safe place was considered the South Korean embassy and the traveler’s private place (accommodation) or routine workplace was indeed the most vulnerable area.²⁵

²⁵Production costs might have affected the selection of the locations for shooting. The

In terms of the portrayal of the South and North Korean people, “our Koreans” were depicted as naïve and vulnerable, and thus were often fooled by “cunning tricks”. They were normal citizens with various weaknesses driven by human desires. Therefore, “the trap” could even happen to ordinary citizens who were keen to the North Korean threat in their daily life. All of them were unprepared and not cautious enough because of the astute skills of the North Korean people and deceptions by trusted acquaintances. In the film, South Korean people were divided into two groups based on their reactions — the ingenuous, deceivable, child-like ones or the confident, brave, and sometimes heroic others. On the other hand, the North Korean people or collaborators were not easily recognizable from their appearances, as they did not even use North Korean intonation in the film. They sometimes wore suits and showed a well-mannered attitude when they first were first encountered. Most commonly, however, they were depicted as villains who would approach South Korean travelers with various elaborate “cunning tricks” at any time without the travelers recognizing the danger. By borrowing the main characters’ words, they were portrayed as “disgusting commies (*ppalgaeng-i*)” and “North Korean puppets.”

The behavior and self-identification of the North Korean people were divided into two types. On the one hand, they initially hid their origin and affiliation, often by asserting that they were neither “commies” nor “communists” so as to relieve the tension. On the other hand, others revealed that they were from North Korea and suggested having “a conversation” while underlining that “we are all part of a homogeneous unity.” The former case usually entailed negative consequences, whereas the latter often ended with the main characters overcoming the danger (See Table 4). Another key player that mediated both sides and intensified the conflict was overseas Korean people and networks, i.e. South

record on budget execution wrote that the majority of the scenes that took place in offices and accommodations were in fact filmed domestically in South Korea.

Korean companies abroad, Korean diaspora networks and organizations, colleagues, the Red Cross, and overseas consulate offices, all of which were everywhere along with the increasing population of travelers going abroad. One of the government documents on the Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel also pointed out the growing role of overseas Korean people in South-North relations and warned that “North Korea was eager to penetrate into the Korean network abroad.”²⁶

In any case, no reconciliation was made between South Korean and North Korean people, yet a straightforward guideline on how to escape from the danger was drawn upon: the individual must make a report to the South Korean embassy and behave confidently like a South Korean by showing strong convictions.²⁷ Yet, as the situation usually occurred without preparation or expectation, maintaining self-protection and awareness during the situation was most important. Any kind of inappropriate desire and frivolous behavior might lead one to enormous consequences that could ruin one’s life. Providing such a “warning” was the rationale behind the security education. As it was stressed in the ending narration, it always depended on “you, the traveler’s, behavior”: “When you unavoidably happen to contact them, don’t be scared but cope with the situation confidently. And in case of emergency, don’t forget that informing our embassy will solve every problem. Then, best wishes for your pleasant overseas travel.”

As to the visual techniques used in the films such as the camerawork (close-ups and zooming), flashbacks and sound effects were presented in simple ways, seemingly for

²⁶Korean CIA. 1983. “Request for the production of a security education film for overseas travelers.” August 6. 1983, National Archives of Korea.

²⁷In the earlier outline of the film, more detailed words of caution and security guidelines were noted. These included the following: do not send a letter to North Korea, be cautious when Koreans abroad asked to meet, be aware of the importance of communication security, be alert of letters and any presents that are delivered, double-check on stopovers, avoid illegal activities in relation to passports and foreign currency, and keep in mind one’s role as a citizen envoy.

more effective message delivery. This helps the viewers understand the narrative structure better and conveys a clear message of anti-communism. Each episode borrowed genre conventions from action films, thrillers, melodramas, and family dramas.²⁸ Music and sound effects were one of the main tools for dramatizing the stories and escalating the tension. The title sequence of *The Trap* is similar to that of Hitchcock-style thriller films and its piercing sound effect expresses a warning. The following subtitles in the introduction give additional information that the stories were based on reality, similar to the beginning of a documentary. The narration by an omniscient male speaker was widely used throughout the film as if representing a powerful authority that judged the traveler's behaviors in the film. The overall visual and audio techniques in the film maximize its descriptive, but enlightening, tone and manner.

The preceding “PR films” (cultural films) — *Far Away from Homeland* (1976) and *The Confession* (1976) — were targeted toward Korean American and Korean Japanese people in particular.²⁹ In the meantime, *The Shadow* (1980) was aimed at overseas

²⁸The narrative of family reunion as a genre convention in spy thrillers in Korean cinema is one of characteristics of Korean Cold War culture. Oh (2009) points out the ‘family unit’ narrative such as bonding and longing for family, family as a motive, and dramatic family reunion moments became a stereotype of Korean spy thrillers and repeatedly appeared in the 1960s and 1970s as a cliché. The narrative of family reunion functioned as a filmic device to recover from the South-North divide and war trauma; however, through this narrative, “anti-communism ideology was slowly internalized in the spectators irrelevantly with the logic of ideology” (Oh 2009, 62).

²⁹PR film was what the production-side called such a category, and cultural film is a widely used term both in academia and the contemporary archive of Korea to describe government-made film for certain purposes. Cultural film is the visual historical record that reflects specific historical times. It was often defined in contrast to the feature film screened at the film theater for commercial purposes. It covered extensive categories historically including educational films, enlightenment films, documentary films, science films, industry films, and even fiction films for propaganda. In film theaters in South Korea until the early 1990s, the audience had to watch advertisements for about four minutes, *Daehan News* for nine minutes, cultural films for ten minutes, public campaign advertisements for seventy seconds, and the national anthem for eighty seconds, in total, approximately half an hour before the film started. The screening of cultural films

travelers from South Korea in general, but in reality it was limited to select groups — Korean emigrants, study abroad students, seamen, overseas employees — who were qualified to cross the border at that time. In this sense, the two episodes in *The Trap* (1983) were very distinctive cases from other episodes in their selection and description of the events and characters. These two episodes, the first and the fifth, can be identified as portraying new types of overseas travelers in the 1980s—Korean women in their twenties and thirties visiting their close relatives. These two cases were furthermore representative in the sense that they appeared in the film only in the 1983 version. As the law expanded individuals' travel for the purpose of visiting relatives after July 1982, the female cases of visiting relatives were recent and representative cases that demonstrated new types of overseas travel that would increase in the near future. Interestingly, among the nine episodes, only these two episodes illustrated female characters as the main characters. These episodes were built upon a melodramatic narrative structure. The female characters were highly dependent on Korean men who were closely connected to them both economically and psychologically and also guaranteed the women's visa status of staying abroad as a 'visitor'. In the first episode, an unmarried former factory worker, Kim Yŏng Hee, falls in love with a pro-North Korean Zainichi man who has been trained as a spy and ended up getting arrested. In the fifth episode, a North Korean stranger (male) in a hotel approaches Mrs. Park, but she bravely escapes from it and throws herself into the arms of her husband (a Taekwŏndo instructor). The stories of vulnerable female characters contrast with the episode about a failed romance of a male student in West Germany. The student is almost seduced by a female pro-North Korean Japanese student, and he receives an offer to travel together to Moscow and Pyŏngyang. But he then comes to his senses, chastises her, and leaves the place without hesitation. The original scenario ended with him being beaten

continued until 1998 (National Archives of Korea. Accessed September 29, 2019. <http://theme.archives.go.kr/next/movie/concept01.do>).

by North Korean men who were hiding in the room. It is not clear why the ending was changed in the film, but in the new ending, the symbolic meaning of the film becomes more evident. The brave and strong South Korean man represented a good example of a proper reaction, unlike the dependent and unprepared young Korean women. Considering the omission and simplification of the episodes from the original scenario, the above-mentioned features are notable. In this binary setting, the female South Korean characters function as a metaphor to demonstrate the vulnerability of overseas travelers.³⁰

In contrast to the wishes for “pleasant travel” seen in the ending sequence, the films only highlight the negative aspects of overseas travel, the shadow and trap, which made viewers doubtful about the overall objective of the opening policy for individuals’ overseas travel. The film did not even mention “the necessity of internalization and opening” that was often recalled and underlined in the documents of *The Expansion Plan for Korean People to Go Abroad* (1981) and *The Liberalization Act of Overseas Travel* (1983). Those who are not shown in these films, but were key subjects in the history of the 1980s, were 1)

³⁰Female spies were a popular topic of the spy and espionage narrative in Korean media and publications during the Cold War. Hana Lee (2015) explains that the female spy in popular culture was portrayed as a mixed image of temptation and fear and was objectified under the gaze of anti-North Korean orientalism that made communism and communists into hostile others. The female spy narrative is a stereotypical example of sexuality and anti-communism intermingling and generating synergy, and this “dual narrative” reveals “the coexistence of complex and subtle affects such as sympathy and hatred, temptation and insecurity.” The female spy is a vulnerable actor who cannot think on her own, and, according to Hana Lee (2015), this symbolizes the North Korean regime, which cannot stand on its own. In a similar vein, female actors in the security education film for overseas travelers in the 1980s were portrayed as vulnerable and fragile agents who could not stand on their own and were exposed to the persuasion and seduction of North Korea. The stereotypical interpretation of female subjects generated synergistic effects with the insecure and unstable status of overseas travelers in unidentified foreign spaces outside their own nation-state. In this narrative structure, the traveler was allocated as a feminized object and vulnerable human being to be protected by the masculine protector of the nation-state.

youth and domestic students, and 2) workers and ordinary people.³¹ In either case, the problematic of the 1980s – liberalization, the freedom of movement/mobility, democratization – was hidden in the films.

4.2.2. The Production Process of the Films

In the production process of security education films for overseas travelers – a subset of the mandatory soyang education program to obtain a passport – the National Film Production Center, Korean CIA (from 1961–1981) and Agency of National Security Planning (ANSP, from 1981–1999), and the Ministry of Culture and Public Information (MCPI) were the significant institutional players.³² The production usually followed a specific administrative process: first, the ANSP made a request for a film production to the MCPI, then the MCPI gave instructions to the National Film Production Center to make a film with more detailed guidelines. The MCPI, as well as the ANSP, examined and approved the ongoing production. They also funded the production costs. Directors were film producers who were also government officers working for the National Film Production Center.

³¹I suppose the former was the target of the regime/power, and the latter was a blind spot of the regime/power.

³²The National Film Production Center was a government-affiliated organization under the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, though both institutions later changed their name (from 1994 National Visual Production Center, since 2007, The National Audio Visual Information Service). It started to make “cultural films” (Munhwa Yŏnghwa) in 1948 as the “film division” under the Bureau of Public Information. (*History of National Film Production Center*, National Film Production Center, 1987)

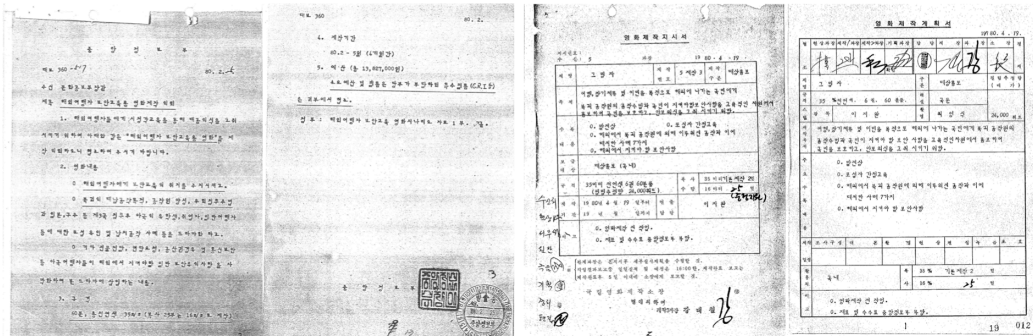


Figure 12. Documents of the Film Production in 1980 ((Left) “Request for the Film Production (*The Shadow*) of Security Education for Overseas Travelers” by ANSP (1980), (Right) “Production Order” and “Production Plan” (1980))

The Shadow (1980, 60 mins) was produced from February to May, 1980. The objective of the film for the Korean CIA was “to instill overseas travelers with the consciousness of counter-communism through audio-visual education.”³³ It requested that the contents include the following details: 1) “to remind of the objective of security education”; 2) “to dramatize the goal of the North Korean Puppet, the method of training agents and detours, and the tactics of persuasion and kidnapping targeting our students abroad, overseas employees, and ordinary travelers in third countries such as Japan and Europe”; 3) “to put subtitles regarding the general precaution upon the possible situations for our travelers to follow, i.e. the delivery of presents, the request for consultation, stopovers in communist countries, and communications security.” After accepting the request, the National Film Production Center paraphrased the aim of the film production as “to protect the ‘nation/people’ (*Kukmin*); to instill the awareness of security issues for people going abroad in the pursuit of travel, long-term stay, and emigration, through publicizing in educational ways; and to provide education on the North Korean Puppet’s means of maneuvering as well as security information that needs to be kept.” Also, it stipulated that the content should include the description of the development of South

³³National Archives of Korea. 1980. “Request for Cooperation in Film Production: Reply.” Document No. BA0793088, 2.

Korea and seven different cases were specified including South Korean university students, journalists, and professors.³⁴

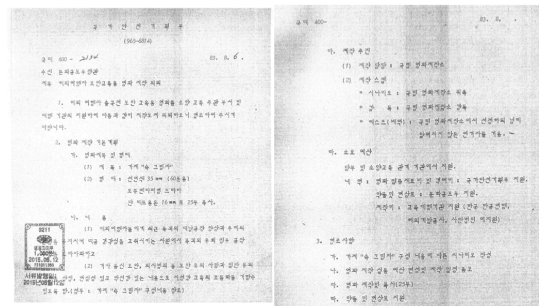


Figure 13. Documents of the Film Production in 1983 (“Request for the Film Production (A Sequel to *Shadow*) of Security Education for Overseas Travelers” by ANSP (1983))

On the other hand, *The Trap* (1983, 60 mins) was produced from November 1983 to February 1984 according to a similar production procedure.³⁵ In addition, the ANSP

³⁴The main film director, Ji-Wan Lee, also produced official documentary films for the 1986 Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympics and participated in the production of *The Scenery of Korea* series (1967) as well. Ji-Wan Lee was a former production director at the National Film Production Center (Ham 2014, 200). The total number of cultural films produced in 1980, when *The Shadow* was produced, was seventy-four, and Lee directed seven of them. He directed many cultural films including propaganda footage and documentary films, and the themes of the films were traditional culture, national heritage, anti-communism, the dispatch of troops to Vietnam, the state funeral of Park Jung-Hee and condolences, and the Asian Games and Olympic Games. He also filmed *Gwangju Incident*. (*Gwangju Incident* is the name the military authoritarian regime used for the Gwangju Democratic Movement in order to diminish the meaning of the democratic movement.)

³⁵Although the film was officially produced in 1983, it was in production until February 1984 according to the production notes. Therefore, the film was possibly utilized for the education program after 1984. In the meantime, the year 1983 needs to be emphasized, as this was the first year of the official liberalization of overseas travel through issuing “the passport for tourism purposes” as of January 1, 1983, even though it was limited to senior citizens over fifty. In other words, at the time of the announcement of the revised guidance plan and the production of the second security film in the 1980s, the type of overseas travel was still limited by the traveler’s occupation and place of residence, and due to the age restriction and budget constraints, these limited types of mobility remained dominant even after 1983. Travelers for tourism were not a big population, considering the total number of people going abroad. Besides, given the fact that most early outbound tourists joined organized package tours, the probability of unanticipated encounters remained low. In addition, the year 1983 was marked by multi-faceted international relations and the rapidly-changing stages of the Cold War, including actual physical confrontations abroad (e.g. the Rangoon Bombing in October 1983 and KAL 007 shot down in September 1983) that complicated South Korea-North Korea relations resulting from the ongoing Korean Cold War. Kim MH (2016, 156) explains such peculiarities of 1983 as the exact opposite

requested “to make the audio-visual education more efficient by providing realistic and dynamic dimensions” and “to recruit unknown actors.” And, as was requested, most of the actors were not widely known figures, and the narrative became more dramatic than in *The Shadow* (1980), as found in the final anecdote utilizing the style of action films. Another difference from the version made in 1980 was the institution that provided support in the production costs. It was handed over to institutions that had taken charge of soyang education of the people going abroad such as the Anti-communism League, *Yejiwŏn*, and the Korean Overseas Development Corporation. The ANSP was now responsible for the payment of encouragement and film material only. A few episodes were added and updated, and the main director, Ki-Pung Kim, was also an employee of the National Film Production Center who previously participated in the production of numerous cultural films, *Daehan News*, and the President’s tour films since the 1970s, which had topics such as national industries, national heritage, anti-communism, and the Saemaoul Movement.

Both *The Shadow* (1980) and *The Trap* (1983) were produced with the same goal of making “security education films for overseas travelers.” Although the specific cases differed, the thematic orientation and production process were very similar. The peculiarity of these films became more apparent compared with the preceding cultural films as well as the changing focus on forthcoming “courtesy education” (*soyang education*) in the late 1980s. *Far Away from Homeland* (1976) and *The Confession* (1976) were targeted toward people both at home and abroad, and the main characters were a Korean American who left his homeland 15 years ago and a Korean Japanese student respectively.³⁶ *Far Away from Homeland* (1976, 60 mins) was defined as a documentary film and was produced

of 1988 in relation to the issue of unification. 1983 was the peak of the so-called ‘Second Cold War’ since 1979 both internationally and domestically.

³⁶Thus far, the context of screening and the visualized outcome have not been found in the archive.

from May to August 1976. It aimed “to instill overseas Koreans with awareness of security by depicting 1) the revisitation of a Korean American who left his motherland in 1961, 2) his facing the development as well as the reality of the security of the motherland, and 3) his psychological processes of changing a negative attitude to a positive one.” It clarified its plan to broadly cover the economic achievements of South Korea of the past 15 years so as to give the “right perception” to “overseas Koreans who are ignorant about domestic situations.” *The Confession* (1976, 50 mins) on the other hand was an autobiographical film of a Korean Japanese man who turned himself in to the police. The content was made to “inform the injustice of the North Korean Puppet’s reunification strategy from his past (experience),” and the actual person involved in the events planned to appear in the film as the main character.

The short history of producing security films demonstrates the system of its operation structure, its expected function, the decision-making process involved, the role of the key players in the production, and the work assignments in which the nation-state, individual actors/actresses and directors were all heavily involved. Its continuity in the objective of filmmaking as well as the content of films were a product of both state management by the persistent authoritarian military regime and the ongoing ideological tension rooted in the Cold War divide.

Concluding Remark

This chapter investigated how state-power framed the others and influenced the formation of individuals’ behavior and gaze as a way of governing the imagination of mobility under the current of liberalization and internationalization. The case of security education films for overseas travelers and the broader education program showed the devices used in the embodiment and internalization of anti-communism imagination/ideology. It sheds light on

how the regime perceived “people” (*kukmin*) and the meaning of educating as its larger context. Audio-visual education was widely adopted as a tool for propagating otherness and attitudes about going abroad. The enlightening education film was utilized as the text, which was gradually replaced by the manual booklets on how to travel abroad and how to behave like an internationalized citizen. This indicates a transition from official regulations as monitoring and censoring by the state to a rather self-regulating and reflecting form of discipline and dispatch. By looking at the content of the films, one can see what kind of subjectivity and otherness was drawn. The significant other was North Korea and its collaborators. The films clarified situations involving unexpected encounters in which travelers (‘we’) must be alert and suggested a guideline for keeping safe in foreign countries. Many other ‘others’ including local people, foreign travelers, and workers in the tourism industry were not included in this story of overseas travel. Foreign culture in general, or even exoticism was not a main concern in this politicized global imagination. The ideological tension was centered on the films, and “North Korea” was deemed a non-negotiable other without re-consideration. In the inescapable changing reality of ‘overseas travel that everyone can participate in and enjoy,’ the state-regime tried to emphasize the dangers ‘that can happen to anyone’. Overseas travel was a kind of gift bestowed by the state that actually conflicted with public opinion, which was increasingly speaking out on the right to have the freedom to move and travel. In this tension and postponement, one can detect both the aspiration and anxiety of the period, which I argue was the dual face of globalization at that time. The individual mobile body was regarded as a mediator through which dangerous things could penetrate into society. The cases in Chapter 4 point to not only another face of the so-called citizen diplomat, but also the bare face of the (post-) cold War period that hid the ongoing regulation and surveillance behind the romanticized anticipation to the opening and new era.

The findings of this chapter unveil the process of othering embedded in the process of internationalization. It shows how education was utilized in the cultural politics of anti-communism as the legacy of the Korean Cold War. By injecting the anti-communist otherness that continued from the Cold War to the post-Cold War period through public education, it continued to limit the possibility to imagine alternative relations with the changing world and others. As such, the mechanism of securitizing imagination was found in the institutionalization of global mobility. As a result, not only the ideological others but also the overall overseas travel and cultural contact in foreign lands were securitized. The mechanism of othering with the method of disciplining and monitoring provide evidence on the ongoing governing technology implemented by the authoritarian military regime and the nation-state's gaze over its people that continued from the 1960s, which underpins the re-structuring and continuation of anti-communist otherness that accumulated in postwar Korean society. In that way, the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous was composed of the nationalistic and anti-communist discipline and regulation and the resistance to that belated governing power.

Table 4. The Characteristics of Each Episode from *The Trap* (1983)

Place	Purpose of Visit	Character (South Korean)	Character (Intermediary)	Character (North Korean)	Place of Encounter	Result
Japan (Tokyo)	Visiting Relatives (Short-term traveler)	Short-term traveler (Female, worked at a textile company in Daegu)	Uncle (Male, Japan resident, owner of Korean restaurant)	Zainichi, Owner of the Korean club (Male)	Korean restaurant	Imprisonment
U.S.A. (LA) (Change from the original scenario)	Business	Expatriate from South Korean trading company (Male)	Delivery of seditious booklets and old friend (Male, U.S. resident)	Acquaintance of friend (Male, South Korean, U.S. Citizen)	Hotel room and a house of North Korean spy	Blackmailed (Due to reading North Korean materials)
Japan (Kyoto)	Business	Trainee (Male, Technology Training program)	None (Direct visit by the Zainichi couple)	Zainichi, Teachers of Chongryon school (Middle aged couple)	At his workplace	Entrapped (Debt)
Singapore	Business	Expatriate from South Korean trading company (Male)	Red Cross (a letter to his mother in North Korea was intercepted)	North Korean ambassador (Male), Spy (Zainichi man)	At the North Korean embassy	Blackmailed and entrapped (for his mother's custody)
Libya	Visiting Relatives	Wife of a Taekwondo instructor (Female)	None	North Korean man	At the hotel (Phone call from the lobby)	Sent back North Korean man and reunion with husband
Singapore	Business	Construction Worker (Male)	Colleague (Male)	North Korean ambassador (Male)	At his workplace and North Korean embassy	Entrapped
Busan, Japan (Kobe)	Seaman	Sailor (Male)	Old Friend (Male, Japan resident)	Executive of Chongryon (Male)	At friend's house and Chongryon office	Arrested at the Busan port
Pakistan (Karachi)	Seaman	Sailor (Male)	None	Two men following Mr. Park	Nearby the workplace	Scared away North Koreans (Heroic)

CHAPTER 5. Molding Post-Cold War Cosmopolitan Subjects through the Nationalistic Tours to Post-socialist Societies (1989–1992)

5.1. The Educative Project of the Eastern-Bloc Student Trip

5.1.1. The Overview of the Trip

As aforementioned, foreign travel in South Korea was allowed only for a limited group of privileged people due to the country's strict visa policy and impoverished economic condition from the 1950s to the 1970s. A limited number of overseas students were key intermediaries that transmitted foreign (travel) experience to their motherland. In the meantime, although the strict passport policy was gradually ameliorated, and the number of "Tourism Visas" issued increased during the 1980s, ordinary domestic university students were not accepted as qualified enough to travel abroad because of an age restriction. Therefore, in 1989, when the opportunity for overseas travel was fully opened to all age groups of the South Korean people by law, the increase in the traveling population was greater in university students, especially those in their twenties.¹ Among the various types of package tours such as honeymoon, pilgrimage, filial, and holiday escape tours for summer vacation, educational trips attracted newly 'released' university students. In this chapter, I will examine one of the educative trips, the Eastern-bloc trip from 1989–1992, as a pinpoint case that epitomized the social change of intensified post-Cold War moments in South Korea as entangled with international transition.

In the atmosphere of "opening the nation" as well as improving diplomatic relations with socialist societies in the late 1980s, thousands of university students were

¹According to data on passport issuance from 1989, the proportion of travelers in their twenties (23.27%) and thirties (26.32%) is higher than for other age groups. (The Secretary for Passport Services. 1990. "Sound Overseas Travel." *Kwanhyup*, May 1990, 4-5) The number of outbound tourists rapidly increased up to 1,213,112 with the highest growth rate, 67.3%, in 1989 (Korean Tourism Organization. 2018. *Korean Annual Statistics of Departure*).

dispatched to the “Eastern world (*tonggukwŏn*)” as student delegates for short-term visits of approximately eight to fourteen days.² The “Eastern world” or “Eastern bloc” indicated transforming socialist societies, i.e. the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern European countries such as Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, and East Germany (Unified Germany after October 1990). The official goal was “to cultivate future human resources for the internationalization era, to promote international understanding, and to comprehend the reality of socialist societies.”³ But it was also widely acknowledged that the actual aim was to re-educate South Korean students who were allegedly inclined to Leftist ideas, namely communism, through exposing them to the actuality – the failure – of socialism. The trip attracted media attention as well as student interest, as the socialist societies were ‘unknown worlds’ that ordinary people from capitalist societies could not even think about visiting.⁴ The socialist societies were lands that South Korean citizens were not allowed to

²This study trip was expanded after its successful first experimentation with three groups to Hungary and China in February and March 1989. After that, the Ministry of Education decided to dispatch 1,000 people every year for five years and also to expand its target not only to students but also to schoolteachers, governmental officials and workers (i.e. *Dong-A Ilbo*. “Ministry of Education Promoting Training Trip to Communist Bloc for 200 Schoolteachers in April.” March 11, 1989). In May 1989, the Ministry of Education established a new organization called the “Planning and Support Team for University Students’ Study Trip to the Communist Bloc” under the Korea Research Foundation, exclusively for this project (*Dong-A Ilbo*. “A Plan to Send 3,000 University Students for a Study Trip to the Communist Bloc.” May 13, 1989). From 1989 to summer vacation in 1991, 8,250 university students and 2,027 professors, 11,224 people in total, joined the program (*Kukmin Ilbo*. “‘Socialism’ when they leave, ‘Capitalism’ when they come back.” September 24, 1991). In addition, self-funded tour programs by individual universities or travel agencies gradually appeared as well, and travel agencies also developed products to satisfy the increased needs of students who were eager to go to the Eastern-bloc. This number exceeded two times over the number of study trip participants to American and Southeast Asian regions. Travel agencies also advertised their programs, attracting customers by saying, “Won’t you taste the fresh wind of Eastern European societies wherein the wave of opening is rising fiercely?” (*Seoul Shinmun*. “‘I want to see directly the scene of drastic transformation of history’: Boom of University Students’ Eastern-world Study Trip.” January 6, 1990)

³Ibid. (*Kukmin Ilbo* September 24, 1991)

⁴According to the students’ essays, the student delegation ran into one another at a number of tourist places such as the duty-free areas at stopover airports, hotels, and other sites and exchanged information. From this fact, one can imagine how much this trip gained

visit, and there was a lack of information about them. However, the popularity of this trip did not continue. The students' strong desire and curiosity to "see the historical scene of drastic transformation firsthand" (*Seoul Shinmun* 1990) evaporated and, instead, students started to gain interest in "the developed and prosperous Western world rather than seeking the Eastern world — 'the country of dead ideology'" (*Dong-A Ilbo* 1992).

Table 5. The Number of Participants in 1989 and 1990⁵

Target and Destination		1989		1990	
Student	China	2,425	2,997	2,891	3,951
	East Europe	358		1,059	
	Russia	241			
Professor	China	332		361	
	East Europe & Russia			240	

The overall process of this study trip started with the selection of student participants by university departments and professors.⁶ Each study trip was organized by

popularity, as many students from different universities were sent at similar times to similar places, which became crowded with these South Korean visitors.

⁵*Ten-Year History of the Korea Research Foundation, 1981–1990*, 160-1.

⁶However, details of the recruitment process remain unclear. It is evident that there was not any open application system or recruiting announcement. According to students' essays and informal interviews with two former participants, their professors and department offices offered them one day to join the trip. Students who were curious about going abroad and, even more, about socialist countries that were either unaffordable or impossible to otherwise travel to accepted the surprising offer. According to the interviewees, offers were often given to students who were involved in student body government, students who had frequently communicated with professors, and occasionally students whose parents were university staff members or those who had 'power'. One of the interviewees mentioned that the tour group was "a mixture of two very different types of students: the participants in student activism and middle-class students who were indifferent to politics and student activism" (Interviewee A, June 13, 2015). This selection of students strengthened the suspicion that the trip's purpose was to re-educate seditious student groups in order to stabilize domestic politics and legitimize the regime. Given the considerable size of the total number of participants, the selection process could have been more systematized and remained in governmental records, but relevant official documents were difficult to find. I could find thirteen government documents in the National Archive regarding the "study trip to the communist bloc" in total. Eight of them were related to recommendations of recipients and the evaluation of the program, concentrated in 1989 and 1990, but the documents were closed to the public, even for research purposes. Such inaccessibility gives the impression that the selection and recommendation process was ambiguous and closed, which also supports the interviewee's comment that the South

the respective university, and sometimes alliance teams were arranged based on regional or disciplinary affinity; for example, a group of education majors, a group from four different universities, and a united team from Gyeongsang prefecture. Each group was composed of twenty-five to thirty members, including students, advising professors, university staff, staff from travel agencies and the Korea Research Foundation, bilingual local guides (often overseas Koreans), and occasionally security officers and news reporters.⁷ Before the tour, students were required to participate in the orientation and training session for one or two nights.⁸ The students held regular self-evaluation meetings during the trip and submitted

Korean government tried to supervise ‘problematic’ university students from their political intentions, regardless of the trip’s actual result and the atmosphere among students during the travel.

⁷The presence of the secret police or a security officer from the Agency for National Security Planning is not mentioned in the essays, news articles, or government documents. Interviews confirmed that they joined the trip and described how they identified themselves and socialized with students. One interviewee (Interviewee B, 2015) told that there was one security officer and one suspicious male journalist in his group. This journalist eventually revealed his real occupation as a secret police officer while drinking with the students, and the interviewee said he often ran into this police officer and said hello at the university protests afterwards. Similarly, another interviewee (Interviewee A, June 13, 2015) recalled that, in his group, there were one or two security officer(s) from ANSP(Agency of National Security Planning) disguised as staff from the Korea Research Foundation. This person’s identity was also uncovered when he confided to the students after getting closer to them during the trip and when a student whose father was in a high position in the police told other students that she knew him well as her father’s friend. Thus, it seems that this undercover plan was not top secret, as it was not well-concealed by the officers themselves and by other circumstances. Nevertheless, it could not be reported officially in the documents or essays, either. This ambiguity indicates that the trip on the surface did not open its hidden agenda of anti-communism education and maintaining control over the students. The self-identification as security officers by the officers functioned as self-regulating gaze for the students when they traveled and met people in socialist countries. Students had to report to the leaders if they had talked to the North Korean students or ran into North Korean people. The presence of security officers was also one of the reasons why the students’ colleagues at their home university thought this trip was very suspicious.

⁸ The orientation course contained general information on destinations, the anti-communism education by the officer from ANSP, and the students’ group work and presentations about the destination or their aims for the trip. A day tour to the domestic industrial site was also included. The main orientation session was held at Kyunghee University, and university orientation was held as well, depending on the university. The function of orientation was to give overall information on ‘the unknown worlds’, to build teamwork before going on the group tour abroad and to remind the participants of the aim

team papers or individual essays after the trip (II-3, II-10).⁹ Selected essays were published in five volumes of essay collections and a book, *Visiting a New Companion, China: Look out at the Wider World, Youth* (Park and Kim 1992).¹⁰ In particular, the earlier participants were often exposed to mainstream media in the form of news reports and special interviews for daily newspapers.

At its initial stage, the travel expenses were fully funded by the Ministry of Education, but the Federation of Korean Industries in fact sponsored them. The Support and Planning Team of the Overseas Study Trip from the Korea Research Foundation under the Ministry of Education took charge of the planning and management of the whole program. Unlike backpacking, this study trip was relatively luxurious, as the participants recalled that the students stayed at four or five star hotels, ate at good restaurants only for tourists, and took chartered buses and domestic airlines to save time.¹¹ Not only was the

of the study trip. The contents of the education not only covered the preparation for the trip such as travel etiquette and guidelines on facilities usage but also the ideology education as if soyang education were repeated. A student noted on the reasoning for the education as follows: “Going abroad is an event that has manifold dangers and a burden follows, so there were lots of points to prepare for as well as compulsory education programs to listen to. As we will be labeled as Korean, every single behavior of ours in foreign countries will be reflective of the entire national people and be closely looked at by the foreigners. Also, because we don’t know from where North Korean spies (vigilantly awaiting our weakness) will be watching us, we have to be aware, get fully ready and be prepared for that situation” (I-5, 61-2).

⁹In this research, the five volumes of essays will be marked as I, II, III, IV, and V. For the number of the essay in each volume, I will use Arabic numerals; for example, ‘II-3’ refers to Vol. II, No. 3.

¹⁰Selected essays were awarded at the ceremony (the grand prize, excellence awards, participation awards, and runner-up), and the best essay writer could get a reward for joining the second trip. It seems that the individual report on the trip to be submitted to the institution was collected in the name of travel essays with rewards.

¹¹Another example was the local hotel’s welcoming hospitality beyond expectations, i.e. playing welcoming music, dinner service being provided after 10 PM at Poland’s national grand hotel (II-14), enthusiastic welcoming and a special placard saying “Greatly Welcoming the Student Delegation of the Korea Research Foundation” (III-10). Students also addressed their uncomfortable feeling and criticized the luxurious treatment, suggesting that was not proper for students and strongly contrasted with the local people’s poor economic situation and shortage of commodities (III-10, III-15, IV-1).

trip sponsored by the government and economic sectors, a unique and privileged aspect of this trip was the students' special positionality as official civil ambassadors, which often resulted in making supralegal decisions for them, as clarified by examples involving visas and special care.¹² Unlike young backpackers and some tourists who improvised their status to get a passport, this study trip's participants did not have problems at border crossings. They were treated exceptionally well at the airport and used special gates (Interviewee B, 2015). At foreign countries, they were considered as special guests both by the hosts and Korean expatriates including the South Korean embassy, businesses, and KOTRA (Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency). The special care given to the student delegation was more apparent in the earlier stages, likely because the tour was conducted before the establishment of official diplomatic relations with socialist countries. In other words, these students were a symbol of public diplomacy in terms of three aspects: first, they had a fundamental connection with the Northern Policy by the South Korean government; second, their ideological orientation to propagandize the superiority of capitalism over communism; and, thirdly, their demonstration of the desirable image of the overseas traveler at that time, namely, the civil ambassador.

The financial support for the Eastern-bloc trip provided by the Federation of Korean Industries raised the issue of the justifiability of this trip and brought suspicion on the government's intention 'to stabilize the system'. The meaning of patronage became doubtful, and it was questioned as to whether the trip was truly necessary to carry out,

¹²The gaze on this trip by other Korean passengers was well noted in the description of the atmosphere when the student delegation landed in Moscow while other passengers were heading to Switzerland. Moscow was a special enough destination to attract attention, and the writer was "elated like a triumphant general" (III-12).

particularly considering the cost.¹³ In other words, the government's drive was strong enough to send students and professors abroad so as to redirect their attention from domestic political issues to the world outside and keep them from being ideologically misguided. However, the purpose of maintaining the regime through ideological guidance was no longer as persuasive. The criticism of this basis and the structure of the trip pointed out the outdatedness of mobility control and the frame of antagonizing the Leftists. The presence of the trip itself demonstrated the government's anxiety and need to re-educate students. However, as demonstrated by the fact that the trip was terminated as soon as the FKI decided to stop funding it, the rationale to continue this political trip was no longer valid in the changing atmosphere of the early 1990s.

5.1.2. The Northern Policy and Civil Diplomacy

To understand the cultural politics of the Eastern-bloc trip, I will draw upon two inter-related substantial contexts: the top-down blueprint of the Northern Policy (Northern Diplomacy) and the question of visiting 'the North (Korea)'. These two temporal backgrounds on diplomatic policy and the social history of border crossing provide the information necessary to grasp the meaning of this trip. They reveal the conflicting and complicated ideological geography in relation to the ideological other called 'the North'.

Diplomatic Normalization and Tourism as Civil Diplomacy

The Eastern-bloc trip was directly influenced by the changing international politics and derived from the international post-Cold War atmosphere after 1985 called the New Detente and the rapid transformation both in Korea and in socialist societies. In the case of Korea, the South Korean diplomatic policy of the late 1980s, the Northern Policy,

¹³“Annual Budget of 60 billion (won)” (*Kyunghyang Shinmun* October 03, 1991); “FKI allocated 40 billion (won) to the Member Companies” (*Dong-A Ilbo* June 20, 1990); “FKI's 40 billion and ‘the Maintenance of the System’” (*Hankyoreh* June 22, 1990)

aggressively took the lead in this period. The Minister of Foreign Affairs first addressed the Northern Policy in 1983 as a new security plan as well as a diplomatic direction for South Korea in the 1980s that aimed at normalizing diplomatic relations with the USSR and China. “The North” not only indicated a geographical direction but also broadly implied the communist countries in general particularly due to the connection with North Korea. It was an expression of a will to take the initiative for Korea’s unification in the future by improving relations with the socialist countries and, in the end, to bring peace to the Korean Peninsula.¹⁴ The policy was then enacted by the Roh Tae-woo administration as an outward policy in pursuit of becoming a part of the ‘increasingly integrated world’ through actively engaging in improving relations with different political regimes.¹⁵ The achievement of the Northern Policy was closely related to the changing geopolitical situation and diplomatic relations in the international post-Cold War atmosphere. The outcome was more vivid after the fall of the Berlin Wall (November 9, 1989) and the collapse of the Soviet Union (December 26, 1991).¹⁶ At the same time, domestically, it could be accelerated due to the aim to host the Seoul Olympic Games successfully through inviting socialist countries.¹⁷

¹⁴National Archives of Korea. “Declaration of Northern Policy.” Accessed October 6, 2015. <http://www.archives.go.kr/next/search/listSubjectDescription.do?id=002824>.

¹⁵It was propelled by the Declaration of July 7, “In Order for the Nation’s Self-existence and the Prosperous Unification” in 1988 by former president Roh Tae-woo. He mentioned six principles of the policy on North Korea and socialist societies: mutual interaction between the North and South Korean people, contact between separated families, the opening of North-South trade, allowance of the trade of non-military goods between North Korea and allied countries, North-South cooperation on the international stage, support for the improvement of U.S.-North Korea and Japan-North Korea relations as well as efforts to improve the relations with socialist countries (Kim MH 2016, 154-5).

¹⁶However, this does not mean that the Cold War was actually ended at this exact period as many scholars pointed out (Kwon 2010; Paik 2015), as the conflicts, tensions, and problems from the Cold War remained in different parts of the worlds, including Asia and South Korea.

¹⁷The post-Cold War transition and Northern Policy affected the atmosphere in domestic South Korean society as described well in one of the columns in a tourism industry periodical. According to this column, “the world is changing too suddenly. People from the

The northward policy brought a number of tangible results. First, infrastructure such as the transportation, telecommunication and postal service systems for trade and cultural exchange were arranged along with increasing trade.¹⁸ Second, diplomatic relations were officially resumed between South Korea and (post-)socialist societies including Hungary (February 1989), Poland (November 1989), Yugoslavia (December 1989), Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania (March 1990), the Soviet Union (September 1990), and China (1992).¹⁹ Third, the two substantial changes mentioned above removed the obstacles to cultural exchange and triggered the increase of intercultural exchange such as tourism. The tourism industry in both South Korea and (post-)socialist countries promptly reacted to these altered legal and diplomatic factors.²⁰ In relation to the Northern

so-called hostile countries that we previously assumed we would never associate with are now leisurely walking around the streets in Seoul, and their products are casually displayed and sold in stores. These are the visible phenomena brought by the Northern Policy” (“Current Issue: Northern Policy and Tourism”, *Kwanhyup* April 1989, 2. written by Choi, The Chair of Center of International Tourism Culture, Professor at Korea Freedom Federation and Yejiwon, Caster for the International Manner at KBS Radio Seoul). The column illustrated and evaluated the rapidly changing atmosphere of the “New Detante” and emphasized the importance of the efforts to improve “Korea Tourism in the World” by enhancing the nation’s competitiveness and encouraging North Korea to open through sustainable and future-oriented northern diplomacy. Widely affected by international circumstances, the Northern Policy functioned as a factor to transform the vernacular experience because of its direct impact on individual bodies and choices in relation to mobility such as tourism and the Eastern-bloc trip.

¹⁸For example, Korean Air embarked on its first flight to Eastern bloc countries in May 1988 in order to provide transportation for a national Hungarian team participating in the Olympic Games. In September 1988, the Soviet Union agreed to allow Korean Air to pass through its territory (*Tourism Yearbook 1988*, 40; 42). The Soviet Union abolished the restriction on the entrance of South Korean citizens, and shortly after the Soviet Union and South Korea resumed postal, telegraph, telecommunication, and telex services (Oberdorfer and Carlin 2014, 319).

¹⁹On the first official president’s tour to the Soviet Union, see the video footage “President Roh’s Official Visit to Soviet Union” (KTV 1991). Accessed October 6, 2019.

http://www.ehistory.go.kr/page/pop/movie_pop.jsp?srcgbn=KV&mediaid=2295&mediadtl=9162&gbn=DT&quality=W.

²⁰Special columns, reports, and news briefs in *Kwanhyup*, the representative periodical for tourism industry, addressed the rising issue of “northern tourism” and its desirable direction. For example, in May and June 1990, a foreign economist contributed a column “Special Reports on the Potentiality of Tourism to the Eastern-bloc”, based on the

Policy and international transition, people in the tourism industry not only saw tourism as an emerging business area but also highlighted its representative role in civil diplomacy. However, “Northern Tourism” was located in a very delicate position “in-between a strong desire to step forward and a very cautious approach by the government”.²¹

As such, one of the crucial ideas in the Northern Policy was its emphasis on civil interaction both as the policy’s original aim and as its consequence; however, this was also a source of contradiction and a limitation of the policy. This limitation occurred due to two reasons: 1) the government monopolizing the route of exchange and contact and 2) the government’s subtle change or withdrawal from its enthusiastic Declaration of July 7. These actions culminated in 3) the relationship with North Korea. Although the official exchange started with diplomatic normalization, it does not mean that nothing was coming or going between South Korea and socialist countries until normalization. There was interaction and exchange to some extent, in particular in business, sports, culture and art sectors.²² An iconic example was the first visit of the Bolshoi Symphony and Moscow

perspective of Eastern-bloc countries. Also, interaction between the Korean Tourism Association and tourism organizations in (post-)socialist countries such as Intourism in Soviet Union and IBUZ in Hungary was easily found. They inspected each other’s tourism facilities and invited one another to promote inbound tourists to their countries (“Inspection to the Tourism Facilities in Soviet Union and the Eastern-bloc”, *Kwanhyup* August 1991, 52).

²¹Adding to this description, the writer for this column addressed that “an ideal direction of northern tourism was to take a complementary role to the public diplomacy and to perceive the decisive momentum of the peace settlement on the Korean Peninsula, detante, and the establishment of the foundation of peaceful unification, beyond satisfying curiosity but for the active exchange in each sector of politics, economics, and culture” (Kim, Jae-woong, “Northern Diplomacy and Northern Tourism”, *Kwanhyup* May 1990, 40).

²²For example, in 1986, South Korea and the Soviet Union had already carried out direct exchanges in trade, culture, art, and sports areas. Because of their alliance with North Korea, the Soviet Union had resisted establishing relations with South Korea for a long time. But in 1973, when Park Jung-hee tried to resume relations with communist countries after the announcement of the South-North Korea Declaration, the Soviet Union started to allow the participation of South Korea in international conferences and sports events held in its territory. After the 1980s, the evaluation of South Korea became more realistic among academic and policy-making people, helping to build an amicable relationship with

Philharmonic Orchestra to celebrate the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games through their performances for the South Korean audience.²³

However, much broader cultural exchange including interpersonal and civil interaction other than in the fields of business, sports, and art were under strict control. A typical example of this restriction was the student exchange initiated by the student community, non-governmental organizations, and universities. The Ministry of Education and Foreign Affairs did not allow South Korean groups to visit communist countries until diplomatic relations were made official, even if two relevant organizations in each country put efforts into mutual communication and obtained valid cultural exchange visas and an official invitation was sent by the host country.²⁴ The rationale for the rejection was that

South Korea for national interests. Thus, in 1986, the Soviet Union decided to expand conciliation economically and politically to encourage trade with South Korean companies by bypassing third-party countries. It also permitted direct exchanges in the fields of sports and culture (Oberdorfer and Carlin 2014, 251-3). In the case of China, economic exchanges existed in the 1980s, and tourism had also been legitimized since July 1988 when a delegation from the Chinese International Tourism Agency visited South Korea and made a mutual agreement on the exchange, even though official normalization in diplomatic relations was not realized until 1992, which was later than other socialist countries (“Northern Diplomacy and Northern Tourism”, *Kwanhyup* May 1990, 40).

²³*Monthly Travel Abroad*, September 1988, 98.

²⁴An example is in 1988 and 1989, when the expectation for increased intercultural exchange demonstrates this contradictory stance of the South Korean government. In September 1988, a student delegation from the Soviet Union visited South Korea for the first time to attend the Olympic Games and travel. This visit was arranged by KISES (Korea International Student Exchange Society) under the ISTC (International Student Travel Confederation), an international organization for student exchange and travel. Forty-two student delegates arrived via Korean Air and visited cultural heritage sites and tourist attractions for ten days. It was also mutually agreed that South Korean student delegates would visit Soviet Union for cultural exchange. KISES was ready to send student delegates to the Soviet Union in February 1989 for a fifteen-day trip to Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Yalta and other big cities under the agreement with ISES in the Soviet Union. The official invitation was sent from the governmental international travel bureau for students SPUTNIK (*Korean Tourism Yearbook* 1988, 42). However, the plan was rejected in the application stage by the South Korean government, which belatedly imposed the principle of “the government’s lead comes first in the case of the Eastern bloc”. This decision brought huge confusion and resistance from the related organizations (*Kyungnyang Shinmun*. “Confusion in the Non-government Level Exchange with the Communist-bloc: Belated Setting up of Guidelines, Strong Repulsion from the

the recruiting process and itinerary of the trip needed to be fully prepared and reviewed through discussion with the Ministry of Education and the dean of the respective universities because it was a large-scale student trip to the communist bloc, with whom foreign relations were not yet normalized. At the same time, the government identified other reasons for the disallowance such as the matter of responsibility in case of unexpected accidents including individual security issues, the matter of the credibility of non-governmental organizations, and concerns about excessive exchanges with the communist bloc. The relevant organizations harshly criticized this decision for its authoritarian measures.²⁵ This case of conflict shows the tension between the South Korean government and civil-level non-government organizations on the issue of intercultural exchange with the Eastern bloc (communist countries). It also demonstrates how the government monopolized the method of participating in the Eastern-bloc trip and the rationale they used for giving permission and for prohibitions. The trip to the Eastern-bloc countries was enacted in this complicated setting of cultural exchange and contact based on the strong intention of public diplomacy by the government, yet not allowing mutual improvement in civil relations.

The top-down regulation over civil exchange and mobility was even stronger in relation to North Korea. As briefly mentioned above, one of the major parts of the Declaration of July 7 was the aim to increase interaction and exchange with North Korea by allowing mutual visits, which could not be actualized. Originally, the Declaration of July 7 from 1988 clarified its first principle as opening the door for visiting freely to both

Organizations”, February 1, 1989). It is worth noting that around this time was just when the first student delegates were sent to the Eastern-bloc countries by the South Korean government.

²⁵Ibid. Accessed September 17, 2017.

<http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?articleId=1989020100329215001&editNo=3&printCount=1&publishDate=1989-02-01&officeId=00032&pageNo=15&printNo=13340&publishType=00020>.

South and North Korea for politicians, businessmen, journalists, religious people, artists, athletes, scholars, students, etc.²⁶ However, this principle was not realized because the mutual agreement was not fulfilled with North Korea unlike other (post-)socialist countries. The relationship with North Korea was more complicated. Every time South Korea resumed economic and diplomatic relations with (post-)socialist countries, North Korea showed great disappointment with their allies, which resulted in the postponement of the normalization and secrecy in the process of agreement making. In the meantime, South and North Korea took some steps towards peaceful coexistence as presented in concurrently joining the UN in 1991 and adopting the Inter-Korean Basic Agreement in December 1992. This effort was reversed by North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT (Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty), as North Korea started to develop nuclear weapons, which went against the Northern Policy. The South Korean government's expectation and final goal of the policy for North Korea's opening and reform through the assistance of other (post-)socialist societies could not be realized (Chun 2011).

Not only intra-Korean relations domestically, but the above-mentioned monopolization by the South Korean government as well as the decision-making process were often criticized as "closed-room diplomacy" led by a limited number of government representatives (Jang 2012). These measures faced domestic criticism by media, the opposition party, and non-government sectors. The case of individuals' so-called "friendship exchanges", unjustifiable defections from the government's viewpoint, and these individuals' punishment exposed power politics and the problem of the government's

²⁶Minister of Culture and Public Information. "For National Independence and Prosperous Unification – Special Declaration of July 7 by President Roh Tae-woo". Accessed September 18, 2017. <http://theme.archives.go.kr/viewer/common/archWebViewer.do?singleData=Y&archiveEventId=0049320197>.

dominant role in civil diplomacy and cultural exchange.²⁷ In enacting the Northern Policy with (post-)socialist countries, the South Korean government and secret envoys chose to monopolize the intermediary role and keep intercultural exchange with Eastern-bloc countries and visits to North Korea under their management, betraying the policy's original ideal and revealing their limitations.²⁸ The university students' Eastern-bloc trip was such an example. As part of the policy, this trip had the very clear goal of guiding the university students' perceptions and knowledge of North Korea toward a desirable and righteous direction with regard to the views on unification, communism, socialist societies, the post-Cold War situation, and the nation.²⁹ Therefore, for the South Korean government, this government-led trip needed to take place prior to other channels and opportunities such as language training courses and cultural exchange programs arranged by non-government

²⁷Lim Su-kyung (a university student who visited North Korea in June 1989) and Mun Ik-hwan (a pastor who visited North Korea in March 1989) are widely known figures who were accused and imprisoned for violating the National Security Law. The different treatment of Lim Su-kyung and Park Chul-Un, who both visited North Korea but only one of whom was accused, demonstrates the "division system" of inter-Korean relations as having the characteristic of "hostile coexistence" (Kim MH 2016, 169-70). This resulted in a so-called 'public security situation' followed by ideological disputes and conflicts between the Roh Tae-woo administration and progressive civil society (Jang 2012, 107).

²⁸Details of the process of diplomatic normalization with the Eastern-bloc countries are written in the biography of this secret envoy, a former minister of political affairs of the Roh administration, *Testimony for the Right History I, II* (Park 2005).

²⁹Park Chul-un, a minister of political affairs who played a crucial role as secret envoy of the Northern Policy, addressed the (South Korean government's) strong inclination for this trip in tandem with the Northern Policy in an MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corp.) news clip. According to the newscaster's script, "Park Chul-un, the minister of political affairs, while attending a meeting with CEOs of the Federation of the Korean Industries today, stated that a bold Northern Policy must continue in the 1990s as well and (the government) must carry on projects such as the Communist-bloc study trip of university students that enables the direct comparison between different regimes so as to achieve the national agreement in relation to the Northern Policy." This shows an emblematic scene of the connections between the Northern Policy, study trips, domestic political drives, and even the patrons behind the scenes, the Federation of Korean Industries ("Chul-un Park, a minister of political affairs says the university students' communist-bloc trip will continue", *News Desk*, December 6, 1989. Accessed September 18, 2017. http://imnews.imbc.com/20dbnews/history/1989/1829048_19354.html).

organizations and individual universities. As seen above, other types of interaction were postponed, and few received permission.

As such, the actual implementation of the Northern Policy was retracted from its initial ambitious and positive posture, partially with the Eastern-bloc countries and largely with North Korea. Due to those limitations, the Northern Policy faced criticism for its regression from democratization and its lack of a democratic, liberal, futuristic approach to the post-ideological era. In particular, it was criticized for its decision-making process, logistics, and repercussions, even though it seemed to be making positive changes and attaining the desired outcomes.³⁰

The Eastern-bloc trip for university students was kicked off as a unique and exceptional case in this domestic and international circumstance, wherein the government strictly controlled intercultural exchange, and visiting socialist worlds was impossible. This did not merely mean a political performance to demonstrate the success of northern diplomacy or the visualized evidence of improved international relations with (post-)socialist societies. The problem of going abroad and visiting unknown worlds was depicted from the beginning of this trip as an extremely sensitive issue for South Korean society, and as a result the students and intellectuals were deemed suspicious and subversive. As previously mentioned, the mobile actors were often considered as dangerous and precarious because they were exposed to ideological contamination. The East Berlin Incident and Lim Su-kyung case were representative examples that strengthened such a narrative. The international geopolitical mood was changing enough to

³⁰Jang (2012, 118) describes this situation and the half-success of the Northern Policy as a result of the “restrictive democratization” of Korean society, which was also found in the Kim Young-sam administration’s Globalization Policy. For the characteristics of how South Korea’s foreign policy is entwined with the contextual change in democratization, see Jang (2012).

initiate the study trip to compare the different regimes. Nevertheless, ‘maintaining the status quo’ was still the main concern for the South Korean government even after the liberalization of overseas travel, as proven by the control over the civil agency’s intercultural exchange with Northern countries and the monopoly over the route of interaction.³¹

5.1.3. Demography, Itinerary, Purpose, and Social Discourses

Participants and Destination of the Trip

The student participants were affiliated with various universities and regions, and the composition of their academic years and majors was also diverse (Table 6). As noted, the trip was planned for at least seven nights and eight days and as many as thirteen nights and fourteen days (in the case of the first frontier trips in early 1989). The destination was largely divided into the China team and the Europe & Soviet Union team. Different student groups participated in this tour program during every summer and winter vacation from 1989 to early 1992. There was a change in the destination countries in tandem with the consequent diplomatic normalization. The sites and cities visited also differed slightly. As there was no direct airline routes to these countries due to the limited diplomatic relations, it was necessary to stop over at third places. Cities in the third countries such as Hong

³¹Another origin of this trip is a number of study trips for youth that emphasized ‘live education’. Examples include *Tapsa* (heritage tourism), *Suhak yǒhaeng* (membership training for elementary, junior-high, and high school students), *Nong-hwal* (voluntary work and holiday tours to rural areas for university students to enhance the mutual understanding between students/intellectuals and *Minjoong* (“people”), *Anbo-tour* (“security tourism”: excursions to historical sites relating to the Korean War), etc. These trips can be understood as a way of practicing history education of that time in relation to the respective theme. The Eastern-bloc trip succeeded the tradition of such organized group tours that combined elements of education, excursion, and strengthening fraternal relationships among the participants. The programs and activities were structured similarly in that they included preparation education, lectures, visits, sharing, and review collecting, for example. Given that most of those tour programs were concentrated on domestic historical sites and intense short-term experiences, the Eastern-bloc trip was an expanded version to overseas countries with the full support of the government.

Kong, Singapore, Osaka, Tokyo, London, Paris, and Frankfurt were selected as stopover destinations, which functioned as the counterparts of socialist cities. Through this comparison, the trip's first aim – the comparison of communism to capitalism – was fulfilled (I-14). During those three to four years, the destination countries underwent political and social upheavals that were entangled with global history (Table 7). The historical events and contingencies were recorded in the travel essays as affective factors for student participants of Eastern-bloc trips. In this sense, the students were indeed the witnesses of global history, in particular with regard to the post-Cold War transition.

	1 st , Summer 1989	2 nd , Winter 1990	3 rd , Summer 1990	4 th , Winter 1991	5 th , Summer 1991	Total
Destinat ion	China (8) Russia & Europe (7)	China (9) Russia & Europe (6)	China (11) Russia & Europe (4)	China (10) Russia & Europe (5)	China (9) Russia & Europe (5)	China (47) Russia & Europe (27)
Year	2 nd year (1) 3 rd year (13) 4 th year (1)	3 rd year (2) 4 th year (13)	2 nd year (4) 3 rd year (8) 4 th year (2) Post-graduate (1)	3 rd year (7) 4 th year (8)	2 nd year (1) 3 rd year (13)	2 nd year (6) 3 rd year (43) 4 th year (24) Post-graduate (1)
Gender	Difficult to identify only by their names					
Major	- Varies from Law to Education, Foreign Language, Medicine, Management, Theology, Nursing, Fashion, Food and Nutrition, Veterinary Medicine, etc. - Humanities and Social Science (46), Natural Sciences and Applied Sciences (25), Fine Arts and Physical Education (3) - Education-related Major (14)					
Region	Seoul (7) Incheon (1) Gyeongsang (4) Jeolla (3)	Seoul (8) Chung- cheong (1) Gyeonsa ng (5) Jeolla (1)	Seoul (7) Gyeonggi (1) Kang-won (1) Gyeongsang (6)	Seoul (7) Incheon (1) Chung- cheong (2) Gyeongsang (3) Jeolla (2)	Seoul (9) Incheon (1) Gyeongsang (3) Jeolla (1)	Seoul (38) Gyeonggi (4) Kang-won (1) Gyeongsang (21) Chung- cheong (3) Jeolla (7)
Total	15	15	15	15	14	74

Table 6. Demographic Information in the Selected Essays³²

³²Given the lack of information about the total number of collected essays, it is difficult to say that these demographic data are statistically representative. However, the composition of the participants in each category is a reliable reference that shows the trip's diversity and trends.

Table 7. Destinations and Global Historical Events

	Period	Destinations	Temporal Issues (Based on the student traveler's records in the essay)
0 (Test -bed)	February, March 1989	- China (Two Types of Travel) - Hungary	
1 st	July, August 1989	- Hungary, East Germany - China - Soviet Union	- Immediately after the Tiananmen Incident (June 4, 1989)
2 nd	January, February 1990	- Poland, Berlin - China (Some cities changed) - Soviet Union	- Shortly After the Fall of the Berlin Wall - Lull after the Tiananmen Incident
3 rd	July, August 1990 (Published in December 1990)	- China - Poland, Bulgaria, Berlin - Soviet Union	- Trip before the Beijing Asian Games (September 22, 1990~) - Direct Airline to China (Shanghai) - Preparation for Hong Kong Handover 1997 - In the Aftermath of the Fall of Berlin Wall (Economic hardship of East Germany and the Issue of Night Security) - South Korea-Soviet Union Secret Summit Meeting - Mass Demonstration in Bulgaria (After December 1989) and Resignation of the President right before the trip
4 th	January, February 1991	- China - Bulgaria, Poland - United Germany - Soviet Union	- Unification of Germany (October 1990) - Aftermath of the Gulf War - Dismantling Socialist Economic Cooperation - Preparation of the Hong Kong Handover - Visits after the Beijing Asian Games - Direct Airline to Moscow - After Roh Tae-woo's Speech at Moscow - Impending European Union (New Customs Inspections Procedure for EC Countries and Other Countries) - Establishment of the South Korean Trade Representatives in China
5 th	July, August 1991	- China - Poland - Soviet Union - United Germany	- See Travel to China (Incheon-Weihai Route) - Coup d'état in Soviet Union and Collapse of Communist Party

Purpose of the Trip and Social Discourses

As noted above, the Eastern-bloc trip was planned to allow students to personally compare different regimes through lived education in communist countries. In its overall orientation, the educational aim was linked with the unification and security education guidelines of the Ministry of Education in 1989 and also with the Expansion Plan in 1981 as discussed in the previous chapter in terms of its characteristic of “control through promoting and nurturing” (Lee 2017).³³ The Eastern-bloc trip was a specific product and branch with a concentrated direction and meticulous programming under the influence of the Expansion Plan and Unification and Security Education, the government blueprints that outlined the overall purpose and direction. The preface of each edited volume explained the purpose of this trip, the achievements, the overall evaluation, the background of publication, and other acknowledgements. As quoted below, one can read that the basic idea of this trip was in line with changes in international society, mainly the decline of ideology and growing economic competition.³⁴ Then, the preface emphasizes the attitude of learning from others’ mistakes as well as the recognition of one’s responsibility as a member of the young generation. The trip was initiated to cultivate this generation, and the emphasis and expectation on this trip was to embrace the duty of youth in the face of internationalization and the fading of Cold War ideology.

In order to establish a wide and diverse perspective for university students who will be at the center of world history in the 21st century, our foundation (Support and

³³Ministry of Education. 1989. *Guide for Unification and Security Education*, Document No. C12M05751, National Archives of Korea; Ministry of Education. 1989. *Guidance Material for Unification and Security Education*, Document No. C13M08269, National Archives of Korea.

³⁴The prefaces in the five volumes were written in a very similar tone and manner, and the preface in the second volume used the direct expression, “by looking around the scene wherein the socialist system is rapidly collapsing”. This sentence reflects the live situation and very temporal issues of the time when the trip described in that volume was conducted (January and February 1990). This dramatic event referred to the fall of the Berlin Wall as a symbol of the end of the Cold War ideological division.

Planning Team of the Overseas Study Trip, Korea Research Foundation) has sent a large group of university student delegates to a number of countries in the world including communist countries such as the Soviet Union, China, and Hungary. Throughout this foreign study trip, we think the students will realize the rapid re-arrangement of international political relations and their dynamics in a cooperative and peaceful way together with vanishing ideology on the one hand. On the other hand, they have probably felt the things we have to do today for the future in the midst of the increasingly difficult international economic environment due to the competition to survive and trade conflicts that occur while pursuing individual interests. As we consider the university students' experiences extremely pure and precious, our team asked them to submit a travel essay after writing about their candid and detailed feelings and resolutions, and we decided to publish selected pieces after a thorough evaluation process. We hope this volume becomes a guideline for the people who newly depart for the overseas study trip or prepare for it. We would like to express our gratitude to the committee members, student participants, and others for their efforts and for fully supporting every aspect of the publication (Preface, *Collection of University Students' Essays* 1990).

As such, the purpose, which was to shape youth's responsibilities in the post-Cold War international society, was shared among the student participants, as many students identified this as the aim of the trip in their retrospective travel essays.³⁵ As quoted in an essay, the trip aimed at “upbringing human resources for the international and opening era, promoting an increase in international understanding, expanding knowledge from the field study, experiencing the reality of liberal democratic countries and communist countries, and encouraging the sense of duty toward the home country and ‘nation’ (*minjok*)” (II-14). Students knew what was expected of them: to awake from the ideological fantasy (i.e. misunderstanding) of socialism, to realize the changing currents of the international environment, and to find ways to contribute to their nation through the lessons of the trip. That was the meaning of “fostering international human resources for the 21st century” (I-11).³⁶ Such expectations, specifically the correction of ideological bias, were particularly

³⁵Given the similar expression in the description of one's motive and goal across different essays, the basic instruction for the overall aim seemed to be provided in the orientation before departure. Students were already highly motivated at the time of departure.

³⁶In the meantime, in addition to the original plan and expectation of the initiators, the student participants had another motivation and expectation. For example, this trip was the first time most of the students had experienced overseas travel. Moreover, it was an even more precious opportunity for them to go to the selected destinations because of financial

high for the first student delegation in February 1989, as was often shown in mainstream media. Mainstream daily newspapers covered their trip via observations, students' self-reports, interviews, and group discussions. The title of such articles indicated what the readers wanted to hear from the students and their experience: "Seeing Is Believing", "Full of Young Fever in the Weekend's Dance Club: The First Travel Report on the Communist-bloc by University Students", and "Group Discussion with Student Delegates to China and Hungary, 'Saw the Superiority of Capitalism with Our Eyes'".³⁷ The underlying theme was the self-reflection and confession about the ideology and the imagination of foreign countries, particularly with regard to the altered understanding of communism. This theme was repeated in the forthcoming news articles whenever a new destination was added, as found in the articles "Group Discussion 'Felt the Limitation of Socialism in the Soviet Union'" (*Dong-A Ilbo*, August 1989) and "Interview on Shipboard, 'Became an Opportunity to Correct the Perspective on Socialism'" (*Dong-A Ilbo*, July 1991).³⁸

As addressed above, the case of the first delegation shows unrefined reactions and the perceptions of South Korean society on this trip as seen in the media coverage of these

unaffordability and political inaccessibility. In other words, through this trip and financial support, the students could go abroad for the first time in their lives and for free. In the travel essays, the actual experiences and impressions of the students are illustrated and provide clues about the overseas experience in transition at that time.

³⁷The page layout is worth analyzing. The second article was arranged in a section called "Plaza of the Youth" next to the article series "Northern Politics in Sports. From Moscow to Seoul." The layout shows the editor's design of the relevant topics, which helps to understand how the issues were mutually related at that time. ("Seeing Is Believing", *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, August 3, 1988, Opinion.; "Full of Young Fever in the Weekend's Dance Club: The First Travel Report for the Communist bloc by University Students", *Kyunghang Shinmun*, March 8, 1989.; "Group Discussion with Student Delegates to China and Hungary, 'Saw the Superiority of Capitalism with Our Own Eyes'", *Dong-A Ilbo*, March 4 1989, Group Discussion/Interview.)

³⁸The former article was written based on an interview with the first student delegates to the Soviet Union, and the title of the next article on the same page was "The Ideological Competition of the 20th Century is Over: Special Issue in British Media Along with the 50th Anniversary of WWII".

three tour groups.³⁹ Mainstream newspapers reported the purpose, schedule, and itinerary of the trip more in detail, and their itinerary, including the moments of departure and arrival, was partially aired on major television news programs as well.⁴⁰ Although each trip was co-planned and led by the relevant university institutes, the Ministry of Education of South Korea was at the center of this project. Owing to the media exposure, the student delegation's behavior during the trip caused criticism. One well-known regular column series severely criticized the students' ignorant words and behaviors as follows.

The report is indeed very shocking, as our student delegates who visited communist China for the first time after the establishment of the government

³⁹The first delegation was divided into three groups and departed one by one in mid-February 1989. At first, twenty-five delegates were sent to Hungary (led by the Research Institute of International Issues in Seoul National University, departed on February 16th). Next, twenty-five delegates went to China (led by the Research Institute of Northeast Asia in Kyunghee University, February 17th). And, finally, twenty-four delegates were heading to China (led by the Chinese Institute in Kunkuk University, February 21st).

⁴⁰The example of a news article is as follows: "This study trip is a trial of the Northern Policy by the government to make university students experience the reality of socialist regimes and to foster their knowledge for actively reacting to the era of opening. The schedule is planned tightly in the format of a study tour. The Hungary team, for fourteen days, will visit Budapest, Technical University, Pesk Medical School, the Shipyard, and the National Gallery. They will transit at Berlin, Frankfurt, and Paris to have a chance to compare (Hungary) with the Western world. China group 1 and 2 will visit cultural heritage sites in Shanghai, Suzhou, Beijing, Xian, and Guangzhou as well as Chinese universities such as Peking University, Renmin University of China, and Shanghai University. The discussion session on Korea-China relations and the cultural exchange with Chinese students at PKU are also planned. The Ministry of Education plans to implement more actively other study abroad exchanges with the communist bloc including study tours according to the result of study tours this time" ("University Students' First Study Tour to the Communist bloc", *Dong-A Ilbo* February 16, 1989). As to the television news reports, see MBC. 1989. "Departure of the University Student Delegation for Hungary." February 16, 1989. Accessed September 17, 2017. http://imnews.imbc.com//20dbnews/history/1989/1819051_13402.html; MBC. 1989. "Return of the University Student Delagation from China." March 4, 1989. Accessed September 17, 2017. http://imnews.imbc.com//20dbnews/history/1989/1819582_13402.html; MBC. 1989. "Expansion of the University Students' Study Trip to Communist Countries." March 9, 1989. Accessed at September 17, 2017. http://imnews.imbc.com//20dbnews/history/1989/1819731_13402.html; MBC. 1989. "'Diagnose 89', China and Hungary from the Eyes of University Students", March 9, 1989. Accessed at September 17, 2017. https://imnews.imbc.com/replay/1989/nwdesk/article/1819732_30389.html.

asked ‘Do PKU students also protest?’ and ‘Is there also a gap between the rich and the poor in the socialist country as well?’ in the discussion session with PKU students. We hope they get the knack of communism and grasp at least a part of the idea about its actuality from this beneficial study tour (“Ignorance”, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* February 24, 1989).

As such, the students’ ‘misbehaving’ and ‘ignorance’ were also viewed by the public, as the journalists and security police officers occasionally accompanied them. The student participants were in a sense under certain types of surveillance by the people in their home country who were very curious about and keen to what they saw and how they talked and behaved in the socialist countries, which few others could go to. Assumedly, such circumstances operated as self-regulating tools for students by guiding them to behave properly as representative civil ambassadors and ideal youth.⁴¹

Such comments and high attention, functioning as the surveillant eye upon the student participants, recurred in the following trips as well, yet with a different nuance. This ongoing criticism can be identified as having two types: 1) criticizing another version of the ‘Ugly Korean’ discourse and 2) criticizing commercialism as an inauthentic touristic behavior. Both patterns were also prevalent in the criticism of overseas travel in general by pointing out the negative side of mass tourism as more problematic in the case of going abroad because it could spoil the national image and damage the economy. Thus, two different gazes upon overseas travelers were herein projected: one by the domestic citizens and the other by the local people in another country, including overseas Koreans and other

⁴¹The high moral standard and judgemental comments on this trip were closely related to the expectation of the students as members of a young generation, as seen in the reader’s opinion section in the daily newspaper. The contributor was doubtful about the current situation “wherein the violence and endless ideological conflicts were damaging the academic environment and diminishing the freedom of the university.” Thus, he was very supportive of a trip that would lead students to learn the reality of communism, agreeing that it is “the time to turn our eyes to the world”. He also expressed his expectation for students to gain the ability and flexibility needed for international change and the right wisdom for the future (“Welcoming the Students’ Trip to the Communist bloc. We Hope They Learn of the Fluctuating International Political Situation”, *Kyunghyang Shinmun* April 17, 1990).

travelers. In other words, the problematic tourist behaviors were the by-product of increasing overseas travel after the full liberalization of overseas travel, and in the case of the Eastern-bloc trip, the ill-mannered and consumption-oriented touristic behaviors were not allowed and were even more highly criticized than that of the ordinary tourists because of the trip's purpose as a political study tour that was officially supported by the government.⁴²

Table 8. Opinion Poll on the Perception Change Before and After the Trip⁴³

Question		Before	After
ROK (Republic of Korea) is...	A Good Country to Live in	18%	63%
	A Bad Country to Live in	39%	4%
Preference of Regime	Liberalism	86%	94%
	Communism	14%	6%

Nevertheless, in its earlier stage, the trip was mainly evaluated as successful, particularly in terms of the perceptual change as to the other ideological regime and the home country from the government's viewpoint. This achievement was made possible through the modification of routes and programs as well as the students' self-regulation on their behaviors abroad, as they were followed by the monitoring gaze. As shown in Table 8, the change was found to be remarkable with regard to the affection for the home country

⁴²Two news reports show reactions in which a number of criticisms were combined such as the students' excessive and impulsive consumption and their lack of etiquette and knowledge. It was assumed that such behaviors would harm the national reputation and had already distorted the original purpose of the Eastern-bloc trip amidst the growing traveler population in (post-)socialist societies. Thus, the reporters eventually began to question the value and meaning of the trip, as seen in the following: "It is definite that the trip as civil diplomacy will increase the friendship between both countries, however..."("[Journalist's Eye] 'Gullible People' in the Soviet Union as well", *Hankuk Ilbo* July 20, 1990); "Anyhow, I don't think that the students gained any precious lessons. Well, it might be a bit helpful for them to broaden their international perspective, but didn't it end up with 'shopping and sightseeing' by immature university students?" ("[Spot Memo] Shopping Study Trip", *Segye Ilbo* July 22, 1990)

⁴³Jeong, Han-ro. 1990. "The Achievement of University Students' and Professors' Trip to the Communist Bloc" in *Education Administration 100*, April 1990, 45-7.

after the trip.⁴⁴ Taking into account the possibility that the respondents would be unlikely to fill in the questionnaire about their interest in communism from the beginning, the decrease in their preference to communism and increase in liberalism were also fairly notable. The result of the data was also supported by the students' confessions and self-reflections in other interviews, travel essays, and news articles.⁴⁵ What is more noteworthy here is the questionnaire itself, which was arranged by the organization in charge of the study tour program. Two questions selected in the report demonstrate that the main concern of the organizer was the evaluation of affection for the home country and the preference of regimes.

Despite the positive self-evaluation by the government, the criticism of the trip's ineffectiveness and the loss of the uniqueness of visiting post-socialist worlds had an impact on the trip's sustainability, and shortly after the trip disappeared suddenly. The question on ineffectiveness dealt with two aspects of effectiveness: first, its viability to satisfy the original purpose, and second, the trip's thematic and temporal appropriateness, as it was losing its persuasive power in the midst of declining ideological confrontation at that time. In the meantime, as the increase in tour packages to Eastern-bloc countries and the vanishing barriers to overseas travel in general demonstrated, the Eastern-bloc trip was no longer as unique and attractive as before. The withdrawal of financial support by the Federation of Korean Industries verified the altered status of the trip. The trip was managed with a yearly budget of approximately 60 billion won that was comprised of government contributions (app. 50 billion won) and FKI donations (app. 63 billion won),

⁴⁴It should be noted that the document was written by the relevant administrative department of the Ministry of Education to make a report for self-evaluation of the trip.

⁴⁵Of course, there is a possibility that the students hid their inner thoughts to satisfy the interviewer and supporter, as most of the data were collected by the government, and the news articles written used their real names and were open to the public. However, it is difficult to distinguish to what extent their answers and change in mind were real.

which assumedly covered the expense of the trips from 1989 to the summer of 1991. However, the donations from the FKI stopped in 1991, and, consequently, the Eastern-bloc trip could not survive any longer.⁴⁶

5.2. Negotiating the Ideological Geography of Socialism and Socialist Societies

The route and activity of the Eastern-bloc trip (Table 9) was tightly arranged to maximize the impact of the short stay. Students complained that the schedule was too tight and superficial for them, and they were “scratching the surface only” (III-10, 222; III-12, 247), as the student delegates not only visited widely known tourist attractions but also went to specific sites arranged only for them. The itinerary encapsulated the planner’s intention, integrating what they wanted to show to the students and how they devised the narrative of the tour. This set of sites and activities constructed a “touristic matrix” in which “the tourist world is complete in its way but is constructed after the fashion of all worlds” that functioned as a “representation of reality” (MacCannell 1999, 50-1). In the tourist matrix, each tourist attraction is connected with one another, weaving a narrative, and the tourist understands the destination society from these inter-woven attractions and meanings. Thus, analyzing tourist attractions and their arrangement is, in other words, a way of dismantling the tourist’s understanding of the local. In the case of this study trip, the placeness and “the matrix” were built upon two levels: the first was on the level of specific attractions according to the thematic characteristics, and the second was on the regional level according to geographical divisions including cities and countries. In every case, each place, city, and region played its own role in the entire tour program, which was dedicated to building a narrative.

⁴⁶“‘Socialism’ When They Leave, ‘Capitalism’ When They Come Back.” *Kukmin Ilbo*, September 24, 1991.

Specifically, the destinations can be categorized into 1) historical sites including cultural heritage sites from the ancient world and sites of historical incidents in modern and contemporary history, 2) industrial sites as indicators of the current economic and labor situation in comparison to that of South Korea, 3) academic fields such as university libraries and special lectures, and 4) ethnic Korean enclaves and vestiges of Korean history.⁴⁷ In other words, in a single tour program, three themes were heavily emphasized: patriotic nationalism, modern socialism, and world history. The storytelling was not only built upon themes, but also temporal axes following the narratives of the past, the present, and the future.⁴⁸

Before this trip and the relevant political change, the shared tourist imagination of the Eastern worlds was “frozen lands (where people cannot live)” and “unknown worlds” that the students had only “heard of through words” and could barely reach.⁴⁹ “Unknown worlds” occasionally referred to the world outside in general that was strange to domestic Korean people. Such unknownness was maximized as an allegory in the cases of Eastern-bloc countries because these countries were both “tabooed”, “buried”, and “veiled” due to the Cold War (IV-4, IV-6, V-2). Going “abroad” for the first time and to a country that “was not really known to (their own society)” therefore gave both a “thrill and fear” to the students at the same time (I-6, 79; IV-4, 53, 98). Such fear operated through a different nuance with respect to the Eastern-bloc trip in that the fear indicated not merely the

⁴⁷The lectures at destination universities were commonly based around the following themes: a brief history of the university, a general history of the relevant country, the opening and reform policy, and the relations with South Korea.

⁴⁸Students often divided the places into museums referring to the past, markets to the present, and the university to the future (II-2; I-3, 40).

⁴⁹Three phrases, i.e. “frozen lands”(II-6, II-14, IV-4, IV-14), “unknown worlds”(I-10, II-1, II-8, II-12, II-14, III-1, III-7, III-8, III-15, IV-1, IV-4, IV-6, IV-10, IV-11, V-2, V-5, V-8, V-10), and “heard of through words only” (I-14, II-7, II-10, III-5, III-12, IV-11, V-6) were repeatedly used in different essays.

unacquaintedness but also the ideological differences. This feeling of fear often culminated at the time of arrival and diminished as time passed by.⁵⁰

In this section, I will analyze the tourist experience of student delegates in the “unveiling” (V-2, 35) of Eastern-bloc countries by mainly focusing on how the meaning of “Eastern-worlds” was composed in the given tourist matrix. Abandoning the limited former imagination, the bodily experience of the real society changed students’ prejudices about those societies, their ideological understandings, and their worldviews (and sometimes re-framed them with new stereotypes). The narrative built upon such a matrix disclosed the revised understanding of socialist worlds while documenting the transforming post-ideological scenery from the student delegates’ perspective. From this scrutinization, I will clarify the negotiating of global understanding at that time and argue that the temporal and spatial meaning of socialist worlds, in which the global imagination of the transitional post-Cold wartimes was condensed, was in fact a multi-faceted and multi-layered synthesis. I will classify those multi-layered dimensions as follows: 1) on socialism and its betrayal, 2) on socialist societies and their divergence and heterogeneity, 3) on nation-states and nationhood, and 4) on post-Cold War historical events and the imagined global community. Finally, I will discuss the subjectivity and otherness possibly formed from this revised understanding of the world and international change, i.e. an emerging cosmopolitan subjectivity as a narrative effect and the result of this trip.

⁵⁰Also, as years passed by, the unacquaintedness of socialist societies was reduced as well along with the relatively settled post-Cold War atmosphere and the increase in information.

Table 9. Exemplary Route and Destination

Destination Country		Exemplary Route
China ⁵¹	Course 1. Southern China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beijing, Shanghai, and one or two more cities • (Hong Kong / Weihai) Shanghai (Provisional Government, Lu Xun Park, Shanghai International Cemetery, University and Dormitory, Dance party at hotel, Nanjing Road, Family visit) – Suzhou – Hangzhou (Cruise ship, Factory, Tea Farm, Temple) – Shanghai – Beijing (University, Summer Palace, Forbidden City and Palace Museum, Tiananmen Square, Asian Games Stadium) – Great Wall of China, Ming tombs – Wangfujing Street (– Osaka) • One or two cities among Nanjing, Qufu, Chengdu, Xi’an, Zhengzhou, Jinan, Wuhan instead of Suzhou or Hangzhou • Nanjing (Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, Yangzi River Bridge, Farm village, Nanjing Univ., not always, Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall), Qufu (Temple of Confucius, Farm Village), Chengdu (Dujiangyan, Farm Village), Xi’an (Terracotta Army, Stele Forest, Huaqing Pool, Jiao Tong University), Zhengzhou (Yellow River, Farm Village), Jinan (Yellow River, Farm Village), Wuhan (Yangzi River Bridge, University)
	Course 2. Northern China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beijing, Shanghai, and one or two more cities • Shenyang (Market, Factory, Liaoning Provincial Museum) - Yanbian (Yanji, Longjing, Tumen River) - Baekdu Mountain) – Changchun (National Film Studio, Ethnic Korean Art Center, Automobile Factory), Harbin (Heilongjiang University, Unit 731 Museum)
Europe ⁵²	Hungary	(Anchorage Airport – Frankfurt) – Budapest – Lecture (University) – Magaret Island (Opera “AIDA”) – Lecture – Monument, Cathedral – High-end Restaurant (Dinner) – Discussion at Hotel – Luncheon (with Korean Embassy, Korean Expats and Journalist – Collective Farm – Cruise Ship (Danube River) – Market – National Art Gallery (- Frankfurt)

⁵¹For the China course, other than Shanghai and Beijing, touristic cities such as Suzhou and Hangzhou were included in the earlier stage, but such well-known touristic areas were gradually replaced by places that had special historical meanings either to Chinese history or to the Korean people. This new course was articulated with Korean history on three levels: first is the modern history of the independence movement in Manchuria, second is the Korean diaspora in Northern China as contemporary evidence of the first history, and third is the nationalistic places across the history of Korea, from the ancient Goguryeo period to the South-North division at present. A national travel agency called “China International Travel Agency” (I-9) managed the tour in China.

⁵²The trip to Europe mainly involved visiting Western European cities, i.e. London, Paris, Berlin and one more German city, and a Eastern European country (Poland, Hungary, or Bulgaria, mainly to the capital) or the Soviet Union. In the case of Paris and London, the itinerary was filled with popular tourist attractions of historic and cultural sites that contemporary tourists constantly visited as must-go-to places of those cities. This was very superficial, short-term sightseeing so that no personal intercultural interaction or cultural exchange could interrupt the original plan. However, this did not mean that the students obtained no lessons from it.

Poland	University of Warsaw, Fabric Factory, Collective Farm, National Department Store, Palace of Culture and Science, Old District (Marie Curie Museum, Chopin's House), KOTRA Office
Bulgaria	Sophia (Karl Marx University/Sophia University, KOTRA Office)
Soviet Union ⁵³	Moscow Kremlin, Red Square, Lenin's Tomb – Moscow State University/ Minsk State Linguistic University – GUM (Department store), Circus, Space Museum
Germany (West Germany and United Germany)	Frankfurt – (Automobile Factory) – Platz and City hall, Goethe-Haus – Korean Restaurant – Cruise (Rhein River) – Lorelei Hill – Heidelberg (University, Bridge, Famous Restaurant) – passing East Germany to West Berlin (by train) – Berlin (Berlin Wall, Berlin Victory Column, Reichstag building, Olympic Stadium, Brandenburg Gate, Potsdam Platz) - Dachau concentration camp, Munich (instead of Heidelberg)

5.2.1. On Socialism and its Betrayal

As intended, presuppositions about socialism were modified to a large extent. These shifts appeared in two ways: 1) witnessing the contradiction and irony of socialism/communism and 2) discovering new images and softening prejudices. These alterations complimented each other in functioning to make the new perception of socialist worlds (truly) outdated, thus leading to a (rapid) transformation. Touring themes of socialism's actuality were largely divided into two categories: the hardship of life as portraying a dark economic situation and the transforming opening and reform policy in pursuit of a better future. The methods of learning were lectures and seminars, informal talks with local people, official visits to workplaces (factories, collective farms) and houses (farm village), and free time roaming the markets and department stores. By comparing these activities with similar experiences in capitalist societies, the students became aware of 1) the hardship in everyday life worlds as evidence of communism's failure and 2) the strong drives of local people to reform. Such changes in the students' viewpoint were more than welcome to the organizing side, as this is what was expected. The "shock" the students received from the reality of communist countries was the most vivid description of the current situation of

⁵³The national travel agency, Intourist, was in charge of management of the travel.

communism that ordinary domestic South Koreans could not reach. The words from the student delegates therefore had an impact on the South Korean audience and mass media who were curious about their experience, even before the departure. Therefore, the students' experience functioned as a testimony on communism as was often touched on in the media coverage of the trip. To the organizers, spreading news on the trip and students' experiences of what they saw and how they felt were effective tools for promoting the end of ideology and national pride as a capitalist country.⁵⁴

Combined with two touring themes on socialism's actuality, the revised perception of socialism appeared in two forms as abovementioned. To start with the first category of the revised understanding, namely, witnessing the contradiction and failure of socialism, three features: social disorder, inequality, and totalitarian control were highlighted in the students' experiences. The students thought this actuality revealed the decline as well as the problem of socialism. First, the students comprehended the collapsing economy of socialist societies through their first-hand observations of the destitution, social disorder, and cynical responses of the local people. Many episodes involved the shortage of daily necessities; the low quality of amenities and facilities at (prestige) hotels and in transportation; long queues in every place(V-4); the black market; illegal dollar dealers(II-6); "around ten-year-old kids asking for cigarettes, gum, and chocolates in English in front of the hotel and phone calls to the room for selling jeans, sneakers, and dollars in clumsy English" (II-15, 255); a protest of Polish farmers on the road; people in slum areas asking for money; people recycling the bottles thrown away by tourists; the wastepaper-like ruble bills (III-5); Hungarian soldiers who also had jobs as part-time workers for the opera

⁵⁴As an example, see the article "University Student Delegation Shocked by the Reality of the Communist Country" (*Dong-A Ilbo*, March 28, 1990), which wrote about the essay collection after the presentation of students' experiences.

AIDA (I-3, 37); a professor who also worked as a taxi driver (I-11, 152); etc.⁵⁵ These scenes on the street and in the market represented “the present” of socialism (II-2, 23). The chaos was often experienced at tourist places such as hotels and popular touristic sites and escalated as time passed by. For example, as noted in one of the fourth-year students’ essays, a bribe (Marlboro cigarettes) was necessary when entering the immigration office, and the hotel waiter approached to ask for change for a dollar at breakfast time (IV-9).⁵⁶ This fact revealed the increasingly aggravated economic condition wherein the local people became more desperate and blatant.⁵⁷ In a sense, the student-tourists were able to witness at the forefront the influence of the capitalist economy at probably the most commercialized places called “touristic spaces” that were targeted at foreigners. As a student put it, “although I often heard that there is a shortage of daily necessities in the socialist country, witnessing it with my own eyes, it is inevitable for socialism to correct its direction” (II-11, 192-3). These vivid life struggles left a strong impression on the students,

⁵⁵In an essay, a writer described the scene “as if the department store were selling a line, wherein the number of people exceeded that of products.” The writer thought this long queue would sharply hurt the national pride of the Russian people because the foreigners (the dollar guests) were allowed to cut the line legally, whereas the local people with rubles had to wait for long hours (In Soviet Union, V-4, 64-5). In another essay, the illegal dollar dealers were described: “From the hotel employer to the manager, the manager of the restaurant, university students, and even to a kid who wanted us to exchange dollars because with rubles, it was impossible to buy any foreign goods and imported products of good quality” (II-6, 120).

⁵⁶Former participants often gave advice to prepare Malboros and stockings, which would be extremely useful for presents or tips (I-2). Even a police officer asked a bus driver for a pack of foreign cigarettes instead of paying a fine (II-2, 20).

⁵⁷It seems that the situation became more severe as described in a third-year student’s essay on the trip in summer 1990. According to one essay, in a meticulous description, “At this moment, I cannot sleep, as someone keeps knocking on my door from outside. They must be the same kinds of people who were reluctantly kicked out before. I wonder how they knew, but the illegal dollar dealers were extreme (in their approach) from right after our arrival. [...] So we pushed them apart, then they asked to sell us anything, for which we could pay as much as we wanted. Instead of selling, we gave them toothpaste, soap, stockings, and cosmetics as presents. They gave a big smile and thanked to us, but just the same as before, they asked again for a dollar exchange. [...] After we sent them back, another group of people pestered us again, and we couldn’t pull them apart. I also felt sad at their fading pleas filtering in (to my room) from the door that I reluctantly closed” (III-5, 57).

as they dismantled the idealism that some students vaguely had in their minds. Thus, some students at the university lecture questioned if the opening and reform were truly necessary and whether there would be any possibility of or value in restoring socialism. The straightforward answers by the lecturer and a local student to students “who were mentioning the original texts (of Marxism)”, was an “abbreviation that explains the economic situation”. To cite the answers, “Marx and Lenin are people from a hundred year ago, but not ones from the present times” (IV-14, 276) and “Do we have to verify the failure of socialism again? It is already enough with the previous experience” (III-12, 249).⁵⁸ As addressed in the essays, socialism indeed failed, and the student visitors were facing its ramifications.⁵⁹

Second, images of equality existing through ideal socialism were also questioned and abandoned after observing the inequality in the actual socialism, which they had never imagined existing. The gap in salaries depending on occupation, the existence of a privileged class in the communist party, and the gap in the quality of life between the rich

⁵⁸For the second anecdote, the vice-president of a university in Bulgaria affirmed in consecutive questions such as “Shouldn’t the correct understanding and management of socialism be your (country’s) alternative? You told us South Korea is your ideal path, but is the conflict between labor and management also your ideal path? And etc.” The vice-president, adding to the aforementioned answer, said, “Capitalism is not heaven, but it is the only realistic option.” From such testimony by the local people, the writer felt as if “the X mark was imprinted on the statue of Marx, the symbol of the university, a long while ago” (III-12, 249).

⁵⁹It has to be noted that sometimes the economic system and political ideology were not clearly defined in students’ essays. The terms socialism and communism were often confusing in usage, too. This was hardly divided, but the socio-political aspects (such as social control, uniformity, the totalitarian system, and one-party dictatorship) and the economic aspects (such as the emphasis on equal distribution and common ownership of the means of production) were mingled together in the lexical use of socialism. Communism or communist countries, on the other hand, were used in the official title of the trip given by the Ministry of Education, and they also tended to appear when citing the fear of visiting communist countries upon arrival. In this sense, communism and communist countries seem to be used with a connotation of hostility or hostile others. In this research, I translate the term in English as it was originally written when I quote the travel essay and try to use ‘socialist society’ in citing the Eastern-bloc countries in general because of its neutral implication in use, unlike communism.

and the poor (I-9, I-15) were evidence of inequality. The students thought these capitalistic elements were ironic in a socialist society. As they often had a fantasy about an equal society, the reality betraying such an image disappointed them. In addition to the poor economic condition, such observations even engendered the suspicion that the system led to an “equally poor society”, rather than “building socialism wherein the workers receive respect and everybody is equally living well” (II-5, 80). In the meantime, some students developed a more elaborate perspective on the society’s problems by distinguishing the problems as having different origins, for example, a problem unique to China, issues brought by the reform policy, problems imported from capitalism, and problems embedded in communism (IV-2). In general, the previous imagined and romanticized expectations of socialism became no longer persuasive to these witness-students.

Also, the social control in these societies was regarded as an ongoing negative aspect of socialism that reinforced the previous understanding of socialist regimes. Students recognized the control, and the functioning of this control was felt as a certain impression rather than clearly explained. For example, as a number of essays addressed, the students felt that the intercultural exchange and face-to-face interaction with local students were intentionally constrained by the organizers. Even though visiting universities was a mandatory part of the trip, the organizing side kept repeating that interaction could not occur, which made students more eager to approach the local students in informal ways (II-9).⁶⁰ In these informal talks with local students, particularly with Chinese students, the South Korean students received an impression that the local students were reluctant and very cautious about making any comments on political issues (II-9). Meanwhile, in the

⁶⁰The often-given excuse for the absence of intercultural student exchange was the students having to return home for vacation. However, South Korean students could easily notice this as a lie from the large number of bicycles in front of the dormitory and the students in the library or by running across local students on the campus.

Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union, local students were rather enthusiastic to talk with the South Korean students and to criticize socialism's failures and express their opinions on the opening and reform policy. On the other hand, some observant students paid close attention to the freedom of expression (II-5) and religion (II-10) in the destination society.⁶¹ Similarly, the trip also left the impression that the tour destinations selected by the local governments were hiding their weak points in order not to embarrass themselves and only to promote well-arranged attractions (II-12). However, such destinations, i.e. farm villages and factories, suggested that it propagandized only the bright sides of communism.⁶² This observation gave the students a strengthened image of social control and propaganda as the main characteristics of totalitarian societies. This led them to accept the limitations of socialism and admit its failure. This tour of inspection changed the idealized imagination of socialism the students had brought with them on the trip.

On the other hand, the superficially mediated image of socialism/communism was often replaced by new discoveries about daily lives in socialist societies. The student delegates were surprised by the societies' liveliness and social dynamism amidst the rapid transformation toward opening and reform. The universal commonality and the indicators of social change in socialist societies changed the prejudices of socialism and built

⁶¹This student thought it was media control over television programs that "glorifies the achievement of the People's Liberation Army that fought against imperialism (Europe, Japan)" and "utilizes 'Western movies' to attack the law of the jungle in capitalism" (II-5, 90).

⁶²For example, the model housing of a retired factory worker, who was also a party member, and that of a high-level engineer were furnished with a Japanese television, fan, refrigerator, audio equipment, with good living conditions, a high pension and low rent. However, the visitors questioned the gap between such things and the backstreets of the city. An "absurd anecdote is that we asked (them) to operate the Japanese television on the suspicion whether it was really usable" (I-9, 127) is an illustrative example of such doubts.

relatively positive images beyond the outdated images of socialism.⁶³ The unexpectedly liberal and vital atmosphere surprised the visitors, as this was contrary to preconceptions about the socialist regime's rigidity, de-personalization, and closed totalitarian system (III-14). The lively atmosphere on the street and market, colorful clothes, bright faces of the local people, and vigorous commercial activities were far from the conventional images of communist countries.⁶⁴ In another anecdote, a student paid attention to the slogans hanging on the wall of the factory. In contrast to one's expectations of ideological slogans about communist propaganda, the messages were "Safety First", "One Child Only", and "Let's Work Hard" (II-9, 158), which did not seem related to political ideology or different from South Korean society. Such observations gave the students a sense of disharmony, as it did not fit the image of communism/socialism they had before.⁶⁵

Such observations on everyday life and the people dwelling in (changing) socialist cities reminded the students of the universal nature of human life and basic needs beyond ideological differences. In other words, the universality of human lives was re-discovered through the trip, and the Eastern worlds provided an opportunity to re-consider not only the meaning of ideology but also the commonalities across different societies. As mentioned, this came with observing daily routines, the vitality of the morning times in the city, the

⁶³It is important to emphasize the fact that both positive revisions and negative reinforcement existed at the same time as part of the double-sidedness of the transforming socialist societies.

⁶⁴To cite a typical description in the students' essays, "I thought that everything would be under control and managed (thoroughly) by the plan, but I felt it was not. I remember unexpected sites such as couples dating at the park and playing card games on the street," along with "the novel fact that the Chinese people could travel freely" (I-12, 159). The lively atmosphere of the market, such as opening business very early in the morning and actively approaching consumers, also showed the visitors the dynamism and commercialism of the society. The commercial activities often included selling and consuming foreign music, adult magazines, and prostitution (IV-1).

⁶⁵This observation may seem contradictory to the previous illustration on the remaining social control, but herein, the vitality stemmed from the people, whereas the control originated from the regime itself and external factors such as the ruling political party.

leisure time at the park, and the warm hospitality of the local people. Students found them similar with their own society and sometimes more humane, as such humanity was regarded as disappearing in the developed capitalist society.⁶⁶ The value of universality thus was a lesson from re-visiting socialism, as a student noted, “their lives are just like ours. ... There is no ideology beyond human beings” (II-12, 244).⁶⁷ This experience had a direct impact on the students’ prejudices and gave a new impression of socialism and socialist societies that often expanded from cosmopolitan empathy (Beck 2006) to cosmopolitan vision in the students’ minds.

In addition to this discovery of universality, the South Korean students paid keen attention to the changing landscape of opening and reform such as the local students’ interests, the cityscapes, salient foreign brands, the increasing business activity of South Korean companies, the growing number of foreign tourists and students, the commercialization of the mass media, etc. To be more specific, the student delegates thought the popular majors at Peking University such as business management, economics, and applied science indicated the students’ desires as well as the society’s interests for the future (I-12).⁶⁸ A map of the U.S.A., not a map of China or a world map, was hanging on

⁶⁶In this sense, as is often found with tourist experiences, the nostalgic gaze and seeking for authenticity in underdeveloped societies appeared in the travel essays on the Eastern-bloc trip as well. In an extreme way, this viewpoint of othering was another orientalist gaze that assumed the local culture as underdeveloped and uncivilized in comparison to life in South Korea as developed and civilized due to its economic growth. Another orientalist view was found in the expression, “China was closed, locked in the Bamboo Curtain” (IV-3). Such orientalist views of communist countries were based on the perception of self as superior both politically and economically (I-6, 84).

⁶⁷In a similar vein, another participant described how, “In the end, it is every human being’s tiny movement leading the era that makes history, not the idea or ideology that defines and guides history. It is the mind and effort that is more important; the mind and effort aiming to cultivate a peaceful world where (people) can live like humans and freely, not the mere comparison of superiority” (II-6, 120).

⁶⁸According to an informal conversation of a South Korean student with the Chinese students on the question of “What do you want the most?” a Chinese student answered, “I want to have what I want, want to go where I want to, and want to speak what I want to

the wall of a Chinese student's dormitory room (II-9), which was also another surprise to the visiting South Korean students. To the South Korean students' imagination, neither the capitalistic desire nor the biggest Cold War enemy, the 'U.S.A.', were easily connected to the communist/socialist societies. Similarly, in a bookstore in Moscow "the books on perestroika were selling like hot cakes", while "other kinds of propaganda books were all covered with dust" (II-2, 25), which was another example of the dramatic transition that underpinned the students' new imagination of the societal change. These scenes therefore were very symbolic for the student delegates in understanding the transforming atmosphere of socialist societies.⁶⁹

Also, the foreign goods on the street were further evidence from the South Korean students' point of view that demonstrated both the consumers' demands and the active economic exchange with neighboring countries, regardless of the ideological differences. This was described through examples such as imported Japanese cars, music and celebrities from Hong Kong and Taiwan, and South Korean brands that were often seen at the airport and in touristic areas. This new commercialism was not exceptional in selling communism per se, where even the dark green uniforms made for the communist party or workplaces were on display for tourists at souvenir shops (I-14, 195). The explicit example that represented the opening atmosphere and the impact of foreign culture was the popularity of Western brands such as McDonalds, KFC, Pizza Hut, Coca Cola, Adidas, etc. By looking at the long queues (longer than 1 km) in which local people lined up for several

speak." The South Korean student thought, "These words included everything. It was a very meaningful time, and I didn't forget to give them a pen and socks as a present" (I-12, 167).

⁶⁹Another example was the shift in language education from the Pyongyang dialect to a Seoul dialect in the Department of Korean Studies at Peking University (IV-3). This change gave the student the impression that "(China) chose the economically superior and wealthy South Korea in spite of the different ideology, rather than North Korea, a country with a closed economy and starvation, even though they shared the same ideology" and "it is as if the harshness of the international society is active" (IV-3, 50).

hours regardless of the expensive price of the products (one-tenth of their monthly salary), some students faced “even more complicated feelings” (II-2, 25) and thought it was “very difficult to understand” (III-13, 262). The final case raised in the essays was the commercialism in mass media. In contrast to the media content on anti-imperialism and communist propaganda as proof of the media control as addressed above, another media landscape was pointed out in the cases of Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. One of the essays paid attention to an advertisement in a government periodical *Izvestia* (an official newspaper of the Soviet government until 1991) and a morning television program, which was filled with American-like entertainment content. To the author, this was very surprising because “advertisements had been condemned as the flower of capitalism and exploitive tools”, and “even entertainment programs in the media in the Soviet Union were manipulated as a tool of propaganda to construct socialism, but now, the contents that used to be criticized as the decadent product of capitalism were on-air” (II-6, 113-4). From the visitor-student’s viewpoint, this paradox was strong evidence of the collapse of socialism and the changing era, betraying the socialist imagination. Not only mass media, but other forms of media also showed new conditions of the freedom of expression. It was clearly seen in European cases, including the Soviet Union, that government policy was often criticized in public spaces through vernacular media such as handwritten posters and pamphlets. This implied the alleviation of social control and repression as well as the growing consciousness and self-reflection of the society (II-6, 114-5).

However, the socialist society’s opening and reforming atmosphere and, above all, its acceptance of capitalistic aspects made most of the South Korean students deeply concerned about the negative influence of capitalism and the penetration of Western culture as the unavoidable consequences of the opening. While talking with local students,

the South Korean students realized that local students were “admiring capitalism” because of the hardships in their lives rooted in the failed socialist economic system. Such admiration was sometimes deemed “vague” and “unconditional” from the perspective of the South Korean students (I-6, III-5, III-12, IV-9). Such conversations provoked the South Korean students to reflect on both “capitalism’s shadow” in the South Korean society and their own admiration for idealized socialism (III-5).⁷⁰ Even though the students were from a capitalist society, ironically, they felt a strong attachment to the closed socialist societies. Herein, the metaphor of “contamination” again appeared in the following context: “Although I hope China opens and individual freedoms are respected, at the same time, I worry about the possibility that the continent will be contaminated by the repeated errors of capitalist countries. Isn’t the really poor person he/she who is situated in the contaminated environment and contaminated consciousness?” (IV-6, 145) This description shows the perception that capitalist countries were already ‘contaminated’, and such harmful effects were unstoppable if capitalism had started to penetrate into a country through its opening. Capitalism, through its cleverness, was “penetrating into shy young ladies and pure young men (in Moscow)”. This student, feeling deeply sorry, questioned the possibility that capitalism would truly “pollute humanity” (IV-9). In this point of view, socialist societies were regarded as spaces that were temporally belated and thus not polluted and still pure. In this imagination, socialist time and space were the objects of a nostalgic gaze from the positionality of a developed capitalist society that had already moved on to the present time and no longer remained in the past. This perspective is also found in describing the travel experiences as if taking a “time machine” (back to the past) (III-14, V-12).

⁷⁰The dark side of capitalism implied economic inequality, the contamination of humanity, decadence, and hedonism.

The students' worries about "westernization" were also combined with the harmful effects of capitalism and the uncontrollable flow of the opening that made South Korean students disappointed with this phenomenon. The malfunctioning of the opening policy, which was entangled with capitalism and westernization, was epitomized by cases of decadence and hedonism and occasionally cultural toadyism. South Korean students expressed disappointed in the phenomenon, indicating the "low-quality culture of capitalism" (IV-5) with discotheques, open-air physical contact between males and females, drinking and smoking (I-3) as its typical examples.⁷¹ "The flood of foreign culture" (IV-10) and "the wave of westernization" (I-3, 39) were widely used metaphors, and are similar to what was described in the examples from Chapter 2.⁷² The student delegates felt ambivalent about such phenomena. On the one hand, they were supportive of the opening and reform policy in socialist societies, but, on the other hand, they maintained a critical stance on the foreign influence and westernization. Their judgmental attitude about the negative aspects of the opening, westernization, and capitalism was not hidden in the essays. This gaze carried on, and even reinforced, the stereotypes associated with the relations of opening and westernization that student delegates kept in their minds at that time. The contradictory stance of being supportive of capitalism and liberalism while maintaining reluctant to the change generated a distorted image of opening as westernization and contamination. The South Korean students' own positionality toward/against the opening era was reflected in this type of understanding. South Korea as

⁷¹As one can see from this example, there was confusion between freedom (self-determination) in a political sense and overconsumption in an economic sense, both of which allegedly originated from the western tradition. From this confused logic, the imaginary of the West, capitalism, and liberalism were all mixed. Similarly, the opening (policy) on a societal level was also confused with open-mindedness on an individual level (I-14), which was also connected to liberal ideas on individuality.

⁷²The full sentence was as follows: "I am worried whether China would lose its original culture in the midst of the flood of foreign culture with commercialism, thoughtlessly and with no subjectivity" (IV-10, 218).

a capitalist country was also struggling with the side effects of the opening, a serious concern as aforementioned in the previous chapter. In that sense, the students' understanding and interpretation of (transforming) socialism was largely confined to the social imagination of the dichotomy of flow versus contamination and was captured by the anxiety of the foreign influence, regardless of their ideological orientation.

To emphasize, the understanding and imagination of socialism were revised in the negotiation between conflicting ideas, i.e. idealized and illusional, backward and rapidly transforming, indolent and vigorous, pure and polluted, and ideological and universal. It seems ostensibly illogical, but the important thing herein would be that both contrasting images remained associated with each other and constructing the narrative of transforming socialist societies while engendering the question of what then ideology is. Questioning the meaning of ideology by comparing different societies converged towards the emphasis on "freedom and peace beyond ideological division" (I-11, 156); the quality of life as a human, the individual's happiness and satisfaction regardless of ideology (III-5, 98-99); and the importance of a nation that respected the freedoms and rights of the people (IV-1). Sometimes, the questions about socialism and capitalism lingered with the remaining confusion in the students' minds after the trip (III-12). This revision of socialism 'in negotiation' is what this study emphasizes through the case study of the Eastern-bloc trip.

5.2.2. On Socialist Societies and Their Heterogeneity

Not only was the stereotypical image of socialism as a whole reconsidered, but the trip also demonstrated that socialism was actually performed by a number of differing individual societies. Socialism in fact had diversity within it and belonged to different sets of imaginations. The student delegates' imagination of each destination country and place drew upon a different point of view based on the respective society's history, current

situation, relations with South Korea, and the composition of routes. In other words, “the Eastern-bloc”, i.e. China, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria, in fact diverged in manifold imaginations built upon the country’s own narrative. Visitors consumed and interpreted differently the place as well as the current social changes. Not only the country but also the cities carried their own narrative in the tourist matrix of the Eastern-bloc trip. Every country and city was rooted in an individual characteristic and story that was assembled through the entire narrative, having certain effects on the trip. In this regard, this section examines the heterogeneous topology of socialist societies by comparing the cases of China, the Soviet Union, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria.

To begin with, the clichés of imaginations on communist and communism/socialism needs to be mentioned, as they largely defined the image of the destination ahead of the travel, as addressed in many essays. “The Bamboo Curtain” (China) and “The Iron Curtain” (East Europe) were frequently used descriptions of those countries. The Eastern worlds were framed by the mediated visual images as typified by the colors “gray and ash” and “red” as well as the olive green-colored military uniforms, for instance. These visual stereotypes that the students had held before the trip generated fear and alert when they first encountered those images on first sight after arrival. Such prejudices disappeared quickly, but the anecdotes show how the visual formula of the Cold War enemy established the image of communism/socialism and the communist/socialist through framing within a limited set of symbols that led South Korean people to be captured and affected by feelings of fear and caution.⁷³ This was largely derived from the

⁷³An example of this process of change was as follows: “In China, no one stopped, interfered, or caught our group wherever we went and whatever we did. The Bamboo Curtain that lied across thickly for almost a half-century collapsed completely” (IV-4, 99). An exemplary description of the latter was as follows: “The security officer’s uniform,

strong anti-communism education in South Korea that antagonized ‘the Communist’ based on the hostile relations with North Korea since the Korean War. In the situation of the Korean Cold War, ‘communism’ and ‘communist’ implied a specific connotation on an imaginary level that was described as evil-like. However, the stereotypical image was deconstructed while traveling, in particular with regard to demonizing communists based on antagonism.⁷⁴ In South Korean society, communist countries were identified as hostile and taboo to know about, enough to be called ‘unknown worlds’. But the travel essays revealed that they were not entirely unknown, but rather the imagination had been formed to a limited extent through historical education and mass media and fixed in such imaginaries.⁷⁵

The travel accounts show that each socialist society in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China was grounded in different symbolic meanings and located in a respective category of imagination. The Soviet Union, “the suzerain state of socialism” (II-2, 19), functioned as the most effective evidence to demonstrate that Lenin’s experiment for the ideal socialist society had failed. Therefore, the focus of the trip to the Soviet Union was on the change from a suzerain state of socialism. The Soviet Union was a destination highly anticipated by the students due to its symbolic status as the suzerain state of

which I only saw in a movie that the Chinese communist army was wearing, and the red flag of the Chinese communist party (familiar from the news). Tens of flags fluttering at the airport building made me feel overawed again. But in a short while, I became to know that such worries were meaningless” (IV-12, 244).

⁷⁴An example of perceptual change is seen as follows: “Yes, it was clearly different. But it was not as different as I imagined. Is this because I had a childish image at a schoolchild level that communists had red faces with horns on their head? I had to go through breaking down my imagination constantly during the five days in the Soviet Union while ascertaining facts. Of course, this work was greatly helpful to understanding socialism correctly compared with democracy” (V-6, 91).

⁷⁵For example, in the essays, a number of mediated images repeatedly appeared and were used as references for the students to imagine the communist society, which included the portrait of Mao at Tiananmen Plaza, the film “The Last Emperor” (1987), and news clips of the Berlin Wall falling down.

socialism that was undergoing a new experiment after the Gorbachyov administration. It was “a country responsible for our nation’s (Korea’s) division of territory”, and therefore, “thought of as the antagonist country in one’s subconsciousness” (IV-14, 273). Several students recalled the Korean Airlines plane that was shot down in 1983 (IV-14, II-2) that was not clearly investigated, which made students feel doubtful about the South Korean government’s intention to hasten the Northern Policy with the Soviet Union. As a center of socialism, in the Soviet Union, the student delegation was more focused on questioning socialism itself than in other countries, trying to determine the reason for the failure of socialism, and they showed a strong curiosity about its social transformation after experiencing conventional socialism. The Soviet Union was understood as a society wherein feudal irony and socialist irony were intertwined (II-6, 113). This understanding was deepened from the lectures on the culture and history of the Soviet Union as well as Korean-Russian relations so as to recognize that it is a “much more diverse and complicated country” that “could not be explained merely as the suzerain of communism” (V-11, 175). Even though it was still acknowledged as an antagonistic nation that was responsible for the current Korean Cold War, the travel essays on the Soviet Union showed that the students felt disappointed as well as regrettable about the failure of socialist ideology. Through facing the reality of confusing transitional moments as exemplified in the previous section, the experience in the Soviet Union provided a reflexive moment on the “irony” of ideology causing friction in actual human life.”⁷⁶ Then, “the intimidating feeling before entering the Kremlin and Red Square in Moscow” – symbolic images at the

⁷⁶“(From the note I wrote during the trip) The first thing a hotel waiter, the first person with whom I made eye contact in this land of the Soviet Union, wherein the wave of reform is rolling, taught me was not about the local food or a way of eating but the exchange rate for illegal dollars and how to exchange. Among the ladies I met on the airplane in the afternoon, some mentioned that they were not interested in anything like ideology, and this was not so different from what other people thought. They just showed their interest in cosmetics, stockings, and the sneakers that we female university students were wearing. Somehow, my head was filled with the word ‘irony’”(IV-1, 11).

center of socialism – changed to “a cozy mind free of prejudices” at a time when one finally “went to a place filled with other tourists from many parts of the world” (IV-11, 238).

On the other hand, China was linked to a different imagination from other (post-)socialist societies owing to its geographical and historical proximity to Korea. China was considered as a counterpart that evoked the phrase, “you have to know the enemy (China) and yourself (South Korea) in order to win the (global economic) battle” (IV-4). The dominant perception of China was a proximate socialist country that was “newly emerging in the field of world history with its epic experiment of the opening policy” (II-10, 175) and was often described as “a wriggling continent (to stretch out)” (V-12, 183; III-11, 233). Before the ideological issue interfered between China and South Korea, “China had influenced our country, as the same Confucian cultural bloc, in varied aspects such as politics, society, culture, etc” (III-2, 19). This approach, grounded in cultural and historical proximity, led the students to perceive China less as a hostile communist country and more as a country with a long history.⁷⁷ Acknowledging Chinese history and culture, the South Korean students often noted their strong impressions of the cultural and historical heritage from several different eras, often comparing them with the short and limited human life. The long-lasting culture and history were deemed as contrasting with the power and men-in-power, which were transient. In this stage of history, the touring theme of history/culture and socialism/opening and reform operated as if they were separate themes. Each city and tourist attraction had its own narrative function to support either of those themes. This “time travel” to the Chinese past and the present scene of opening and reform were integrated at the point of rethinking about the potential Chinese future. In this

⁷⁷As described in an essay, “the impression left in our minds was that it (China) was a country of everlasting history and in the traces of this history we can see the future rather than a communist country” (III-3, 33).

prospect, the historical and cultural tradition as well as the massive population and territory started to be regarded as proof of the Chinese potential and the resources for the future, which made students accept the potential power of China's growth that "we" (South Korean youth) had to get prepared for and put effort into.⁷⁸ From such an observation and physical experience, "the Bamboo Curtain" that "felt far distant" (I-14, 185) turned out to be "an intimate neighbor" (I-9, 133) as well as a rival.⁷⁹

This narrative of China was not naturally given but was woven throughout the planned tourist matrix of the whole program of the Eastern-bloc trip. From this, one can see that there was not only inter-state differences but inter-city differences as well. Each destination city represented a certain period of Chinese history from the ancient period to contemporary times, and Korean history occasionally was also related to that time-space. In building the narrative of China, the destination was selected based on its own historical lessons as well as its connections with Korean history. For example, in Shanghai, the trip was not focused much on its modern history as a treaty port or on connecting the city's past and present. Rather, Shanghai was particularly significant as a stage of national history for South Korea. The popular destination Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (based in Shanghai from 1919 to 1932), Lu Xun Park (formerly Hongkou Park, where a Korean nationalist activist, Yun Bong-gil, detonated a bomb to attack Japanese dignitaries in 1932), and occasionally the Shanghai International Cemetery (a public cemetery where Korean independence activists were buried) are clear evidence that shows the nationalistic intention of visiting Shanghai on the trip. In addition, Shanghai

⁷⁸The impressive moment of facing the extensive territory and large population was experienced in affective ways from the optical and physical encounters, as described as follows: "The land of China from the bird's-eye view of the airplane was 'the continent' itself. The plain, endlessly stretched out, was never enough to be described with the expression 'vast'" (I-14, 187).

⁷⁹The full sentence was as follows: "I came to feel China as an intimate neighbor from the Bamboo Curtain, which is remarkably surprising" (I-9, 133).

represented the current liberal image of China that opposed the presumption of rigidity in socialist societies.⁸⁰ In short, Shanghai was a gateway to the active China at present as well as a stage of Korean nationalists of the past. Other main nationalist destinations designated on the trip to China were the ethnic enclaves of Korean-Chinese people. The northern cities such as Shenyang Yanbian, Baekdu Mountain, Changchun, and Harbin were the main destinations of the tour in addition to Beijing and Shanghai. The ethnic space not only covered the relatively contemporary history of the South-North division of Korea and the actuality of Korean diaspora but also expanded to the modern history of the independence movement in Manchuria and even to the ancient Koguryo history of territorial expansion to the Manchu area. China, in this sense, had a unique positionality that was different from other countries in the Eastern bloc. As a neighboring country with historical and cultural proximity, China was not only a place that indicated the changing status of post-socialist societies but was also a nostalgic place for Korean people to recall their own national history.

In the comparative setting of the trip, Hong Kong and Japan were selected as the opposite counterparts of communist China. In the case of Hong Kong, it was considered a cosmopolitan city and a “world market” (III-2, 20) full of exotic scenes rather than a part of China. Also, because of its special position as the first foreign place for stopovers, Hong Kong represented exoticism to the student travelers. In addition, owing to the popularity of

⁸⁰An exemplary description is as follows: “(In Shanghai) We got the impression as a complex of every kinds of thing, not like the China we expected, so we couldn’t help but be disappointed by China (that we thought) as a big cultural nation. [...] To an extent, the place (Shanghai) hardly had a China-like appearance. It was a surprising fact that it (the appearance of Shanghai) was not what we thought of as a socialist country. We couldn’t see anywhere the lines to get food as we had thought before. Moreover, it was obvious that the people sought diversity and individuality in their fashion (clothing) and life. Just like the vestiges of the Western superpower in the street (remained)... The hardship representing China’s modern history, (we) thought of it as China’s present that the Chinese people engrave on their bones to live life” (III-3, 39-40).

Hong Kong's popular culture, in particular Hong Kong cinema, visitors tended to have already experienced the city via Hong Kong movies and already felt familiar with and interested in the scenery. Hong Kong functioned as the first area of foreignness in that the students indulged in "the exotic mood" (I-6, 82). Given Hong Kong's unique positionality as a Chinese port city under British rule, with the handover occurring in 1997, Hong Kong represented a cosmopolitan port city that would represent China's modernization and opening rather than a part of traditional Chinese culture (IV-6). Meanwhile, another oppositional destination, Japan, was imagined less as capitalist space in comparison to the socialist cities and more as a space of hostile otherness that recalled the memory of colonization. Japan aroused a strong sense of rivalry in the current situation of economic development. Despite such differences, East Asian metropolises such as Hong Kong, Tokyo, Osaka, and Fukuoka gave an intensive impression of contemporaneity to the visitors, whereas the socialist cities were bound to an obsolete ideology and economic backwardness. Through such mobility across two different types of placeness, the South Korean students felt as if they were "transcending to the 21st century" (I-4, 50) when they touched down in those metropolises.

Next, Eastern European countries such as Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany, on the other hand, were regarded as familiar others in the sense that they had suffered and struggled because of the geopolitical power politics of surrounding countries in their long histories, which is similar to the history of Korea. Thus, their contemporary efforts to survive the change and reform were highly supported by the South Korean students. In the case of the trip to Eastern Europe, as shown in Table 9, London or Paris was selected as a representative city of capitalistic and liberal democracy to compare with. However, owing to many cultural heritage sites dispersed across Europe that were also included as tourist attractions for the student delegation, Europe as a whole tended to be

represented through historical and cultural heritage in a romanticized mood. At the same time, European countries in general were represented as more civilized and advanced wherein democracy had matured for a long time. The preservation of cultural heritage, a respectful attitude to national history, public order, good economic conditions, and daily etiquette were examples the students highly valued and thought of as lessons from Europe. This was not limited only to Western European countries. Even though the political and economic situation of post-socialist countries in Eastern Europe was assessed from the perspective of the people from capitalist worlds, with regard to culture, art, and history, the students showed the same respect and admiration in the other Western European countries. The expression describing Budapest as “the city of romance, the city of revolution” (I-3, 42) was one such example. Such understanding of European worlds highly relied on references to literary works (Victor Hugo’s work *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame*, *The Diary of Anne Frank*, etc.) that were well known in South Korea and knowledge from world history textbooks (i.e. French Revolution, Napoleon, Goethe, Marie Curie, Chopin, the expansion of the British Empire, etc.) This conventional image of historic Europe led the students to imagine Europe as, again, a stage of world history. In this representation, Paris, France was imagined as the place that provided the lessons of revolution, i.e. freedom, equality, altruism, and lessons about the love of culture and art (II-11). However, this tendency also presented cultural toadyism from filtered and mediated admiration that the students themselves criticized, such as the admiration for the U.S.A. and the reception of western culture found in China and in Chinese youth culture.

Other than culture and art, with regard to the political economy, students shared a similar sentiment for the post-socialist societies in Eastern Europe, i.e. Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. South Korean students showed their strong sympathy and support for the situation that these countries were struggling with. The geopolitical condition of these

countries, their national pride, and their strong will to survive touched the students enough to wish them a bright future and encourage them. Such emotional attachment was derived from the collective memory of the many foreign invasions in the history of Korea and the economic development that occurred after the devastation of the Korean War. For example, in the case of Hungary, students found that the history of Hungary was very similar to that of Korea in the sense that the independent movement and people's activism never stopped in the midst of foreign invasion and intervention by neighboring superpowers (I-3, I-5). Such hardship continued in Hungary, as was found in the bottom-up uprising against the Soviet Union and the current turbulence in the aftermath of the Cold War. The experience of watching the opera AIDA also reminded students of the Hungarian people's "struggle for freedom" (I-3, 41). As such, the history and current situation of Hungary, which was "too similar to Korea's historical flow", made the students "feel more attached" (I-5, 68) and even led them to "keep thinking of the Han River by the Danube River" (I-13, 175). For this reason, the student group felt considerable intimacy, and they thought they gained more memorable experiences from Hungary than other destination countries on the trip (I-13, 175).

The empathy and attachment the students had for Eastern European countries was something different from the impression of other socialist countries on the trip and was also entirely different from the preconception and imagination of the communist country as a whole. The narrative of the Poland tour was similar to that of Hungary. As one essay illustrated, although the country "was almost dead in our imagination even a while ago, and no official diplomatic relations have been established yet, (I) had the biggest expectation and curiosity toward Poland" (II-11, 192). In the essays on Poland, the importance of economic exchange and trade with Poland was also noted (II-11, 194). Again, support and encouragement appeared in writing on the Polish people's pride in their

history, their drive to stand on their own, and their will to overcome the current economic hardships, notwithstanding the current humble status compared to other destinations (II-14, III-13). But at the same time, because of such emotional attachment and support, the students felt more complicated feelings than in other countries, as noted in one of the essays about the feeling the students had when they noticed the anti-Soviet Union but pro-U.S. and pro-westernization atmosphere in the country (III-5). Also, the contradiction of Poland's political orientation as a socialist country that abandoned the economic system of socialism remained an unsolved question for the students and a difficult task for Poland (II-14).

Thirdly, Bulgaria had appeared in the travel essays since the third track of the trip in the summer of 1990 following the diplomatic normalization in March 1990. The essays on Bulgaria vividly captured its serious economic situation and enraged domestic sentiment against the political and economic crisis in the country. Similar to Hungary and Poland, Bulgaria was “not known to South Korean people and was never exposed to South Korean media, except for brief fragmentary information such as Bulgaria's strength in rhythmic gymnastics and weightlifting” (IV-1, 8). As of summer 1990, a large-scale protest had been ongoing since December 1989 in Bulgaria, and the political consciousness was elevated enough to cause the president to resign right before the trip, which strongly attracted the writer's interest (III-12, 248). In the meantime, the economic situation was getting more severe. As the relations with the Soviet Union deteriorated and the domestic anti-Soviet Union sentiment was intensified, the oil supply from the Soviet Union was completely suspended (IV-9).⁸¹ One of the essays reported on this situation as “economic

⁸¹According to an explanation in one essay (IV-1, 8), Bulgaria was “the most pro-Soviet Union country among many Eastern Europe countries, but the anti-sentiment surged more and more. Entering the 1980s, because of the shortage of food and other basic commodities and the decline of income level, dissatisfaction was amplified among the Bulgarian people,

hell in a word”, by describing the long queues for milk that began at 5 AM in the morning, the endless lines of cars to buy gasoline, the construction halted on the subway for over twelve years because of a lack of funds, the shortage of goods, illegal dollar dealers, and 200% inflation occurring in a day (IV-9, 203). Because of the shortage of funds, production and construction were terminated, and the unemployment rate upsurged. From this highly demanding economy, foreign loans and investment were badly needed and thus normalization with South Korea could be realized. The local people that South Korean students met also expressed their pessimism about this situation, their aversion to their own country, and their admiration for capitalism both in private conversations and public lectures (IV-9, 203-4). To the South Korean observers, such reactions were strong evidence of socialism’s failure. A crowded discotheque, the rich people in high-end hotel restaurants, the Benz taxi, and the demolition of the Lenin statue were further evidence of such failures (IV-1).

Germany, as symbolized by Berlin, had a unique but significant role in the trip. It had particular significance for the Korean people as a material symbol of the ideological division of the Cold War and as a glorified symbol of the unification. Both divided Germany and unified Germany were specifically important to modern Korean history after the Korean War. Not only do they represent the conflict and differences between communism and capitalism like in other socialist societies, but Germany signified the national division of the international Cold War.⁸² In this sense, Germany was located in a

which drove the election of 1990 to change from the communist party to the socialist party. This shows the shift in the Eastern European bloc.”

⁸²On the example of comparing East and West Germany within the frame of poor versus rich that carried on the lesson of breaking the fantasy of socialism, see as follows: “The uniform of the immigration officer (who checked the passport on the train to allow us to pass through the borderline of East Germany to get into West Germany by train) seems ridiculous, as if seen in a film about World War II, in contrast to the free appearance of West German officers. Their worn and colorless outfits contrasted with the West German

different context from other countries, as it did not simply refer to the comparative structure of socialist worlds and democratic worlds but rather to the direct comparison with South Korea under the frame of domestic division and unification. Before the unification of Germany in 1991, Germany as a divided nation was the only country in the world that shared a similar destiny. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany changed to a role model and represented the hope of unification that overcame the long separation, sadness, and pain of a half-century (III-13, 255). Then, for a while after, it changed to a contrasting other that gave a feeling of deprivation as Korea was left behind as the one and only divided country in the world, even after the end of the Cold War, which in a way strengthened the will for unification at the same time.⁸³ Berlin was at the center of that narrative.⁸⁴ Berlin was a city that made Korean visitors objectify to the situation facing the Korean peninsula, deeply realizing the reality of the division, and being awakened to the sense of borders and division as a central part of their tragic national history. Such emotional awakening was escalated along with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991.

people in Frankfurt, who looked confident. Glancing out at the landscape from the window, I got a humble impression from the farm village in East Germany, unlike that of West Germany, which was shining with wealth. [...] It seemed that all this stopped after World War II. Maybe we know almost nothing of the true face of the socialist economy that was only described as a fantastic utopia” (I-8, 107-8). As found in this description, the imagination of socialist societies had not been updated since World War II. The socialist society was represented as an outdated world and far from a gleaming ideology. Germany was an effective destination to learn about due to the comparison of the ideological differences, for all these aims could be satisfied within a single country that was much closer to the contemporary situation of the Korean Peninsula.

⁸³The changing impression of Berlin before and after the fall of the Berlin Wall was well-illustrated when compared with other essays from different years.

⁸⁴Berlin was described as a place that “attracted world-wide attention” and was “a city full of joy and hope that cannot be found elsewhere in the world today”, a place that “will be remembered as the most impressive place in Germany” only a few months after the fall of the Berlin Wall (II-15, 261-2), and a place filled with joy, peace, and celebration after the official unification (III-13, 267-8). This unique and multi-layered positionality of Berlin to the South Korean people was even made into a commercial film called *Berlin Report* (June 1991) in South Korea.

In the imagination of socialist societies, 'North Korea' was an exceptional case that often came up during the trip. Although it was a country prohibited to South Korean citizens, the trip gave the students an opportunity to obtain a new understanding of North Korea and the division of the Korean Peninsula through re-examining North Korea and also by encountering North Korean people and their traces abroad. From the viewpoint of foreigners with whom the students had chances to talk with in post-socialist countries, North Korea was isolated as well as isolating itself from international society, unlike South Korea.⁸⁵ Sometimes, the students re-assessed their previous approach to the unification of Korea as an "emotional unification theory" (I-11, 154). By looking at the social change in the post-Cold War period in the destination country, a positive vision emerged in relation to the nation's unification and to the possibility of North Korea's opening policy in the wake of international change toward opening and internationalization. However, in reality, there were rumors that the North Korean students abroad went back to North Korea by the government's request amidst the post-Cold War atmosphere (V-1). In the revision of the image of socialist societies, North Korea felt even more distant than other transforming socialist societies in which the students found more commonality and intimacy with their own society (South Korea). Even though a few North Korean students were staying in the

⁸⁵In the conversation with Hungarian students, as to the South Korean students' question about the opinion on the same socialist regime in North Korea, Hungarian students referred to North Korea as "the alien of socialism". The full description on that situation is as follows: "They constantly said that North Korea is an alien of socialism who goes against the order of international politics. To the question on Kim Il-Sung, a guide answered, 'In my personal opinion, he is another Stalin and Hitler', and agitatedly continued to talk. I couldn't help but feel sad and somewhat confused. I could deeply feel the aspect of one-nation but two regimes via foreigners and even felt my skin tremble due to the pain of the division. North Korea was indeed isolated in the international society, and I thought of Juche's idea of Kim Il-sung as a self-centered man with delusions of grandeur who was actually laughed at, even by the other socialist countries" (I-11, 154-5). As such, the concerns about ideology were gradually and largely changed to the conviction of post-ideology. This new understanding of North Korea resonated with the perception of the socialist regime, the post-Cold War period, the guideline of reunification, and the image of North Korea provided by the South Korean government.

same dormitory in Hungary, there was no chance to meet them (I-13, 177-8). Moreover, at a coincidental encounter on the street, South Korean students occasionally felt that North Korean people felt like strangers. From the revised imagination of socialist worlds, North Korea was still the left behind other that did not belong to any of them.

As such, although all the abovementioned countries went through international change in the post-Cold War period as well as a transformation from the former socialist political and economic system, each of them had distinctive connotations in terms of their imagination and representation, as found in the travel essays of the South Korean student delegates. The capitalist states and cities on the tour also served as a part of mapping the (post-)socialist worlds by providing a clear distinction.⁸⁶ To emphasize two points from the cases in this section on heterogeneity in the socialist societies, first, it needs to be highlighted that the socialist worlds were represented and understood from a considerably different symbolic system. I want to argue that the socialist societies were not a uniform entity but heterogeneous spaces in which multilayered and multifaceted imaginations operated concurrently and were revised when encountering the locality and the bare faces of ideology. Across such diverse socialist societies, the common finding was that the Eastern world no longer had the appearance of idealized socialism or antagonized

⁸⁶The ideological geography of foreign lands was changed in the transforming historical context of such places. For example, as the politicized events in South Korea demonstrated, Europe and Japan were re-invented as potential spaces of ideological contamination during the 1960s and 1970s. As discussed in the previous chapter, entering the 1980s, the ideological geography with respect to (anti-)communism expanded to a wider range of ambivalent “overseas” spaces. Travelers in general inherited the position as suspicious mobile subjects that belonged to intellectuals, study abroad students, and overseas Koreans. In the security education film, Europe and Japan were still regarded as the representative places to have dangerous contact with North Korean people and espionage. On the other hand, in the case of the Eastern-bloc trip, in tandem with the changing geopolitical situation, Europe and Japan were re-contextualized as the comparable others of post-socialist societies within the binary structure of communism and capitalism. The Eastern-bloc trip, as a case in point, shows the changing imagination of the trouble-making contact zone and the ‘impure and contaminated’ foreign places. In this new mapping, the placeness of (post-)socialist states as well as Europe and Japan was re-constructed in various ways.

communism. In a revised imagination, the post-socialist worlds turned to a future partner or competitor in the international society in accordance with the direction of their opening and reform policy.

For the second point, the narrative effect differed depending on the order and composition of the city, which is why the tourist matrix appears important. In other words, on a perceptual level, a different composition and structure of the tour could create a different story. The impact of comparison, contrast, and continuation in the narrative of the place could also be changed. For example, if one had visited Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Beijing consecutively, the first impression of China would have been formed by the experience in Shanghai. At that time, Shanghai was first perceived as a tranquil and frugal city characterized by dark streets and the uniforms of the communist party, which felt “socialistic” (I-4). On the contrary, if one had visited Beijing first and then Shanghai, Shanghai would be transformed to a commercialized and prosperous modern city that hosted members of foreign cultures. In this case, Shanghai indicated the past of China, symbolizing the modern history of opening the port, and thus it functioned as a reference of the present China, wherein the contemporary opening and reform was occurring. In addition, visiting Shanghai after Beijing gave a refreshing exotic mood due to the landscape and energy in the city (II-3). This example of the changing imaginations of Beijing and Shanghai depending on their arrangement and location in the itinerary shows that narratives of travel could be invented or reinforced through predetermined itineraries and settings. Not only the cities, but also the combination of nations and tourist attractions were important as well. In the case of the China course, by aligning Hong Kong, Japan, and South Korea with China, the comparison was constructed not simply between the political economy of capitalism and socialism; it also expanded to the economic achievement and competitiveness in the current global society based on the trilateral

relations of the past that had shared similar cultural aspects. In short, depending on the structure of the story and the itinerary, the lingering imaginary and educational effects could vary, and the entire perception of the trip could be viewed differently. Again, this is why the itinerary and purpose of this trip have to be underlined. They had a very clear purpose, which was to satisfy the educational effect on South Korean youth; in other words, to re-educate them on socialism. In the narrative of the Eastern-bloc trip, the drama was often maximized at certain moments and places that eventually connected the whole travel story while leaving lessons for the future, which I will examine in the following two sections.

5.2.3. On Nationhood and Nation-state

A large portion of the trip was dedicated to the patriotic and nationalistic tour of visiting historic sites relevant to Korea. Not only specific places (Baekdu Mountain, the border area of China and North Korea, the site of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, Lu Xun Park, Berlin Olympic Stadium, etc.) but also the people (including the Korean diaspora community, expatriates, and North Korean people) functioned as the components of this pilgrimage tour of national history. By doing so, in addition to revising the understanding of socialism and socialist societies, the trip provided the participants “the chance to re-establish nationalistic values” (V-2, 40). The Eastern-bloc countries operated as a staged space to reconfirm the national origin and to ignite patriotism and a sense of belonging. In this narrative of pilgrimage and return, the situation of Korea’s division constantly reemerged and the love of the nation and its people was dramatically integrated toward the will of unification. Such a nationalistic view was also materialized

and became concrete by physically experiencing the materiality of the national territory as well as by the ‘live education’ at different sites.⁸⁷

The theme of the nationalistic tour can be categorized into four types: visiting historic sites, visiting the frontier of the national economy, reuniting with overseas Koreans and diaspora community, and questioning North Korea and the pilgrimage to the nation’s sacred places. First, patriotism was reconstructed, and national pride was fulfilled through re-visiting history at historic sites abroad, in particular places symbolic for the independence movement abroad against Japanese imperialism. The historic sites often appeared empty and humble in their current situation, as exemplified in the cases of the Provisional Government building and Lu Xun Park in Shanghai. The remains of history were regarded as the “stage of history” to the visitors, which dramatized the tourists’ experience and heightened the emotional attachment to the placeness.⁸⁸ The gap between enthusiasm (the past) and the humble condition (the present) evoked sympathy and solemnity on the nation’s tragic history. The dual feeling of national pride and sadness led the students to identify themselves with the patriots and provided a chance to re-invent national pride as well as a sense of responsibility as a future generation.⁸⁹ Students could

⁸⁷The national imagination obtained its vivid territorial identity from the bird’s-eye view on the airplane. The experience of looking down both on the homeland and destination country from the airplane gave the student-travelers a sense of substance in regard to the imagination of a nation. The following description illustrates this moment: “Our trip to China that I was looking forward to with expectation and thrill began with the overwhelming deep affection and a sense of belonging to our homeland, which I felt as a physical substance, not as an idea, while looking down on the nature of our homeland from 9,000 meters up in the sky” (IV-2, 17-8).

⁸⁸The following is an example of the tourist experience as performance in the imagined stage of history: “Passing through the entrance (of the park) and walking along for 2–3 minutes, I stood up at the point where the martyr Yun Bong-gil was supposedly standing. I unwittingly listened carefully, for it felt like I could hear the voice of Yun, shouting ‘Hurray for the independence of Korea’” (II-5, 64).

⁸⁹The overwhelming moment at the abandoned historic sites was eventually finalized with realizing one’s mission. This process was well described in the following paragraph: “Could any provisional government building share this small space in this vast continent?”

not resist identifying themselves with the young patriots of a similar age and reflecting on their current obligation (IV-5).⁹⁰ The commonality as youth was one of the main reasons why the students expressed a more intense emotional reaction at the historic sites of the independence movement.

The sense of national belonging was escalated against the hostile others, in this case the omnipresence of Japan (including its people and products) operating with the collective memory of the colonial period. The representative examples directly linked to that history were the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, Lu Sun Park (former Hongkou Park), Unit 731 Museum, and Berlin Olympic Stadium.⁹¹ Also, indirectly, the Nanjing Massacre Memorial Hall and Dachau Concentration Camp

Too humble. I couldn't resist feeling heartbreaking pain. In the meantime, I couldn't help but bow my head to the patriotic spirit and loyalty of the patriots who fought honorably and sacrificed themselves, even giving their lives for the liberation of the nation in such poor conditions in order to not hand over such a painful reality to their descendents. I have never felt so preciously for my land, the Korean peninsula, which was restored by the blood of the patriotic martyrs, and their devotion to our nation and people had never permeated this much into my mind before. I imagine a figure of the liberation army who honored other comrades who passed away first, holding a handful of earth in one's hand in the liberated land. Now, I could suddenly feel that the blood of those patriotic martyrs was flowing through my body silently. Leaving the building of the Provisional Government, I asked myself how I could fully spend my boiling blood for my country, the Republic of Korea" (I-14, 189-90).

⁹⁰Meanwhile, the overwhelmed Korean visitors often donated some money for the preservation of the place or gave a present to the local people living in that place, as it was private property. South Korean visitors also proposed to make this place into national heritage site with the cooperation of the Chinese government, although this was not realized. Visitors' behavior seems to have caused the problem of commercialization of the place, as the number of Korean tourists increased, according to a record: "The Chinese government also tried to hand over the place to South Korea, but it turned out to be impossible because the inhabitants rejected this. One of the reasons they were stubborn is that they could get big money from the visitors' donations of money or presents" (III-10, 221).

⁹¹The Berlin Olympics Stadium was a place where the Korean marathon runner Sohn Kee-chung won the gold medal in the name of Japan in 1936, so it was another example of Korea's tragic history as a colonized nation. One of the students noted the impression at the place as follows: "The word 'JAPAN' became even clearer because of the re-engraving after someone had erased it, and it hardly disappeared from my mind on our busy way to the Berlin Wall" (I-8, 108).

reminded the students of their memory as victims of war and colonialism. Not only the past, but the current economic development of Japan also led students to compare and feel competitive with Japan. In this sense, the original intention of comparing socialism (China) with capitalism (Japan) seems to have had the opposite effect of comparing Japan (the colonizing) and South Korea (the colonized). By frequently facing Japanese brands in the foreign cities, Japanese products in the markets and duty-free shops, and Japanese travelers (including students) at touristic sites, the South Korean students also realized the energetic overseas activities of Japan that they had overheard before.⁹² In an extreme case, Japanese economic power was considered something to be cautious of, as if “Japan aimed to hold the world economic hegemony with their economic power” that could bring “the soundless war of the world economy” (II-8, 138-9). Not only the self-comparison with Japanese economic development, but also foreigners’ confusion of them with Japanese people due to their similar ‘Asian’ appearance led the students to behave offensively on occasion.⁹³ Such an unexpected situation of intercultural encounters abroad occasionally ignited hostility with Japan. From those experiences, the South Korean students could “realize once again the difficulty of informing foreigners about South Korea” (III-10, 217-8) and came to

⁹²An exemplary description is as follows: “(At Anchorage airport) I never imagined that I would feel resentment against the enormous power of them (the Japanese) even in a foreign country. Wherever we go, Japanese products have already penetrated, and we glared at them with unwitting hostility whenever we found that they sold well with a big preference by foreigners” (I-5, 64).

⁹³Some essays noted anecdotes in which such antagonism was spoken to Japanese people. In Japan, one of the students asked a Japanese woman working at a café to say ‘thank you’ in Korean again when she replied in Japanese. The student later regretted his impolite behavior, but he also realized that “the antagonism between two nations was already too serious to respect and understand each other’s stance” (I-14, 199). The stereotype on Japanese-ness appeared to be intensified as well, as noted in an essay that described the hospitality of Japanese employees as “provokingly kind and thorough” (II-3) in a cynical way. This emotional reaction was not limited to Japanese people only. Some students expressed their resentful feelings when foreigners misidentified them as Japanese by answering back “No, Korean” (III-10) or replying to the local people’s “Sayonara” by saying ‘Bye-bye’ in Korean (III-10, 217-8).

accept the necessity of increasing national power and promoting their own country.⁹⁴ By chasing the traces of national history through ‘live education’ at, namely, the outdoor national museum of Korean history, as well as through distinction with the others – mainly Japan – the South Korean students continued to re-locate themselves as a part of national history that they were responsible for.

Second, visiting the frontier of the national economy was another part of this patriotic tour. South Korean expatriates and diplomats were proof of increasing overseas activities and the growing national power. Not only the government and business sectors, but also other overseas Koreans such as student delegates, study abroad students, and national sports team that the Eastern-bloc trip participants encountered from place to place also gave a similar feeling of national pride and belonging, expressed as “feeling hot blood as Koreans” (I-13).⁹⁵ According to the students’ description, the abstract words “nation (*Nara*)” and “ethnic (*Minjok*)” that one “often heard without feeling meaningful in the past became so clear at that moment (when they met other Koreans abroad)” (I-13, 178). Also, the increased exposure to national brands made students feel pleased, as they came to better understand “Korea in the World” (III-5, IV-1) and “South Korea, expanding to the World” (I-6, 82).⁹⁶ With South Korea’s changing international status, the students

⁹⁴Very few cases involved approaching Japan from a different perspective. They addressed that before the trip (s)he had a vague perception of Japan as an economic superpower with an eccentric complex that, however, was actually imagined, and that they came to think about the lessons to learn and the lower barrier (of understanding) compared to China (II-3). Rarely, but still, criticisms about “childish emotional nationalism” were also found by pointing out the improperness of the route visiting one of Japan’s heritage sites in Osaka in pursuit of strengthening patriotism (II-9).

⁹⁵Moreover, when the time came closer to the Beijing Asian Games, watching the national match at the stadium to support the national team became one of the official programs of the tour.

⁹⁶“(After learning about the Korean brands Borneo Furniture at the Hong Kong international airport and seeing the Samsung logo on electronics) I can’t explain how glad and proud I felt in a cosmopolitan city, Hong Kong. It was the moment that I felt in my body the phrase ‘Korea expanding to the World.’ I have never felt such pride with our

recognized the necessity to correctly inform foreigners about the culture and history of Korea.⁹⁷ However, depending on the case, this national pride in the growing international status of Korea brought a distorted love of the country by revealing a feeling of superiority over the local country or the entire socialist regime, which was also criticized in another student's essay (IV-6, 147) and the mass media.⁹⁸ This was not limited to the student delegation but also was seen in tourists in general.⁹⁹ In contrast, the local people and merchants at times used such touristic behavior and feelings of superiority to satisfy tourists and make profit by telling the South Korean tourists/students what they wanted to hear. The often-invited rhetoric was self-criticism of socialist regimes (as found in the case of the Soviet Union) or negative information and criticisms of North Korea (in the case of Korean-Chinese guides) (II-2; *Hankuk Ilbo* 1990).

Third, another important role of this nationalistic tour was performed by the Korean diaspora community.¹⁰⁰ When reuniting with overseas Koreans and visiting their enclaves, the patriotic sentiment extended to the affection for and belonging to a larger community as 'Koreans'. This reunion had a strong enough emotional impact on the students for them

brands before. Even now, whenever I run into the logo of Borneo and Samsung, the feeling from Hong Kong comes back to me" (I-6, 82).

⁹⁷The full statement was as follows: "I found that the phrase 'Korea in the World' was not an exaggeration at all. Our status as well as the progressive spirit of Korean people in international society was largely expanded. Our products and advertisements were easily found, too. However, I felt we were not doing good at being informed on our culture and history correctly, even that which was exaggerated in Eastern-worlds, for which the continuous promotion as well as the efforts by the young generation should be followed" (IV-1, 15-6).

⁹⁸"[The Eye of Journalist] 'The Easy Mark', Again in Soviet Union." *Hankuk Ilbo*, July 20, 1990.

⁹⁹The examples of bad tourist behaviors included spending dollars excessively, buying souvenirs and feeling self-sufficient, and comparing the local currency with their own.

¹⁰⁰The South Korean delegation could meet Korean-Chinese in varied ways: Korean-Chinese people visited the hotel after they heard about the Korean students' trip; at the official talk in the tour program with a few representatives of the Korean diaspora group; through students' private visits to markets, restaurants, and schools in the enclaves during their free time; random encounters at touristic places, etc.

to write about it in most of the essays, particularly in the China course.¹⁰¹ The ethnic Koreans dwelling in China were very special intermediaries, as they were linked to the multiple histories of Korea. They were connected to the modern history of liberation activists in Manchuria as well as to the contemporary Chinese society as one of the biggest ethnic minority communities in China, and, above all, to contemporary North Korea due to their interpersonal exchange, similarities in language, education, and communist ideology. As an intermediary between South and North Korea, the Korean-Chinese community filled the absence of North Korean people, who the students were not allowed to interact with, making it difficult to establish a sense of connectivity. Also, they provided a chance to imagine an enlarged national community, not merely in relation to the unification of South and North Korea but furthermore through integrating all other Koreans abroad in national unity. This was not merely because the ethnic Koreans in China were a large diaspora community abroad and neighbors but also because their nationalistic sentiment and love for the far distant homeland deeply touched the South Korean students, leading them to reconsider their own attitudes toward the motherland.

From the first impression, students often felt a sense of similarity and connectedness due to the appearance of ethnic enclaves, traditional culture, everyday life and culture, including food, language, music and books, and even the increased desire to obtain high education. Moreover, after acknowledging overseas Koreans' efforts to preserve Korean culture and language through education and daily usage, the student delegates reflected on how their own love of their home country relatively lacked in effort.¹⁰² Thus, the activities of the ethnic Korean community abroad became a source of

¹⁰¹Some essays only wrote about the excursion to Korean-Chinese enclaves and did not address any other destinations in China (e.g. IV-10).

¹⁰²In particular, the domestic trend of purchasing foreign goods, i.e. the luxurious consumption of foreign brands and unconditional preference for foreign products, was an

national pride that engendered a sense of solidarity and reflection in the students. Such solidarity was often expressed through the ritual of singing symbolic songs together such as *Arirang* (a Korean folk song and anthem) and *Hand in Hand* (the Olympic theme song of 1988) (I-2, 23; I-9, 129). The melodramatic emotions of the reunions culminated in these community rituals. On the other hand, to the Korean-Chinese people, the recent economic growth and the successful Seoul Olympic Games increased their longing for South Korea, enhancing their pride and friendliness. The increase in the number of people learning the Korean language (I-10, 149) was another example of the status change of South Korea in the ethnic Korean community in China.¹⁰³ At the same time, when recognizing the ideological orientation of ethnic Koreans in China as pro-North Korea and pro-China, the South Korean students admitted that ideology represented a large barrier despite their ethnic solidarity, especially when they heard the Korean-Chinese people identifying their nationality as Chinese without any hesitation.¹⁰⁴

In addition, the space itself had a symbolic meaning as well. For example, Yanbian and the northeast region of China symbolized the tragedy of separation, Koreanness, the history of the liberation movement in Manchuria, and even the ancient time-space wherein ancestors could travel as far as they wanted without being disturbed by boundaries, unlike nowadays. These connected sentiments that were engendered in the border area and ethnic enclaves led the students to feel like “returning back to our hometown” (III-5). Therefore, not only the people but also the space reminded the students of the large ideological

example the South Korean students felt shameful about, contrary to ethnic Koreans’ respect for traditional culture and national products (II-7, 129).

¹⁰³This aspiration seems to be connected with the rapid influx of Korean-Chinese to South Korea after the 1990s.

¹⁰⁴It also should be noted that there was a generation gap among different ages of Korean-Chinese with regard to their background and history. At the same time, a complicated relationship with both the South and North Korean governments in terms of their support for this ethnic community influenced the characteristics of the Korean-Chinese community in Mainland China.

barriers and the sorrow of 40 years of separation that kept South Korean people from visiting there. As such, visiting ethnic enclaves and meeting with ethnic Koreans abroad increased the love of nation and triggered a reconsidering of their nationhood as Koreans.¹⁰⁵ However, the strong impressions described in the earlier dispatches also changed as time passed because of the recurrence and touristification of meetings with ethnic Koreans. As was reported in some of the essays, the students by chance found out that the meetings and talks with the Korean diaspora community were repeated with different groups of student delegations as a part of the program. The similarity of this formula left a “bitter and unpleasant feeling”, as it was thought of as the “commercialism of their own nation” (IV-4, 5). The aspect of the staged performance by the local people reduced the emotional impact the students felt and also made them feel doubtful about the authenticity of the stories told by the ethnic Koreans and the interactions with them. As the experience of meeting Korean diaspora members became banal, the uniqueness and surprise of both the South Korean students and the ethnic Koreans in China were gradually weakened.¹⁰⁶ In addition, there was also conflict with local ethnic Koreans that stemmed from the increasing number of South Korean visitors in general. As South Korean tourists increasingly visited ethnic Korean restaurants, the number of North Korean guests, who were the more regular guests, decreased, which made the owners appear unwelcoming to

¹⁰⁵To cite an exemplary description, “In order to make them (ethnic Koreans in China) feel heartfelt when they hear the name ‘motherland’, the first thing to do would be to instill in them the pride of our improvement and development. [...] Today was the day I strongly realized the most that I am ‘Korean’” (III-8, 164-5).

¹⁰⁶The changing interaction was often described in the essays as follows: “(at the Korean restaurant) We ran into Korean-Chinese youth who were studying at Beijing. They seemed very accustomed to meeting Korean tourists just like us. They already knew South Korea very well and recognized well the limits on the things to say and not to say” (II-9, 151). As such, due to the increase in the number of Korean tourists in China, the strangeness faded out, and some kinds of ritualized boundaries were newly settled down, establishing a distance from each other.

the South Korean delegates (IV-12).¹⁰⁷ These occurrences behind the romantically arranged official program uncovered the staged experience to the students and led them to question the authenticity of the tour program and its touristification issue. The mutual tiresomeness and even hostility demonstrated, as occasionally noted in the essays, explains this touristification of the cultural exchange and contact. From this, one can see the touristification of ethnic enclaves at that time.

Finally, the nationalistic tour was completed by questioning the problem of the Korean peninsula — the issue of division and reunification. This process culminated in the moments when the students realized the absence of North Korea and the awkward distance with North Korean people and was finalized with the pilgrimage to the nation's sacred and mythic place, i.e. Baekdu Mountain. Despite the diminishing international Cold War tensions and the reconciliation with post-socialist countries, North Korea remained in the shadow of that pacification. In this regard, although there were certain gestures that aimed to improve the relations with North Korea that showed progress to an extent, the Northern Policy of South Korea in a way resulted in the further isolation of North Korea in the increasing cultural and economic exchange with post-socialist societies. As examined in the previous chapter, North Korea remained a significant other that the South Korean citizens abroad had to be alarmed by. When the student delegates happened to meet North Korean people, they experienced feelings of wariness and sadness all at once.¹⁰⁸ Students

¹⁰⁷As to the detailed description, see as follows: “(At a restaurant in Shenyang) According to the old lady, a lot of students came to this street last year, too. I didn't see any expression of welcoming us from the local people's gaze at us in the market. I could even hear ‘There come the Seoul guys again’ on the street and feel the subtle hostility and foreignness from them. Perhaps that might be the reaction to the superiority demonstrated by us when we saw them. The vague nationalistic sentiment we felt was not very useful. The ethnic Koreans in China, although they succeeded our culture, gave the impression that they were proud of their membership in the People's Republic of China” (II-9, 156-7).

¹⁰⁸A scene at the airport when South Korean students saw North Korean people is a good example of this contact and emotional change, as described in an essay: “Although there a

also felt more distant with the North Korean people rather than ethnic Koreans abroad, for instance, due to the differences in vernacular language and ideology that made the students feel even more strange and confused (I-4, 52-53).¹⁰⁹ This reflection was not only motivated by the open chances for direct or indirect encounters with North Korean people at post-socialist countries, as South Korean students also occasionally were asked by others to self-identify between the ‘two Koreas’. This unwittingly emerging fear and awareness of the differences led students to deeply understand the reality of the division and the pain of nation.¹¹⁰ The enhanced understanding of the nation’s reality that was combined with the love for their home country evolved into the desire for reunification and a search for realistic means of unification to head toward ‘Korea in the World’ and achieve the nation’s development (I-10, II-12). This process of restoring the imagined national unity and

few colleagues who spoke a few words with them, most of us couldn’t do anything but watch them with wary eyes. It was because they were living in a country with a different regime from ours. That was truly something that broke our hearts. Even though we could now come and go and talk relatively freely with those from Communist China, who totally changed the direction of the (Korean) War, why do we – the same Korean nation (*Hanminjok*) – have to maintain such wary eyes underneath smiling faces against each other even while we talk a bit. We couldn’t help but hide the bitter feelings inside our mind” (II-12, 213). However, it was also possible that this unnatural communication resulted from the presence of the secret security officer who joined the delegation group. According to the informal interview, students had to give a report to that officer or a leader in case they ran into or talked with North Korean people. It can be assumed that the students could hardly ignore such a surveillance system.

¹⁰⁹It was experienced through a short conversation with North Korean people abroad and also from the denial of communication (III-8) at the coincidental encounter. Also, it was indirectly experienced by the mediated situation. For example, a student noted a situation wherein contact with North Koreans was spontaneous by describing the situation of using the same room in a university dormitory in Hungary: “My room was the one used by the North Korean students. There was a calendar in Korean and a photo of downtown Pyongyang hanging on the wall. A ‘Samsung’ sticker was placed on another wall” (I-8, 110).

¹¹⁰This process of self-identification and the complicated sentiments of the student are well described in the following sentences: “I keenly felt the reality of division at the foreign land. Whenever someone asked ‘where are you from?’ and I answered ‘Korea’, the next question was ‘South or North?’ I felt pained when I answered back ‘I’m from South Korea.’ I can’t stop thinking that I couldn’t answer simply the question of a British person I met in Bulgaria, who asked ‘Why can’t you go to North Korea, even though you can come to Bulgaria?’” (IV-1, 15-6)

strengthening the will for reunification was also expressed in a ritualized way, for example, through together singing a song, “Our Wish is Reunification” (*Uri ūi sowŏn ūn tong-il*) as a moment of emotional explosion (III-10, 224). Participating in this collective process of recovering nationhood during the trip, the South Korean students reached their vision/conclusion in imaginary ways, even though actual reconciliation with North Korea did not occur.

Baekdu Mountain in the border area of China and North Korea was the most emblematic place in this narrative of national unity. The student delegates were the first official visitors to the mountain after the division of Korea. Baekdu was “a sacred place of a nation” (III-1) as well as a place in which the nation’s tragedy – the division of the Korean Peninsula – was engraved (III-6). Visiting Baekdu meant the recovery of the national spirit as well as a longing for a united country. As a destination of the Eastern-bloc trip, Baekdu Mountain appeared after the third round in summer 1990. Because it was difficult to visit on their own, students were eager to go there if possible, despite the long journey to the border area.¹¹¹ Baekdu was the climax of the narrative of this nationalistic tour that engendered the aspiration for the nation’s reunification. Some student groups even performed ancestral rites in the name of “the prayer ritual for the reunification of our nation” (III-1). The experience at Baekdu Mountain as well as the journey to the mountain was usually expressed in an extremely dramatized way. For example, one student felt “as if stood up in the midst of a vortex of numerous histories that never had a peaceful day” and another felt sadness about the fact that “one has to go there by passing through the other’s

¹¹¹Manabe (2009) analyzed the connection of Korean national identity and tourism to the northeastern border area of China in her fieldwork in 1999. Not only the “pilgrimage-oriented” tour to “racial holy places” such as Mountain Baekdu, also the compatriotism emphasized in the interaction of the host (Korean-Chinese tour guide) and guest (South Korean package tour group) played a significant role in building national identity in a racial form.

land, not our own” (III-6, 90-1). Not only did they perform the religious folk ritual, the students also “spontaneously and unwittingly sang ‘the song of unification’” on the top of the mountain, “bursting into tears” (III-6, 64). Due to its geographical location, the current political situation, and the mythic position in the Korean people’s mind, combined with the mysticism of Mother Nature, Baekdu functioned as a spiritual center of Korea and “a symbol of reunification” (III-6, 63). The mountain was even personified, as if it had been witnessing and embracing every history of Korea, its tragedy, sorrow, great joys, and aspirations.¹¹² According to one description, the author could hear “the voice of Baekdu” and “the breath of History” (III-6, 63-4). At this sacred place, the student “felt shameful and guilty” “as the future generation and Korean youth, who bear the future of the nation on one’s shoulders and would definitely achieve the reunification” (III-5, 90).¹¹³

As such, the northeast China route was characterized by nationalistic inspiration from ancient Korea to the current geopolitical situation of the two Koreas. The student group heading to “Baekdu” was an epitomizing example of this nationalistic and patriotic pilgrimage as a mixture of emotional attachment to the motherland, the high consciousness of national community, and a recovery of the responsibility for reunification. Namely, the patriotic tour in the Eastern-bloc trip was a pilgrimage of national history in order to re-establish the viewpoint of the nation-state correctly. As one of the students put it, “one could have their national pride awoken and see one’s own location, and moreover the

¹¹²For example, one of the students noted, “I won’t call it Baekdu Mountain. Baekdu can never be called as a material and morphologic concept such as a mountain, a mere mountain where trees and grass grow and streams flow. He has a spirit” (III-8, 160).

¹¹³As South Korean tourists were increasingly going to China, the student delegation also ran into other travelers and journalists from South Korea from time to time. In such cases, these South Korean people often shared moments of such a sacred ritual together. Students also recommended this place as a must-see attraction to other student groups and colleagues whom they met at the airport, airplane, or after returning home. As such, the trip to Baekdu had a very special and emblematic meaning for the South Korean travelers. This shows the fashion of overseas travel at that time, i.e. climbing Baekdu Mountain from China, as emerging cases.

positionality of our country with a more objective perspective” (V-8, 115). In this sense, the trip functioned enough as a form of nationalistic education as was planned by stimulating students to realize their role as future human resources as well as patriots.¹¹⁴

5.2.4. On Post-Cold War Historical Events

As the last dimension of the multi-layered theme of the Eastern-bloc trip, I want to focus on the historic contingency the individual student delegates encountered in global historical events as witnesses of post-Cold War moments as well as agents of historical change. The student delegation mediated these rapidly changing international currents to South Korea at the forefront of global history of the post-Cold War. The historic incidents of that time functioned as indicative events that provided students a certain motivation and powerfully impacted the re-formation of their worldview.¹¹⁵ First, it gave a sense of international connectivity and the emergence of a post-ideological world, and, second, it led students to think about their own positionality. These changes were triggered by the reflection on their own country through witnessing the turbulent time and space. In general, during the late 1980s, they were already aware that “the world is one (entity)” that has to “live in concord with each other” (II-10, 176), enough to be called “a global village” (II-7, 121). This emerging global imagination drew upon the post-ideological situation that

¹¹⁴As to the third and fourth rounds, a different approach was also found with regard to ethnic Koreans abroad and North Korean people. To be specific, other identities such as youth, intellectual, and ordinary young generation, and the connectivity based on those identities were highlighted more in those cases rather than the collective identity as Korean and the emotionalized sentiment of nationhood (i.e. I-9).

¹¹⁵One of the students described this perceptual change as a “Copernican transition”, implying its huge impact on the revision of the previous ideas that awakened the duty and responsibility for the state and nation, as written as follows: “Personally, I could reflect on many things and discover that we had so many tasks to solve. It was a Copernican transition that helped to open our eyes to the turbulent changes in the world. The love of our home country, views on nation-states, the reunification issue of the Korean Peninsula, China’s opening and reform policy, etc. [...] Above all, I promised myself that I would work hard in my duties and become a cornerstone for the development of the state and nation” (III-14, 291).

required new ways of thinking that did not involve rigid ideology and bounded political regimes.¹¹⁶ The overall atmosphere of opening and reform was regarded as an answer for each society to that changing environment. From this post-ideological point of view, the South Korean students also felt the limitation and collapse of -isms and perceived that the balance (from the Cold War confrontation) was breaking. Both capitalism and socialism were deemed “responsible and guilty for the breaking (preexisting) balance” and thought of as “obsolete old wrapping papers” (IV-6, 150).¹¹⁷

Two global historical events strongly affected the students’ understanding of the world during the trip: the Tiananmen incident and the fall of the Berlin Wall.¹¹⁸ The South Korean student delegation from 1989 to 1991 could directly see and report on the symbolic scenes of the era. First, the Tiananmen incident in China was an illustrative case that uncovered the contradiction of Chinese society and made the South Korean students question the socialist regime and also feel connected with the Chinese people in their

¹¹⁶To cite an exemplary description, “Looking at the map of the world from the guidebook in the airplane, I was thinking: The world is one, now we don’t live in our own times and our own history only, but we have to live together with the world as if we are living with our neighbors. Therefore, we have to see the world, learn about the world. [...] In the world nowadays, what matters is not a regime or ideology, as now is the time of mutual exchange and compromise, as we need each other” (II-10, 176). This is also well-described in another essay as follows. The students were now equipped with a new understanding on the current global environment as well as international relations. “Now, in this temporal situation wherein neither ideology nor regime would not be the only and absolute issue in international relations, it seems that the effort for a new and close relationship with China by the increase of mutual exchange and understanding...” (II-10, 185).

¹¹⁷For the full description on this revised global imagination: “At the scene called China, I felt the limitation of Mao and the tragedy of his trial to overcome it. Not only that, the world today is facing the collapse, in which the balance is breaking down. We clearly feel that this globe, an entity alive, is now facing collapse down to its inner cells, as is found in tangible and intangible phenomena. Either capitalism or communism, each of them is only obsolete old wrapping paper now. They once contributed to humankind, but, in the end, they are the accomplices in destroying the balance” (IV-6, 150).

¹¹⁸Not only the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Tiananmen incident, but other global historical events and issues were also addressed in the essays as follows: the observation on Taiwan-China relations (II-9), the Hong Kong Handover of 1997, preparation for the Asian Games in Beijing and sports diplomacy, the impact and media coverage of the Gulf War, etc.

longing for freedom and democracy against repressive state power. As the incident occurred in early June 1989, right before the departure of the first official delegation in the summer of 1989, it directly had an impact on the travel plan and the students' expectations. At first, "the departure was postponed and the exchange between South Korea and China cooled off", which made the students worried about the entire cancellation of the trip, but in the end, the trip was carried on in a positive direction despite the decrease in the number of other foreign tourists (I-9, 120-1). The reason why this trip carried on was possibly the efficiency of the students' revision of the socialist regime. By revealing the problem of the society and making the visitors observe the status quo, the Tiananmen incident helped the South Korean students move to a post-ideology state. Thus, it eventually functioned as evidence of the importance of first-hand experience, namely, 'seeing is believing'. The following description of the impression at Tiananmen Plaza is epitomizing in this regard: "I remember the nervous feeling of taking a picture together with the strange (Chinese) soldiers. I could breathe when their stern faces changed to a smile and felt that the stubbornness of the regime was just a legacy of the old days that should disappear at this unified world" (III-6, 111).

Tiananmen was a symbol of the dynamic history of contemporary China to South Korean students, particularly on two points: the Chinese people's hope for democratization and the regime's limitation of opening without political reform. The former aspect was particularly meaningful to the South Korean students, as it reminded them of the Gwangju Uprising in South Korea in May 1980. Rooted in the values of freedom and democracy, the South Korean students equated Tiananmen with Gwangju, recalling the tragedy of Gwangju and criticizing every regime that oppressed its citizens (II-10; III-6; IV-8).¹¹⁹ In

¹¹⁹The following sentence illustrates this sentiment: "Although the scenery seems quiet and idle now, it is the place where so many young patriots were sacrificed by the ideology and

this sense, criticism of the Tiananmen Incident was also meant as an indirect criticism of South Korean society and the authorities that held power, who must take responsibility for the tragic incident. The South Korean students felt connected with the Chinese people and youth via Tiananmen and were eager to talk with the Chinese students about their experience with and opinions on the incident (I-14, II-7, III-2).¹²⁰ Thus, the South Korean students also sympathized with the tacit atmosphere in which one could not freely talk about the incident due to the oppression of freedom of speech (I-15, II-5). The students thought that “such commonalities that we also experienced as historical fact made us understand more easily China’s problem” (I-9, 131). So many essays noted their memories of Tiananmen Plaza. In the first round (summer 1989), the essays on the China course described the situation under the ongoing martial law such as the silent and threatening atmosphere caused by the armed soldiers in the plaza (I-14). After the release from martial law, as if it were forgotten, it was hard to imagine the miserable incident based on the crowd of local people spending their leisure time at the plaza (II-5); still, the local people seemed afraid of having contact with foreigners (II-7). When it came closer to the Beijing Asian Games, all seemed peaceful as if nothing had happened, but the place kept reminding South Korean students of the Tiananmen incident, enough for this to be suspected as “false peace” (III-6). From shared experience and deepened understanding,

regime a short while ago. Their enthusiastic shouting changed to blood, and the red flag in the plaza seems even redder now. In this far distant Beijing, I thought of our Gwangju” (II-10, 182).

¹²⁰However, as aforementioned, meeting the Chinese students at the official visits to universities was not realized or rejected, so the student delegates often used their free time to approach and talk with the local students. The reaction of local students diverged, as they sometimes refused to answer the Tiananmen question, but the Chinese students also showed interest in South Korean protests, as demonstrated by the following: “One of us (the South Korean student delegates) asked them (Chinese students) about their opinion on last year’s Tiananmen incident. Looking perplexed, they didn’t say anything. When we told them we protest as well, they showed an immense interest and asked why we protest even though we have freedom. So we told them that we have freedom but we protest for true freedom” (III-2, 25-6).

the South Korean students often imagined the tragic scene as if they were there too and expressed their condolences to the victims as well as respect for the Chinese people's will to strive for democratization. This indirect experience of the Tiananmen incident felt at the place provided a space to question the problem of opening and reform without political democratization that originated in the structural contradiction of socialism. The violent oppression, the corruption in the reform process, and the repression of freedom of speech surrounding the Tiananmen incident combined with empathy due to the Gwangju uprising awoke South Korean students from the dream of socialism (IV-8). Thus, the Tiananmen incident gave the students a lesson to "clearly see the actuality" beyond ideological competition (II-5, 93).

In the meantime, the Berlin Wall, "a symbol of division that made the whole world surprised" (II-14, 249), provided another opportunity for reflection from a different point of view. If Tiananmen recalled the shared experience of a nation's tragedy and resistance against power across different societies and regimes, the fall of the Berlin Wall engendered the joy and connectivity of the global community toward an upcoming new world beyond the ideological conflicts of the Cold War. Moreover, another domestic issue of the South-North division provoked South Korean students to become more engaged and interested in the Berlin case. From this proximity, the Berlin Wall indicated the division of a nation as well as the hope for reunification at the same time.¹²¹ Therefore, as mentioned previously,

¹²¹To see the students' excitement and seriousness surrounding the fall of the Berlin Wall, see as follows: "The global village was all excited. As if Germany would be unified right away, not only Germany, of course, but everyone longing for freedom and peace, and even the Siberian frost, the Iron Curtain, were boldly accepting the collapse of the concrete wall. We also felt the joy. The joy for the fact that a nation finally moved on from its past of turning against each other because of ideology, regardless of the interest we had with that country. However, we could not feel joyful for long. Because of the love and hatred of the frozen land (North Korea) that is still cold. And of course because of the humble and painful reality contrasting with them (East and West Germany)" (II-14, 245). Another example from the same period also shows a similar sentiment and way of thinking: "After

Berlin and the Berlin Wall were the main symbols of the trip in Europe.¹²² Even before the fall of the Berlin Wall, the student delegation went to see and touch the wall, equating it with the 38th parallel dividing South and North Korea. Students sometimes engraved their wishes, i.e. “There is only one nation” (I-3) and imagined the North Korean territory by Eastern Berlin over the wall (I-8). In the essays written after the fall of the wall in November 1989 and unification in October 1990, in addition to the joy and excitement shared with the “global village” (II-14), more realistic reactions and observations appeared. The South Korean students were highly interested in the aftermath of the unification of Germany and re-considered a realistic solution for Korea, as they would face similar issues if Korea was united. What the students found after the unification was no longer confusion or drama (II-2), and they could not ignore the economic gap and conflict between East and West Germany (IV-11, V-4). This led students to think more realistically about the actual unification process. The touristification of the Berlin Wall and the former East German soldiers who did not look well and were selling military goods and pieces of the wall for souvenirs (V-11) were the epitomizing example of that aftermath. In addition to the careful approach to the issue of reunification, the disappointment with socialism deepened (V-11, 172). Also, the student delegates felt more envious about the unification of Germany because they now knew that it could be realized (IV-7). As “the only divided country in the globe” (V-4, 62) and having to face foreigners’ questions on the unification plan of the two

taking a group photo here, we probably thought of the same thing. We also need to be one, and the wall between South and North has to be collapsed just like this wall. [...] The scene wherein the crowd could just cross (the boundary) by simply showing an ID at the checkpoint indicated the unification in hand, not the unification as a dream, which was an envious landscape in which the aspiration for unification started from the civil sectors and continued to real politics” (II-11, 195).

¹²²The imagination of Berlin and the Berlin Wall at this time was so different from the previous one between the 1960s and early 1980s as the representative ideological contact zone in which one needed to be alert to the danger of meeting North Korean spies, as typified in the East Berlin Spy Incident.

Koreas and their wish for it (III-4), the South Korean students felt regrettable about and desperate for Korea's unification. As such, Berlin was another mirror of South Korea.

As such, through observing the international transition and domestic upheavals at the destination post-socialist countries that had changed world history, the student delegation came to "learn the world" (III-2, 19; IV-1, 15) and learn that what was occurring in the world was also closely related to them (V-4). From this process, a new global imagination of the post-ideological world society seems to settle down based on the idea of one world as interconnected and countries reflecting one another. The recognition of the "world society" brought the motivation for the students to take their responsibility as the young generation seriously (II-10), the attitude of having to swim with the currents of world peace (II-15), and positioning oneself as a member of a world society that transcended regimes and ideology (V-12).

Concluding Remark

The case study of the Eastern-bloc trip shows the changing global imagination of individual agencies on the move in turbulent times of the so-called post-Cold War transition. By navigating and identifying their own positionality, the subject on the move, the student travelers came to reconsider or re-form their subjectivity as nationalized international citizens or globalized nationalists. The responsibility as a future generation in the changing world corresponded to and was developed by encountering global historical events and the educational pilgrimage. In this process, the previous imagination of the Cold War enemy was dismantled. While navigating oneself as a cosmopolitan subject, Cold War others were integrated into a new mapping. North Korea, cast off from this new picture, was solidified and isolated as the anti-communist other, still located in the still ongoing Korean Cold War. The transforming socialist worlds and, moreover, the

‘unknown worlds’ of foreign space in a broader sense were the contact zone of withering Cold War ideology, within which new subjectivity was developed and cultivated.

In Chapter 5, the global imaginations were mediated by the tour program originally organized for educational purposes by the government institutions as a facilitator of imagination. However, the contact zone experience and mobility in practice demonstrated that many intermediaries such as local students and people, local Korean networks, other tourists, words and appearance, urban and daily sceneries, local media, exported Korean brands and commercials, collective memory, and contingencies of global events and incidents were all involved in that (re-)mediation process. This chapter thus more vividly uncovered the dynamic field of global mobility that contained spatial duality as both a touristic place and a (post-) Cold War contact zone. The touristic places of pilgrimage as well as post-ideological contact zone were the fields that were filled with the live experiences that were hidden from both the disciplinary educational texts and romanticized foreign imaginaries. Otherness and globality were then actively discovered by the individuals as new mobile subjects. From this view, the practices of overseas travel described in Chapter 5 reveal the crack in the top-down imposition of power-knowledge. The effect of the contact zone was amplified dramatically through its coincidental cross over with global post-Cold War events. Such connectivity and direct influence also arguably imply the global historical meaning as the site of the ‘global 80s’ with shared experience and entanglement. The young students from a so-called third world Asian country simultaneously observed and experienced the contradictions of the first and second world under the Cold War binary and then started to reconsider the Cold War ideological worldview, through which the world was “re-discovered as the vivid simultaneity” (Chang

2018).¹²³ The shared sentiment beyond ideological boundaries such as the post-colonial, anti-imperialistic, and developing nation-state was projected to this new geopolitical imagination. The ideological otherness was re-directed and reduced from the Cold War others to the anti-communist other. Their travel experiences revealed the interactive and inter-subjective process of negotiation in the contact zone that betrayed or slipped out of the preceding securitization of imagination. This, in other words, illustrates another ramification of encountering global mobility that could diverge from the preemptive global imaginations under the guided governmentalities. Also, the cases in Chapter 5 show that many diverse agencies participated in the work of global imaginations, which was built upon the network space of global mobility as relational and topological. Such topological understanding of the others and geography was not confined to current international relations but could track down to and was intermingled with the accumulation of history and memory as well.

The case in this chapter exhibited the various political forces in negotiation such as the nation-state's management system of its people, the expectations toward post-Cold War cosmopolitanism, and the confrontation between South and North Korea, forming the contesting but simultaneous experience of global transition for the individuals encountering the domestic and international change. In particular, this chapter illustrated how the new experience of global mobility led the people on the move to articulate to the real international life worlds beyond the static national border. The non-simultaneous

¹²³I borrowed this expression from Chang (2018), who explained the third world imagination of coloniality in Korean literature in the 1960s, specifically how Africa was "re-discovered as the vivid simultaneity" that was totally irrelevant to the mediated stereotypical images by western people, yet made the main character realize his reality as a "Yellow Negro". The expression exactly describes how the strange worlds could share similarity and common emotion, as found in the examples in which the Korean travelers discovered empathy and simultaneity from the distant East European countries and their history and from the young Chinese students regardless of different ideology.

“isms” and contrasting imageries of others faced conflict and negotiation in the individuals’ new mapping of the world and others. The so-called cosmopolitan empathy and vision stemming from the coincidental encounters and unexpected feelings intervened in the given prejudicial perception of others, which also contained the seed of travelers’ performativity as the common characteristic of upcoming modern and mass tourists.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

In the currents of liberalization, opening, democratization, and internationalization that suddenly and simultaneously became feasible and visible, South Korean society and local Korean people underwent various trials and errors within a relatively short period. In those currents, the new experience of overseas travel functioned as a medium that connected the enclosed South Korea with the world outside. Focusing on this highly concentrated experience of mobility during the transitional and intermediate moment to (post-) Cold War globalization, this study examined the globalization process of South Korea during the 1980s by historicizing and contextualizing the idea of global imagination and the experience of global mobility. By bringing the given geopolitical and domestic changes into focus, this study investigated how the global imagination and mobility were entangled with each other in the ways of governing and disciplining outbound – not inbound – travelers. This process of mobility management at a conjuncture of global encounters disclosed the globalizing subjectivity as molded in the top-down process of the liberalization of mobility that was often in conflict and in negotiation with the growing aspirations of going abroad and the emerging awareness of freedom.

The time and space of ‘(post-) Cold War globalization’ herein refers to not only the international background or temporal phenomenon that simply combines the post-Cold War era AND globalization, as is often the case in the existing scholarship (Park MK 2009, 33). Instead, I intentionally use (post-) Cold War globalization as a historical particularity as well as a perspective to define 1980s Korean society — a conjuncture of globalizing Korea. The perspective of (post-) Cold War globalization implies the dynamically conflicting and negotiating times of global encounters between the world ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, which resulted in the navigating of subjectivity and the restructuring of global imaginations.

Drawing upon the theoretical perspectives of the structure of feeling and governmentality, this study approached the institutionalization of mobility as a place where global imaginations were formed and activated in the given power-subject relations as its context. Overseas travel was considered as an epitomizing case of the globalizing cultural experience that reveals the latent global imaginations and the sense of mobility as the emergent, increasingly becoming tangible throughout the long 1980s and representing the particularity of that time. Specifically, this study explored six different but related arenas that composed global imaginations, i.e. the others, ourselves, possible lives, the world, the self, and the mobility in each chapter on the imaginaries of globality and foreignness, policy and the institutionalization process, educational programs, and nationalistic guided tours. In each chapter, I examined how the cases could explain certain aspects of global imagination and what kind of conjunctures they presented in the particular settings in which mobility overlapped with global imagination. In respective chapters, mass media and daily space (Chapter 2), government policy (Chapter 3), education programs (Chapter 4), and travelogues and the contact zone experience (Chapter 5) were brought into focus as the means of mediating global imagination as well as the materialized and institutionalized results of social imagination as a response to the freedom of overseas travel by different actors.

In chapter 2, I drafted a map of global imaginaries as emerging social imaginations of the 1980s that were symptomically found in different socio-cultural arenas of everyday life such as mega-events, leisure space, educational texts, and media content. Then, I raised the question of ‘the foreign’ from the social discourses on ‘the flow’ and foreign goods and influences as well as the issue of people on the move and the act of crossing borders as conditioned by ideological geography as an axis of global imaginations on mobility for historical reasons. Next to this expanded background, in chapter 3, I first brought into

focus the multilayered notion of ‘overseas travel’ that had context-specific meanings and wider implications in which societal imaginations on mobility and globality were combined, including the growing idea of the freedom of movement and leisure. Then, I examined the process of mobility management conducted in the name of internationalization, which I see as the exemplar of institutionalized global imaginations by the authoritarian nation-state that arguably functioned as the prototype of global mobility in South Korea by standardizing and subjectifying nationalized cosmopolitanism. In chapter 4, I focused on the dimension of others and othering in the process of internationalization with given geopolitical and domestic cultural politics by analyzing the educational and disciplining program and contents for overseas travelers. The findings in chapter 4 unfolded how the securitization of mobility and the securitization of imagination were actually intertwined and kept producing dangerous others and justifying state surveillance and discipline of new types of mobile subjects. In chapter 5, the turbulent and transitional period between 1989 and 1992 was examined. By casting light on the organized tour to socialist and post-socialist societies for university students during that interval period, this study disclosed the readjustment of global imaginations in the performative mobility of intercultural contacts. It was highly entangled with the rapidly transforming international geopolitics as well as the domestic political situation in that both the de-securitization and re-securitization of the world and others occurred. Each chapter showed several types of global imaginations that often connected to the ideological imagination of mobility as a combination of imagining invisible mobility and the other, which implies how the issue of the freedom of movement was treated at that time. Each chapter unfolded the characteristics as follows: the anxiety and metaphor of contamination and contagion assumedly resulting from global mobility, the will to control bodies on the move and border crossing, persisting anti-communism and North Korea as the one and

only other, and the revision of socialist otherness in post-Cold War ideological adjustment.

In the meantime, Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 are comparable, while Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 contrast with each other. Both Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 deal with touristic space and discursive space in a different sense. Chapter 2 covers touristic space and media space wherein the global imaginaries were molded in domestic daily experiences. Chapter 5, on the other hand, identifies the overseas touristic space as a non-daily contact zone where travelers actually encountered the foreign, and, in turn, their travelogues played the role of a discursive space that mediated and reproduced the overseas experience. The examples in both chapters were the place from which the tourist gaze could be constructed as well as the field that reveals the coeval tourist gaze in the making. Analyzing and comparing Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 evokes the question of imagined mobility. Chapter 2 examines the formation of global literacy and how the imagination of mobility and the imaginaries of otherness and globality are activated. Chapter 5, meanwhile, unveils the complicated reality of the diverse world and the various faces of others that were dislocated from the imagined versions of otherness. The embodied experience and events at the contact zone readjusted the global literacy. On the other hand, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 collide in their descriptions of the contrasting projects of opening and blocking. The plan of internationalizing subjectivity and the rhetoric of opening in Chapter 3 contrast with the standardizing and othering scheme of otherness placed in the closed circuit. This imbalance implies the conflict between the imagination toward post-Cold War globalization as frictionless and borderless and the ideologized worldview as unidentified and insecure. From the viewpoint of the nation-state's global imagination, the findings of Chapter 3 and 4 unfold the contradictory orientation of internationalization in which the logic of opening and blocking both operated. And if the discourses on the freedom of movement from diverse actors are integrated, the study also engages in state-society

(including industry) dynamics in which individuals, industry, and intermediaries presented the desire for freedom and human rights.

6.1. Findings

I want to bring into the discussion four dimensions found from the cultural politics of “overseas travel” in the 1980s in South Korea: the institutionalization of global mobility, the securitization of global imaginations, the new societal quest for freedom of movement, and globalizing as drawing boundaries between the inside and outside.

Institutionalization of Global Mobility and the Duty to Internationalize

First, in terms of the institutionalization of mobility, the findings of this study shows that the norms and standards of internationalized national citizens were rendered in this process of planning the ‘nation’s overseas travel’. The Liberalization Act and the Expansion Plan as the total plan for defining and systematizing the going abroad experience arguably functioned as the trigger to crystalize subjectivity as internationalized human resources. This is not simply because the image and norm of internationalization was increasingly internalized, but because the positionality of the self in the world was combined with the imagination of the others. The notions of ‘sending’ and ‘dispatch’ changed to ‘going’ and ‘advancing’ as the subject converted from the state-government to the people (‘I’). The prototype of the actively internationalizing self in the fast-changing world (namely, ‘Korean in the World’) was established and promoted. Herein, the notion ‘internationalization’ was in other words the reconstruction process of state nationalism and the process of ‘internationalizing’ *Kukmin* that was represented by the new subject of the overseas traveler.

The authoritarian nation-state system actively intervened in this process and summoned “nation/people” (*kukmin*) as a new actor of globalization. Again, this is problematic because the nation-state intervened in othering and exclusion at the same time in drawing global imaginations. From this, the nationalized boundaries were re-established and strengthened through the post-Cold War order while re-mediating the otherness of the Korean Cold War. In this sense, the reconstruction of post-Cold War otherness was a disguise of the anti-communism governmentality. The nationalized imagination of the global was institutionalized and internalized as a hierarchical worldview that consisted of the advanced and globalized nations and those falling behind. In globalizing South Korea, the role and consequences of this transition in the late 1980s, the so-called post-Cold War moment, were such a transformation of subjectivity as well as global imaginations encompassing the self, the others, and the world.

This process made the overseas experience and overseas travel experience into a rite of passage to becoming an international citizen or a nationalized cosmopolitan. In this process, the idea of internationalized (national) human resources was standardized and specified as the norm for the preparation for the new era. The nation-state was highly involved in this process as the actor building such imagination and subjectivity by overtly connecting individual needs with national interests. The notion of the “civil ambassador” is a representative example. In this qualification and normative imagination, the nationalistic narrative was developed again and performed throughout nationalistic tours that contained the elements of patriotic pilgrimages and the collective rituals, as found in the cases of the Eastern-bloc trips. Anderson (1983/2006, 140) explained that the educational pilgrimages “provided the territorial base for new imagined communities” of the nation-state by structuring the shared experience of time and space in the mobility performance and interaction in that “natives could come to see themselves as ‘nationals’”. In both the pre-

requisite education and the actual tour program, this idea of imagined communities of the nation-state was emphasized to stay firm and steady even in foreign lands. And throughout this institutionalization of mobility, the 'foreign (travel) experience' was arguably settled down as a rite of passage to fit as a qualified member of the changing era, namely as the nationalistic cosmopolitan subject or nationalized cosmopolitan subject.

As found from the social discourses and travelogues, the social reactions cited the request for freedom, the expectation of democratization, the refusal of authoritarianism, and the individual purpose and desires for overseas travel. Yet, the top-down internationalization project seems to absorb those aspirations and reactions as well in the name of the current of the times and to convert them into participation and new aspirations for global achievement. In this conversion, South Korean society was imagined to proceed to post-Cold War globalization as a member of the international league of developed liberal societies. The South Korean people in the middle of such a flow were positioned and called the members of a global village who had the duty to internationalize themselves.

Securitization of Global Imaginations and the New Friends and Foes

As examined in chapter 4 and 5, the nation-state of South Korea not only took the role of the gatekeeper of global mobility by governing national territories and borders, but also actively engaged in molding global imagination and designing internationalized subjectivity. This study discussed the intervening political power in the individual's global imagination and how it could affect the imaginaries of the others and self-identification. At the same time, as seen in chapter 2, although the uncertainty and dangerousness of mobility and international travel were reduced, they lasted on the imaginary level. The sense of anxiety and threat against the fluidity and the mobile remained as latent, and it was always ready to be triggered by catalysts. Such a combination of social imagination

and institutional intervention made the global imaginations a structure of feeling that encountered dynamic navigation and negotiation. In this process, several methods were utilized: the discursive securitization of mobility and foreign lands, top-down institutionalization, the imposition of disciplinary power, and the surveillance system of identity checks, which were connected with the emergence of metaphors such as contamination and taboos and the role of the nation-state as an integrative community of ritual and pilgrimage that engendered the readjustment of ideological geography and, as a result, the de-securitization of the world and re-securitization of the significant other, North Korea.

To specify the formation of global imaginations and readjustment of ideological geography, first, the imaginaries of others were not clearly divided into two different axes of binary opposition, such as foe and friend or us and others, but were composed of multiple categories and layers surrounding the idea of the foreign, the border, and the changing ideology. The otherness was a tangled set of imagination and was re-arranged. This otherness did not exist as a separate set of imaginations based on different categories and groups but was complementarily composed of each part in mapping global imagination. The changing representation and illustration of socialist countries and cities and the unknown foreign countries to a large extent show the transforming imagination of the foreign and the world. The foreign space and 'the world outside' transformed from a politicized place of omnipresent danger that had the possibility to meet ideological others to the space for reconciliation with others from the past. This was represented as seditious and unsafe and was often used for the political purpose to build ideological others but was gradually readjusted as the stage to re-establish one's positionality in a hierarchical map of the world and nation-states.

Herein, the residual ideological geography was both a tool and the result of the securitization of mobility under the influence of the (post-) Cold War governmentality of anti-communism that actively generated such imagination. Such ideological and politicized Cold War geography was contested and re-imagined through the experience of the post-Cold War contact zone. When ideological geography operated as the mechanism of othering at the level of imagination and discourse, the securitization was activated through spreading to the social discourse as well as the actual policy on constructing 'threat' and 'crisis'. Such social imaginaries beyond individual imagination were utilized as a tool of governmentality in the arena of regulating society, the nation-state, territory, and mobile bodies. To examine and emphasize this process, where ideological geography and securitization functioned as two axes of imaginary control and mobility management, this study proposes a framework of the 'securitization of imagination' as the effect, peculiarity, and consequence of the nationalistic plan of globalization in specific that is bound to the institutionalization of mobility. Herein, the securitization of imagination is divided into two aspects: the imagination of 'the mobile' and that of the world and others. The former generated the securitization of mobility as imagining mobility as insecure and subversive and the latter engendered securitization of the world-others as dangerous and unknown. The securitization combined with the traditional ideological geography was expanded beyond the domestic border along with opening the border physically, increasing mobility and overseas travel, and the liberalization plan, which resulted in the new construction of the subject of security called 'overseas traveler' and the subject of globalization.

These processes of mobility management reveal how (regulating) mobility was enmeshed with (controlling) imagination. While the nation's citizen was summoned and imagined as the major subject of internationalization, otherness was reconstructed as the product of contingency from the transforming international geopolitics as well as the

power-effect of anti-communism governmentality. This new mapping of otherness was largely divided into the changing status of post-socialist societies and the opposingly hostile North Korea as the new friends and foes. The otherness of North Korea was strengthened as the isolated other in this post-Cold War anti-communism imagination. The reason for why the contradictory disposition of opening–internationalization and regulating-governing mobility could coexist can possibly be attributed to this re-arrangement, or even segregation, of otherness and new positioning of self and us. From this re-mapping, one's role and location were re-established in the new picture of the world and (hostile/friendly) others and sutured without strong resistance as before, which helped the smooth transition and adjustment to post-Cold War globalization in imagined ways.

The perspective of the cultural politics of mobility presents two dimensions: first, the device of regulation and control on the physical movement and migration that was institutionalized from the modern nation-state and universalized as a biopolitical functioning of power; and second, the governance on the intercultural experience and imagination that was often found in relation to the ideological work of cultural interaction and tourism in socialist internationalism and capitalist internationalism. Both dimensions were activated in the liberation space of Korea as the divided two states. The important point is not the fact that these two dimensions were simultaneously in operation, but the finding that the governance of imagination and othering as the consequential effect was appointed as the critical and prior task of the institutionalization of mobility. In other words, in contrast to the common idea and expectation of the expansion of understanding the others through increasing inter-cultural contact, the reality was the selective re-arrangement of the others by the state's institutional mediation and involvement from the beginning. Herein, the imagined worlds and others were the imagination of the newly compartmentalized boundaries. The governance of imagination as a crucial part of the

institutionalization of mobility was a plan to involve not only the mobile bodies but also the individual thought and imagination on the world and the others that was originally owned by individual human actors.

Contestation over Freedom of Mobility

This study also argues that the cultural politics of mobility in the case of ‘overseas travel’ in South Korea during the 1980s show the social imagination and reactions to the emerging idea of the ‘freedom of movement’ in a broader implication. In other words, in a sense, the global imagination was in continuous negotiation with the functioning of power/governmentality to deal with the emerging idea of freedom and the right to move and travel. It seems reasonable to suppose that the practices of governmentality such as disciplining and molding as such were more required and quickly adopted in the impending situation of the opening and freedom of mobility that was postponed and finally announced. The disciplinary power onto the imagination was demanded from the viewpoint of the authorities, as the performativity of mobility, contact with the others, and democratization and freedom in the 1980s were imminent. Namely, it was necessary to govern the expanding senses of time-space outside the enclosed national territory and global aspiration, as the government documents, traces of surveillance, discipline and punishment demonstrated. The cases in this thesis show the initial mode in which the governance of the territory was transferred to that of mobile bodies. Mobility management was resettled as the management of status and the qualification of the right to travel and move in the circumstances of relinquishing the extrajudicial authority to immure the national citizen. However, and possibly due to this reason, even the barrier of the border was lowered, but the boundaries as imagination were modified, and the ideological obstruction remained.

In other words, the cases this study engaged touch on the question of how the freedom of movement is encountered in changing domestic and international political circumstances. In examining this encounter, this study showed the ways of intervention not only in the status and qualification (the freedom to move and travel), but also in the imagination (the freedom to think and imagine) as well as the growing awareness of individual rights and other worlds. The difference from the pre-existing discipline on the people going abroad and the distinction from the idealized subject called the civil ambassador and pillar of industry is this dimension of governing the sense of 'freedom' as the emergent culture at hand. Global mobility and the increasing demand for the freedom of mobility represented uncertainty in opening the opportunity and unsealing freedom. The nation-state's 'right' to protect its people that had been taken for granted was increasingly cracked and doubted. The spread of the sense of freedom was confronted by securitization in the name of liberalization.

Globalizing as Drawing the Boundaries

Last but not least, the globalization process this study focused on was the process in which both interconnectivity and the consciousness of interconnectivity enlarged, including both aspiration and anxiety. It was also a process in which the (post-) Cold War anti-communist governmentality by the disciplinary nation-state power intervened in controlling mobile bodies as well as in regulating global imaginations. It was not a passive reception or localizing process of global forces but an endogenously internationalizing project to situate new subjectivity and actively set the boundaries of territory in imagined ways. It also needs to be highlighted that the otherness was catalyzed and reconstructed in the circumstances of opening and fluidity, not in an enclosed and exclusive situation. It was the compartmentalized otherness in the increasing cultural contacts. To rephrase, the nation-wide ambitious vision of "Korea in the World" was actually tied with, or occurred as a

result of, clarifying and visualizing the others. In that history, overseas travel was a pilgrimage to become a nationalistic and patriotic international citizen not only in economic but also in political and ideological meanings.

This history of globalization is also related to the question of practicing and accommodating the post-Cold War. The notion of the Cold War contained a fundamental contradiction in its meaning, and in reality it implied the post-colonial global Cold War that went through the hot civil wars as the history of the Korean War and postliberation space represents (Kwon 2013, 6). In relation to that, this study addressed the contradiction in the notion of the post-Cold War that manifested the persistent Cold War divide and tensions between South and North Korea. This study traced the re-configuration of post-Cold War global imagination and that of continuing anti-communism through the performativity of mobility in the altered situations of cultural contacts. The ways of relocating global imagination of the others confirmed how and why the binary Cold War imagination was maintained and did not end. This Cold War aftermath differs from the progress of neoliberal governmentality or the outdated international Cold War cultural policy of anti-communism.

The management of freedom herein was not merely implemented on the dimension of the individual's expansion of rights but was closely entangled with maintaining the social imagination of the nation-state as an anti-communist liberal democracy in the post-colonial division system by justifying the inclusion and exclusion of us and others. Such imaginary work was not confined to domestic events only but was grounded in the mapping and rearrangement of global others. It was a process strongly influenced by domestic political dynamics as well as a reaction to international geopolitical changes. In that sense, this globalization process in the practices of mobility was a will to build the boundary of inside and outside, a case in point of globalization made from the inside.

6.2. Further Discussion

For further discussion of the meaning of this conjunctural experience of “overseas travel” in the 1980s in South Korea, the four perspectives of conjunctures, structure of feeling and the emergent, governmentality and securitization, and new geopolitical imagination will be drawn upon.

The Conjuncture

First, to elaborate on the meaning of conjuncture, I argue that the 1980s was a time of the simultaneity of non-simultaneousness in which two segmented times were entwined. The period from 1980 to 1992 was also a liminal time of transition and creation. This temporal scale shows “transformative cosmopolitan moments” (Delanty 2009, 177) in the newly historicizing globalization of South Korea, wherein “cultures or collective identities interact and undergo transformation as a result” through the functioning of cultural encounters.¹ The previous theory of the simultaneity of non-simultaneousness in South Korea explained the 1980s as multiple times of contemporary politics in which non-simultaneous times crossed over, with a focus on political-economic factors and regime-based division. The period of the Chun Doo-hwan regime (1980–1988) saw, on the one hand, the coexistence of intensified modern industrialization and pre-modern caudillismo; in other words, it was modern in the economic sense but pre-modern politically. At the same time, it was also deemed a time of democratization in which two non-simultaneous forces, i.e. democracy and regressive authoritarianism, collided (Im 2014, 587). In the meantime, the historical period of the Roh Tae-woo regime (1988–1993) was defined as a

¹In emphasizing the importance of transformative moments in discussing cosmopolitanism and the role of cultural encounters in that process, the cosmopolitan sociologist Delanty (2009) states that, “The cosmopolitan moment occurs when cultures or collective identities interact and undergo transformation as a result. Without the transformative moment it is meaningless to speak of cosmopolitanism. But it must be also demonstrated that something has been learnt from the encounter of cultures” (2009, 177).

transitional time in that there were “old ones going dead yet new ones were not born”. It was also a passive time in which the non-simultaneous past of authoritarianism and the new democracy coexisted (Im 2014, 649-650). The findings of this study connect to this simultaneity of outdated authoritarianism and the new driving political forces of democratization, as demonstrated by the conflicting discourses between the government and society surrounding the issues of freedom of movement and disciplinary power. But what this study analyzed and clarified is neither confined to regime-based politics nor can it be traced to the origin of democracy or modernization in a local context. What this study problematizes is the continuous functioning of governmentality in daily lives and cultures under authoritarianism and anti-communism, which continued to be entangled with the emerging senses of freedom and individuality as components of non-simultaneousness. This cannot be merely characterized by a specific political leadership or regime, as it continued throughout the contemporary history of South Korea.

Bringing the perspective of continuity and discontinuity into consideration, the cases from 1989 to 1992 such as the Eastern bloc trip, soyang education, and anti-global metaphors in Chapter 2 indicate that the conjuncture of the 1980s cannot be wrapped up at the juncture of 1987 and 1988, which saw political democratization and the Olympic games, respectively. The perpetual discipline and surveillance as well as the persisting anxiety among people on the move are examples of ongoing anti-communism governmentality in action. At the same time, the feeling of freedom, particularly in the realm of mobility and travel, was not abruptly given one day in 1989, but gradually grew and was amplified throughout the 1980s. It was not even kicked off in 1981 with the blueprint of the Expansion Plan but was in fact latent from earlier times, as found in the sporadic requests to lift the ban on overseas travel. The consistency became disjunctive through the intervention of domestic and international contingencies as seen in Chapter 5;

however, this does not mean that the society was completely transformed from the old ways to the new ways of imagination and identification, i.e. post-Cold War globalization and political democratization. Post-Cold War global events and the dramatic transition in global geopolitics served as momentum to re-structuralize the imagination of others and the world by affecting relational mapping in the ideological sense. In other words, the securitization of imagination occurred in a broader frame as the governmental effect did not change. The ways of securitizing imagination as well as the ideological imagination of the others continued, yet the polarized perception of Cold War enemies was cracked. The former continued from the liberated space of Korea in the 1950s, whereas the latter evolved to another stage as will be discussed later.² The cases in Chapter 4 and 5 particularly testify as to what remained and mutated. As a bridge to connect the 1970s and 1990s and the times of fluctuation and negotiation, the 1980s (1980–1992) was a conjuncture of globalizing Korea in which the Cold War period was not clearly divided from the post-Cold War period, a space of incubating globalization.

For that reason, this study interprets this period in South Korea as a liminal period in which the energy of transformation and creation was embedded; to borrow Victor Turner's (1964) concept, it was a time of betwixt and between that explains a certain state of liminality and a transitional stage that can occur not only in a person's life but in societies as well. In this research, I draw upon this notion more as a metaphor to illustrate both the experience of overseas travel as a kind of ritual for individuals and a transitional moment for South Korean society. The signs of liminality were the request for the

²Lee B (2018, 155) also pointed out that the problem of the 1980s “carried over” to the 1990s in that “the ruptured phenomenon and new issues that came to the fore carried over in an ambiguous status as unsolved and unspecified but challenging”, even though “the considerable number of problems that were delayed, concealed, abandoned, and sutured condensedly burst out and were solved” during the 1980s. The cultural censorship was his case in point.

liberalization of overseas travel, the popularity of domestic leisure spaces in enlarging global imaginations, and personal expectations and attempts at escape for free time in the trip essays, to list a few. The conjuncture of the 1980s was the threshold “that marks out symbolically the limits of societal tolerance” (Hall et al. 1978, 225), a threshold in which the society-wide desires for the right to move and travel and for freedom in general approached the liminal stage.

Structure of Feeling

Second, this time and space of incubating was a dynamic field in which the non-simultaneous forces (I would argue as governmentalities) and emerging feelings (oscillating between anxiety and aspiration) affected and generated the daily life and overseas experience of the coevals. The simultaneity of non-simultaneousnesses can be specified with contesting and negotiating relations of the emergent, the residual, and the dominant as the elements of the structure of feeling. The cases and findings of Chapter 2 show a pre-emergence of globalizing that appeared in many diverse socio-cultural arenas as less evident forms that are “active and pressing but not yet fully articulated, rather than the evident emergence which could be more confidently named” (Williams 1977, 126). Along with the increasingly omnipresent aspirations for and curiosity about the world outside and the foreign, anxiety against the unidentified and the foreign as well as the fear of contamination and contagion co-presented in the midst of the changing circumstances of intercultural contacts and the shaking of national and international boundaries. Such complexity and multi-facetedness of pre-emergent conditions could be evidence of the emergent culture in creation. Together with the growing awareness of connectivity and aspirations for the world outside, the sense of freedom of mobility was becoming more vivid, as found in the counterarguments on the regulations related to mobility in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Herein, I define state nationalism as the dominant and the hegemonic to

which the residual and emergent were reintegrated in their new arrangement via the continuing system of policing power and disciplinary culture as well as the mechanism of securitizing global imagination. The cases reveal the anti-communism governmentality functioning in the structure of feeling as the residual, but they show that it was well blended into the dominant in the making of the post-Cold War others. The “active manifestation of the residual” (Williams 1977, 122) was found not only in the imagination of the hostile others but also in the methods of disciplining and monitoring. The anxiety about the unknown influence and hybridity was amalgamated with the residual as the persisting concern about the ideological foe in a more nationalized sense. The emergent can be divided into, but difficult to distinguish between, “elements of some new phase of the dominant culture” and “those which are substantially alternative or oppositional to it” (Williams 1977, 123).³ The findings of this study show that the formal was combined with the residual in the lingering ideological geography in the new geopolitical imagination, while the latter was expressed through manifesting and exercising the freedom of going abroad. The residual and the emergent are assumed to reveal the peculiarity of the dominant, which in the case of this study was the nation-state’s gaze on the ‘nation (people)’, the threat management system, nationalistic ways of othering by drawing lines between ‘us’ and the foreign, and moreover its continuity throughout the contemporary history of South Korean authoritarian regimes. But at the same time, another pattern of the emergent, namely the growing affect of freedom and individuality as oppositional and alternative, contended with the hegemonic culture guided by the authoritarian nation-state. This process was supplemented by the crack in the imagined others and the world through

³At this point, the notion of structure of feeling can be understood as embodying the conjunctural meaning as an analytic concept that also considers the historical particularity in the beginning.

the actual experience of overseas mobility activated in the individualized works of imagination.

The Emergent

The emergent of global imagination is specified to the two dimensions of ‘the global’ and ‘going abroad’ in this study. First, in terms of the meaning of the global, I want to point out two aspects of it: the formation of global consciousness on a relatively abstract level and the new mapping of the world as a topological cluster of others. In the first aspect, the global implies the growing senses of global awareness and the perception of global interconnectivity that were accompanied by the heightening aspiration for and imagination of the world outside national territory.⁴ Needless to say, this idea has to be accompanied with additional research on other signifiers/constituents or sub-categories of ‘the global’ such as Asia, America, the West, the modern, and capitalism, to list some, in their respective specificities.⁵ This study is more interested in another narrative and dimension of the global as imagining the relations of the world and the self/us and the process of how that imagination of the world obtained specific materiality and substantiality in the relational mapping of others and clustered otherness, which leads to the next angle of the global. As for the second aspect, the work of imagining others seems to be arranged as a cognitive cluster based on multilayered self-other and other-other relations. The findings show that the global imagination of the others did not exist alone but was located and re-

⁴I would argue that such phenomenon was pre-existing before democratization or the Olympics in 1988 and even earlier in South Korea, as found in the examples that started to discuss liberalizing overseas travel and holding international events such as the Olympic Games in the 1970s by the policy makers and the urban construction of a theme park in 1970s, not only the sporadic requests and individual attempts to go abroad.

⁵The previous scholarship touched upon such specificity from a bilateral and regional focus. To list some influential works, see Chang (2018) and Chang (2012) for the context of ‘Asia’ and South Korea, Kim (2017) and Yoo (2017) in terms of Japan and South Korea, and see Chang (2012) and Kim and Won (2008) in relation to the case of the U.S. and South Korea.

located as a mapping of the others drawn upon respective relations with different distance, balance, hierarchy, and combinations. The case of the Eastern-bloc trip illustrated this relational and reciprocal formation of global imagination in which the individual travelers negotiated and navigated to map out new global imaginations in the middle of face-to-face interactions. Such relational otherness was projected to the topological imagination of the foreign places and reproduced the representation of space. Chapter 5 showed that the meaning of post-socialist societies was adjusted in the new topology of post-Cold War worlds in that North Korea was individuated in a personalized otherness. As such, the relational and topological understanding of global imagination also brings into consideration the otherness that is adhered to the imagination of place but also situated beyond the issue of space, namely as the problem of imagining others. In the case of the 1980s, when the freedom of movement unfolded, the new formation was closely linked to the process of othering. In discussing the global imagination of that time, what this study problematizes is less about the process of spatial emergence (Ek and Tesfahuney 2019, 868) and more about the process of othering that the governmental effect and power dynamics involved, as will soon be addressed. For example, the otherness of North Korean people, Japanese people, and overseas Koreans seems irrelevant to their geographical locations of North Korea, Japan, and their country of residence, respectively. Instead, the otherness was experienced and imagined through the representative imaginaries they were associated with, for example, communism, compatriotism, advanced technology, colonial trauma, and so on. Such imagination that had been adhered to the otherness appeared occasionally and sporadically. In particular, in the case of North Korean people, as seen in the example of education films as well as individual travel experiences, no matter where the travelers were, the overseas situation and the traveler's attitude was more significant than the actual placeness of North Korea. At this point, the otherness is not attached to a particular

geopolitical place but rather to the individual body on the move or to the attributes that assumedly carry that geopolitical otherness. In the new geopolitical global imagination as an essence of the global as the emergent in this conjuncture of the 1980s, the other called “North” is excluded and isolated as an outsider from “the world” as a newly imagined stage of the international. This rearrangement process was conditioned by the imagination of invisible and visible mobility and impelled by mobility practices.

Passing through this conjuncture, during which the imagination and practice of global mobility mingled, the expanded senses of the world and geographical imagination encountered specific substances. The new inclusion of the previous Eastern bloc from the late 1980s and the Olympic Games in 1988 influenced this process. Not only post-socialist societies but also other countries of Asia and Europe acquired the materialized substantiality. If the world was focused on bilateral relations, mainly with Japan and the U.S., before this conjuncture, such bilaterality was also diversified.⁶ Given this interpretation, approaching global imaginations as a rather loose analytic tool and a structure of feeling that could vary was also meant to branch out the meaning of the global analytically, to relativize hegemonic others such as the U.S. and Japan, to diversify globalization studies from the dominant academic and social discourses, and to multiply global imaginations from quotidian observations. In this objective, to explore the meaning of the global at that time, this study suggests to diversify the definition of the global imagination to 1) awareness of the senses of global connectivity and interlinking, the shrinking world, growing influence, and mobility, 2) the imaginary of the world/globe in the abstract sense as a whole and/or a world existing outside our society (nation-state)

⁶One of the examples of the omnipresence of many ‘global’s can be the absence of America and Japan in the mandatory education for overseas travelers in 1980s and the high expectation and curiosity about other countries and interactions with the local people expressed in the travelogues.

based on an us/foreign distinction, and 3) specific imaginaries to other countries from a bilateral or regional focus that are influenced by relational and topological associations.

Next, the amplified imagination of going abroad was another pillar of the emergent since it became more visualized, which was also institutionalized and realized through the outbound policy beyond global awareness. The social imaginaries as well as the norms of 'going abroad' were gradually settled as the emergent culture, assuming the world as a background stage for a national subject to advance toward. Such a global imagination in the forms of the desire for and practices of outbound mobility have been maintained and have influenced the popularity of internationalization from the 1990s to the present in Korean society. The new integrative outbound policy of international tourism and short-term migration for domestic citizens implies that the conditions of mobility moved to another stage. This conjuncture and outbound policy that was epitomized by the case of the liberalization of overseas travel is significant, as it finally empowered each ordinary individual as the subject of mobility, not particular occupation groups or migrants. In other words, from the viewpoint of performative globalization, the agency of going abroad was manifested for the first time as if the body owned their choice of going abroad, not as 'sent' but as 'advancing' on their own. Therefore, the outbound policy of the 1980s is a watershed of global mobility among many diverse conjunctures of making and adjusting the boundaries of inside and outside. Namely, the era of people going abroad, not the mobility of culture and capital, was fully fledged. The conjuncture of the 1980s was not only the incubating space of imagination but also that of global mobility in practice. In this making of global mobility and the realization of going abroad, the nation-state and regime's global imagination was also projected to the outbound and opening-door policy. It was a unique case to actively regulate the outbound population for the sake of the nation-state to integrate overseas experiences into future human resources of the nation-state, not

only overseas labor but also any kind of overseas experience. It was also distinctive because such future-oriented economic intentions never went smoothly due to concurrent domestic political repression and suspicion about going abroad activities, which were enough to hinder the open-door policy.

This is why I emphasize on specifying imagining mobility in considering the global imagination apart from imagining the world, the other, and the self as mutually reflexive relations. As I proposed earlier, in order to understand the cultural politics of the global imagination, the process of imagining mobility has to be added to the sites of imagination. Both in analyzing the abstract imaginary of 'the global' or specific practices of mobility, the imagination and practices of mobility have to be considered together as a new variable to separately analyze. The issue of the freedom of movement in the 1980s in South Korea not only contained the growing global imagination but also reflected the changing social, historical, cultural, and economic conditions that corresponded with one another by drawing the necessity of mobility as well as by regulating through the new establishment of domestic laws and diplomatic relations. The site of international mobility was thus a dynamic field in that many diverse actors, aspirations, intentions, and negotiations intermingled, and this dynamism was evidence of the emergent beyond the imaginary level. Raising the issue of going abroad therefore provides alternative ways of thinking to see a different picture from the perspective of separating the tourist and migrant; for example, to consider a frame of domestic and foreign. The former categorization is conditioned by and focused on the division of consumption and labor, whereas the latter raises the question of boundary and status in both imaginary and actual senses.

Governmentality

As addressed in the introduction, the theory of imagination points to the location and capacity of agencies that could be varied and have the power to imagine. This assumption of many potential agencies that could operate in autonomous ways resembles the functioning of governmentality. In the theory of governmentality, subjectivity is made by internalizing given norms and conduct through the work of power-knowledge. As such, governmentality as the power-effect can intervene in the process of global imaginations as a pathway to subjectification. The findings of this study show that the continuous operation of power kept intervening in disciplining oneself in an individualized method of internalization of the norms and desirable forms of conduct of internationalization. The outbound internationalization policies that intervened in molding the global imaginations as a governmental strategy cannot be freed from suspicions of the political aspect of governmentality as its historical condition, which had the dual face of post-Cold War anti-communism and internationalizing subjectivity. The co-presence of regulation and de-regulation was possible because the former was a crucial part of the latter, and it was implemented through the method of producing others. To be specific, the regulation of mobility categorized and visualized behaviors that were not allowed and stipulated the norms of internationalization. Thus, this led the individual to internalize the rules for going abroad and the etiquette of internationalization in that self-discipline as an anti-communist subject was blended. This functioning of self-discipline in the process of internationalization implies an emerging characteristic of governmentality as a new form of management of freedom. However, this was not merely a top-down and one-way process driven by the nation-state government, as it more or less was the continuing functioning of anti-communism and authoritarian state governmentality. Concurrently, the governmentality of internationalization took place in the dynamism of society in the

expanding aspiration for the freedom of mobility and the enlarging sense of freedom that also corresponded with the changing international situation. I would argue that this conjuncture saw the birth of an ideology called ‘internationalization’ and later ‘globalization’. On the other hand, such governmentality was not exactly the same with a nascent neo-liberalistic governmentality with its new face of “self-empowerment” grounded in the desire for “freedom”, yet in fact it was an evolved form of capitalism, as has often been addressed with the situation after the 1990s (Seo 2009). I think the self-empowering subject as economic-driven capitalistic subjectivity was not articulated yet to this study’s subject of internationalization. If the previous arguments focused on the will to develop the self as a “will to freedom” that appeared in the late 1980s and early 1990s, this study discusses the *sense of freedom* as a will to freedom that was already omnipresent in the 1980s and sporadically present even before.⁷ This study locates itself in the genealogy of freedom and aspiration that eagerly pursued and explored the possibilities, pathways, and methods of mobility in the circumstances of *immobility*. Then, it joins the history of early migrants, such as nurses and coalminers, to West Germany and early study abroad students who chose to go abroad in the pursuit of alternative lives or to use their status just to cross the border out of the longing for new worlds, not the history of (imported) capitalism.

Securitization

⁷From my point of view, the articulation of self-developing economic subjectivity and the norms of internationalization were occurring in the late 1980s and early 1990s along with imagery of global human resources and talents that was represented and spread by public figures in the economy. I think this is another pillar for explaining South Korea as a society of internationalization and is another story to examine in the phase of the popularization of internationalization, which might overlap but is not the same. I also see that the boom in overseas travel and mass tourism in the 1990s was a step of popularization, and the 1980s was the time of pre-emergence, as aforementioned.

The finding of the securitization of imagination connects to the functioning of governmentality both as its power-effect and as the method of securitizing. This implies two separate and dual layers of the securitization of imagination: 1) the ways of securitizing the act of imagination and its contents and 2) the securitization of imagination as a consequence of governmentality. This notion is suggested to explain given South Korean phenomena but is also open to be used as a conceptual and methodological framework to elucidate the way of governmentalization and the power-effect of governmentality in relation to the work of imagination. To rephrase, governmentality was activated through the ways of securitization in molding global imaginations. The governmentality was functioning under the leadership of authoritarian and ideological state power through the ways of constructing threats based on the distinction of in-out and the subsequent generation of counter-discourses, norms and desirable conduct. In particular, straying further from the existing securitization theory, this study highlights the securitization of mobility itself that can possibly be applied to many different types of mobility that are invisible and unidentified. The securitization of mobility can operate in all kinds of things and ideas when they are assumed to be threats coming from the outside, regardless of the particular arena such as politics, economics, the environment, culture, and society or specific issues and phenomena as in the previous securitization theory. In doing so, the securitization of imagination and the securitization of the subject/object can be further distinguished. In other words, it is necessary to see what exactly is being securitized. For example, in this study, I mentioned securitization and the re-securitization of imagination as the effects of (post-) Cold War governmentality. First, in the circumstances before 1989, the securitization of national security was established in the ways of integrating the threat of mobility that materialized through the ideological others and places with the name of communist. In the meantime, securitizing no longer

highlighted the individual mobility or the Cold War space and others as the actual targets of threat in the post-Cold War situation after 1989; still, the ways of imagining that the mobile bodies could convey something hazardous and insecure remained as a continuing mechanism of the securitization of mobility. At the same time, the ways of imagining the ‘North’ as a threat also continued and settled down as persistent anti-communist ways of thinking. Therein, the securitization of imagination can be defined in two dimensions: the securitization of imagining mobility as in the former and that of imagining others as in the latter. Again, the former points engage in a broader issue of mobility and securitization not confined to the ideological dimension and still used against various types of threats as more evident in recent years in relation to the current issues of the international society such as the refugee crisis and global pandemics.⁸ It has its origins in imagining the foreign (outside) as a threat in the conjunctures of building boundaries of inside and outside and was inherited as part of the anxiety of contamination and contagion. On the other hand, the imagining of a particular other, the ‘North’ in the South Korean case, has been repeated over thirty years until the present with the ongoing bilateral South-North issues. Particularly in this study, securitization appeared as 1) the consequential effect of anti-communist governmentality in combination with military authoritarianism that resulted in securitizing the imagination of the other called the ‘North’ and 2) the method of governmentalization to supervise the sense of freedom and the right to go abroad under the nation-state’s jurisdiction that resulted in molding the “people” (*Kukmin*) as consistently

⁸For example, in this regard, I can explain that the securitization of imagination functioning in COVID-19 resulted from the imagination in operation that presumed the unfamiliar foreign (Asian) bodies to carry and mediate the disease and was thus expressed through hatred toward Asian people. This securitization engendered both the discourses of illustrating random Asians as threats and the actual actions of threatening. This recent case is a specific example that shows how individual acts of imagination can interact with old imaginaries of the Asian as well as that of the unidentified, invisible, but actively mobile virus. As to the recent research on mobility and securitization with current issues of the refugee crisis and transmittable diseases, see also McInnes and Rushton (2011) and Song (2014).

ideologized subjects of a divided nation. This process of imagining mobility and others is also the process of constructing the tourist gaze and simultaneously constructing the gaze 'upon' the tourist as the mediating bodies on the move, as seen in the previous chapters. If the securitization of mobility is related to the latter, the securitization of imagining others becomes adhered to the former process.

The Post-Cold War Other in the New Geopolitical Imagination

The findings of this study showed that the post-Cold War global imagination was re-structured along with the new matrix of the others that were divided into the firmly hostile other of North Korea and the freed Cold War others of post-socialist societies. Yet, they were both politically mediated and politicized others based on the new relations with 'us'. This continuation and re-establishment of anti-communist otherness after the Cold War proves that the expanded global mobility and its becoming an accepted part of society did not always bring the de-securitization of imagination through more frequent cultural encounters. Even though the barriers of mobility were lifted, the otherness, as defined by the imagination through the ways of securitization and not by interaction, was difficult to change, even in the actuality of cultural encounters wherein the imagination was re-secured as found in the cases of North Korea the Eastern-bloc trips. At the same time, other cases suggested the possibility of mutual understanding based on the empathy as found in the cases of East European countries and young Chinese students that shared similar social and historical experiences and memories.

The PTC study on the conditions of postwar British society explained that the constructed threat and societal anxiety could produce the exclusion of specific otherness, in particular with an allegation of racial discrimination brought by stigmatization and securitization. In this study, I pointed out that the Cold War tensions and others were re-

structuralized to a new mapping of post-Cold War imaginations. The reconstruction and reproduction of otherness as a consequence of discipline, historical contingency, and the agency's performativity has been an old but insoluble topic. It also influences how the tourist gaze is built, but at the same time, there exists an opportunity for readjustment to form a mutual gaze through the practices of mobility in reciprocal host-guest interaction as found in the case of the Eastern-bloc trip. In this thesis, Chapters 2, 3, and 4 speak to the formation of the tourist gaze as structured, whereas Chapter 5 investigates how that structured gaze encounters the negotiation, rearrangement, and even betrayal. If focused on ideological imagination, the readjustment as such meant the gradual internalization of the post-Cold War vision of the world and the revision of Cold War others. This resulted in the firm reproduction of the other called the 'North' (North Korea and North Korean people) from the Cold War communist other to the post-Cold War anti-communist other; however, to a large extent, it was the establishment of a new geopolitical imagination of 'post-Cold War Korea'. It was not merely the effect of securitization that led the nation-state to set the categories of threat in the internationalization policy but also the ramifications of the combination of two dimensions surrounding freedom of mobility, i.e. the power-effect caused by the nation-state's will to control and the unexpected contingency of individual contact brought by the expanded freedom of mobility. The othering as the consequence of outbound mobility control contributed to consolidating the location of the 'North' as the persisting ideological other, even after the official end of the Cold War, which left the ideologized tension in South Korean society without reconciliation.

Socio-cultural Transformation of the 1980s in South Korea

In illustrating the characteristics of the socio-cultural transformation of South Korean society during the 1980s, the findings of this study engage in the existing arguments as follows. First, although this study does not intend to identify what the contemporary South

Korean society was nor to argue from the state-driven political-economy perspective of the developmental state, it does agree to a point that the Chun and Roh regimes were times of transition from a divided developmental state to a post-Cold War developmental state under the view of the “advancement of the nation” (Chung 2012, 24). This study supplemented that story with a focus on the internationalization of the 1980s by unfolding the process of how the national view of an “advanced country” was incorporated into the internationalization policy and the design of nationalized subjectivity with the blueprint of the Expansion Plan. The value of modernization, referred to as “advancement”, was integrated to a new will to become on par with the advanced countries, and the ideas of national development and individual empowerment became synchronized in the will to internationalize. Given the conceptual framework of globalization wrought by the institutionalization and standardization of mobility, a series of trends in South Korea from the 1990s can be used as cases for comparison to investigate the molding of global aspirations and the will to internationalize, i.e. English training trips, the backpacking boom, the pre-college study abroad and new family phenomenon, and cultural globalization including the Korean Wave. For instance, Ryoo (2009, 352) argues that the inherited policy keywords such as ‘global standard’ and ‘reinforcement of the nation’s competitiveness’ from the Kim Young-Sam government to the Roh Moo-Hyun government were “the replacement of the preceding discourse of modernization and developmental dictatorship by the Park Jung-Hee regime” in negotiation with the neoliberal discourse. The gap between the policies of the 1970s and after the 1990s can be partially filled by examining the internationalization policy during the 1980s. In other words, the historical narrative of ‘national image and manpower’ can be added before “national image and soft power” (Ryoo 2009, 354).

Second, this study discusses the socio-cultural transformation of the 1980s beyond the opposition of the state versus civil society grounded in the intensified focus on the political field and democracy. It was certainly true that the ongoing power relations prevailed between the repressive authoritarian state and the oppressed individuals under control, but many different agencies including non-human materials, media and space, foreigners, and industry actively participated in the realities surrounding the freedom of mobility and spontaneously reacted to the changing conditions. This temporality and spatiality of internationalization and liberalization during the 1980s interacted with that of democratization. This study highlighted the socio-cultural transformation as driven and triggered by the emerging imaginations, tensions, and interactions of those agencies.

Third, in relation to Cold War studies, this study follows the perspective of the global Cold War in the sense that the Cold War continues, even in the form of hot wars in some places, unlike the predominant perception of the post-Cold War period, which asserts that the previous geopolitical imagination and international relations were terminated and took on a completely new shape. Herein, Cold War implies the discursive struggles and practices of power in-between communism and anti-communism rather than the conflict of bipolar powers, in which each local context and bi-lateral historical relations could override the orthodox opposition of ideology. Namely, not merely as a narrative of the global Cold War but also as a distinctive case of the Korean Cold War, the (post-) Cold War culture in this study was closer to the localized anti-communism governmentality as the lived history and memory of the division beyond the bipolar regime of the U.S. and Soviet Union. In this regard, the new geopolitical imagination revealed not the end of socialism but the diversity of socialisms and the biggest counterpart of North Korea, not the U.S. The second implication for Cold War studies is the issue of mobility that was often dealt with in the sense of how mobility contributed to building ideological

subjectivity or reinforcing alliance as a part of larger ideological practice, namely how ideology built mobility and subjectivity. This study also touched upon how the ideological imagination was projected to the idea of internationalization and was actualized in the process of mobility management, but at the same time the findings illustrated how the experience of mobility and cultural contact redirected the post-ideological imagination. This contributed to complicating the meaning of interpersonal exchange and mobility in the ongoing global Cold War history.

Finally, the perspective of tourism or mobility was not a popular theme in discussing the transformation of South Korean society and culture. The question of (im)mobility this study sheds light on supplements the understanding of contemporary Korean society by problematizing the historical and social conditions of tourism and by changing the question from who the tourist was and what tourism was to how and why international tourism was impossible and then possible.⁹ “Overseas travel” as a broader definition of mobility in this study seems distant from the major concerns in other tourism studies at a glance. But, also, by bringing the perspective of immobility into the discussion, this study not only diverged from the earlier inquiries of the people who worked and the people who traveled in the given social and cultural conditions; it also calls attention to the question of the possibility to move within the broader conditions of mobility and its political/economic/social/cultural reality.¹⁰ In particular, in the discussion of the conditions

⁹The sociology of tourism often asks two fundamental questions: “who is the tourist (and who the tourist is)” and “what is tourism (what kind of practices and behaviors do they engage in)”. Herein, tourists or tourism often imply the people and phenomena that embed the social change as a symptom or example, and the interpretation is often conditioned by the priori explanation of given times, for example, modernism, consumerism, post-modernism, etc.

¹⁰In the meantime, this study does not attempt to generalize overseas travel and international tourism in the 1980s through the cases in this research. To fully understand the characteristics of the history of overseas travel in South Korea, other sides of stories in outbound tourism should be examined as well. For example, in dealing with tourism

of the geopolitical circumstances and topological perspective that this study concentrated on, a viewpoint of tourism and mobility in a broader sense connects with the understanding of contemporary Korean society. Specifically, it deals with the relevant topics of tourism such as the conditions of immobility, the impact of the increasing global consciousness, and the problematization of imagination and securitization as the intervention of power in tourism. In other words, the objective of this study is not to directly determine who those tourists were and what kind of tourism they engaged in. But at the same time, this study is situated in a broader area of sociology of tourism as the contextual understanding of the socio-cultural transformation of mobility. It is also distant from the dominant interest and interpretation of the field, as this study engages in the ideological perspective to unravel the conditions of immobility. In terms of its relevance to more specific concepts of tourism studies, the findings in this study also engage in analytic concepts such as the tourist matrix and tourist gaze, as they identified the geopolitical and historical conditions and characteristics of the tourist matrix and gaze in the context of the 1980s in South Korea that lingered in affecting tourist behavior and imagination onwards.

For Further Research

Based on the findings regarding the freedom of mobility and global imaginations, this study suggests four related research themes and perspectives that could be further

culture in the 1980s, this study does not touch on the sociological meaning of the early tourism phenomenon combined with a new consumption society or the vagabond-style drifters and frontier-like young backpackers who improvised and often violated mobility regulations in order to go abroad. This is not because their travel experiences were less important or unique, but the prior focus is on discussing the problem of the ‘freedom of mobility’ in association with (post-) Cold War conjunctures, under which all overseas travelers were conditioned in the same ways of regulating status and imagination. In this study, the topic of the freedom of mobility comes first to understand this period as a specific conjuncture of globalizing Korea. But, again, other grassroots touristic experiences have to be explored in future research to restore the multifaceted stories of overseas travel in this conjuncture of the history of globalization.

developed: the relational approach to global imaginations and genealogical mapping, the conjunctural analysis of mobility culture, the problematization of the securitization of imagination, and the socio-cultural meaning of “freedom”. First, global imaginations need to be analyzed as a changing set of imaginations of many different others and otherness, as the meaning of otherness attached to a specific other can vary depending on the counterpart in an imaginary mapping, which I define as relational and topological and is not exclusively confined to bilateral relations. For example, the perception of Korean-Chinese people was more intimate in comparison to North Korean people, and Shanghai was interpreted differently, either a modern cosmopolis unlike Beijing or a typical communist Chinese city, depending on the entire itinerary, as seen in Chapter 5. In this study, the notion of “global” in global imaginations deals with a relatively abstract meaning of “the world” as well as a sense of connection in that the location of the self and the other/world becomes specified. But it is certainly necessary to elaborate on the meaning of global for further research, for example, as the particular dominant other that composes or even represents that world. This study emphasizes the multi-layeredness of global imaginations as plural, which eventually has to be combined with examining mutual relations, configurations, and variations in the mapping of various others and the signifiers of otherness for an ideal result of genealogical and conjunctural studies of global imaginations. For instance, more has to be elaborated on than the imagination of the ‘old others’, i.e. ‘the West’, ‘America’, and ‘Japan’, that were changing while passing through the 1980s and in the new geopolitical imagination. As another sub-category, the imaginary of “Asia” with regard to the new geopolitical or non-political imaginations of other Asias in the post-Cold War times has to be followed by a conjunctural and genealogical approach in future research, as these countries and cities eventually became popular destinations when mass tourism settled down and also major guest countries of global migration by

labor or international marriage later.¹¹ Such changing relations of tourism and migration kept influencing the work of imagination by readjusting the imaginary boundaries of others and us.

In other words, it is necessary to consider the complexity of otherness, the multi-faceted determinants of human experience, and historicity. The experience of global mobility can be defined as an active way of setting and performing relations with the outside, and it is important to see what kind of change and particularity is made in the conjunctures of invigorating those relations, during which imagination and mediation increased. This leads to the second suggestion on the conjunctural analysis of mobility and the culture of mobility. As mentioned, the conjunctural analysis of mobility and globalization can connect to wider implications to discuss how the inside and outside of the border establishes a new relationship in transitional times in that the practices of mobility change and a society reacts and transforms in those conditions. This study suggests developing the analysis of conjunctures to the genealogical research that contained many diverse conjunctures in that mobility and globality are entwined. The conjunctural analysis of global mobility and imagination can provide a supplementary or alternative explanation to previous globalization studies by bringing the flow of the invisible into focus. For example, the securitization of mobility was functioning in causing the fear of the mobile, contamination, and contagion of the invisible. If the previous scholarship on globalization tends to ask ‘what’ is globalized and what are the political, economic, and cultural implications, this study showed that the people facing the changes

¹¹One of the examples that shows the imagination of ‘Asia’ in the 1980s is the Asian Games in 1984, which represented the new perception of Asia that implied Korea IN Asia by illustrating a new picture of Asia versus the World to pursue. This imagination of Asia is different from those before and after this period in that Asia was deemed as either distant from Korea as found in 1945–1965 (Chang 2012, 2018) or a community for regional integration after the 1990s, to put it roughly. However, the cases of the 1970s and 1980s were not examined enough in the previous scholarship.

were more sensitive to 'how' the global influence penetrated into and had impacts on their lives. When the mobility of the invisible is concerned, we can see that the topic of globalizing can be diverged to two major inquiries: who mediates and what becomes the route. which in the cases of this study resulted in the securitization of mobility itself.

Third, this study suggests a conceptual framework for the securitization of imagination in relation to mobility to use to understand the entanglement of mobility, globality, and otherness in the globalization process. This conceptual framework helps clarify the securitizing actor and the process of securitizing and the following discursive and imaginary effects. As mentioned above, there is more to be examined by elaborating on the route of mediation to analyze how the mobility and mediation process is securitized and how the new imagination emerges and the old one is regenerated in that securitization. Even though the mobility and cultural contact increases along with globalization, it does not necessarily mean that the intercultural understanding, the cosmopolitan empathy, or the hospitality toward the others simultaneously expands. This is arguably because many different factors intervene, for example, mediation, education, historical experience, and even the inertia of daily life. The perspective of the securitization of the global imagination engages in this inquiry into how mediation and the existing structure of feeling could hinder the open-minded and non-disturbed interaction with the others.

Last, the meaning of freedom during that period or in another time and space needs to be considered in future research to fill in the historical narratives and for a richer understanding. Research on the reaction and resistance to the restriction of freedom of movement including non-institutionalized overseas travel such as improvised backpacking or anomalous commercial tourism can be connected to this topic to some extent. This topic, however, is not limited to the field of travel and tourism and should be expanded to other social phenomena.

Concluding Remark

To conclude, this study started with a broad question on the globalization process in South Korea from a historical and cultural perspective. It turned out that this study examined different angles of performative globalization and the idea of globalizing as embedded in individuals. This study approached globalization as the emergence and development of global encounters in which individuals and a society come into contact with the “world” outside a national territory, foreign country, culture, and people. What this study unfolded was a mentality of the “global” that emerged throughout the 1980s as an active will to participate in the world and its underlying political and geopolitical conditions that influenced the formation of the modernity and globality of South Korean society. This conjuncture functioned as a liminal space between immobility and mobility, through which the society and individuals were bound together with internationalizing subjectivity. In the conjunctural times containing the contesting realities of the Cold War and post-Cold War and also those of authoritarianism and democratization, the issue of the freedom of global mobility was a newly heated field in which the uncontrollable touristic experience and persisting governmentalities collided. The expanding world imaginaries and the mediated foreign experience by migrants and travelers sustained the touristic experience of desiring to go abroad, and the involved disciplinary institutions and ideological othering process played a major role in reproducing anxiety against the freedom of mobility as a means of governing. Overseas travel in the 1980s in South Korea was a field in which social imaginaries on freedom and human rights were projected to the freedom of travel, which not only encountered the growing intercultural contact but also the persisting imagination of post-Cold War anti-communism and nationalistic self-perception. The freedom of mobility is still an arena where state sovereignty and the individual right to move are contested, as found in the examples of countries with travel restrictions, visa and passport

policies, and the status of refugees, to list a few. The detailed conjunctural analysis has to be continued to unfold the complexity and multi-vocality, as global imaginations and global mobility are articulated and intertwined with the ways of globalizing.

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