HERITAGE TOURISM AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF CHANGDEOK PALACE, SEOUL

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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO MY PARENTS AND MY LATE GRANDMOTHER

사랑하는 부모님과 하늘 나라에서도 항상 저희들을 위해
기도 하고 계실 외할머니께 이 논문을 바칩니다

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Abstract

This ethnographic study concerns the conceptual and symbolic interrelationships between heritage tourism and national identity. The research focuses on the World Heritage Site of Changdeok Palace in Seoul, South Korea (Republic of Korea). The study's theoretical framework suggests that heritage is not only a fundamental attribute of national culture but an important form of symbolic embodiment through which people can construct, reconstruct and communicate their sense of national belonging. This thesis examines discourses of nationalism and the nation, as well as perspectives concerning heritage tourism and past representations, emphasising that it is possible to actualise national identities and notions of nationhood in the ordinary realm of everyday life. Moreover, there is scope to examine nationalist sentiments and heritage tourism experiences within the context of a newly modernised (non-western) society. This study utilises a multi-method (qualitative) approach: ethnographic interviews with visitors and palace employees; observational accounts derived from 'systematic lurking' situations; participatory techniques through active involvement in guided tours; utlisation of friendly conversations; and open evaluation of written (visitor) narratives. The findings indicate that a sense of 'Koreaness' is firmly grounded in an emotional attachment to the nation, evoked during people's heritage encounters. The Changdeok experience encourages individuals to embody and personalise a sense of national belonging in a country that has been historically subjugated and geographically redefined. Visitor interpretations and representational narratives concerning the roles of 'significant others' (Japan, North Korea and the West) encourages South Koreans to recontextualise their national consciousness and self-(collective) identities. Changdeok's auspicious setting arguably encourages people to escape the ordinary realms of everyday life, achieving intense but brief symbolic inversions further depicting that heritage tourism can be conceptualised as a spiritual journey of national rediscovery and cultural continuity. Heritage tourism experiences at Changdeok Palace serve as conscious mechanisms by which individuals' subjective and (inter)-contextual understanding of heritage contributes to embracing the nation's complex past, as well as helping to provide an understanding of its unique present. Finally, the work arguably illustrates that the study of heritage tourism can help to unfold the nuances and complexities associated with national identification.

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Research Aim and Objectives

Aim

This study primarily aims to examine the conceptual and symbolic interrelationships between heritage tourism and national identity, as well as to understand how domestic visitors and site employees within the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace (Seoul, South Korea) subjectively and contextually perceive elements of shared social memory and nationhood.

Objectives

1) To explore individualised and subjective ways in which a sense of national belonging is evoked and collectively negotiated during visits to the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace, particularly to comprehend how elements of national sentiment, social memory and national identity are (re-)conceptualised.

2) To demonstrate how 'significant others' (non-Korean nationals and nations) are positioned, narrated and interpreted at the heritage setting, especially to exemplify that shared memories of the 'Korean Nation' are often (re-)constructed on the basis of historical and political-based relationships with other nation-states.

3) To substantiate ways in which the tourism experience of Changdeok Palace contributes to symbolic and spiritual inversions as part of the ordinary realm of everyday life.

4) To contribute to perspectives concerning the dialectical role of heritage tourism in the enhancement of national consciousness as well as to further the development of existing paradigms relating to heritage interpretation and national identification.

Introduction

Conceptualising the Research Study

This study is primarily concerned with discussing ways in which the heritage tourism experience acts as a symbolic mechanism through which shared social memories of the nation's past can be evoked, conceptualised and communicated. At the initial stage of the research process, it was anticipated that the selected heritage setting of Changdeok Palace (Seoul, South Korea) potentially plays a significant role as a specific social space within which South Korean nationals are able to conceive, define and reconstruct elements of national consciousness. The study is thus concerned with contextualising ways in which shared memories of the nation's past are subjectively perceived and reappropriated during heritage tourism experiences, thereby contributing to the enhancement and reconstruction of a sense of national belonging. The work endeavours to critically comprehend the perceptions of both domestic visitors and site employees (tour guides and custodians).

The study involves an ethnographic-based examination concerning ways in which elements of the past are utilised to redefine and reaffirm national (cultural) identity within the context of contemporary South Korean society, where traditional norms and values are arguably influenced by globalised processes, norms and values. The study will concentrate on examining the extent to which heritage tourism represents a sense of 'Koreanness', especially to reveal the symbolic meanings which underpin heritage presentations. Moreover, the study explores ways in which this sense of 'Koreanness' transcends the geo-political boundaries of South Korea (Republic of Korea) and North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) to represent the Korean peninsular as a unified entity.

The South Korea Government identifies cultural heritage tourism as the main catalyst to increase its appeal as a national and international tourism destination (Korea Tourism Research Institute, 2000). Reflecting the government agenda, existing academic-based studies are mainly engaged with illustrating the potential of cultural heritage tourism in South Korea as an effective mechanism for economic development and regeneration (Shin, Yong-seok, 1999; Jang, Byung-su, 2000; Jin, Byung-reol, 2005). Shin, Yong-seok (1999), for instance, investigates ways in which one form of cultural heritage, the Hahoe Mask Dance Drama (Andong, Kyungsang Province), is commodified as a tourism product for the fundamental

purpose of boosting the local economy. He concludes that the growth of the cultural industries, changes in tourism behaviour patterns and regional development policies play a positive role in the process of commercialising unique forms of cultural heritage. Nonetheless, South Korean academics significantly overlook the meanings and implications of cultural heritage in the construction and reconstruction of local, regional and national identities within tourism contexts. Such neglect lacks an informed foresight concerning the value of cultural heritage beyond the purely economic dimensions. Concomitantly, there is a paucity of academic literature in South Korean tourism studies concerning the socio-cultural and psychological significance of heritage presentations and representations. The sociological and psychological values of culture and heritage as integral components of tourism experiences are largely overlooked.

It is thus reasonable to assert that the scope of this study, the construction and reconstruction of national identity mediated through individual narratives and subjective accounts based on collectively-shared social memories encountered in heritage tourism settings, is expected to substantially contribute to identifying the significance of heritage as a means by which national cohesion and unity are encouraged despite global social processes and western cultural influences. Furthermore, the employment of ethnographic (qualitative) methods will hopefully pave the way for diversifying the current profile of South Korean tourism research, which is traditionally concerned with measuring and validating quantifiable variables for assessing (and enhancing) tourism promotion and development.

Heritage Tourism: A Journey into Nationhood Experiences

As one of the traditional forms of tourism, heritage tourism is predominantly concerned with exploring the material remnants of the past. Timothy and Boyd (2006: 2) define heritage tourism as follows:

> This form of travel entails visits to sites of historical importance, including built environments and urban areas, ancient monuments and dwellings, rural and agricultural landscapes, locations where historic events occurred and places where interesting and significant cultures stand out.

As the above definition mainly focuses on the tangible elements of heritage, it is notable that heritage can also be identified as an immutable outcome of the past inherited from one generation to the next. As integral part of culture, heritage is an essential element of national representation, with the potential to perpetually remind nationals of the foundations upon

which a sense of belonging is based. Appropriately, Macdonald (2006: 11) identifies heritage as a 'material testimony of identity', which is primarily interpreted as a 'discourse and set of practices concerned with the continuity, persistence and substantiality of collective identity'. However, as forthcoming discussions illustrate, heritage is not just a tangible asset of the past represented as artifacts and sites, but an intangible phenomenon manifesting diverse symbolic meanings and national embodiments. From this debate, it may be asserted that heritage tourism is inextricably bound up with experiencing the physical and psychological remnants of the nation's past. Therefore, heritage can perhaps be better understood as both a material and psychological testimony of identity (see Chapter One).

Importantly, it seems appropriate to state that recognition of the significance of the socio-psychological dimensions of heritage is fundamental in understanding the interconnected nature of heritage and national identity, particularly within the contexts of domestic heritage tourism. Accordingly, the study examines how South Korean nationals perceive, realise and communicate their national identity inseparable to collective-based understandings of the symbolic and spiritual significance of Changdeok Palace, albeit based on personal interpretations and (inter-)subjective perceptions.

It is recently asserted that there is much scope for tourism studies to explore the interrelated dynamics of heritage and nationhood (Chambers, 2005). However, the study of heritage tourism within the context of domestic tourism has increasingly developed in some Asian countries in the recent decades, particularly with respect to such areas as the marketing of tradition and nostalgia in developing rural tourism in Japan (Creighton, 1997), the development of colonial heritage as a main tourism attraction in Singapore (Henderson, 2001a), indigenous identity and heritage preservation in Hong Kong (Cheung, 2003), and the interplay of national identity and heritage tourism in Melaka, Malaysia (Worden, 2003). Nonetheless, scant attention has been paid to the qualitative processes by which identities are produced, reproduced and communicated during visits to places which represent national symbolic significance (Palmer, 2005). Therefore, the current study theoretically addresses and empirically substantiates the need for comprehensive and analytical insights concerning heritage and articulations of national identity, focusing on the intermediating roles of heritage tourism in establishing and facilitating the individual and contextual processes of identity reconstruction.

Heritage is a sign and symbol of people's ethnicities, nationalities and identities but subject to different meanings and multiple interpretations. Academic literature significantly concerns the fundamental reasons as to why and how heritage represents social identities, especially the implicit function of heritage institutions playing an official and formal role in representing and enhancing national identities (Lowenthal, 1998; Pretes, 2003). What is also essential, however, is also to examine the role of unofficial and informal mechanisms of national identity formation via heritage tourism experiences. This can be made possible through an emphasis on empirical-based reasoning, which significantly explores subjective narratives and inter-subjective interpretations of national consciousness.

Heritage tourism is arguably one medium through which the idea of a nation and 'felt history' (Connor, 1993: 382) is re-emphasised and productively communicated. Heritage tourism seemingly encourages individuals to realise the essential elements of their own unique culture and history, as well as to symbolically construct and reconstruct cultural and national identities (Palmer, 1999).

Nationalism, National Identity and Memory

The complex and multifarious characteristics of nationalism and national identity have led to a plethora of definitions with differing theoretical implications. Consequently, there is lack of general agreement concerning the conceptual understanding and application of nationalism (see Hutchinson, 1994 and Kedourie, 1994). Nonetheless, in order to understand this conceptual debate, attention is drawn to two contrasting accounts: the 'modernistic perspective' and the 'primordial perspective'. The modernistic perspective identifies nations as products of modern historical developments and processes. For Gellner (1983), nationalism is a modern outcome resulting from the processes of industrialisation, where the construction of the state and the creation of a collective (shared) identity by all members were of pivotal significance in defining and maintaining newly-formed, industrialised nations. Anderson (1991) claims that nation-ness and nationalism are cultural artefacts of an imagined political community that are reproduced in people's imagination rather than formed directly from political ideologies.

However, the primordial perspective places significant emphasis on the antiquity of nations and the socio-cultural implications of ethnic ties. Primordialism focuses on people's

perceptions and beliefs concerning the 'assumed givens of social existence' (Geertz, 1993: 259), including a unique national (ethnic) culture and heritage. Here, ethnic and national identities are understood as bounded and organic formations where innate cultural characteristics are deeply grounded. Importantly, the belief that an individual's culture and nation is sacred and special lies at the core of understanding the essence of cultural primordialism. As Smith (1994: 376) recapitulates:

> It was and is the members of ethnic communities and nations who feel their communities are primordial, existing almost 'out of time' and having an 'ineffable' binding and almost overpowering quality. It is no part of this approach to suggest that such communities are primordial, only that members feel they are.

In a similar vein, Brubaker (1996: 14-5) claims that primordialists place great emphasis on the 'deep roots, ancient origins, and emotive power of national attachments'. Here, recognising the emotive power of heritage as an essential national attachment is pertinent in understanding the relevance of primordial approaches to nationalism and national identity, particularly with respect to the current research study. Accordingly, forthcoming debates concerning primordialist dimensions of nationalism are more engaged in explaining the nature of ethnic ties and shared histories rather than unraveling the origin and emergence of nations and nationalism (see Chapter Two). Therefore, cultural implications derived from the primordialist perspective are expected to play a necessary role in understanding the socio-cultural contexts of Korean national identity (see Chapter Three).

Nonetheless, forthcoming discussions also highlight the theoretical appropriation of the situational (instrumental) perspective, which challenges the existing concept of culture as a fixed and unchanging entity. It places an emphasis on the significance of differing contexts and varied situations in identifying ethnicity and identity. Consequently, this perspective stresses the importance of understanding nationhood and national identity in terms of diverse situational contexts and varied social standpoints. In explicating the inter-related and interdependent nature between memory and identity, Gillis (1994) highlights that both memories and identities are representations of social and cultural realities, which constantly vary depending on situational and subjective realities. He states:

> The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering: and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity... we need to be reminded that memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena (Gillis, 1994: 3).

It is initially important to note that national memories and identities are reconstructive and reflexive representations, which change with varying contexts and situations. Situational approaches are of great relevance in understanding ways in which national identities can be reconstructed and re-embodied through subjective and inter-subjective interpretations of such national formations as heritage. Consequently, a comprehensive understanding of Korean cultural and national identities as unique entities requires a wider application of both the primordial and situational perspectives, as well as incorporating some aspects of the modernistic perspective (e.g., the 'nation as an imagined community' and the 'nation as a cultural construct').

Experiencing a Sense of National Belonging in Everyday Life

The conceptual use of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995), which focuses on the importance of 'everyday experiences' of national belonging (Edensor, 2002), is arguably related to unravelling the modes and patterns which reproduce nationalist sentiments in ordinary and normal circumstances. This view concerns ways in which nationalism is seemingly something more than infrequent expressions of patriotic feelings displayed at such national occasions as sport events and public commemorations. It is thus something that is embedded in daily life, reminding people of their subliminal connections to the nation. Individuals are able to maintain notions of national identity 'near the surface of contemporary life' (Billig, 1995: 93). In the same vein, Edensor (2002: 186) emphasises that national identity is grounded in the 'familiar routines and embodied habits that such practices engender', rather than simply being perceived as a form of extreme nationalist sentiment. National identity thus should arguably be viewed as:

> ...a form of reading and watching... It is a form of life in which 'we' are constantly invited to relax, at home, within the homeland's borders. This form of life is the national identity, which is being renewed continually, with its dangerous potentials appearing so harmlessly homely (Billig, 1995: 127).

A sense of national belonging is recognised and reaffirmed through constant reminders of the nation's existence. Based on this, forthcoming debates emphasise ways in which people are encouraged to understand their connection with their cultural origins and national identities as one innate but latent 'form of life'. The heritage setting is thus an essential constituent of the nation's past, serving as one important reminder that enables the essence of nationhood to be constantly reproduced in everyday experiences. Therefore, with regards to the current research study, it is anticipated that experiences of heritage tourism could possibly enable

people to increasingly become aware of the nation's existence, either implicitly or explicitly. This awareness may be embedded in people's everyday contexts, reminding and assuring individuals of a shared sense of nationhood and national identity.

Korean Culture, Heritage and 'the Nation'

In his study concerned with deconstructing the essence of English national identity, Kumar (2003) makes a clear distinction between 'political nations' and 'cultural nations'. He claims that the 'political nation' is a political community emphasising 'willed, active citizenship and civic participation' (2003: 23). This is concomitant to Nieguth's (1999: 158) view of civic nations as being 'constituted through allegiance to specific political institutions and values rather than through a sense of belonging to an organic, quasi-kinship group'. In comparison, the cultural nation is defined by a strong manifestation of such cultural characteristics as common ancestry, history, language and blood ties. Kumar (2003: 24) asserts:

> The cultural nation represents the apotheosis of nationhood. As opposed to the subjective, voluntary character of political nationhood, the nation as culture is an objective fact. It is not an 'invented' but a 'primordial' entity, existing since time immemorial. One does not join it, one is born into it... It is a 'community of fate', not a 'community of choice'.

The conception of the nation as a 'community of fate' is arguably articulated and emphasised in the discourses of Korean collective national identity. It is important to note that within a South Korean context there is a clear distinction between the 'nation' and 'nation-state'. The concept of the Korean nation is deeply grounded in long-established culture and tradition, as well as primordially-given ethnic identities. Appropriately, the concept of Korean (national) culture is mainly associated with traditional values and norms, particularly in relation to a strong belief in ethnic, racial and cultural homogeneity. Language, blood ties and ethnic consciousness are fundamental in fortifying Korea as one unified nation (Lee, Hyang-jin, 2000; Park, Won, 2002). However, the systematic analysis of a collective national identity and its core attributes need to clearly reflect fast-changing norms and values of South Korean contemporary society and culture, as well as its physical and political separation from North Korea.

In critically analysing the concept of stereotyping as a major discursive device in constructing social groups and categories, Pickering (2001) highlights that the stereotypical construction of 'the other' plays a major role in clarifying the core characteristics of 'the self'. Importantly,

discourses and narratives concerning 'significant others' seem to invoke a need to safeguard national solidarity and strengthen a nation's cohesion by emphasising differences between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group'. This study thus discusses ways in which shared social memories and national sentiments in relation to perceptions of Japan, North Korea and the West (i.e., the 'out-group'), evoked and emphasised during heritage tourism experiences, provide South Korean nationals (i.e., the 'in-group') with opportunities to readdress, re-evaluate and reaffirm a distinctive sense of national belonging. Nonetheless, the unique status of North Korea as an out-group and its shared nationhood with South Korea ought to be reinstated and contextualised in a distinctive manner from other significant out-groups (see Chapter Three, Five and Six).

National culture can be understood as a common discourse contributing to the establishment and maintenance of unique cultural and national identities. Heritage in (South) Korean contexts could perhaps be regarded as a major emblem of nationhood, which lies at the core of legitimising the existence of a nation and maintaining the nation's unique and exclusive identities. Heritage is predominantly related to the concept of inheritance, something transcended from one generation to the next. Such sites of historical significance as royal palaces seem to be directly related to the essence of national solidarity and legitimacy. In this regard, particular attention is drawn to those socio-psychological dimensions of heritage which focus on spiritual values and educational attributes.

Importantly, Western (academic) criticism concerning heritage as a denigrated version of history and a commodity exploited by commercially-driven strategies (Hewison, 1987; Fowler, 1992; Lowenthal, 1998), is seemingly not directly appropriate for conceptually understanding the main attributes of Korean heritage. It seems that the process of commercial exploitation is not yet challenging the prevailing understanding of heritage as synonymous with the notion of history, tradition and identity, regardless of academic and governmental discourse concerning cultural heritage tourism as a tool for economic development. In addition, representations of national heritage are predominantly attributed to state-centred, official and hegemonic discourses without significant attention to the importance of subjective narratives and individual interpretations pertaining to social memories and national sentiment, evoked and shared within heritage settings.

An Ethnographic Approach

In general, the application of ethnography to the study of tourism still remains a relatively underdeveloped and less preferred method of investigation, particularly in the context of a longitudinal approach. Ethnographic studies concerning tourists and tourism phenomena have not yet been proactively developed by tourism academics, despite the nature of ethnographic research as an optimum tool to unravel diverse social and cultural issues in tourism (Bruner, 2005; Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007). This can be in part attributed to the fact that the study of tourism has traditionally been related to establishing objective assessments, especially with specific regard to tourism's economic and managerial dimensions including such components as marketing, consumer behaviour, policy and planning.

This current enquiry involves a qualitative approach based on the employment of ethnographic techniques and strategies. This approach arguably provides an appropriate methodological framework for revealing diverse meanings, opinions and interpretations of particular social phenomena (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Huberman and Miles, 1994; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Ethnography is a tool to systematically analyse and interpret socio-cultural phenomena, with the intention of portraying individual's perceptions and narratives, even including possible conflicts and inconsistencies of opinions. This pragmatic understanding of ethnography seems to be of relevance to those who seek to identify the differing perceptions, viewpoints and conflicting narratives of heritage settings. Given these objectives, ethnographic methods arguably produce rich and innovative accounts within unique and complex social settings.

Initially, three different sites of cultural and historic significance were selected, with the purpose of conducting a comparative analysis of heritage representations and interpretations produced at each of these venues: Kyung-ju (ancient capital of the Three Kingdom period in the province of Kyung-buk); Andong (centre of Confucian practices and traditions of the Joseon Kingdom, also located in the province of Kyung-buk) and Changdeok Palace (royal palace of the Joseon Kingdom in Seoul, designated as a 'World Heritage Site'). However, the researcher decided at the preliminary phase of the research programme (September-November, 2001) to concentrate on one particular case venue. It was believed that concentrating on one site would contribute substantially to the richness of ethnographic data rather than conducting ethnographic appraisals concerning the three sites. Accordingly,

Changdeok Palace was considered to be an appropriate venue for examining conceptual and symbolic interpretations of heritage tourism. The study consists of five main stages of fieldwork conducted over a five year period: stage one, April, 2002 – January, 2003; stage two, December, 2003- June, 2004; stage three, March-May, 2005; stage four, December, 2005 - January, 2006; and stage five, May - June, 2006 (see **Appendix One: Fieldwork Programme**).

The study utilises five main strategies for retrieving social data: (1) 130 ethnographic interviews with domestic visitors; (2) Participant observation involving the researcher being covertly involved in over 80 palace tours during the first, second and third stages of the fieldwork study, whereupon an overt approach was only declared to selected tourists during or after the tour in order to initiate ethnographic interviews with selected visitors; (3) Systematic lurking, employed around key areas of the palace (e.g., Huwon- the rear garden, souvenir shop and cafeteria) in order to conduct observational accounts of people's conversations concerning their visitor experience, as well as engaging when and where possible in 'casual' and 'friendly' conversations; (4) Regular encounters and friendly conversations with palace staff (7 palace custodians and 12 tour guides) (see **Appendix Two: Vignettes**); three of the tour guides and three of the palace custodians became 'key informants' during the period of the study. During the first stage of the fieldwork study, ethnographic interviews were employed with palace staff with the intention of seeking an overview of their occupational roles, perceptions of Changdeok Palace and opinions of domestic tourists. These interviews were believed to be constructive in developing emerging ethnographic issues which could then be pursued on a more informal basis through opportune encounters and causal discussions; (5) Employment and evaluation of 187 student essays concerning site visits and personal perceptions of Changdeok Palace.

These strategies are believed to be an efficient and proactive means of gaining an intimate insight into the intricate social world of heritage institutions, as well as understanding diverse perceptions of both visitors and employees. Importantly, multiple research strategies and analytical procedures could counterbalance the biases or flaws arising from the employment of a single method of design and analysis. Arguably, an ethnographic approach is better situated within one specific localised setting delivered over a significant period of time. The benefits of long-term immersion into specific social contexts are arguably important in acquiring an in-depth and interpretive understanding of the personal opinions and value

systems of the social actors themselves (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; McLeod, 2003; Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007). Given that one of the main objectives of this study is to explore ways in which both visitors (domestic tourists) and palace staff (tour guides and palace custodians) perceive, interpret and experience heritage sites, it was felt that a longitudinal study would encourage the researcher to become more acquainted with the social mores and norms of the specific setting. In addition, it is expected that employing a longer-term ethnographic approach would enable the researcher to develop and maintain in-depth, interactive and interdependent relationships with the key informants.

Chapter Profiles

Chapter One discusses the critical literature which comments on ways in which heritage tourism acts as a symbolic mechanism through which shared social memories of the nation's past can be evoked, conceptualised and communicated. The discussions aptly illustrate the view of heritage as a form of cultural production and how it plays a fundamental role in recognising and maintaining the nation's existence. Attention is drawn to an analytical contention emphasising the crucial significance of individual narratives and unofficial discourses pertaining to nationalistic feelings and collective sentiments encountered (and reproduced) during heritage tourism experiences. Finally, new social and cultural dimensions of tourism experiences emerging from postmodern influences are explored, including the advent of a commercially contrived heritage industry and the increasing significance of de-differentiated tourist experiences.

Chapter Two is concerned with critically identifying key theoretical debates concerning the construction and development of the nation and national awareness, particularly the modernistic, primordial and situational perspectives. Attention is drawn to the role of 'significant others' in constituting and reconstituting collective national identities, with reference to situations where the existence of the 'national other' contributes to enhancing and fortifying a sense of national belonging. In this chapter, the significance of reproducing the idea of a nation and national identity in the ordinary and mundane realm of everyday contexts is also highlighted.

Chapter Three aims at defining and conceptualising the core characteristics of Korean identity. An understanding of the nation's cultural characteristics (e.g., language, blood ties

and national consciousness) is of pivotal significance in that a sense of 'Koreanness' is primarily based on notions of ethnic homogeneity and rather coherent cultural manifestations. The historical development of Korean nationalism and national identity is also explored with the intention of understanding the specific context of nationhood articulations. In the latter section of the chapter, the roles of three major 'significant (national) others' (Japan, North Korea and the West) are critically assessed in a clear endeavour to understand the formation and maintenance of national identity.

Chapter Four discusses the primary research methods employed in this study. An ethnographic approach involving long-term immersion into the research setting is claimed to be an effective tool in the production of rich (qualitative) accounts concerning the subjective perceptions and experiences of the selected heritage setting. The discussion illustrates the epistemological significance of a longitudinal approach to the study of heritage tourism through the employment of a variety of ethnographic techniques. Accordingly, the 'ethnographic worth' of specific qualitative-based techniques are evaluated and carefully applied to the study itself.

Chapter Five is the initial chapter in which ethnographic research data is presented and analysed. This chapter reveals how visitors are able to conceive, imagine and recontextualise an idea of their nation. The research material illustrates how heritage tourism experiences at Changdeok Palace provide Korean nationals with opportunities through which national consciousness is evoked, articulated and manifested as emotional, deep-felt connections to the nation. Furthermore, substantial attention is drawn to ways in which subjective narratives of national consciousness are initiated and facilitated by familial associations and personal remembrance, and comparative links with other places and heritage sites.

Chapter Six is concerned with critically detailing the influence of 'significant others' in forming and maintaining a sense of national belonging, with particular reference to shared social memories encountered during the Changdeok experience. Specific focus is directed to ways in which 'national others' are interpreted, evaluated and reinterpreted. Considerable attention is directed to ways in which colonial representations and social perceptions of Japan's colonial administration helps to redefine the national consciousness and national identification of South Korean people. This chapter provides empirical evidence to support the assertion that heritage, as a visual and psychological testimony of a nation's history,

encourages visitors to realise and reaffirm their emotional attachment to a nation by actively delineating 'us' from 'them'. However, this dichotomy is not necessarily pertinent to perceptions of North Korea as a significant out-group, as exemplified during heritage tourism experiences. Accordingly, the chapter concerns intricate ways in which 'Korea' is conceptualised and imagined as a unified nation.

Chapter Seven elucidates on an understanding that the heritage setting of Changdeok serves as a special space where people can experience a symbolic inversion of everyday life. The extraordinary and surreal nature of the 'Changdeok experience' is illustrated via a range of unique narratives exemplifying how tourism encounters within the palace are notably subjectively differential to the 'world outside', but informatively still grounded in everyday contexts. For both visitors and palace staff, the unique heritage and natural setting of Changdeok provides a clear foundation for reproducing and enhancing collective sentiments and emotional (national) bonds.

The Conclusion is split into two main sections. The first section summarises major conceptual-based themes derived from the application of the research aim and related objectives, drawing together the main findings of the study and attending to the major suppositions raised in Chapter One, Two and Three. It also indicates ways in which the thesis as a whole contributes perspectives concerning the dialectical role of heritage tourism in the enhancement of national consciousness. The second section provides a critical evaluation of the ethnographic study undertaken, also highlighting other methodological approaches and theoretical perspectives that could be adopted in future research concerning heritage tourism, nationalism and national identity.

Chapter One

The Role of Heritage Tourism in Representing National Sentiment, Social Memory and National Identity

Introduction

This chapter begins with a discussion concerning ways in which heritage tourism acts as a symbolic mechanism through which shared social memories and experiences can be evoked, conceptualised and reconceptualised. Importantly, emphasis on the socio-psychological dimension is of particular relevance, especially as popular interest in heritage presentations and representations manifests a significant intention for individuals to be relieved of their personal and collective fears over perceived discontinuing links with the past. The chapter then elaborates on the use of heritage in tourism contexts, with particular reference to the need to carefully consider both demand and supply aspects of heritage tourism.

The discussions appropriately explore the view of heritage as cultural production and how it plays a fundamental role in imagining an essence of national identity. Attention is drawn to analytical debates maintaining that state-led official and hegemonic discourses of heritage embody nationalistic-based elements. Nonetheless, it is necessary to extend this observation to a considered acknowledgement of the importance of individual narratives and unofficial discourses in articulating and affirming nationalist sentiment, especially the subjective nature of heritage interpretations, encounters and experiences. Moreover, it is asserted that experiences of heritage tourism can potentially enable individuals to understand their nation's unique 'moral geography' (Smith, 1991a: 16).

The transition from modernism to postmodernism has induced fundamental changes in perceptions of social and cultural consumption. Under postmodern influences, there are changing conceptions of tourist experiences as well as new consumption styles of tourism, evident in the contemporary role of 'post-(mass) tourists' as critical and individualistic consumers. The latter part of this chapter thus highlights the social and cultural dimensions of a commercially contrived heritage industry, as well as the increasing significance of de-differentiated tourist experiences.

Culture and Heritage: Embodied Symbols of Society

Culture as a Symbolic System

The emphasis on understanding culture in terms of manifesting symbols with varying interpretations was evidently made by Geertz (1973), who highlights that the concept of culture is essentially a semiotic one. It is proposed that the meanings of signs or symbols as the main components of culture can vary over time and in differing social contexts. He believes that human beings are suspended in 'webs of significance' (1973: 5) that they themselves have spun. The webs of significance are predominantly concerned with the notion of culture, which represents a system of meanings and a set of relationships constructed from the interaction between language, behaviour and meaning. Therefore, the analysis of culture is 'not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning' (1973: 5). Geertz (1973: 24) thus asserts:

> The whole point of a semiotic approach to culture is...to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them.

Williams (1961: 41) emphasises the ordinary aspects of culture conveying 'certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour'. Thus the study of culture should critically acknowledge the significance of the mundane realms of everyday experiences (Billig, 1995; Palmer, 1998; Edensor, 2002). Appropriately, Cohen (1982) indicates that viewing culture as something that is purely determined by learned behaviour fails to grasp what it feels like to belong to a particular culture. His suggestion seems to be appropriate in understanding various ways in which culture is symbolically constructed and represented in such contexts as heritage tourism. In this regard, culture works as a 'symbolic system' with the capacity to 'create and recreate shared values' (Meethan, 2001: 117). The term 'culture' thus cannot be defined and analysed in a simplistic manner. It is arguably more appropriate to focus on the actual usage of the term in relation to different and varied contexts rather than seeking a single, universal and all-embracing definition.

As an integral part of culture, heritage can thus be perceived as a repertoire of meanings and values, as well as an embodiment of symbols in a given society. As cultures and societies can be interpreted and portrayed in situational contexts, heritage representations, constructed by the cultural tourism industry, can be one mechanism which encourages shared experiences and memories to be evoked, interpreted and (re-) conceptualised.

Conceptions of Heritage

The conceptual notion of 'heritage' carries historical values and can be viewed as part of the cultural traditions of society (Wiendu Nuryanti, 1996). Heritage arguably plays a fundamental role in enhancing the identity of a region or nation, and is a major vehicle for expressing regional and national cohesion and unity. Heritage can therefore be defined as 'that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of population wishes to hand on to the future' (Hewison, 1989: 16). This definition primarily focuses on heritage as an instrument for preserving remnants of a past that are cherished by certain groups of people, together with an inter-generational capacity to maintain elements of the past throughout different periods of time. Yet, as Hewison's (1989) work implies, the increasing transformation of heritage places into tourist attractions is largely influenced by the development of consumer-driven strategies, not solely by strategies based on conservational principles. This position also suggests that heritage is indeed a fragment of the past partially selected and deliberately presented for tourists to consume. Substantial attention focuses on ways in which heritage places can be portrayed as areas of contestation and dissonance, especially when issues of ownership and interpretation are brought to the forefront of academic discussion (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Hale, 2001; Macdonald, 2006).

Heritage can thus be conceptualised as a selection of particular meanings and values accorded and accredited by members of certain socio-cultural groups. At the same time, heritage can be viewed as an intricate formation of certain ideologies or doctrines, which future generations may or may not wish to preserve. By drawing upon Nuremberg's (Germany) historical association with the Nazi Party, Macdonald (2006) emphasises the notion of 'undesirable heritage' as a thematic alternative to popular heritage discourses often conceiving heritage as a 'celebratory legacy' of the past.

Heritage may be commonly identified as an immutable and inalienable (fixed and unchanging) outcome of the past inherited from one generation to the next. Understanding heritage as a static and tangible construction of the past, however, could lead to exclude intangible resources including experience-based cultural events (e.g. festivals and traditional rituals). Therefore, heritage is not just a tangible asset of the past represented as objects and sites but an intangible phenomenon manifesting diverse symbolic meanings, embodied and illustrated

in various national and regional contexts. It is important to carefully consider the significance of intangible heritage for enhancing cultural diversity, as well as the deep-rooted interdependence between intangible and tangible heritage. It is contended that culture and history are legitimised as heritage once:

> ...we and we alone give it a value-laden significance in anthropogenic terms. In other words, tourists go to see, not just artefacts but *psychological artefacts*, their meanings created differentially and a million and more times over, in the minds of each and every one of us (Boniface and Fowler, 1993: 158) (*emphasis added*).

Recognition of the socio-psychological dimensions of heritage is of paramount importance in understanding how personal perceptions, individualised meanings and subjective sentiments concerning collective social memories contribute to the long-standing (public) appeal of heritage institutions. These dimensions of heritage, rather than its physical assets, seemingly render the application of heritage in a given culture and society as timeless and enduring. Their relevance arguably relates to ways in which the growing popularity of heritage has been concerned with relieving people's collective fears and worries over discontinuing links with the past, particularly in the context of an ever-changing society. This issue is also closely linked to a reasoned emphasis on intangible assets, subjective accounts and individual narratives in contextualising nations and national identities.

Heritage could possibly be viewed as a symbolic embodiment of past, reconstructed and reconstituted in the collective memories and traditions of contemporary societies rather than being perceived as a mere apotheosis of bygone times. The past seems to be adapted and modified by present demands, where the creative side of culture and tradition plays a crucial role in facilitating and maintaining the process of symbolic construction. Heritage can thus be regarded as part of a 'symbolic system', what Geertz (1973) and Meethan (2001) believe to be the base for creating and recreating shared values in society. Furthermore, heritage is also recognised as a 'unifying sign' (Bessière, 1998: 26), which preserves and reconstructs the collective memory of a social group, thereby enhancing its social and cultural identities. Accordingly, Bessière (1998: 26) asserts:

> Heritage, whether it be an object, monument, inherited skill or symbolic representation, must be considered as an identity marker and distinguishing feature of a social group. Heritage is often a subjective element because it is directly related to a collective social memory...social memory as a common legacy preserves the cultural and social identity of a given community, through more or less ritualized circumstances.

Heritage tourism can therefore play a crucial role in providing certain 'ritualised circumstances' through which collectively shared social memory can be effectively inscribed and communicated within specific heritage settings. It therefore seems appropriate to consider ways in which visits to Changdeok Palace provide Korean people with 'ritualised circumstances', where collective social memories can be constructed, reconstructed, negotiated and contested through a range of subjective and reflexive narratives.

Heritage can be also perceived and contextualised as one distinct form of heterotopia. Foucault (1986) identifies the nature of the space in which we live as being fundamentally heterogeneous and comprised of various sites imbued with contradictory meanings, antithetical perceptions and conflicting functions. He thus establishes the concept of heterotopia, a distinct space linked with and contradictory to all the other sites in a society. Heterotopia is defined as one form of 'effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites...that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted' (Foucault, 1986: 24). Heritage sites, museums and libraries can thus be perceived as heterotopias as certain unchanging meanings and values of a given society are firmly maintained. It is elucidated that:

> ...the idea of accumulating everything, of establishing a sort of general archive, the will to enclose in one place all times, all epochs, all forms, all tastes, the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time in an immobile place, this whole idea belongs to our modernity (Foucault, 1986: 26).

Although Foucault claims that such heterotopias as museums and libraries emerged as a consequence of western modernity, the concept of heterotopia can seemingly be applied to a social space imbued with perpetual national values. The articulation of Changdeok Palace as one distinct form of heterotopia is thus closely related to realising the significance of the heritage setting as a grounded and timeless element of national solidarity. Importantly, heterotopia is a space in which 'alternative social ordering is performed' in contrast to the formalities of the outside world (Hetherington, 1997: 40). Attention will be thus drawn to possible ways in which Changdeok Palace can be conceptualised as a social space representing the sublime and illustrating inverted experiences (see Chapter Seven).

Heritage as a Representation of the Past

Lowenthal (1998) argues that the growing obsession with the past is inextricably bound up with a post-industrial inclination for society to dislocate individuals from families, neighbourhoods and nations, and even one's former self. He states:

> Dismay at massive change stokes demands for heritage... Beleaguered by loss and change, we keep our bearings only by clinging to remnants of stability... Mourning past neglect, we cherish islands of security in seas of change (Lowenthal, 1998: 6).

This view concurs with Horne's (1984) influential claim, which attributes the growing obsession with the past to the crisis of contemporary reality. The incessant search by tourists for 'discarded dreamlands' (1984:1) is one rather conspicuous illustration of a process of harking back to the past in order to evade the reality of the present. He maintains:

> Why should tourists be seeking the past? Why should the past have any particular resonance?... Throughout the age of industrialism there has been a nervousness in finding valid expressions of modernity. The tourist experience, with its seeking for an authentic (and well-researched) past, has been part of the same crisis in reality that has produced so much scholarship, so much sociology and so many experiments in art forms... Uneasiness with the present was so great that...the past was nostalgically plundered to provide a modern sense of dignity and meaning (1984: 21-22).

The concept of nostalgia, which implies a sense of homesickness and sentimental yearning for the past, exerts a strong influence on the symbolic construction of 'remnants of stability' in present contexts. Thus, there is a tendency to beautify and idealise the past as a way of relieving the fear associated with an unstable present and unpredictable future. Hence, the reconstruction of the nostalgic past and its experiences amidst growing dissatisfactions of everyday life could function as 'islands of security' (Lowenthal, 1998: 6), which relieve estranged individuals from an insecure and unsatisfactory present. Consequently, nostalgic sentiments of the past are viewed as forms of salvation from the harsh reality of everyday life and anxiety regarding future circumstance.

Read (1999) acknowledges that Hewison's (1987) analysis greatly contributes to conceptualising ways in which the heritage industry came to the fore through society's ever-increasing fascinations of the past in a given society, regardless of the fact that it mainly focuses on UK contexts. Apart from such apparent symptoms of national decline as economic hardship and political instability, Hewison (1991) attributes the advent of the 'heritage industry' to individual and collective fears (and worries) over discontinuing its links with the past. Importantly, severance from the past might result in underestimating and destabilising

'confidence in the value of the social identity that comes from a secure past' (Hewison, 1987: 45). He emphasises that the rapid transformation of the urban environment, resulting from industrial and technological change, poses a threat to traditional ways of life that are nostalgically perceived to be authentic, stable and secure. Hewison (1987: 43) thus states:

> In the face of apparent decline and disintegration, it is not surprising that the past seems a better place. Yet it is irrecoverable, for we are condemned to live perpetually in the present. What matters is not the past, but our relationship with it. As individuals, our security and identity depend largely upon the knowledge we have of our personal and family history; the language and customs which govern our social lives rely for their meaning on a continuity between past and present.

Present day concerns over disconnections with the past seemingly affect people's sense of security and identity. Re-enactment of the past, embodied and manifested in heritage presentations and representations, is perhaps of significance for the enhancement of collective and individual identities, the maintenance of a strong sense of security and the purpose of cultural continuity. In the same vein, Walsh claims that such heritage institutions as castles and country houses are generally deemed to 'possess the qualities which could maintain and promote the historical identity of the nation' (1992: 72). In this light, Paxman (1999) argues that growing uncertainty over the collective endeavour to secure national culture and identity in England's rapid changing (multi-racial) society, led to the phenomenal success of the National Trust in the 1990s; especially in promoting and developing heritage products. He interestingly contends:

> We must accept, first, that a sense of history runs deep in the English people. It may not be particularly well informed... but it is deeply felt and is one of the things that makes the people what they are (1999: 154).

This deep felt sense of history embodied in heritage representations arguably contributes to an understanding of the need for cultural continuity, which potentially sustains the shared memories of a given community. It is thus appropriate to consider ways in which heritage sites are linked with and based on a strong sense of collective identity, regardless of whether or not the process of commodification is strategically employed for the contemporary reproduction of past artefacts, events and memories. Edson (2004: 345) asserts that heritage is of significance in that:

> ...It allows humankind to transcend individual destiny to achieve continuity. The heritage resources have extraordinary emotional and intellectual appeal since they evoke a feeling of prestige and, therefore, a sense of pride. They help to generate an environment where the people can acquire an awareness of the continuity that exists in

> human creation, glimpse a past that they receive with admiration and gratitude, and project the future to which they will transmit the results of their own endeavours.

Therefore, heritage is an essential re-enactment of the past and important in helping to sustain a nation's cultural continuity, albeit it in a diluted form. The appreciation of traditions, cultural forms and heritage representations seemingly provides opportunities for individuals to enhance their understanding of the meanings and values embedded within heritage settings.

Conceptualising Heritage Tourism

Perceptions and Experiences of Heritage Tourism

Along with Richards' (1996a) research, which illustrates that tourism demand in areas of European cultural and heritage consumption has increased rapidly, analysts have also revealed that the tourism and heritage industry has developed an ever-increasing fascination for turning the remnants of the past into tourist attractions, thereby elevating heritage as an essential component of regional and national tourism strategies (Eastaugh and Weiss, 1989; Light and Prentice, 1994; Boyd, 2000). Furthermore, the increasing movement towards developing niche tourism through the development of segmented and specialised products has further facilitated the discursive interrelationship between heritage and tourism (see Novelli, 2005). In tandem with increasing concerns over maximising the socio-economic implications of the national heritage tourism industry, heritage conservation and preservation are promoted by such international organisations as UNESCO (see Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005).

Therefore, heritage is seemingly closely associated with the key concepts of 'past' and 'tradition' embodying continuous and immutable elements, while tourism is characterised by its changeable and dynamic nature. Nonetheless, as previously emphasised, heritage is not always a fixed or static outcome of the past, particularly when it is presented and represented in the context of tourism. As heritage seems to be reinterpreted and re-evaluated by the variable interests and variegated tastes of tourists, it should then be partly understood as dynamic phenomena relative to time and place. Ashworth (1994: 16) interestingly notes:

> History is the remembered record of the past; heritage is a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption... the raw materials...are a wide and varied mixture of historical events, personalities, folk memories, mythologies, literary associations and surviving relics, together with the places, whether sites and towns, with which they are symbolically associated.

As heritage is part of contemporary cultural consumption, its industry proactively attempts to expand its attractiveness by adopting new approaches aimed at the development of commercial and entertainment-based products. The tourism industry is undoubtedly at the forefront of this trend. The difference between the old and new touristic situation is that a heritage message is formulated for entertainment as well as educational purposes (Boniface and Fowler, 1993). For example, the success of Jorvik Viking Centre (York, north England) as a tourist attraction is attributed to its 'edutainment' characteristics (e.g., innovative methods of display aided by technological devises and face-to-face interaction with Viking-costumed staff). The blurring distinction between education and entertainment is a clear manifestation of the de-differentiation of postmodern cultural and social spheres. The traditional role of heritage institutions and museums is essentially to educate the public. However, focus on entertainment orientations relates to the increasing appeal of heritage and other cultural institutions as tourist attractions in new postmodern contexts. Postmodern cultural institutions are arguably more concerned with image projection and consumer satisfaction as key components for maximising their appeal in the wider context of the leisure and tourism industries (Foley and McPherson, 2000). In pursuit of both knowledge and entertainment, new technological methods and commercially-oriented management strategies are actively facilitated.

MacCannell's view of tourism as a central device in re-appropriating and reshaping culture is clear, where he perceived tourism as a 'framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs' (1992: 1). Nonetheless, his view is seemingly misleading as tourism can certainly be viewed as a spur in the process of encouraging and enhancing the appeal of heritage to wider audiences but not necessarily in terms of adopting an ultimate role in the whole process. The role of tourism in awakening the potential of heritage as value-laden products should not be overestimated. The adaptation of both culture and heritage for tourism demand should be carefully considered in order not to fully distort or negate its original meanings and values. Thus, excessive interest in exploiting heritage for touristic consumption could lead to a loss in conveying its original meaning, apart from fabricating its reality in order to appear more authentic and appealing. Heritage tourism has a role to play in meeting the changing demands of cultural consumption, thereby enhancing the overall quality of touristic experiences and increasing the potential of historic-based resources.

Poria *et al.*, (2003) challenge the existing perceptions of heritage tourism, especially those mainly linked to tourists' appreciation of historic places and sites. Instead, they contend that heritage tourism is a phenomenon related largely to tourists' motivations and perceptions of the site itself rather than simply site attributes and specific artefacts presented. However, attempts to investigate the significance of the demand side of heritage, particularly people's subjective perceptions and aspirations, are seemingly overshadowed by an over-concentration on the supply aspects of heritage, together with a significant emphasis on heritage management as a tool for economic development (see Wiendu Nuryanti, 1997; Rowan and Baram, 2004; Hausmann, 2007). Accordingly, it is important to critically acknowledge people's socio-psychological needs and perceptions of the heritage setting in an endeavour to advance an alternative approach to understanding the role of heritage tourists and tourists at heritage places. This can be explained by considering motivations of the visit and the relationships between tourist perceptions and tourist behaviour patterns. A deep understanding of heritage tourism based on tourists' motivations and perceptions can be further effective and relevant in such contexts as domestic heritage settings, religious sites and the places of ancestral connection.

Nonetheless, despite recognising that the significance of individual perceptions of visits to heritage sites contributes to broadening the spectrum of heritage tourism formations, too much emphasis on the demand side could then lead to neglecting the supply side of heritage tourism, including the attributes of sites and objects on display (and their relationship to patterns of tourism consumption). Accordingly, conceptual and empirical studies associated with elements of the heritage industry ought not to lose sight of the interconnections and interrelationships between the demand and supply components of heritage tourism. Hence, concentration on one component should duly acknowledge the ontological relevance of the other component.

Apostolakis (2003) believes that the categorisation of 'heritage tourists' depends on the consumption patterns of heritage attractions. From the existing literature concerning heritage tourists, he classifies two contrasting groups: the descriptive group and the experiential group. The first definitional group places an emphasis on the 'material components of culture and heritage such as attractions, objects of art, artifacts, relics, as well as more intangible forms of culture and heritage such as traditions, languages, and folklore' (2003: 799). The second definitional group focuses on the individual's experiences and her/his perceptions of the

destination site, and when choices need to be made to consume heritage attractions. Apostolakis (2003: 799) further claims:

> The experiential definition of heritage tourism thus embodies an interpersonal element. The linkages between the site, the potential tourists' motives and their perceptions can be conceived as an interactive process.

The experiential definition of heritage tourism seems to be of particular relevance in understanding possible influences derived from the motivations and perceptions of tourists visiting heritage sites. In relation to this, the embodied interpersonal element plays a pivotal role in exploring the meanings and perceptions of visiting specific heritage settings, particularly where the meanings attached to the sites are closely related to issues of cultural and national identity. Within the context of this study, it is anticipated that recognising tourists as experientially defined could bestow valuable insights on ways in which the interactive relations between tourists and heritage representations provide commentary on, and/or enhance an awareness of, national belonging and collective solidarity; particularly with respect to how the communication of social memories are embodied and evoked at the site itself.

Heritage Tourism: A Sacred Journey of National Discovery

The act of tourism has been perceived as a modern and secular form of pilgrimage (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990), often involving non-ordinary experiences (Lett, 1983; Jafari, 1987). Lett (1983: 39) views tourism as a set of activities 'which constitutes the sacred dimension of social life and stands in direct opposition to work and the profane dimension of existence'. Informatively, Jafari (1987: 152-155) argues that the act of tourism can be composed of three different phases: 'separation phase', 'declaration phase' and 'repatriation phase'. In the 'separation phase', tourists separate themselves from their ordinary realm of everyday contexts by actually getting involved in the act of travelling. Tourists then become gradually immersed in the 'declaration phase', a non-ordinary and 'emancipated' lapse into the state of touristhood where normal behaviour and routined circumstances of everyday life become reversed. In the final stage of 'repatriation', tourists return to ordinary life and resume everyday responsibilities and roles.

However, the assumption that the act of tourism entails a process of detachment from the mundane realm of everyday contexts will be reconsidered and reappraised within the context of this study. The unique heritage and natural setting of Changdeok could enable visitors to

reproduce and enhance their emotional bonds to the nation and its people by encountering shared memories of their nation's sentimental past. Therefore, heritage tourism experiences of Changdeok are expected to provide visitors with a 'symbolically sacred and morally higher' experience (Graburn, 1989: 28) while still grounded in their normal and secular everyday life. Accordingly, attention will be drawn to ways in which heritage tourism enables people to experience symbolic and spiritual inversions without actually moving from their everyday social and cultural contexts (see Chapter Seven).

In examining the anthropological elements of Catholic pilgrimage, Turner and Turner (1978: 20) draw significant attention to the state of 'communitas' (i.e., anti-structure), where pilgrims experience intense contact with others and share a special degree of social solidarity contrary to the norms and structures of everyday life. In acknowledging the inter-relationship between pilgrimage and tourism, they elucidate that tourists potentially experience an 'almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of communitas', further stating that a 'tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist' (1978: 20). Accordingly, attaining the mode of communitas, where people can experience 'direct, personal, immediate and unmediated' relations (Lett, 1983: 48), is arguably a significant element in uplifting and elevating heritage tourism experiences. Heritage tourism could thus be closely intertwined with experiencing collective elements of national belonging and embracing virtuous encounters, and thus partly understood as embodying an essence of 'civil religious pilgrimage'[1]. The act of exploring the national past and realising its crucial influences in present contexts seems to be similar to the act of searching for religious origins and re-enacting ritualistic aspirations. Experiencing a heightened sense of shared national belonging with other nationals during the process of the tour could perhaps be interpreted as manifesting a mode of 'communitas' within the context of heritage tourism (see Chapter Five and Seven).

There are perhaps various ways in which sacred experiences of nationhood can be encouraged and facilitated beyond individual experiences and interpretations. One key element is the crucial role of the tour guide. Cohen *et al.*, (2002) identifiy two contrasting roles of the modern tour guide: the leader and the mediator. The leader is a modern variation of a 'pathfinder' who traditionally focuses on 'instrumental leadership', which incorporates the outer-directed and physical elements of tour-guiding (2002: 920), i.e., regulating and directing tourists. The role of the mediator is to interpret the heritage setting as well as facilitate the spiritual and inner-directed aspects of the tour (Cohen *et al.*, 2002). Tour guides

in heritage places are generally regarded as mediators of meanings, symbols and values that underpin heritage displays and representations, where they are often proactive in articulating a communal sense of shared belonging (Katz, 1985; Dahles, 2001; Cohen *et al.*, 2002). In comparison with commercial tour guides, their roles as mentors need to be understood as a 'dual type of guidance, both geographical and spiritual, such as is offered by leaders of religious pilgrimages' (Cohen *et al.*, 2002: 920). In this regard, Schmidt (1979: 445) claims that the guided tour can facilitate tourism as a religious experience by way of providing 'organized ritualized enactment of reverential respect to these sacred places'.

Bowman (1992) informatively explores the politics of guiding in the context of tourism to Israel and the occupied territories, examining ways in which Israeli and Palestinian guides assist in developing different ideologically-informed images and representations of the 'Holy Land'. Tour guides provide interpretive frameworks which encourage tourists to understand differing symbolic appropriations of tourism sites. Tour guides in this context are understood as active mediators between tourists and the toured objects and places. As a disseminator of national culture and heritage, the functions and roles of the tour guides may be conceived as contextual, dynamic and non-neutral.

It can thus be argued that heritage tourism, as a process of experiencing the nation's sacred centres, can be interpreted as one form of pilgrimage involving a spiritual journey of rediscovering national consciousness and solidarity. The tour guides in Changdeok Palace are thus expected to encourage visitors to recreate, reconceptualise and facilitate the sacredness of nationhood (see especially Chapter Seven).

Heritage Sites: Places of National Legitimacy, Belonging and Identification

National Heritage and National Identity

The past is an indispensable element of defining and understanding nations. A nation's history shapes and maintains its own distinctive identity. As Hall (1996a: 212-13) claims:

> Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture, and power. Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found...identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past.

Buildings and monuments of historical significance are embodied as symbols and icons of national legitimacy and solidarity. What is of concern here is the recognition that the heritage industry has an essential and unique role in maintaining and reinforcing notions of national identity (Johnson, 1999). Hitchcock (1996) explains that material culture in a given society is a visual expression of identity. He further claims that the use of material culture can be understood as one of the most obvious manifestations of identity communication. The presentation and representation of heritage places can thus greatly contribute to the processes of identity communication, particularly within the context of domestic tourism. In addition, it is acknowledged that such heritage places as monuments, castles and historic sites are actively employed in promoting an idea of the nation (Walsh, 1992). However, it is not necessarily the physical manifestations of heritage resources but the meanings and symbols attached to them that are of greater significance in shaping an essence of identity and history. The popularity of heritage tourism, particularly within domestic settings, relates to the fact that its images and symbols encountered and experienced during visits reveal a past that is 'ours', which appears to be both socially familiar and communally enduring. The remnants and traces of a nation's past are expected to be 'appealing in one covertly projective way or another to the historical and sacrosanct identity of the nation' (Wright, 1992: 2). It therefore needs to be highlighted that cultural heritage, linked to projections of local or national identity, should not necessarily trivialise the fact that cultural artefacts and practices have a symbolic as well as a physical function.

The relationship between national heritage and national identity has become closely inter-related and inter-contextualised. There are several examples where heritage presentations and representations are systematically developed and promoted in order to enhance a distinctive culture and exalt a sense of national belonging (Pitchford, 1995; McLean, 1998; Henderson, 2001b). Henderson's (2001b) study, for instance, draws attention to ways in which heritage presentations in Hong Kong contribute to the construction and negotiation of meanings associated with national identity formations. Hong Kong's heritage, representing a mixture of Chinese and colonial cultural elements, is perceived as an important signifier in defining a distinctive identity at a time of social transition and cultural uncertainty, influenced by the process of de-colonisation. Henderson argues that perceptions of national identity are personal and fluid, changing over time and depending on given conditions. However, it is maintained that people with the same nationality can share a common core of feelings and beliefs through heritage tourism experiences.

It may appear that the craving for heritage in relation to exalting a sense of history, real or fabricated, is regarded as a conspicuous effort to solidify a sense of belonging to a nation at a time of significant cultural and social change. However, historical and social discourses of identity represented in heritage contexts need to be carefully handled, particularly if it is to be argued that representations of the past are open to falsification or exaggeration via the construction of partial truths (Read, 1999). Furthermore, the relationship between heritage and national identity has been more complicated by the expansion of the tourism industry, particularly with reference to the advent of cultural and heritage tourism in recent years (Light and Dumbraveanu-Andone, 1997). Within tourism contexts, heritage seems to be constantly reconceptualised and reconstructed in an attempt to meet the specific demands of tourists and reflect the socio-cultural changes of the contemporary world. Appadurai (1990: 9) argues that the past cannot merely be engaged in representing a 'golden glow of nostalgia ruled by the politics of the good old days', but should actually symbolise a 'synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios' which serve to develop and facilitate various ways of reaffirming and reinterpreting connections with the past in ever-changing cultural and social contexts. Appropriately, Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996: 105) emphasise contemporary usages of the past:

> The interpretation of the past in history, the surviving relict buildings and artifacts and collective and individual memories are all harnessed in response to current needs which include the identification of individuals with social, ethnic and territorial entities and the provision of economic resources for commodification within heritage industries.

Heritage Tourism, Identity Construction and Cultural Production

With its political role in supporting nation-building and national identity, the heritage tourism industry is recognised and utilised as a major economic activity (Urry, 1990; Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1996; Franklin, 2003). However, McIntosh and Prentice (1999) argue that the commodification of pastness can be interpreted as a way of facilitating the search for identity, finding the true self through appropriating the past. In illustrating that the creation and reaffirmation of identity is encouraged through visitation of places with associations of pastness, McIntosh and Prentice (1999) relate the creation of identities to the consumer's position in a given time and place. Accordingly, they state:

> Identities are thereby created through amassing insights into what is associated with the emergence of a culture, and appropriating these insights is pertinent to the consumer's own understanding of his or her place in time and space (1999: 590).

In his discussion concerning the development of heritage tourism in Ireland, Johnson (1999: 204) claims that heritage should be understood as 'part of broader suite of representational practices that raise important and diverse questions about how the past is mediated', as opposed to being perceived as contrived modern products harnessed by the tourism industry's commercially-driven strategies. Therefore, heritage tourism involves the 'ideological framing of history and identity', where heritage is contextualised as an 'alternative way of mediating the past to popular audiences' (Johnson, 1999: 187).

Harvey (2001) appropriately acknowledges the importance of considering the establishment of heritage through a long-term historical process of development. He argues firmly against those who have implied that people's interest and fascination with the past is mainly attributed as a recent phenomenon, leading to the advent of heritage as both an industry and a commodity. Harvey's emphasis on the 'historically contingent and embedded nature of heritage' (2001: 319) draws caution to views which often conceive heritage as a modern outcome and to perspectives which stress that heritage is integral to the commodification process. Edson (2004) emphasises the immense symbolic significance of heritage in presenting the dichotomy of both material and spiritual values of heritage representations as a way of reconstituting and reproducing meanings and values underpinning such representations. He maintains that:

> ...the idea of heritage has greater symbolic meaning than the object, time, or place, that is, historical reference. The dramatic and representative values of heritage expressions are often subordinate to symbolic or mnemonic allusions. However vague or personal these references may be, they stimulate a response that implies understanding. The heritage in most circumstances can be regarded as identity through time and, if so, that identity (individual or group) verifies something (heritage) as being important... Real or imagined heritage manifestations are viewed as elements of continuity (2004: 338).

The view of heritage as cultural production seems to play a fundamental role in imagining an essence of national identity. Both heritage and identity are given form and structure through the physical remains of the past. As implied earlier, heritage attractions are regarded as 'sacred centres', places of spiritual and historical pilgrimage that reveal the nation's unique 'moral geography' (Smith, 1991a: 16). Heritage settings are perceived as symbolising 'national badges of high culture' (Edensor, 2002: 15) representing an authoritative and official version of history. Such cultural and heritage institutions as museums and royal

palaces seemingly portray and disseminate the essence of high culture and national hegemony. However, the range and scope of these 'sacred centres' should not necessarily be restricted to the presentation of heritage settings driven or imposed by an official ideology of high culture.

Pretes (2003) explores the links between nationalism and tourism by examining three tourist sites in the American state of South Dakota: Mount Rushmore National Memorial, Wall Drug Store and Rapid City Dinosaur Park. He concludes that visits to these places may help to 'create' and 'strengthen' national identity through identifying and recognising hegemonic-based discourses of the nation (2003: 126). For example, by presenting images of four 'great American presidents', Mount Rushmore signifies USA's presidential power and elements of nationhood, as well as such national values as independence, freedom and liberation. However, an excessive focus on disseminating the state-led official discourses embodying nationalistic elements, could neglect attention to the crucial significance of individual narratives and unofficial discourses pertaining to the enhancement of national sentiments.

Wright (1985: 5) informatively notes that the national past is constantly re-enacted and re-embodied as a 'vernacular and informal sense of history' in everyday contexts. Therefore, it is pertinent to recognise that the appeal of the heritage setting can be popularised when it is reproduced in the ordinary and mundane realms of everyday experiences. Hence, heritage tourism experiences enable individuals to understand the unique 'moral geography' of their nation embedded in everyday contexts, thus exalting a collective sense of belonging and contributing to the fulfilment of internalised aspirations of national identity.

In exploring ways in which domestic tourism at Angkor (Cambodia) contributes to ongoing formations of collective identity, Winter (2004: 331) asserts that conceiving this heritage site as a form of 'living heritage' is crucial in the articulation of contemporary national and cultural identities. He challenges the popular and normalised notion of heritage landscape as 'abstract, objective and value neutral' (2004: 330), where the notion of objective and official history is deemed to be deeply grounded in unbiased truths and dispassionate commentaries. Instead, emphasis is placed on the concept of memory as a fundamental agent in actively constituting and reconstituting times and places in multiple and varied ways in a given heritage landscape. Social memory, evoked through personal and subjective experiences of the heritage setting, thus arguably plays a more significant role in the upkeep of cultural and

national identities as opposed to such physical manifestations as buildings and objects of historical significance.

Merriman (2000) notes that heritage tourism enquires have been overly concerned with ways in which the past is commodified, eschewing the possibility of constructing a creative version of past based on an individual's personal experiences and memories. It is further suggested that those museums and other heritage institutions engaged with non-commercial representations of the past, especially those operated under the auspices of the public sector, might play a pivotal role in providing materials for people's creative construction of the past. The focus in this context is to recognise such emotional materials as shared social memories and values.

At this stage, it is therefore postulated that visits to Changdeok Palace could contribute substantially to the process of constructing and reconstructing national consciousness based on individual perceptions and interpretations of both emotional and physical materials encountered during the visits. Importantly, social memory, collectively shared within this heritage institution (setting), is expected to play a necessary role in the construction and reconstruction of a sense of national belonging and cohesion, particularly in the context of a country that is continually redefining its national identity and re-appropriating its collective past (see Chapter Three, Five and Six).

Franklin (2003) regards travel and tourism as an integral part of national life through which people experience the idea of nationhood and collective pasts. Moreover, heritage tourism arguably plays a pertinent role in the maintenance and promotion of the nation, through encouraging the ownership of values and meanings, and the ownership of displayed customs and traditions (Palmer, 1998). Importantly, heritage is a sign and symbol of people's ethnicities, nationalities and identities, but yet subject to different readings, multiple interpretations and diverse meanings, and influenced by the institutional endeavours of the heritage industry. The role of heritage tourism as part of a 'set of processes and social relations' (Hitchcock, 1999: 21) is integral to ways in which people's ethnicities and identities are constantly reconstructed and negotiated in situational contexts (see Chapter Two).

Postmodern Influences on Tourism and Heritage Contexts

Tourism and Postmodern Culture

Since the late 1980s, postmodernism has been utilised as a concept to describe the development of new socio-cultural, political and economic spheres, thereby representing a shift towards distinctive experiences which are, to a degree, split from the organised, structured and rational contexts of modern society. Appropriately, Tarnas (1991: 395) states that postmodernism demonstrates:

> ...an appreciation of the plasticity and constant change of reality and knowledge, a stress on the priority of concrete experience over fixed abstract principles, and a conviction that no single a priori thought system should govern belief or investigation.

As indicated, postmodernist perspectives attempt to counteract modernistic ways of understanding the nature and function of social and cultural spheres, especially the emphasis on perceiving cultures and societies in an overly essentialist manner. Urry (1990: 84) emphasises that modernism was characterised by 'structural differentiation' involving the development of normative and institutional distinctions within various cultural and social spheres. The process of differentiation also implies that each domain of culture is selected and interpreted by different class-oriented audiences.

Under the increasing influences of postmodernism relatively uniform, modernist and auratic historical discourses have given way to discourses and representations which are more varied, post-modernist, vernacular and regional (Lash and Urry, 1987). Lash and Urry (1987: 286) claim that postmodern culture is predominantly concerned with being 'anti-auratic'. Overarching meta-narratives concerning the differentiations of socio-cultural spheres have thus come to be replaced by accounts of popular mass culture. Featherstone (1991) specifically explains the essence of postmodern change in direct relation to changing perceptions of cultural consumption. He states:

> The general expansion of the cultural sphere within contemporary Western societies not only points to the enlarged markets for cultural goods and information, but also to the ways in which the purchase and consumption of commodities, an allegedly material act, is increasingly mediated by diffuse cultural images via advertising, display and promotion... Here one can point to the increasing salience of forms of leisure consumption in which the emphasis is placed upon the consumption of experiences and pleasure (such as theme parks, tourist and recreational centres) and the ways in which more traditional forms of high cultural consumption (museums and art galleries) become revamped to cater for wider audiences through trading in the canonical, auratic art and educative-formative presentations for an emphasis upon the spectacular, the popular, the pleasurable and immediately accessible (1991: 96).

These fundamental changes in the form of leisure consumption are also clearly manifest in heritage and tourism contexts. Traditionally, sites of cultural and historical significance tended to be more frequented by those individuals who had sufficiently high forms of economic and cultural capital. Likewise, an initial form of cultural appreciation through tourism was ultimately preoccupied by those who represented high culture. The era of the 'Grand Tour', for instance, was a testimony of the rights of social elites to travel to places for the purpose of acquiring cultural knowledge and intellectual advancement (Towner, 1985; Black, 1992). However, since such heritage places as visitor attractions appeal to wider sections of society, the social significance of heritage sites has rather dramatically changed in recent years. Lowenthal (1998: 11) explains the pervasive appeal of a nostalgic past:

> In times past, only a small minority sought forebears, amassed antiquities...Such pursuits now lure the multitude. No longer are only aristocrats ancestry-obsessed, only the super-rich antique collectors, only academics antiquarians, only the gentry museum visitors; millions now hunt their roots, protect beloved scenes, cherish mementos, and generally dote on times past.

Development in communication and travel networks, and the increase in disposable income and leisure time, paved the way for more mass tourism experiences (Urry, 1990). More recently, the 'de-differentiation of class culture' (Lash, 1990: 11) provided individuals with increased opportunities to participate in activities considered to be social right for elite groups. However, the socio-economic transition from the Fordism to the post-Fordism substantially impacted the tourism industry, particularly with respect to the new consumption styles of tourists and the changing perceptions of tourist experiences. In sharp contrast to Fordist characteristics of mass-consumption, as well as the mass-production of standardised goods and styles, post-Fordist traits are based on flexible production, individualistic consumption and multiple preferences (Henry, 1993). Accordingly, tourist consumption patterns have seemingly become more post-Fordist than Fordist in orientation. Shaw and Williams (2004) note the creation of more specialised niche markets in patterns of post-Fordist tourist consumption, compared to the collective consumption of such undifferentiated products as package tourism. The development of such niche markets as special-interest tourism is expected to cater for the varied and specialised tastes of contemporary tourists, i.e., 'post-tourists' (Feifer, 1985: 259). Nonetheless, it is difficult to assume that there is a clear transformation from 'Fordist' to 'post-Fordist' modes of production and consumption

(Ioannides and Debbage, 1998). This transition thus needs to be understood as one way of understanding contemporary socio-cultural changes rather than a fait accompli[2].

For Urry (1994), the expansion of heritage tourism is closely associated with the rise of postmodern forms of consumption. A variety of heritage products are produced and marketed as commodities for this new group of tourists, who distinguish themselves by highly diversified patterns of consumption. In tourism, as in other sectors of consumption, there is a constant search for new experiences and sources of stimulation that help to distinguish particular social groups (Richards, 1996b). It is believed that post-tourists are increasingly self-confident and willing to encounter different and diverse experiences of other cultures and environments. In order not to be beguiled by the 'environmental bubble' of the tourism industry (Cohen, 1972), particularly in the context of the institutionalised experiences inherent in traditional forms of mass tourism, it appears that post-(mass) tourists place greater emphasis on individual choices, customised experiences and subjective aspirations.

Post-tourists seem to be increasingly aware of the fact that tourism events are staged and commodified. Accordingly, from this it can be asserted that the objects of the tourist gaze are, to a greater or lesser extent, deliberately constructed and contrived for tourists to consume. Such tourists are becoming more aware of the nature of various tourist environments and are more critical of the goods and services they select and/or consume (Urry, 1990). Furthermore, post-modern tourists endeavour to construct and develop their own narratives and sense of historic places in order to create 'individual journeys of self-discovery' during visits to heritage places (Wiendu Nuryanti, 1996: 251). It is seemingly necessary to be aware of the status of 'post-tourists' in order to discern and examine particularistic-based characteristics, especially the intent on communicating self-narratives through collective social memories. This dimension is pertinent to those who visit Changdeok Palace, particularly with respect to ways in which visitors personally interpret and perceive the heritage experience (see Chapter Five and Six).

The Heritage Industry: Commercialised Products and Pseudo Experiences

As indicated earlier, another conspicuous phenomenon of the tourism industry that is influenced by post-modern change is the growing popularity of representations of the past. Technological advances after the period of the industrial revolution introduced new and innovative ways of communicating with the past. This increasing obsession with re-

enactments of the past is not just confined to the development of heritage representations but also entails aspects of popular culture spurned by nostalgic sentiment. As Rojek (1994: 4) insightfully observes:

> Nostalgia industries continuously recycle products which signify simultaneity between the past and the present. For example, hit television shows from the sixties are retransmitted in the 1980s and '90s and reproduce or beat their original success; top pop songs from the fifties, sixties and seventies are re-released and become number one hits all over again; and fashions that were discarded as infra dig in our twenties are triumphantly championed by our children thirty years later. Increasingly, popular culture is dominated by images of recurrence rather than originality.

Analysts have indeed discussed ways in which the increasing demand for past representations is closely related to the needs of modern societies to encourage and enhance a clear continuity with the past (Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987; Ashworth, 1994). This concern consequently led to the advent of a commercialised 'heritage industry' institutionally linked to the leisure and tourism industries (Hewison, 1991: 166-67). The aegis of the heritage industry is inextricably bound up with such key tenets of post-modernism as 'simulation' (Baudrillard, 1983) and 'hyper-reality' (Eco, 1986). Hewison (1987: 135) appropriately contends:

> Post-modernism and the heritage industry are linked, in that they both conspire to create a shallow screen that intervenes between our present lives, and our history. We have no understanding of history in depth, but instead are offered a contemporary creation, more costume drama and re-enactment than critical discourse.

The development of the heritage industry has seemingly facilitated the blurring boundaries between history and heritage. Here, it is argued that the heritage industry promotes entertainment and commercial values by presenting a past that is a hollow pastiche of history rather than accurately portraying its truth. Commodified heritage is often criticised as a denigrated version of history, which seemingly fails to capture the essence of the nation's cultural and social identities. Hewison (1987) emphasises that the commercial need for exploiting historical tales has consequently led to the advent of the heritage industry. He states:

> Yet we have no real use for this spurious past, any more than nostalgia has any use as a creative emotion. At best we turn it into a commodity, and following the changed language of the arts, justify its exploitation as a touristic resource. The result is a devaluation of significance, an impoverishment of meaning (1987: 138).

Recent tourism markets have paid significant attention to the promotion of heritage as a tourism resource. The tourism industry is often blamed for being responsible for the excessive commodification of heritage, which is often systematically packaged and sold for tourist

consumption. The range of heritage attractions, which is nostalgically motivated and commercially contrived, has become more appealing and palatable to tourists (Hewison, 1987; Urry, 1990; Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Vesey and Dimanche, 2003). Hewison (1987: 32) argues that heritage 'means everything, and it means nothing, and yet it has developed into a whole industry'. Interestingly, Richards (1996a: 13) indicates that the heritage industry has been founded upon a 'whole new breed of attractions and intermediaries who supply culture specifically for tourist consumption'. This is also consistent with Hewison's (1987: 144) fierce criticism which views heritage as commercially contrived for entertainment, i.e., a 'bogus history'. The heritage industry is denounced not only for the emergence of quasi-heritage (pseudo) products, but also for the distortion of intrinsic meanings. The commodified portrayal of pastness is described as 'retrochic' (Samuel, 1994) and 'romanticised fiction' (Merriman, 2000: 3), as well as 'aberration of "real" history' (Hewison, 1987: 138). In explicating two contrasting applications of the meaning of heritage, Merriman (2000: 8) maintains:

> These positive values of care and identity are in sharp contrast to the more negative and pejorative views of the term heritage. In this sense, as used in the 'heritage industry', the word has become synonymous with the manipulation (or even invention) and exploitation of the past for commercial ends.

However, intellectual opposition to the growing popularity of the commercialised nature of the heritage industry has become more moderate during the last decade, especially as significant attention has focused on the positive aspects of utilising the past through commercially-led approaches. Read (1999) for instance, notes that a heritage industry which makes the past popular in the present plays an essential role in making historical resources more accessible. In this regard, heritage is also expressed as a form of 'cultural production' expressing new social identities, which can be packaged and promoted within tourism development contexts (Robb, 1998). Such observations thus draw caution to the rather critical viewpoints highlight by such key authorities as Hewison (1987) and Lowenthal (1998), who are preoccupied with denouncing heritage as a commercially contrived industry.

De-differentiated Tourist Experiences

Earlier academic literature in tourism studies emphasised the distinctive and extraordinary nature of tourist experiences (MacCannell, 1976; Graburn, 1989; Smith, 1989). Smith's (1989: 1) conceptualisation of the tourist as a 'temporarily leisured person who visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing change', positions the tourist experience as

disparate from the routine experiences of everyday life. This notion is clearly illustrated in MacCannell's (1976) portrayal of tourism as a modern counterpart of pilgrimage, involving a search and quest for authenticity which cannot necessarily be fully actualised in modern everyday life. He identifies the act of sightseeing as a 'ritual performed to the differentiations of society', maintaining:

> The differentiations of the modern world have the same structure as tourist attractions: elements dislodged from their original natural, historical and cultural contexts fit together with other such displaced or modernized things and people (1976: 13).

In contrast to the shallow and inauthentic nature of modern everyday life, tourists are expected to encounter real and authentic experiences only when they succeed in dislocating themselves from their own culture and society. Graburn (1989) also highlights the differentiation between everyday life and tourist experiences, claiming that tourist experiences manifest non-ordinary characteristics. However, the processes of de-differentiation as crucial features of post-modern change have fundamentally transformed the cultural and social formations of contemporary societies. Lash (1990: 11) focuses on the process of de-differentiation in the cultural realm, which he believes:

> ... is no longer 'auratic'...that is, it is no longer systematically separated from the social. This has to do with the partial breakdown of the boundaries between high and popular culture and the concomitant development of a mass audience for high culture.

Therefore, the distinctive boundaries between such cultural spheres as high and popular culture, history and heritage, past and present, and entertainment and education have been less visible. As Urry (1990: 82) states:

> Postmodernism involves a dissolving of the boundaries, not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms, such as tourism, art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture.

Uriely (2005: 203) further highlights the processes of de-differentiation blurring the distinctions among 'normative, aesthetic and institutional spheres of social activity'. Likewise, the conspicuous distinction between tourist experiences and everyday life is increasingly challenged by the application of postmodern paradigms to the understanding of tourism. As distinctions have become increasingly blurred, existing perspectives have thus been confronted with the view of producing modifications to set ways of perceiving situations, particularly those perspectives which view tourism as being fundamentally alien from everyday life. Understanding tourism experiences as part of everyday life is arguably of

symbolic significance in recognising the importance of consolidating a sense of national belonging and collective solidarity in everyday and mundane contexts.

What is also pertinent about the postmodern perspective is that the past, especially the way it is articulated, perceived and negotiated, is merged into the postmodern present. Thus the past and the present have become de-differentiated and no longer perceived as separate and discontinuous elements. Nonetheless, Harvey (1989: 54) cynically notes:

> Postmodernism abandons all sense of historical continuity and memory, while simultaneously developing an incredible ability to plunder history and absorb whatever it finds there as some aspect of the present.

Harvey's observation thus implies a critical awareness that analysts should not necessarily take the de-differentiation principle to extreme by suggesting that a shared (social) memory is made completely redundant in postmodern societies simply because symbols of the past are appropriated, reconstructed and represented in the present. Indeed, as this chapter duly illustrates, it is the subjective and inter-contextual dimensions of a shared social memory that help to reconstruct (and revive) elements of a nation's past and history that reflect present needs and circumstances.

Conclusion

As a symbolic embodiment of the past, heritage is reconstructed and reconstituted in the collective memories and traditions of contemporary society rather than a mere apotheosis of bygone times. Given that heritage is part of a 'symbolic system' (Geertz, 1973; Meethan, 2001) and a 'unifying sign' (Bessière, 1998: 26), it seemingly lies at the core of preserving and strengthening the collective memory of a social group, influencing the constructions and reconstructions of people's social and cultural identities. Accordingly, heritage tourism potentially evokes shared social memories.

The main discussion of this chapter elaborates on the assumption that heritage tourism practices have a significant role to play in 'nation building', especially by way of encouraging heritage settings to generate popular (national) appeal. A systematic consideration concerning ways in which heritage tourism enhances and exalts nationalist sentiments has thus been presented. Arguably, heritage discourses and narratives encountered during visits are not completely related to the presentation of an official ideology of history, but yet subject to

personal and subjective interpretations which are fairly informal in nature, and to a significant degree, unofficial in intent.

The latter discussion of the chapter suggests that new forms of tourism consumption characterise the creation of individual and tailor-made tourism products which are less structured and more independently sought after than mass tourism products. This trend reflects ways in which tourist have become more critically aware and selective, as well as particular in choices and perceptions of tourism. In terms of the current study, it is important to highlight that tourists are increasingly empowered to articulate their own perceptions and present evaluative-based opinions of sites visited and experiences encountered.

Academic critiques concerning the commercialisation of the heritage industry have been prevalent in studies of tourism and heritage. Nonetheless, more recently there is a realisation that the process of ultilsing the past can be socially and culturally constructive, even though commercial orientations are purposefully pursued. Thus discussions concerning the role of the heritage industry in the context of postmodern change imply that as historical resources are becoming more available, access has seemingly become more democratised and consumption has become less socially differentiated. This issue is certainly pertinent to national heritage settings popularly appealing to wider sections of society.

Importantly, the increasingly blurred distinction between tourist experiences and everyday life, facilitated by the application of postmodern paradigms to the understanding of tourism, substantially contribute to the modification of existing perspectives that view tourism experiences as fundamentally alien from everyday life. Thus it could be postulated that tourism experiences are part of everyday life and of symbolic significance in consolidating a sense of national belonging and collective solidarity in mundane, everyday contexts.

Notes

(1) See West's (2005) study concerning the conceptual significance of 'civil religious pilgrimage' as a spiritual means of discovering an enchanted past from national history. Drawing upon the narratives of Australian backpackers at the Gallipoli Battlefields in Turkey, the study emphasises that this type of pilgrimage creates new dialogic relations and contexts where national history can be consistently revigorated as part of contemporary consciousness.

(2) Some analysts contend that if a modification of Fordism is imminent then it would perhaps be better to utilise the term 'neo-Fordism' as opposed to 'post-Fordism' (see Agarwal, 2002; and Torres, 2002). In her study of tourism development in Cancun, Torres (2002) informatively emphasises that the Fordist model of analysis is still useful in indicating the changing nature of tourism consumption and production. She notes of new elements of tourism development emerging, explained by such neo-Fordist dimensions as 'mass customisation'.

Chapter Two

Nationalism, National Identity and 'the Nation'

Introduction

This chapter critically outlines key theoretical debates concerning the construction and development of the nation and national awareness, systematically reviewing the study of nationalism and national identity. Attention is drawn to two contrasting accounts: the modernistic perspective and the primordial perspective. In an endeavour to conceptually utilise these two perspectives, the discussion also highlights the significance of the situational (instrumental) perspective in indicating ways in which identity and ethnicity are not necessary fixed entities but changeable in differing contexts and varied situations.

Importantly, accounts concerning 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) and perspectives focusing on the importance of 'everyday experiences' of national belonging (Edensor, 2002) provide significant scope to unravel the modes and patterns which reproduce nationalist sentiments in ordinary and normal circumstances. Billig (1995) poses a new direction for the study of nationalism, emphasising the importance of 'narrativist accounts of history' (Thomson and Fevre, 2001: 308), which are predominantly concerned with examining ways in which individual and subjective discourses construct national identities.

The discussions indicate that a sense of belonging is continually defined and transformed through the influence of 'significant (national) others', i.e., the 'out-group'. National resistance to 'significant others' could fortify a shared sense of sameness between members of a national community, i.e., the 'in-group'. Within national contexts, it is thus asserted that the role of 'significant others' is arguably fundamental in constituting and reconstituting collective national identities, particularly drawing on instances where the 'out-group' is clearly manifested in the social memory of the nation.

In the final section of the chapter, attention is drawn to how the globalisation process leads to a heightened awareness of nationalism and national identity. It is asserted that there is a real need for regions and nations to re-evaluate and reinforce distinctive attributes associated with local and national cultures and identities, especially in an attempt to instrumentally react against increasingly homogenised and unified global forces.

'Nationalism' and the 'Nation': Social Scientific Perspectives

Conceptual Elements of the 'Nation'

Weber was one of the first social scientists to recognise that the concept 'nation' should be distinguished from the membership of a given polity. For Weber, nations are political communities based on the common descent and essential homogeneity of ethnic groups (cited in Hutchison and Smith, 1994). However, it should also be acknowledged that the sentiments of solidarity shared by an ethnic community are primarily heterogeneous in both nature and origin. While being aware of the complex and multi-dimensional nature of the subject, Smith (1991a: 14) defines a nation as a:

> ...named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members.

This definition selects such intangible and subjective elements as myths and collective memories as a nation's main constituent. Connor (1994) also places substantial emphasis on intangible assets in the formation of a nation and national identity. He claims that psychological bonds play a necessary role in binding fellow nationals together through reinforcing 'shared feelings of sameness' (1994: 36). As early as the 1880s, the French historian Renan insightfully objected to defining nations through popular explanations concerning such objective characteristics as race, territory, language and religion (Renan, 1990). Instead, he believed that the common legacy of memories was the main contributing factor to a nation's foundation. For Renan (1990: 19), a nation is a 'spiritual principle' based on:

> large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life.

The emphasis on intangible assets and subject accounts in the genesis of nationalism and the awareness of a nation's existence as an inseparable reality of daily life, either consciously or subconsciously, suggests that people's perceptions and meanings of national identity are of fundamental importance. Based on this, it could perhaps be summarised that individuals may conceptualise national identity through oral discourses focusing on subjective narratives

construed from nationhood experiences, interpretations and affinities. Rather than always identifying the objective characteristics of a nation, individuals may eagerly look towards ways in which their own existence can be intertwined with the remnants of common pasts and shared histories, especially in an endeavour to search for (as well as strengthen) a common sense of belonging. It appears that the notion of 'nation' in people's consciousness within daily contexts can be better envisaged as a form of self-awareness pertaining to collective national solidarity. The recognition of the nation's existence as a daily contemplation, associated with the concept of 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995) and the importance of 'everyday experiences' (Edensor, 2002), will be discussed in detail in forthcoming debates concerning the conceptual significance of nationalism (and nationhood).

Conceptual Elements of 'Nationalism'

For some analysts, nationalism is understood as a primary and powerful representation of group identity, a phenomenon firmly supporting the existence and legitimacy of the nation. Smith (1991a: 8) describes nationalism as 'the most compelling identity myth in the modern world'. Accordingly, nationalism has been understood as a 'state of mind, an act of consciousness' (Kohn, 1939: 1008), a 'political principle' (Gellner, 1983: 1), a 'form of behaviour' (Kellas, 1991: 3) and a 'discursive formation' (Calhoun, 1997: 3). Cubitt (1998: 1) claims that conceptualising the nation is of primary concern to 'the dominant understandings both of political community and of personal identity'. On a similar level, Pickering (2001: 98) defines nationalism as 'the modern politics of belonging', stating:

> Nationalism as a form of collective identification is sustained much more broadly by a set of attitudes and assumptions that accepts the necessity of the nation, of a world of nations, and of the need for belonging to a particular nation. The particularity of 'our' national belonging defines who 'we' are, in the world of nations, but the nation as a source of identity and belonging requires a belief in the inevitability of its existence as an organizing form of life.

Despite continual attempts to clearly distinguish 'nation' from 'nation-state', conceptual misapplications have been fairly common in the study of nationalism. In general terms, the 'nation-state' is historically a relatively modern phenomenon. The first independent state was formed after the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, which asserted freedom from the ruling power of Great Britain over North America. Soon after American Independence, ideas associated with the late Enlightenment were prevalent in Europe, inspired by events in the New World. The French Revolution in 1789 emphasised the

importance of national sovereignty as the key element of the newly-established 'nation-state' (see Tocqueville, 1998; Hunt, 2004).

In an attempt to legitimise and support the existence of a newly formed 'nation', the public museum in France emerged as one systematic apparatus of the disciplinary society (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989). The Louvre was employed as an ideological instrument to provide an authoritative narrative of state power (see Amato, 2006). The museum was created as a means to reveal 'both the decadence and tyranny of the old forms of control, the ancient régime, and the democracy and public utility of the new, the Republic' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989: 68). Furthermore, 'disciplinary museums', as an essential part of national heritage, affirm the nation's collective cultural symbols and meanings, especially through the accumulation of a 'great work of art embodying transcendent, eternal aesthetic values' (McClellan, 1999: 156). The Lovre as a public institution, representing national heritage and pride of the newly-established nation, was a powerful agent through which a close relationship between the citizen and the state could be symbolically established (Duncan, 1999). Accordingly, cultural and heritage institutions play a substantial role in instilling the general public with a strong sense of national belonging, enhancing national solidarity and legitimacy. Likewise, such heritage institutions as 'royal palaces' arguably have a proactive role in articulating the nation's main cultural and historical values through portraying and representing material culture of the past.

Pickering (2001) notes, that nationalism became initially prevalent throughout Europe and then later throughout colonised states. He emphasises that nationalism was then internationally distributed and understood as:

> a rhetoric of belonging... a way of establishing its discursive credentials in its emergence and development, and of enhancing the potency of its values, that nationalism drew on older cultural traditions, icons and symbols. These imparted to the idea of the nation a sense of immemorial flow and continuity, although of course these elements from the past were transformed in the process. In this sense the nation was then advanced as the principal source of community, of uniting with others to achieve common goals and purposes, with their legitimacy based on the claim to a primordial lineage of shared origins and shared ancestry (2001: 101-102).

Importantly, nationalism played a crucial role in eliciting national solidarity and encouraging national consciousness in the expansion of the 'nation-state', which was a fairly recent political development. The concept of nationalism, whether construed as a modern outcome

of social changes or a modern articulation of ethnic identity (Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1986), is popularly explored in academic enquiries. Thomson and Fevre (2001: 305) observe that historians and social scientists working in the field of 'international relations' contributed significantly to earlier literature on nationalism. However, it is argued that the general indifference of social scientists towards establishing a sustained academic inquiry of nationalism was an impediment to the development of literature within the field (Özlirimli, 2000). Nevertheless, there are a range of informative accounts concerning the rise and expansion of nationalism, prominently discussed within a range of sociologically-based works: Kohn's (1965) 'Nationalism: Its Meaning and History'; Gellner's (1983) 'Nations and Nationalism'; Smith's (1986) 'The Ethnic Origins of Nationalism'; Hobsbawm's (1990) 'Nations and Nationalism since 1780'; Calhoun's (1997) 'Nationalism'; McCrone's (1998) 'The Sociology of Nationalism'; and Özlirimli's (2000) 'Theories of Nationalism'.

Nation and Nationalism: Modernistic Perspectives

Social analysts subscribe to modernistic perceptions identifying nationalism as a product of modern processes rather than a primordially inherited entity (Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1991; Pickering, 2001). However, accounts of modernistic forms of nationalism recognise a range of unique factors facilitating and strengthening shared feelings of national belonging. For Gellner (1983), nationalism is a modern outcome resulting from the processes of industrialisation, where the construction of the state and the creation of collective identity shared by all members are deemed essential for maintaining newly-formed industrialised societies. He emphasises the importance of civilising the public through educational processes to enhance and enforce an idea of national belonging. The role of education is thus fundamental in constructing and reconstructing national identity and culture. Gellner (1983: 36) firmly maintains:

> The employability, dignity, security and self-respect of individuals, typically, and for the majority of *men* (sic) now hinges on their education; and the limits of the culture within which they were educated are also the limits of the world within which they can, morally and professionally, breath. A man's education is by far his most precious investment, and in effect confers his identity on him. Modern man is not loyal to a monarch or a land or a faith...but to a culture.

In line with this contention, the construction of a central state and its association with national culture was necessary in developing and sustaining a nation's educational systems and structures. Gellner (1983) contends that the close link between state and culture is an essential

core element of nationalism, which is the main force of industrial social organisations. The account of nationalism is thus recognised as:

> ...the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population...It is the establishment of an anonymous, impersonal society, with mutually substitutable atomized individuals, held together above all by a shared culture of this kind, in place of a previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced locally and idiosyncratically by the micro-groups themselves (Gellner, 1983: 57).

His perspective plays a pioneering role in relating nationalism to the sociological framework of the modern world. Anderson (1991: 6) informatively discusses the nation as an imagined community, viewed essentially as a modern creation 'imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign'. Nations are thus imagined as communities with their own pasts and destinies, encompassing inhabitants of a particular territory. However, according to Billig (1995: 77):

> The community and its place are not so much imagined, but their absence becomes unimaginable.

Read (1999) points out that Anderson's (1991) work presents a critical stance to the existing fundamentalist notion of nationalism as something which is natural, simple and invariable. For Anderson (1991), nation-ness and nationalism are cultural artifacts of an imagined political community that came to exist in people's imagination rather than formed directly from political ideologies. In describing the nation as an 'imagined community', he points out that individual members 'of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson, 1991: 6). The 'image of their communion' was realised and further facilitated by the advent of print technology. The mass production of books and newspapers written in the national language contributed to the development of national consciousness. In the process of understanding each other, aided by the convergence of print-capitalism, speakers of the national language:

> gradually became aware of the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people in their particular language-field, and at the same time that only those hundreds of thousands, or millions, so belonged. These fellow-readers, of whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the national imagined community (Anderson, 1991: 44).

Anderson (1991) further indicates that the development of print capitalism made a significant contribution to a heightened awareness of national consciousness upon which the conception

of collective identity was firmly based. His perception of the nation as an 'imagined community' of individuals, developed by material and technological advancement, is firmly rooted in modern life. Hobsbawm (1983), who also significantly contributed to the development of modernist accounts of nation and nationalism, emphasised that these two elements are modern products of 'social engineering' facilitated and monitored by the process of 'invented traditions'. These traditions refer to:

> a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (Hobsbawm, 1983: 1).

Hobsbawm (1983:14) asserts that the modern 'nation' comprises of various artificial constructs and 'invented traditions', which include 'fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourses (such as 'national' history)'. He suggests that the adaptation of old traditions to fit into new situations and the deliberate invention of new traditions for novel purposes were a means of consolidating group cohesion and controlling the consequences of rapid socio-cultural change. Hobsbawm (1983: 9) outlines three main modes of social inclusion and control: (1) creation of such institutions as festivals, sports and unions; (2) invention of such new systems and modes of socialisation as hierarchical educational systems and royal ceremonies (3) formation of such 'communities' as nations, clans and associations which establish or symbolise 'social cohesion or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities'.

As one conspicuous example of 'invented traditions', Hobsbawm illustrates that the choice of Gothic style architecture for the nineteenth century reconstruction of the Houses of Parliament was aimed at instilling a sense of continuity through shared beliefs relating to long-cherished traditions in architecture and design. Tomlinson (1991) argues that invented traditions encourage people to believe that contemporary customs are deeply rooted in an unchangeable past. Invented traditions can thus be perceived as a lucid manifestation for reinterpreting and reappropriating deep-seated cultural traditions and values of a nation in modern contexts.

Nation and Nationalism: Primordialist Perspectives

As opposed to the modernistic account of nation and nationalism, the primordial approach places greater emphasis on the significance of the antiquity of nations, the strength of ethnicities and the socio-cultural implication of ethnic ties. Primordialists regard nations as a

naturally given form rather than something socially constructed or culturally imagined within the modern era. As McCrone (1998: 12) contends:

> Modernism fails to locate the nation in a historical sequence of cultural shaping, and hence overdraws the distinction between 'tradition' and 'modernity', frequently missing the deep roots which nations have in an ethnic substratum.

Debates concerning primordialist dimensions of nationalism are more engaged with explaining the nature of ethnic ties and shared histories rather than unraveling the origin and emergence of nationalism. The cultural approach of the primordialist perspective encourages an insightful understanding of the sociological context of Korean national identity, illustrated in detail in the following chapter. Interestingly, Smith (1995) argues that ethnic identity existed since early civilisation, and nationalism might therefore be understood as its modern articulation. A modern nation is not solely based on fabricated or factitious modern creations, but closely associated with earlier beliefs and practices associated with people's ethnic consciousness. He states:

> The nation is not...a melange of materials constantly reinvented to suit the changing tastes and needs of different elites and generations. The nation may be a modern social formation, but it is in some sense based on pre-existing cultures, identities and heritages (Smith, 1995:13).

Smith (1995) claims that the complex and multifaceted nature of nationalism could be better identified by analysing the characteristics of the nation's ethnic origins, leading to a consideration of the continuous change and fluidity in the contents and forms of ethnies. The concept of 'ethnies' proposed by Smith lends a more profound scope to the study of national and ethnic identities. Smith (1994: 383) argues that distinct ethnic communities or 'ethnies' refer to:

> ... named groups with shared ancestry myths and memories or 'ethno-history', with a strong association, though not necessarily possession of, a historic territory or homeland.

Giddens (1985) declares that nationalism is both a psychological and symbolic-based concept. As nationalism is primordially inherited it should not be confused with the nation-state. Connor (1994) also places an emphasis on myths of kinship and common origin as crucial components of the genesis of nationalism. In terms of the origin and emergence of the nation, he subscribes to the modernistic view that nation and nationalism are recently formed constructs. However, Connor's (1993: 382) well established definition of the nation as 'a group of people who feel that they are ancestrally related' is, as Özlirimli (2000) insightfully

observes, of particular relevance in understanding the accounts of cultural primordialism, which emphasises people's attitude, behaviour and perception as the key tenets of nationalism. Geertz (1993) has contributed greatly to the conceptual establishment of cultural primordialism. He identifies a primordial attachment as:

> ...one that stems from the 'givens'- or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens'- of social existence...These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves (Geertz, 1993: 259).

The focus on people's perceptions and beliefs concerning the 'givens' of social existence is pertinent in understanding the significance of primordial sentiments and ethnic attachments. Tajfel (1981: 229) also emphasises the importance of common consciousness as a fundamental national attribute, maintaining that 'a nation will only exist if a body of people feel themselves to be a nation'. People are able to constantly reassure themselves of the primordial nature of their nation and national identity by possessing such cultural characteristics as blood ties, language and shared tradition. Importantly, the belief that their culture and nation is sacred and special lies at the core of understanding the essence of cultural primordialism

The tenet of cultural primordialism is inseparably bound up with the concept of cultural nationalism, formulated and advocated by Herder (1744-1803), who firmly believes that the establishment of national culture should be founded upon a nation's native foundations. For Herder, the nation is purely a cultural rather than a political phenomenon, where nationalism is deeply rooted in people's psychological make-up as well as cherished historical traditions (cited in Berdahl, 1972: 67-8).

At the core of Herder's cultural nationalism lies the conception of '*das Volk*' as a collective national personality (Schmidt, 1956: 409). The *Sturm und Drang* movement of German literary romanticism, pioneered and led by Herder, is a manifestation of *Das Volk* within the context of cultural nationalism. Herder's fundamental ideas on cultural nationalism are duly illustrated and emphasised in Barnard's (1983) enquiry on national culture and political legitimacy relating to the significance of cultural affinities and shared heritage. It is asserted that:

> ...cultural bonds which linked members of a nation into a relational whole were not things or artifacts imposed from above but living energies (Kräfte) emanating from within, shared meanings and sentiments which in time form a people's collective soul.

> That collective soul at once gave and received nourishment from a shared heritage by virtue of which a nation and each one of its members possessed, and contributed to possess, their distinctive character (Barnard, 1983: 241-42).

As a conspicuous example of two contrasting perspectives of nationalism as either a true modern formation or a continuation of ancient ethnicity, Calhoun (1993) illustrates the historical narratives constructed in nationalism literature in France and Germany. He argues that French narratives focus on the civic and political form of the newly established republic and the idea of citizenship, whereas the pursuit for naturalising and legitimising accounts of primordial ethnicity was a main objective in the German case. Herder's cultural nationalism emphasises the nation's ethnic and native foundation than its civic and political affiliations. Herder's cultural nationalism is important in understanding the significance of Korean 'folk' culture (민속 문화) as an essence of Korean national consciousness. The concept of 'folk' culture in a Korean context is deeply related to the nation's traditional cultural formation and practice, which is also a crucial element of national heritage. However, the components of 'folk' in Korean national culture were disregarded by the dominance of elitist Confucian tradition in the Joseon Kingdom (1392-1910), Japanese colonisation in the 20th century and the overwhelming focus on economic development after the Korean War. However, from the late 1970s and the early 1980s there emerged a renewed interest in reviving Korean 'folk' culture. A new appreciation of 'folk' culture was developed and facilitated as an effective means to revive 'Koreanness' at a time of rapid socio-cultural change (Abito, 1983). Importantly, shared meanings and sentiments of national 'folk' culture are arguably fundamental in formulating and maintaining a collective sense of national belonging among Korean nationals (see Chapter 3).

Smith (1995) criticises the modernist tendency to reify the nation as an entity with an external existence simply because it disregards the nature and significance of ethnic identities. More importantly, he objects to the modernistic view that nationalism is a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon facilitated largely by small minorities of high cultural elites and intellectuals in the modern (industrial) epoch. In this respect, Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) concept of 'invented tradition', on which a new form of social engineering mainly led by elites is based, needs to be reassessed. Smith (1991b: 357) claims that 'invented traditions' are more akin to 'rediscovery' or 'reconstruction' of certain remnants of ethnic pasts which illustrate the nation's (socio-cultural) continuity throughout history. It is further highlighted that even in the modern process of creating nations, the focus on 'antecedent cultural ties and

sentiments' are of fundamental significance in obtaining popular accord and fortifying national stability (Smith, 1994: 378). In a similar vein, Edensor (2002) criticises an overemphasis on the novelty of national cultures without fully considering earlier cultural continuities in the practices of 'invented traditions'. He illustrates his point by referring to the nineteenth-century revival of the Welsh Eisteddfod festival, harnessed by the state and deeply grounded in its long-standing appeal as a form of popular culture. It is maintained that:

> While vernacular and popular elements may have been codified by national folklorists, dragooned in to anthologies and given ceremonial status, it hardly means that they have not had enduring popular appeal, merely that they are restaged on a larger scale. More crucially a focus on large-scale spectaculars and easily identifiable traditions ignores a host of other 'traditions' which are grounded in everyday life (Edensor, 2002: 6).

Harvey (2001) also criticises Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) work in that there is a tendency to mainly focus on relatively recent events and practices. He further argues that there are much earlier examples in which 'historically contingent and embedded nature' of heritage is actively constituted in order to legitimate national consciousness or a communal memory (e.g., the tradition of 'Bonfire Night' in England, originating from the 17th century). Furthermore, Calhoun (1993) contradicts the concept of invented traditions as a fallacious contention on the grounds that all traditions are more or less 'created', and are not truly primordial. He further argues that all traditions are internally contested and subject to continual reshaping, whether explicit or hidden.

It appears that shared feelings of continuity with the past help strengthen a group's sense of belonging and facilitate the reproduction of cultural modes and social patterns of behaviour (Smith, 1991a). In line with this observation, visits to heritage places seem to be appropriate in enlivening a connection with the past and bringing vitality to forgotten memories, thus reassuring a sense of cultural continuity among people.

Ethnicity and Identity: Situational Perspectives

Primordial perspectives focus on people's perceptions and beliefs concerning the 'givens' of social existence, which are naturally bestowed. Such perspectives highlight that ethnic and national identities are unique and bounded formations based on a set of innate cultural characteristics (Smith, 1998). Compared to this, situational or instrumental perspectives emphasise the dynamic and discursive nature of ethnic and national identity. Based on these perspectives, Hitchcock (1999: 21) identifies ethnicity as a 'set of processes and social

relations, which may be invoked according to circumstances'. He further maintains that the situational (instrumental) approach regards ethnicity as:

> a set of social relationships and processes by which cultural differences are communicated and maintained. In order that an identity may be understood, it has to be constantly invoked through intentional agency (Hitchcock, 2003: 72).

Cultures express the fundamental attributes of people's ethnicities and identities. Arguably, it is necessary to examine cultures within a situational approach to ethnicity. The situational approach challenges the existing concept of culture as a fixed and unchanging entity. It places an emphasis on the significance of differing contexts and varied situations in identifying ethnicity and identity. Both Barth (1969) and Eriksen (1991) draw attention to how people's ethnic identities are articulated within a range of social contexts and situations, and how people's self and collective identities serve to represent cultural differences and distinctions (and possible similarities) with other individuals, groups and societies. Given that heritage institutions (e.g., museums, castles, palaces and listed buildings) are operated by and composed of a range of social actors, they have a crucial role in projecting notions of ethnicity and identity. Although Barth (1969) considers how such social organisations as kinship and community networks enable people to express the 'cultural features' of their ethnic unit (1969: 14), heritage institutions may be another important (contemporary) illustration of how cultural features of one's ethnicity are socially communicated through inter-personal encounters and inter-subjective relationships.

Importantly, heritage is a sign and symbol of people's ethnicities, nationalities and identities but yet subject to different readings, multiple interpretations and diverse meanings, encouraged through the institutional endeavours of the heritage industry to portray particular messages and representations of cultural heritage; albeit in rather contrived ways- as MacCannell (1976) and Urry (1990) would argue. Furthermore, heritage tourism experiences are expected to play a role in what Hitchcock (2003: 72) terms as 'intentional agency', through which ethnic and national identities are constantly reconstructed and reconceptualised and the social communication of cultural differences are stimulated. It is thus important to examine the extent to which the visits to Changdeok Palace offer South Korean visitors a chance of redefining and reconstituting their ethnic and collective national identities, particularly focusing on the reflexive construction of individual narratives as part of their interaction with various heritage presentation and representations. Nonetheless, individuals are also expected to experience the primordial nature of 'Koreanness', which is

somewhat immutable and deeply grounded in national heritage presentations and representations (see Chapter Five).

National Identity and Everyday Experiences

The Genesis of National Identity

A sense of national identity, based on the collective myths, memories and symbols of a nation and its own people, lies at the core of maintaining the existence of a nation and fortifying national sovereignty. The difficulty of defining national identity relates to the fact that this concept is fundamentally 'fluid, contextual and contested' (Gruffudd, 1995: 49). However, several scholars have attempted to conceptualise the various features of national identity by differentiating it from other types of collective identities (Kohn, 1965; Smith, 1991a/b; Connor, 1993). Connor (1993) emphasises that common ancestry functions as a main component of national identity and Smith (1991a/b) highlights the ethnic origins of the nation as having a crucial function in defining national identity. In understanding ways in which national identity is represented, Daniels (1993: 5) comments:

> National identities are co-ordinated, often largely defined, by legends and landscapes; by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds and dramatic destinies located in ancient or promised home-lands with hallowed sites and scenery...

Tajfel (1981), who developed the Social Identity Theory (SIT)[1], maintains that groups can only exist if members identify themselves as part of the group which shares a common consciousness. According to SIT, identification is basically a form of categorisation where individuals classify themselves as part of an 'in-group', which entails a distinctive form of social identity and an uncompromising distinction from the relevant 'out-group' (e.g., other nationals or ethnic groups). Members of an 'in-group' are gradually acquainted with the stereotypic norms and regulations pertaining to such an identity, where individuals assign these norms to themselves and their behaviour is normalised (cited in Billig, 1995: 65-6).

Even though its direct application to the study of national identity may not be fully comprehensible, SIT's focus on the distinction between 'in-group' and 'out-group' seems to be relevant in understanding one of the most fundamental characteristics of national identity, i.e., 'otherness'. Göl (2005) claims that the ontology of otherness, represented as a dialectical opposition to another identity, is necessary and indispensable in the nation's collective imagination. In her study, which explores the Macedonian cultural elements in the emergence

of a new form of Greek nationalism, Triandafyllidou (1998: 600) investigates the role of 'others' in the formation and transformation of national identity. She argues that national consciousness - 'a sense of belonging'- is continually defined and transformed through the influence of the 'significant other' (Triandafyllidou, 1998: 600). The conceptual use of 'significant other' was originally employed by sociologists who were interested in the study of social interaction and inter-subjective behaviour patterns, focusing on such agents of socialisation as family members, peers and educational establishments (see Mead, 1964)[2]. Individuals as social actors are constantly defined and redefined by their social interaction with 'significant others'. However, as inferred in the work of Triandafyllidou (1998) and Göl (2005), the conceptual application of 'significant others' has more recently been appropriated in macro-analyses concerning wider socio-cultural and/or political understanding of national out-groups. Whether internal or external, the resistance to 'significant others' could fortify a shared sense of sameness or fraternity with members of the in-group. Billig's (1995) approach also places emphasis on the roles of 'national others' in making culture unique and in establishing the homeland as an identifiable space. He maintains:

> If 'our' nation is to be imagined in all its particularity, it must be imagined as a nation amongst other nations (1995: 83).

In the development of South Korean nationalism, the role of 'external significant others' (Japan, North Korea and the West- especially the USA)[3] may be pertinent in defining/redefining and reinforcing discourses of national identity (see Chapter Three and Six). Importantly, myth and memory are seen as fundamental components of the very concept of 'nation', which are collectively purposeful in shaping national identities (Smith, 1986). In understanding the concept of national identity, people's aspirations and sentiments of nationhood and the symbolic significance of those perceptions are fundamental attributes of the national identification process. Nonetheless, popular recognition of the physical signifiers of nationhood should also be recognised as key conceptual components in the production of nationalism. As Smith (1991a: 77) explains:

> They include the obvious attributes of nations-flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, oaths.... museums of folklore... passports, frontiers- as well as more hidden aspects, such as national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales, all these distinctive customs, mores, styles and ways of acting and feeling that are shared by the members of a community of historical culture.

Anderson's (1991) definition of a nation as an imagined political community, described as something which is inherently limited and sovereign, contributes to recognising the cultural roots of nationalism and national identity. Anderson (1991: 12) comments that nations and nationalism should be understood not by aligning them with 'self-consciously held political ideologies' but as large cultural systems of production. Culture and language shared between members of the nation arguably reinforces a shared sense of similarity and contributes to the development of national identity (Gellner, 1983; Anderson, 1991). According to Billig (1996: 186), the nationalist imagination is based on an imagining of who 'we' are, which includes an 'imagining of the self'. Not only do members imagine their nation as a unique community, but they are also able to imagine that they know the intrinsic nature of their nation in an attempt to establish and affirm their unique national identity. Therefore, similar to conceptions of the nation, national identities also have to be imagined.

National identity serves as an important medium for providing people with feelings of belonging and encouraging them to identify with different groups of people. Smith (1991a) divides the functions of national identity into 'external' and 'internal' functions. Apart from such external functions as the territorial, economic and political components, Smith observes that national identity also fulfils more intimate, internal functions. Fulfilment of the internal functions of national identity is closely related to intangible and subjective accounts of the nation, which mainly focus on psychological bonds and collective memories of the past. The internal functions are of social significance in that they enhance and strengthen a sense of belonging through the provision of shared values, symbols and traditions, and through the relocation of our 'individual selves' at a time of intense socio-cultural change (Smith, 1991a: 16).

Mundane Flags and Symbols of Nationhood

There has been a surge of interest in analysing issues of nationalism with respect to its modes and patterns of reproduction in ordinary and normal circumstances (Billig, 1995; Palmer, 1998; Edensor, 2002). It seems to be true to state that in everyday contexts most people maintain a notion of the nation and familiarise its existence in more mundane and routined ways. For example, the influence of the media (e.g., newspapers and television programmes) in constructing and reconstructing a sense of national belonging in everyday contexts is of profound significance as an effective tool to disseminate nationalist ideologies and sentiments (Edensor, 2002). The common factors and ordinary experiences of everyday life are

significant in constructing and developing a sense of national identity. Billig (1995) provides a systematic analysis regarding ways in which nationalism and national identity are reproduced in our daily lives. He claims:

> The latency of nationalistic consciousness does not depend on the vagaries of individual's memory...Nor does national identity disappear into individual's heads in between salient situations... The 'salient situation' does not suddenly occur, as if out of nothing, for it is a part of a wider rhythm of banal life in the world of nations. What this means is that national identity is more than an inner psychological state, or an individual self-determination: it is a form of life, which is daily lived in a world of 'nation-states' (Billig, 1995: 69).

There is a tendency to differentiate feelings of nationalist sentiment from what happens in the mundane life of individuals within established nations. In war and other national crises, people tend to employ nationalist tendencies formulated and inspired by ceremonies of significance. Billig (1995) emphasises that national identity is thus often perceived as being rather impulsive, intensifying once a national crisis occurs (Billig, 1995). However, Özlirimli (2000: 4) disapproves of understanding of nationalism as a 'latent force that manifests itself only under extraordinary conditions, a kind of natural disaster which strikes spontaneously and unpredictably'. This is consistent with Brubaker's (1996: 10) argument which identifies nationalism as a 'heterogeneous set of "nation"- oriented idioms, practices, and possibilities that are continuously available or "endemic" in modern cultural and political life' rather than a 'force to be measured as resurgent or receding'. In the same vein, Billig (1995: 8) maintains:

> The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion: it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building.

Billig (1995: 8) criticises existing analyses of nationalism and national identity for comprehending the manifestations of nationalism and national identity in 'passionate and exotic exemplars'. Accordingly, enquiries generally disregard the routine and mundane reproduction of nationalism and national identity. The concept of 'flagging the homeland daily' (Billig, 1995: 93) is inextricably bound up with ways in which nationhood is constantly reminded and reproduced in everyday life. A sense of belonging is reaffirmed and reappropriated through the use of small and mundane 'flags' serving to constantly remind people of the nation's existence. For example, 'routinely familiar habits of language' are one manifestation of mundane 'flags'. National newspapers also make a significant contribution to this process by way of a 'textual structure, which uses the homeland's national boundaries, dividing the world into "homeland" and "foreign"' (Billig, 1995: 119). Likewise, the

mundane nature of national identity is deeply embedded in everyday contexts of cultural formations which play a role in 'all these forgotten reminders' (Billig, 1995: 8), thus enabling people to be constantly aware of the social and cultural significance of their homelands amidst changing perceptions of national boundaries and global interdependence. It is thus interesting to note how the mundane nature of national identity can perhaps be articulated and personified through heritage tourism experiences, believed to be one conspicuous example of cultural formations in everyday contexts (see Chapter Seven).

Edensor (2002: 17) strongly concurs with Billig's notion of banal nationalism, claiming that 'national identity is grounded in the everyday, in the mundane details of social interaction, habits, routines and practical knowledge' rather than the 'spectacular, the traditional and the official'. Palmer (1998: 195-96) also points out:

> What keeps the national imagination going is not so much the events of national celebration that are highlighted as being of importance but the habits and routines of people's lives...These 'flags of nationhood' may be unconsciously felt but their influence is just as powerful and pervasive as the ceremonies and rituals that are more overtly nationalistic.

Billig (1996) claims that Anderson (1983) does not specify the socio-psychological dimensions of nationalism through which 'imagined communities' are firmly established. Edensor (2002) further repudiates Anderson's excessive emphasis on print technology as an essential means for disseminating the idea of the nation. He notes that Anderson fails to refer to the multiple mediums in which a nation can be imagined through different types of cultural products and performances. The heritage setting, for instance, is one important distinctive cultural product that seemingly enables the essence of nationhood to be reproduced in everyday experiences, especially in contributing to the development of innate and latent manifestations of national awareness and belonging. In line with this observation and in conjunction with what was emphasised in Chapter One, people's experience of heritage tourism could be considered as another important medium in facilitating the maintenance of an imagined community. Palmer (1999) argues that heritage tourism enables people to conceive, imagine and confirm their belonging to the community. Visits to heritage settings could encourage nationals to feel part of and connected to the nation's past in their national imagination (see Chapter Five).

The Symbolic Significance of the Nation's Collective Memories

The existence of collective memory as representing a nation's unique legacy, whether glorious or disgraceful, is seemingly crucial in encouraging (domestic) visitors of heritage settings to experience a heightened sense of national belonging. The collective memory of a nation is inextricably bound up with prime narratives of national culture and heritage. It also serves as a substantive base for the construction of the cultural and national identities. It should also be noted that collective memory is partly based on individually selected recollections of past events and reminiscences. This point is perhaps helpful in understanding people's different use of collective memory for the construction of national identity.

Margalit (2002) provides a distinction between 'common' memory and 'shared' memory as two disparate components of collective memory. He perceives common memory as an 'aggregate notion' which accumulates the memories of those who individually experienced certain episodes and events. In comparison, however, Margalit (2002: 51-4) maintains that shared memory is not just a simple aggregate of individual memories, claiming:

> It (*shared memory*) requires communication. A shared memory integrates and calibrates the different perspectives of those who remember the episode...into one version (p.51-2)...Shared memory is built on a division of mnemonic labor. We are usually unaware of the channels by which we share memories with others, just as we are often unaware of the ways we came to learn certain historical facts (p.52)...shared memory in a modern society travels from person to person through institutions, such as archives, and through communal mnemonic devices, such as monuments and the names of streets...whether good or bad as mnemonic devices, these complicated communal institutions are responsible, to a large extent, for our shared memories (p.54).

As part of communal mnemonic devices, heritage settings become instrumental in the formation and maintenance of a nation's shared memories. Heritage tourism experiences need to communicate, negotiate and contest shared national memories rather than simply comprehend objective facts and historical episodes. Barnard (1983) claims that a shared heritage is of critical significance in enabling each individual to possess and preserve the distinctive character of a nation's collective soul. Therefore, recognition of Changdeok Palace as an essential part of South Korea's shared heritage could be fundamental in communicating shared memories of the past, thereby playing a crucial role in maintaining the idea of nationhood as a 'spiritual principle' (see Chapter Five).

Collective memory is not just an accumulation of mainstream public opinions and major past events. It entails a sense of nostalgia concerning those opinions and events, a shared psychological empathy constantly reproduced and communicated throughout generations. However, it is also important to note that collective memory comprises of differing meanings and varying interpretations that people bestow in present contexts. It is a dynamic concept reflecting present needs and circumstances.

In their study concerning ways in which national identities are constructed in Austria, De Cillia *et al.*, (1999) draw attention to the premise that national identities are not completely consistent, stable and immutable. They claim that 'collective memory' is deemed to be important for members of a specific community on the basis of 'selective recollection of past events' (1999:154). Accordingly, an individual's subjective and rather discursive construction of 'collective memory' can often serve as a firm foundation for their distinctive narratives of national identity. De Cillia *et al.*, (1999) emphasise the differences between the images of identity offered by the media or political elites and 'everyday discourses' (1999: 154). The notion of 'everyday discourses' is pertinent in understanding the subjective and discursive constructions of national identity.

Wright (1985) emphasises the contexts of everyday life in defining the main characteristics of a vernacular and informal sense of history, which is not necessarily consistent with state-led and official displays of tradition and national identity. He contends that everyday life is characteristic of 'its special occasions, its rationality, its wisdom' as well as 'its replicable and pragmatic' traits (1985: 6). It is further maintained:

> it is in the intersubjectivity of everyday life that human self-reproduction is welded to the wider process of social reproduction. Thus while everyday life may well be naturalized and taken for granted- indeed, while it may form a kind of second nature in which people originate themselves without deliberate reflection- it is in reality socially formed and complex (1985: 7).

In this light, Hall's (1996b) insightful remarks concerning the discursive approaches of identification are useful in highlighting the construction of individual subjective accounts of national identity as a conditional and continual process. He maintains:

> In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation...the discursive approaches see identification as a construction, a process never completed – always *'in process'*...Though not without its determinate

> conditions of existence, including the material and symbolic resources required to sustain it, identification is in the end conditional, lodged in contingency (Hall, 1996b: 2-3) (emphasis added).

The identification of national belonging also needs to be regarded as a dynamic process in which individuals are required to reproduce the contexts of existing material and symbolic resources in the changing circumstances of everyday life. Hall (1992) argues that national culture is a discourse, a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises our actions and conceptions of ourselves. Therefore, the notion of national identity is inextricably multifaceted, complex and plural. Hall (1992) provides an illustration of his view of national identity through understanding ways in which English national identity is socially constructed. He expresses:

> We only know what it is to be 'English' because of the way 'Englishness' has come to be represented, as a set of meanings, by English national culture. It follows that a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – *a system of cultural representation.* People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the *idea* of the nation as represented in its national culture (1992: 292).

Consequently, it is essential to recognise that the subjective and discursive construction of national identity, developed through individual constructions of shared national memory, is of particular relevance to analytical approaches concerning the study of national identity, nationalism and heritage construction.

Globalisation, Glocalisation and Identity

The Role of Nationalism within the Context of Globalisation

The phenomenon of globalisation has made a substantial impact on the structures of everyday life by enabling individuals to live in a more homogeneous world facilitated by the process of global interdependence. The information technology revolution and international tourism development have seemingly rendered traditional cultural forms and societal structures less meaningful and indistinctive. In addition, processes of globalisation seemingly exert a profound impact on the conditions of society and the economy.

The reorganisation of time and space within the framework of globalisation inevitably leads to a situation where the form and content of nationalism necessitates reappraisal. Appropriately, McGrew (1992: 63) claims:

> ...in a 'shrinking' world, where transnational relations, networks, activities and interconnections of all kinds transcend national boundaries, it is increasingly difficult to 'understand local or national destinies', without reference to global forces... the enormous flow of peoples across national boundaries; and the emerging authority of institutions and communities above the nation-state: all these factors provide a powerful case for reassessing the traditional conception of society...as a bounded, ordered, and unified social space – a coherent totality.

Moreover, it could be asserted that the increasing dominance of economic globalisation contributes to denationalising national territory, thereby repositioning the roles of individual nation states (see Sassen, 1996)[4]. Accordingly, the sovereignty of nationalism has, to a greater and lesser extent, been affected by the responsibilities of transnational governments and international organisations as a main axis of global assimilation and interdependence. The development and expansion of high technological forms of communication and internationalised business transactions have seemingly made national borders appear fluid and flexible in an era of transnationalism (Ong, 1999). Furthermore, global processes seemingly intimidate the power of nations to determine their own identities and notions of nationhood, diminishing the symbolic significance of national and local culture and heritage. It thus appears that the values of traditional culture and national heritage are being dominated by new meanings associated with the ascendancy of international and transnational cultures, practices and events (Urry, 1990).

At a time of rapid cultural and social transformation, defining the notion of nationalism and national identity is arguably a difficult and complicated task. Therefore, future discussions concerning the role of nationalism within the context of global processes should consider the extent to which the representations of national identity, rather than nationalism itself, still prevail as an integral force of culture consistent with the uniformity of nation-states (Kim Yong-jik, 1995). Moreover, it should be noted that the globalising forces may not necessarily overpower the essential dynamics of national cultures and identities. Rather, globalisation and nationalism should be understood as inter-related and overlapping forces in suggesting a broader understanding of social and cultural transformations in national societies.

'Glocalised' Cultures and Societies

Regardless of the dispersal of a homogenised and unified culture under the pervasive influence of gloalisation processes, it is crucial to note that globalisation may not necessarily override the distinctive characteristics of the local. The term 'glocalisation' has been adopted

from the marketing field referring to local market adaptation, where it refers to large-scale micro-targeting towards increasingly differentiated consumers with localised contexts (Robertson, 1995). Within socio-cultural contexts, the process of 'glocalisation' entails reappropriating and reinterpreting distinctive local (national) culture and identity within global settings, especially as a resistance to the increasing dominance of homogenised global cultures. The multiplicity and diversity of local cultures and identities should not be either overlooked or underestimated. As Meethan (2001: 35) maintains:

> One of the notable aspects of globalisation has been the reassertion of the region or locality as the basis for social interaction and focus of both political and social identity.

It cannot be repudiated that there is a strong tendency in re-evaluating and reinforcing distinctive local cultures and regional and national identities in newly-established global contexts. Giddens (1991: 22) insightfully maintains that the process of globalisation needs to be understood as an ongoing and persistent 'dialectic of the local and the global'. It is further stated:

> There is a new interest in 'the local' together with the impact of 'the global'. Globalisation...actually exploits local differentiation. Thus, instead of thinking of the global replacing the local, it would be more accurate to think of a new articulation between 'the global' and 'the local' (Hall, 1992: 304).

In line with this, Edensor (2002: 29-30) identifies globalisation and national identity as two inextricably interlinked processes, maintaining:

> Global processes might diminish a sense of national identity or reinforce it. However, as global cultural flows become more extensive, they facilitate the expansion of national identities and also provide cultural resources which can be domesticated, enfolded within popular and everyday national culture...Although globalization has produced a complexification of flows and networks, there remains an abundance of nodes, events and situations which foreground national identity.

Jones and Desforges (2003) strongly support Harvey's (1989) notable claim that a deep felt sense of belonging to specific cultures and places can be fortified as a reaction to globalisation. Drawing on Billig's (1995) notion of banal nationalism and indicating its relevance in the context of the reproductive mechanisms of Welsh nationalism, Jones and Desforges (2003) demonstrate the significance of local contexts through which senses of nationalism can be consistently represented by such cultural reference points as linguistic identities and localised nuances of identity. They emphasise that this 'reaffirmation of place-based identities' (2003: 277) can contribute to the continual enactment and reproduction of nationalism in global contexts (see also McNeill, 2000 and Edensor, 2002). The following

chapter, which concerns the national and cultural essence of South Korean society, discusses at length localisation issues and movements opposed to homogenising forms of globalisation.

A recent surge of interest in local culture, heritage and tradition within tourism contexts is inextricably bound up with reaffirming and re-emphasising 'place-based identities' in increasingly homogenised tourism environments, influenced by the processes of globalisation. A strong sense of local, regional or national identity, either self or collectively imbued, is needed to secure people's grounded existence. In this regard, heritage can seemingly make a constructive contribution to strengthening 'place-based identities' and enhancing clear socio-cultural linkages with the nation's past. Consequently, heritage tourism experiences could possibly encourage people to contemplate connections with the nation's unique past, reaffirming an awareness of their own cultural authenticity and national solidarity within a wider globalised environment.

Conclusion

A sustained academic enquiry of nationalism and national identity has prevailed since the 1960s. Analytical accounts proliferated with the advent of sociological concerns and debates concerning the conceptual and theoretical deconstruction of discourses of nationalism. The principal aim of this chapter was to critically assess the paradigms and practices of nationalism and national identity by focusing on two main contrasting accounts: the modernistic and primordial perspectives. Both perspectives suggest significant scope in systematically scrutinising the contexts of Korean nationalism and national identity, which will be addressed in the following chapter. Importantly, situational (instrumental) perspectives place an emphasis on the significance of differing contexts and varied situations in locating constructions and reconstructions of ethnicity and identity. It has been re-emphasised that heritage institutions may be one pertinent illustration in which cultural features (similarity/difference) of one's ethnicity and identity are socially communicated through interpersonal encounters and inter-subjective relationships.

In exploring the genesis of national identity, the modes and patterns responsible for reproducing a sense of national belonging in ordinary and normal circumstances have been dealt with by drawing substantially upon the work of Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002). These works concur with the idea that national identity is not just confined to patriotic feelings

expressed in passionate, exotic and salient exemplars, but that national identity is constantly reminded and reproduced in mundane, everyday contexts.

As part of the symbolic reproduction of nationalism and national identity within the ordinary and mundane realms of everyday contexts, heritage tourism experiences are thus believed to be ontologically significant as an effective tool in enhancing a sense of national belonging. Furthermore, the importance of constructing individual narratives of national identity through subjective and discursive discourses is deemed to be of particular relevance in formulating a clear analytical approach to the study of heritage representations within a Korean context, an approach that will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Nonetheless, research dealing with concerns relating to issues of nationalism and national identity, and the role of the regional and cultural identities, should be critically aware of the influential process of the global and glocal dynamics of cultures and societies.

Notes

(1) Social Identity Theory (SIT) was originally formulated by Henri Tajfel (1981), and more recently developed by Abrams and Hogg (1990) concerning issues of 'self-categorisation'. Social Identity Theory is not primarily a theory of nationalism but a theory of group identity, which mainly explains universal psychological principles inherent in all forms of group identity.

(2) See Mead's (1964) work for a pioneering and insightful exploration of theories concerning 'significant others'. He draws attention to individuals' socialisation shaped and facilitated by constant relations with particular social actors, i.e., 'significant others'.

(3) Although the role of China as a 'significant other' is not fully addressed in this study, its role in the formation and sustenance of Korean national awareness and solidarity cannot be underestimated. Historically, China exerted great influence on Korean culture and society including the dissemination of Confucianism, as well as the utilisation of specific Chinese characters in Korean written language forms. See Callahan (1999) for a detailed assessment of the complex inter-cultural relations between Korea and China. By drawing attention to ways in which the transnational discourse of Confucianism operates in the construction of Korean national identity, he emphaises China's primary position in Korean national discourses and narratives. Traditionally, there was a tendency for Koreans to admire Chinese cultural excellence and superiority, thereby striving to maintain harmonious political and cultural relations with China (see Lew, Young-ick, 2004).

(4) See Sassen (1996) for a close examination of the effect of global economy on the transition of the power and legitimacy of individual nation states.

Chapter Three

Korean Identity, Nationalism and the Role of 'Significant Others'

Introduction

This chapter begins with a discussion in which the core characteristics of Korean identity are defined and conceptualised. In defining Korean national identity, a clear understanding of the nation's cultural characteristics (e.g. language, blood ties and national consciousness) are of pivotal significance, particularly as a sense of 'Koreanness' is arguably based on ethnic homogeneity and its coherent cultural manifestations. The Korean nation is conceptually perceived to be deeply grounded in long-established culture and tradition, as well as primordially-given ethnic identities. However, it is also crucial to address and define the significance of Korean culture and society within the context of global cultural spheres, especially to contextualise the situational dynamics of national culture and identity. The chapter thus elaborates on the growing recognition of understanding Korean identity in terms of accounting for the changing social and cultural traits of contemporary society, as well as illustrating the essence of traditional cultural values and norms.

Modernistic, primordial and situational perspectives appropriate to understanding nationalism and national identity, as explained in chapter two, suggest significant scope in exploring the contexts of Korean nationalism and national identity. The historical development of Korean nationalism and national identity will also be explored, especially in an informed attempt to distinguish the concept of Korean culture and heritage from Western interpretations. Heritage places in South Korea, particularly sites of historical significance including royal palaces, are arguably related to the promotion of national belonging, particularly in the broader context of a country that is redefining its sense of nationhood.

In chapter two, attention was drawn to the role of 'significant others' in constituting and reconstituting collective national identities, with particular reference to situations where the existence of 'national others' contribute to fortifying a nation's exclusive identities in the formation of social memory. Accordingly, in the latter section of this chapter, the roles of 'significant others' (especially Japan, North Korea and the West) in the formation of South Korean national identities are critically discussed. The chapter finally examines various

reconfigurations of national awareness with special reference to cultural products and new forms of nationalism.

Korean Nationalism, National Identity and National Culture

Reconstructing and Conceptualising Korean Identity

It is argued that Korea (both North and South) has embraced cultural homogeneity for more than five thousand years, which is one of Korea's primary cultural features (Park, Won, 2002; Cummings, 2003; Feffer, 2003). In spite of numerous invasions and occupations (e.g., the Toyotomi Hideyoshi Invasion in 1592, the Manchus Invasions of 1627 and 1636, and the American Invasion of 1871), Koreans remained remarkably ethnically homogeneous with a single coherent ethno-history determining Korean identity formations. The belief and pride in constituting a homogeneous race played a decisive role in unifying Korean culture and identity, especially in the face of national crises and foreign invasions. It is strongly asserted that:

> few of the world's peoples live in a nation with no significant ethnic, racial or linguistic differences. Korea is indeed one of the most homogeneous nations on earth, where ethnicity and nationality coincide (Cummings, 2003: 25).

The principle of 'tanil minjok' (단일 민족 - *one homogeneous race*) was clearly manifested in the myth of Tan'gun, who was the founder of the Korean nation in 2333 BC. Tan'gun, the son of god and a bear-woman, is regarded as the personification of ethics and values emphasising a native Korean identity in opposition to foreign ideologies, religions and philosophies (Grayson, 2001). The implication of both the myth of Tan'gun and his legendary kingdom, as the foundation of Korea as a country or nation, is the culmination of an appreciation of cultural autonomy and identity throughout significant historical periods of the Korean state (Jeon, Kyu-tae, 1975; Allen, 1990; Cummings, 2003). Cummings (2003: 23-24) clearly illustrates that:

> The imagined beginning of the Korean nation, for the contemporary North and South, was the third millennium B.C. when a king named Tan'gun founded Old Choson... Nationalist historians assert a linear, homogeneous evolution of the Korean people from the distant point of Tan'gun's appearance to the Korean of today.

Furthermore, long-standing pride concerning the significance of cultural homogeneity formed the basis for the birth of modern Korean nationalism (Lee, Chae-jin, 2000). In particular, the notion of a unitary nation and a singular national identity became salient as a means to strengthen Korean solidarity under Japanese control (1910-1945). The concept of 'ul' (얼),

which means 'unique spirit of Korea', has also been a major force in providing the spiritual essence of a cohesive national identity. The concept of 'ul' and the myth of Tan'gun are symbolic representations of national solidarity, effectively reinforcing nationalistic awareness under the ever-increasing threat of foreign (western) consumer culture.

Smith (1986) maintains that the 'ethnic nation' requires a strong historical claim on the present. The 'golden age', a unifying past in a collective memory, plays a fundamental role in determining the socio-spatial limits of the nation. Individual recollection of a shared national past and identification with 'ethnic markers' is thus understood as an explicit means to demarcate 'us' from 'others'. Such nation's cultural characteristics as language, blood ties, shared history and national consciousness are the essential 'ethnic markers', which have indeed provided a fundamental background to the formation and reformation of a unique Korean identity. The emphasis on the nation's cultural characteristics is inextricably bound up with an understanding of the primordial nature of nation and national identity, as indicated in Chapter Two. Feffer (2003) explains that a sense of 'Koreanness' is primarily based on ethnic homogeneity and its coherent cultural manifestations. He strongly contends that:

> To be Korean, whether in the north or the south, is an ethnic assertion, not a civic one, for there are very few citizens of either Korea who cannot boast of a family lineage on the peninsula that goes back hundreds of years (2003: 21).

There has been a strong inter-relationship between the structure of Korean national consciousness and Korean language (Lewin, 1983). For example, one of the most distinctive indexes to demonstrate North and South Korea's ethnic and cultural homogeneity is shared national language. Korean language is generally classified as belonging to the Tungusic branch of the Altaic group within the Ural-Altaic languages (Hoare and Pares, 2005). Turkic, Mongolian, Manchurian, Korean and Japanese languages are the main constituents of the Altaic group. Altaic is believed to be a linguistic unity spoken in northern and north-central Eurasia during the Neolithic period (see Sohn, Ho-min, 1999)[1]. The tradition of Korean language is firmly established as one of the conspicuous cultural and national symbols since King Sejong invented Han'gŭl (한글 - *Korean language*) in 1446. Prior to this, Chinese characters were popularly utilised as an administrative and official form of written language by the country's intelligentsia. However, their influence on the nation's spoken language was not of great significance. The first Korean alphabet was proclaimed under the name 'Hunminjeongeum' (훈민정음 - '*the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People*') in an attempt to clearly express the words and meanings of Korean spoken language. Han'gŭl is

acknowledged as the only alphabet completely native to East Asia, which is perceived as a key element of national pride and cultural identity (Kim-Renaud, Young-key, 1997).

The significance of language as a medium for defining and sharing a sense of 'Koreanness' was particularly pertinent in overcoming Japan's concerted attempt to abolish Korean language during the Japanese imperial occupation (1910-1945). As part of Japan's colonial policy aimed at eradicating cultural and national elements of Korean society, Koreans were forced to adopt Japanese names and speak Japanese (Anderson, 2001). The suppression of Korean language was closely related to perplexing the racial consciousness of Korean people. Under these circumstances, the maintenance of Korean language symbolised 'Koreanness' and represented a form of repulsion to Japanese imperialism. Therefore, the significance of preserving Korean language was clearly manifested and highlighted in the political intentions of nationalist movements (e.g., the Korean Language Society). There has been constant attempt by civil, educational and political organisations to sustain the essence of Korean language free from the influx of words of foreign origin, particularly with reference to the vestiges of Japanese language and more recently the growing influence of English language. The national protection of Korean language lies at the core of preserving and representing a strong sense of national solidarity (Hong, I-sop, 1966)

Another conspicuous symbol of Korean national homogeneity concerns blood ties. The emphasis on blood ties plays a significant role in legitimising the idea to reunify Korea. Despite being politically and spatially divided since 27 July 1953, popular emphasis on a homogeneous race with one language system and one culture is a prevailing source of national pride in the Korean peninsula (Park, Won, 2002). The belief that the Korean nation is special (i.e., 'sacred') is perhaps relatable in recognising the primordial nature of Korean national identity. Self-consciousness also enables individuals to differentiate the Korean nation from the outside world through particularistic-based constructions and reconstructions of nationhood and national identity. Specifically, it plays an essential role in maintaining an individual's awareness of national solidarity in the context of a modern nation-state. People's 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1983:7) is thus more likely to arise from a level of self-awareness, facilitated by various mediums through which national solidarity is constantly reminded and communicated.

Given that this study mainly concerns subjective perceptions and interpretations of national identity encountered in heritage tourism settings, emphasis on self-consciousness as a major factor for constructing, reconstructing, negotiating and contesting a sense of national belonging provides significant scope for analysis. Individual narratives and subjective accounts concerning ways in which social memory is articulated in the heritage setting are expected to play a substantial role in discursively developing and broadening the dynamics of (national) identity formation and reformation. In addition, despite the fact that language and blood ties signify North and South Korean homogeneity, North Korea has been generally defined as the 'significant other' in the national consciousness of South Korean. Regardless of political and ideological differences between the two Koreas, it will be interesting to note the extent to which the self-consciousness of South Koreans contributes to the process of defining and redefining Korea's cultural and ethnic homogeneity as a holistic entity (see Chapter Six).

Formalised Conceptions of Culture and Heritage in South Korea

As has been emphasised, the establishment and sustenance of South Korean national culture is fundamental in fortifying national cohesion and consolidation. A concerted emphasis on national culture is prevalent in nationalistic discourses and narratives based on a hegemonic and state-based understanding of the nation and nationhood. For example, it is clearly indicated in the 9th Article of National Constitution of South Korea that the nation should make a constant attempt to inherit and promote traditional national culture (Jeong, Mun-gyo, 2000). Each national thus has a duty to cherish and protect their national heritage and to pass on attributes of that heritage to the next generation, exemplifying the importance of heritage in terms of inter-generational sustainability. Such expressions as 'long-established national history', 'glorious national culture' and 'long-standing appeal of tradition and history' are pertinently illustrated and highlighted in various official and promotional materials (e.g., the South Korean National Guidebook (2000), published by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism).

The concept of heritage within the context of South Korea is predominantly understood as a form of 'national inheritance' with the capacity to exercise 'the most supreme spiritual values of national identity' (Jeong, Mun-gyo, 2000: 11). Heritage is understood as a culmination of the nation's 'ul' and collective spirit, which are closely related to elements of national solidarity and sacredness as the essential constituents of nationalism and national identity (Choi, Jeong-ho, 2004). The emphasis on spiritual significance is seemingly pertinent in

establishing heritage as a powerful social actor with which to confirm the cultural and racial ties between North and South Korea. Importantly, heritage, as a crucial element of national culture arguably provides a firm foundation for signfying the essential nature of Korea's national identity as being ethnically unified and culturally specific.

The Korean concept for heritage translates as 'national inheritance' (문화 유산), of which the term 'cultural property' (문화재) mainly refers to the tangible dimensions of heritage (Dong-a New Korean Dictionary, 2005). It was not until the 1960s that systematic planning for national heritage was incorporated into the national development framework of South Korea. In the 1970s, there was a remarkable improvement in the administration and management of national cultural properties. Facilitated by the process of industrialisation and urbanisation, there emerged a strong need to protect national heritage (e.g., a five-year planning directive from 1972 to 1976 for preserving the nation's cultural properties). Substantial attention was drawn to restoring and protecting such royal palaces as Gyeongbok Palace and Changdeok Palace, which originated from the Joseon kingdom in the 1990s. Accordingly, national focus was placed on palace buildings and grounds, especially those which had been damaged and distorted during Japanese intervention and subsequent colonisation (Jeong Mun-gyo, 2000). The South Korean Government designated 1997 as 'The Year of Cultural Heritage' with the aim of developing a broader understanding of cultural heritage (see www.cha.go.kr). The 'Cultural Heritage Charter' was also legislated as part of the government's mandate to highlight the social and cultural importance of national inheritance. Since the late 1990s, the government has persistently endeavoured to promote and protect national heritage as a powerful element of nationhood particularly at a time of intensified globalisation (Jeong, Mun-gyo, 2000).

After regaining independence from Japanese control in 1945, the Former Royal Household Affair Office was established in order to officially manage and protect national heritage. In 1961, the Office of Cultural Properties, a central governmental organisation, was first inaugurated under the direction of the Ministry of Education and was transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Information in 1968. It was finally incorporated to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1998, after having been transferred to the Ministry of Culture in 1990 and the Ministry of Culture and Sports in 1993. In 1999, the Office of Cultural Properties was reorganised as Cultural Properties Administration, which was elevated to sub-ministerial level. The budget of Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA), a current name for Cultural

Properties Administration for the 2005 fiscal year was 369.5 billion won, accounting for 0.26 percent of the total budget for the national government and 23 percent of the cultural budget (www.cha.go.kr).

Tradition versus Modernity

From the 1960s, South Korea experienced social and economic turmoil associated with the rapid transformation from an agrarian-based society to a newly industrialised, capitalist state (Lall, 1997; Hart, 2001; Shin and Shaw, 2003). Despite economic achievement and urban development, South Korea arguably strived to preserve the traditional beliefs, norms and values of its culture and society. Accordingly, Hart (2001: 14) maintains:

> Koreans now live in a world composed of more than one interpretation of social reality. Traditional values and beliefs still contend with the scientific, material values of capitalism... Pre-industrial culture is not yet remote history to all Koreans. It is alive to many of them who live their lives following the edicts and mores of the parents and grandparents.

Confucianism in an eastern Asian context is generally understood as a 'philosophy that considers proper behaviour and human relationships as the basis of the society' (Tamai and Lee, 2002: 33). Since Confucianism was first introduced in Korea around the 4th century, it has served as a fundamental attribute of Korean national consciousness and culture. Confucianism also exerts significant influence as the official state religion during the Joseon Kingdom period (Callahan, 1999). The Confucian virtues of ch'ung (충 - *loyalty to the state*) and hyo (효 - *filial piety*) served as the main paradigms of Korean culture and society. As Searle (1977: 17) notes:

> Confucianism introduced the ancestors of the Korean people to complex class thinking in personal relationships, through such concepts as the three basic human relations, the moral rules that govern the five human relationships, the ranking of scholar, farmer, artisan and merchant who make up the four major classes. Together with these concepts, Confucianism set up the formalities of ritual which were performed by the Kunja (those who had mastered the principles of Confucianism) as an ideal, then these rites came to occupy a fundamental position in the Korean consciousness.

However, the modern transformation of the South Korean nation not only led to economic, political and social change, but also to an alteration of the beliefs, values and self-consciousness. In general, the process of modernisation and ensuing changes present a threat to the upkeep of authentic Korean culture and identity. Despite this, an understanding of the essence of Korean culture and identity has not yet received considerable academic interest (Han, Kyung-Koo, 2003). Yi, Jeong-duk (2003) and Kweon, Sug-In (2003) claim that

discourses on Korean culture have only been addressed since the 1990s. The increasing influence of globalisation has seemingly influenced South Korean society and culture (e.g., belief systems, material values and family structures). Subsequently, there is an urgent need to readdress and redefine the significance of Korean culture and society within the context of globalised cultural spheres. Although the above scholars admit the existence of certain traits and qualities that make Korean culture distinctive, the content and perspectives of Korean cultural discourse vary greatly. Yi, Jeong-duk (2003) is concerned that the concept of Korean culture is significantly associated with the traditional values and norms on which Korean nationals place great emphasis. He believes that this perspective engenders a fallacy which regards Korean culture as 'uniform because Korean culture is described as consisting of the prevalent values of homogeneous Koreans' (2003: 65). Furthermore, he asserts:

> This position can not explain various different groups' acceptance of traditional values, nor does it convey that there are real differences and diversities in contemporary Korean culture (2003: 66).

Moreover, there is a strong tendency to relate the authenticity of Korean culture to pre-modern, traditional virtues and traits. Han, Kyung-koo (2003: 8) argues that predominant discourses concerning traditional Korean culture assume the existence of a primordial Korean culture, stating:

> By trying to identify "traditional" Korean culture, the timelessness or immutability of the national culture is assumed and the existence of a national culture is naturalized, i.e., made to be taken for granted. The idea of a national culture also presupposes the homogeneity and integration of people.

The excessive and rather populist emphasis on the cultural homogeneity and integrity of Korea has been subject to analytical re-evaluation (Lie, 1990; Tak, Seok-san, 2000). Lie (1990: 370-71) recognises the significance of a long-cherished belief in fostering and facilitating a sense of national belonging among Korean nationals. He asserts:

> the claims of homogeneity and continuity mask considerable differentiation in the social structure as well as ruptures in the historical development. For instance, it is hardly justifiable to insist on the homogeneity in Yi Dynasty Korea (*Joseon Dynasty*) when the population was rigidly stratified... Nor does it seem relevant to merely assert traditional continuity when social structures have not only changed, but transformed radically in this century.

Despite popular emphasis on the belief in the homogeneous culture of the Korean nation, there exist significant regional differences and variations in terms of language, cuisine and geo-physical landscape. The most important regional difference in South Korea, for instance,

is evident between the Gyeongsang Province and the Jeolla Province. Political ideologies, unique gastronomic traditions and distinct dialects have clearly existed between these two regions (Lim, Jae-hae, 2000). Furthermore, there is growing recognition in identifying Korean identity in terms of accounting for the changing social and cultural traits of contemporary society. It seems appropriate to state that national culture is a product of ongoing, complex historical processes and social transformation. Tak, Seok-san (2000: 17) elucidates the criteria for redefining the notion of Korean identity within the context of a rapidly changing (South) Korean society, stating:

> In what criteria can we refer to ourselves as Koreans when we drink Coca Cola, put on blue jeans and sleep on a bed?... the focus needs to be placed on present contexts, popular and public consent, and critical and independent standards for judging Korean identity... Despite the fact that certain aspects of culture originate from America or Japan, they can be regarded as part of Korean culture... No matter how much we resemble Americans in our outer appearances by putting on the same types of clothes, listening to the same kinds of music and eating the same kind of hamburgers, we can be still different from the Americans. If we independently accepted the American culture, it could be Korean despite its closeness in outer appearances.

It is further emphasised that the origin of Korean culture should not be regarded as a primary factor in discerning identity. Tak, Seok-san's (2000) claim repositions the authenticity of Korean culture and identity within changing social contexts. Although it is crucial to consider critical evaluations of foreign cultures and influences, particularly in terms of impacting culture and identity, the assumption that such influences comprise the essential components of national identity (as long they are independently accepted by the Korean populace) is seemingly misleading. It could be asserted that the popular belief in the cultural homogeneity and integrity of the Korean nation is an essential component of Korean identity, despite increasing academic criticism concerning its application to contemporary (South Korean) socio-cultural contexts.

The Development of Nationalism and National Identity in South Korea

The significance of national consciousness and nationalism in South Korea was brought to the fore as critical and practical alternatives to challenge socio-economic situations and foreign relations associated with the late Joseon Dynasty (e.g., the social rupture of class order, the increasing influence of Christianity, western-based learning and the advancement of commercial activities from the 1700s) (Kim, H. Ja-hyun, 1987). Modern nationalism in Korea was initiated by such Shilhak (실학 - *Practical Learning*) scholars as Park, Ji-won; Kim, Jeong-hee; and Jung, Yak-yong, emphasising the particularistic characteristics of the Korean

nation and challenging the domination of Chinese culture in East Asian countries. The significance of the Shilhak Movement lies at the core of initiating the ideas of modern Korean nationalism, especially as it recognised the need for social and intellectual change and policy recommendations to overcome prevailing social hardships. This movement aimed to strengthen the existence of the nation and enrich the nationalistic awareness of its people. Shilhak scholars refuted an existing over-reliance on Confucian thought and practice, emphasising the importance of teaching Korean history as a means to inculcate an awareness of Korea's own past. However, such recommendations were not effectively operationalised due to the prosecution of Shilhak scholars by conservative governments, which mainly dominated the Joseon Kingdom period (1392-1910) (Paik, Jong-koe, 1998).

As the country became more exposed to foreign imperialist powers in the late 19th century (e.g., China, France, Japan and Russia), the Korean government had to adjust itself to changing international relations. However, a deep-seated distrust of foreigners led to the isolation of Korea as a 'Hermit Kingdom', unaware of the geo-political changes taking place in the Asian continent (Chung, Chai-sik, 1995). In terms of foreign diplomacy, the main concern advocated by Taewongun (대원군 - *the father of King Gojong, who surrendered to Japan's imperialistic occupation in 1910*) was to firmly resist compromise with foreign powers under the banner of 'closing the country and expulsing barbarians'. But his nationalistic-based policies, both domestic and foreign, were discarded when the Japanese government colonised Korea. It may appear that the Japanese takeover acted as a powerful stimulus to evoke Korean nationalistic sentiments among the general public (Ra, Dong-kwang, 2003). As Özlirimli (2000: 45) claims, the development of Asian nationalism is inextricably linked to anti-colonial resistance:

> The developmental pattern of nationalism in Asia was mercurial and unpredictable... It is quite sensitive to domination from the outside. In Asian nationalism, the psychological motivations of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism are more stronger than economic drives.

Despite provocations of national consciousness among a minority of progressive reformers in the late Joseon kingdom (e.g., the Donghak Revolution of 1894), the desire for national liberation from Japanese colonialism arguably served as a main stimulant for the birth of nationalism as a modern political ideology in Korean history (The National History Compilation Committee, 2002). The development of nationalistic awareness was fueled by national feelings of shame and thus a desire to regain a positive sense of national identity.

Nonetheless, under Japanese control there was considerable effort to enhance and preserve Korean national identity in the form of nation-wide mass demonstrations expressing repulsion towards Japanese colonialism. The March First Independence Movement (1919), for example, was a nation-wide demonstration against imperial Japanese control. It was widely acknowledged as the largest independent movement by which Korean people attempted to define the nature of their nation and shared identity (Hong, I-sop, 1966; Ra, Dong-kwang, 2003). Colonial experiences generated a strong desire for national survival which lies at the core of fostering and sustaining Korean nationalism. Kwon, In-sook (2001: 32) emphasises that the development of Korean nationalism is closely related to the concept of national defence, asserting:

> The common experiences of all Koreans during thirty-five years of Japanese occupation (1910-45), and of the post-1945 division of the Korean peninsula helped elevate cultural/political nationalism to the status of a religious ideology, one that has been embraced across sharp social and ideological divisions.

The potency of South Korean nationalism was further reinforced by anti-communist ideology emerging after the Korean War (1950-1953). The state-led emphasis on anti-communism in public education consistently enforced this doctrine as an official ideology associated with national identity (The National History Compilation Committee, 2002). However, national consciousness has at times become synonymous with xenophobic sentiments and extreme nationalist ideologies. Related to this issue was a national obsession in preserving racial lineage and distrusting foreign powers. Rhie, Won-bok (2002: 41-2) attributes this exclusionism to the survival instincts of people residing in the peninsular, stating:

> A peninsular serves as a natural bridge for continental countries to cross over and sail to islands. It's a two-way street- Island countries also use the peninsula to cross over into the continent... The continental powerhouse China was in one corner, while ambitious Japan looking for the continental title was in the other corner... The constant invasions and plundering greatly distressed the Koreans... For the sake of preserving their lineage, the Koreans became very exclusionary, discouraging the mixing with other races.

The highly nationalistic and exclusionary characteristics of Korean national solidarity is also clearly articulated and manifested in the country's response to recent processes of globalisation. Korea's drive toward globalisation is closely related to the advancement of its political, economic and socio-cultural spheres, thereby exerting its full potential to enhance national sovereignty rather than devotion to global interdependence. Segyewha (세계화 - *globalisation)* was developed as the state ideology of President Kim, Young Sam's

administration (February 1993- February 1998), particularly with the aim of becoming an advanced modern country (Kim, Samuel. S., 2000). As Kim, Samuel. S., (2000: 3) argues, the practice of Segyewha can thus be epitomised as a 'state-enhancing, top-down strategic plan' initiated and developed by the government, while western counterparts regard globalisation as a means to facilitate 'an inexorable demise and irrelevance of the territorial nation-state'.

Nonetheless, Lee, Chae-jin (2000) observes that South Korea's attempt to adopt a significant role in the globalised economy was contrained by such factors as its historical legacy of independence and its division from North Korea. For example, it is noted that there is a tendency for South Korea to be instinctively fearful of foreign domination and supremacy. He claims:

> In view of their strong nationalistic sentiments, South Koreans are loath to accept universalistic norms and cosmopolitan attitudes... A homogeneous cultural entity, South Korea has had little experience with cultural or ethnic diversity. The concepts 'global culture' and 'global citizen' are largely alien to South Koreans, who jealously maintain a clear distinction between their Korean 'in-group' and foreign 'out-groups' and resist the influx of external influences (Lee, Chae-jin, 2000: 194).

Both modernistic and primordial approaches suggest significant scope in exploring the contexts of Korean nationalism and national identity. Primordial perspectives emphasise that ethnic ties and shared cultural identity are inextricably bound up with an emphasis on cultural and racial homogeneity in contextualising Korean identity. On the other hand, modernistic perspectives play a significant role in conceiving the existence of the nation as an 'imagined community', which is artificially constructed and symbolically constituted. This perspective seemingly contributes to an assumption that experiences of heritage tourism provide opportunities to construct the subjective and individual narratives of 'imagined' national existence and solidarity. Finally, situational perspectives which regard ethnicity and identity as a set of processes and social relations contribute to the view that ethnic and national identities are reproduced and negotiated within a range of social contexts and varied situations. This perspective is particularly concerned with the ways in which South Korean identities are discursively reproduced and repositioned in such changing social and cultural contexts as globalisation.

The Role of 'Significant Others' in the Formation of National Identity

Japan as a 'Significant Other'

Japan arguably plays a crucial role in the formation of Korean identity. There are deep-rooted anti-Japanese feelings, historically aggravated by the Hideyoshi Invasions in 1592 and 1597 (Chung, Chai-sik, 1995), and more importantly the Japanese Annexation from 1910 to 1945 (Doak, 1997). Kweon, Sug-In (2003) acknowledges that Japan is the most powerful 'significant other' on the basis of historical relations between the two nations. However, both countries have unreservedly denied the reciprocal contribution of each other's cultural and historical influences. More recently, it is emphasised that:

> South Koreans charge the Japanese with overlooking the huge role of Korea in the first millennium in transmitting civilization to Japan. Japanese fault Koreans not only for disregarding the positive impact of the colonial era on Korean modernization but also the vital role of Japanese finance and industry in the development of every major sector of the post-war South Korean economy. Not only does neither side acknowledge the other's cultural affinity, they deny each other's effect in accelerating critical historical transformations. Korea's feelings are more antagonistic (Rozman, 2002: 14).

Kim, Young-hoon (2003) indicates that the Korean national flag (invented in 1882) symbolically represented the modern nation from the late 19th century to the early years of the 20th century. However, Korea failed to firmly establish itself as a modern nation and effectively introduce its national legitimacy to the outside world due to Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910. Han, Kyung-koo (2003) claims that the national culture of a colonised nation is often reconstructed by those who employ practices pertaining to acts of cultural hegemony. The Japanese colonial administration attempted to refute Korean cultural traditions and values (e.g., Korean language and cultural events). Consequently, a strong sense of Korean national identity and respect for Korean cultural heritage was developed and strengthened as forms of repulsion to Japanese control. Allen (1990: 792) explicates:

> Under Japanese assimilation policy, the Koreans needed to affirm zealously the value and uniqueness of their heritage if their culture were to survive. In the face of a Japanese policy to assimilate Koreans as a second-class, subordinate people, asserting the significance of their cultural heritage was a means to maintain and strengthen their national identity.

Gyeongbok Palace[2] was first constructed in the 14th century as a main seat of the newly established the Joseon Kingdom. Since then, it has been a guiding symbol of Korean identity and independence (Callahan, 1999). According to Chung, Yun-shun (2003), in recognising the symbolic significance that this palace exerts in the consciousness of Korean people, the Japanese government built its colonial headquarters on the palace grounds during the imperial occupation of Korea in 1926, thereby dishonouring Korean royal authority and signifying

Japan's supremacy over Korea. Ironically, the National Museum of Korea was housed in this building after independence from Japanese control but the building was demolished in 1995. As Callahan (1999) emphasises, the demolition of the colonial headquarters was regarded as an active means to reconstruct Korean national identity and reassert its symbolic sovereignty by extinguishing its colonial relationship with Japan. Rozman (2002: 16) also notes:

> Koreans experienced a kind of catharsis when in 1995 their government demolished the building that had symbolized Japanese colonial rule. Despite qualms about removing what could have been seen as an architectural monument, the thirst to wipe the historical slate clean at the center of administrative geomancy could not be soothed in any other way...Although it came amidst a reassertion of ill will toward Japan, it may have provided a kind of punctuation for ending an era and making possible the opening to a new age of Japanese culture in 1998.

The sudden decision to demolish the former museum building was regarded as a political tool for Kim Young-sam's administration to express the President's successful term in government. Yet a barrage of criticism emerged concerning the building's demolition, emphasising that the colonial headquarters should have remained as an instructive reminder of the nation's colonial experiences (Chung, Yun-shun, 2003). There are numerous examples where displays of inglorious social (national) pasts play a proactive role in enhancing tourism appeal, particularly in relation to the development of 'dark tourism' and related educational-based tourism products (see Seaton, 1999; Foley and Lennon, 2000; Teather and Chow, 2003; Yea, 2003). Of particular relevance here is the idea that a colonised past also needs to be understood as an essential part of the nation's past, which cannot always be disregarded. Furthermore, the dishonorable memory of being colonised can arguably enhance a sense of national awareness and fraternity among nationals. Teather and Chow (2003) note, for instance, that the Hong Kong authorities are reluctant to demolish some colonial buildings due to their architectural qualities and central location. The presentation of such buildings significantly enhances the appeal of Hong Kong as a tourism destination, where Western influences are juxtaposed with traditional Asian culture and history.

The distortion and destruction of Korean royal palaces during Japanese control is popularly and politically regarded as an effort to 'spiritually and symbolically colonize' Korean people (Callahan, 1999: 331). Traces of Japanese control are clearly illustrated in Changdeok Palace. The layout and architectural features of this palace, especially Geumchongyo (금천교 – *bridge*), Huijeongdang (휘정당 – *Huijeong Hall*) and Daejojeon (대조전 – *king and queen's bedroom*), were substantially distorted and disfigured during the occupation. For example, the

architectural profile of Huijeongdang was substantially transformed to that of western-style building. Huijeongdang, originally built as Kangnyungjeon (강녕전 - *Kangnyung Hall*) in Gyeongbok Palace, was reconstructed in Changdeok after a fire in 1917. According to Hong, Soon-min (2001: 26):

> It (*Kangnyungjeon*) was built in harmony with the surrounding backgrounds of Gyeongbok. Therefore, it does not exert its full appeal in Changdeok because of insufficient space compared to the size of buildings. What is worse is that the original attachments were removed and such new additions as porch, influenced from Japan were made in front of the main building. Consequently, this part is the most distorted and disfigured in the Changdeok Palace. Ironically, this has been the centre of the palace, which attracts most attention from the visitors.

After gaining independence from Japan in 1945 and becoming a new nation in 1953, the state of South Korea paid substantial attention to the recovery and reconstruction of its cultural and national status, with the intention of abolishing physical and cultural traces of Japanese colonisation. Accordingly, the country initially prohibited the import of Japanese contemporary culture and arts. It is highlighted that:

> This closed-door policy towards Japanese culture and arts was largely caused by a negative attitude towards Japan as a whole, due to the Japanese occupation. In addition, the illegally distributed Japanese cultural products, generally thought to contain violent and pornographic materials, have reinforced this negative attitude. On the other hand, there was a fear that the Japanese cultural industries, with their substantial capital and technology, could threaten the domestic market share of Korean cultural industries (Yim, Hak-soon, 2002: 42).

Regardless of ongoing political and diplomatic tensions between Japan and South Korea, there has been a period of cultural exchange in more recent years, partly ascribed to the easing of governmental barriers for importing Japanese cultural material. In 1998, former President Kim, Dae-jung agreed to abolish existing restrictions after Japan's then-Prime Minister, Keizo Obuchi, signed a written apology for the imperial occupation of Korea (JoongAng Ilbo, 1998). The younger generations in South Korea welcomed such Japanese cultural products as comic books, animated movies and video games, while their Japanese counterparts became increasingly interested in Korean pop music and television drama. Japan represents the 'Hallyu' (한류 - *the Korean Wave*)[3], originally inspired by the international popularity of the Korean TV drama 'Winter Sonata'. The upsurge of the 'Hallyu' phenomena draws significant attention to Korean culture across Asian countries. It is illustrated that:

> Beyond listening to Korean pop songs and watching Korea TV dramas, the new generation of consumers classified as the "Korea tribes" are aggressively adopting and emulating Korean lifestyles ranging from fashion, food, and consumption patterns, to even plastic surgery. Some ardent fans of Korean pop stars and dramas go as far as to

> make pilgrim voyages to Korea on packaged tour programs that make their dreams come true—meeting their idols and checking out the shooting locations of their favorite dramas (Choe, Yong-sik, 2001, quoted in Choe, Hae-joang, 2005: 152).

Seoul has been one of the most popular holiday destinations among young Japanese women due to the widely-acknowledged appeal of such leisure opportunities as public saunas and shopping activities. In total, 2.338.921 Japanese travelled to South Korea in 2006, which accounted for the largest inbound tourism market segment (38 percent) in South Korea (www.knto.co.kr/index.jsp).

However, recent conflicts over the Dok-do islets in the East Sea reignited deep-seated feelings of discomfort between the two countries. South Korea contends that Dok-do, located between Korea and Japan, was forcibly taken by Japan during her war with Russia in 1905. South Korea controlled Dok-do since the 1940s after its liberation from Japanese colonial rule. Nonetheless, Japan persistently claims that Korea's current sovereignty over Dok-do is an illegal occupation. Such conflict re-emerged when Japan designated the 16th of March 2005 as 'Takeshima Day' (the Japanese name for Dok-do). This situation subsequently led to intense anti-Japanese feelings, which acted as an impetus to a heightened upsurge of nationalistic sentiment. As one symbolic gesture to assert South Korea's sovereignty over the islets, the government, led by the Cultural Heritage Administration, permitted the public to visit Seodo (the West Island of Dok-do) on the 30th of April 2005. The sovereignty over Dok-do has been an embodied symbol of Korea's independence from Japan's colonial rule. Therefore, Japan's territorial claim is criticised as a 'denial of history and a rationalisation of its invasion of the past' (Lee, Joo-hee, 2005). This situation is further compounded by ongoing concerns relating to the plight of such former Korean victims as the 'comfort women', who formerly served as 'sex slaves' for Japanese soldiers during the occupation (Yea, 2003). With public tension still prevailing, another controversial event transpired concerning the recent publication of Japanese history textbooks glorifying Japan's colonisation of Korea (Segye Ilbo, 2007). History textbooks in Japan arguably exclude or fabricate its wartime past and colonial power in the Korean peninsula. As Rozman (2002: 5) claims:

> Japanese insistence on reasserting a view of history that justifies past conduct in Korea and reluctance to embrace the South as a true partner threatens to breathe new life into the gulf of distrust between the two nations.

Popular consensus in South Korea emphasises that the Japanese government has not taken full responsibility in admitting its past hegemonic practices towards Koreans. In the context of the current study, it is thus anticipated that South Koreans share a collective social (national) memory and possible disdain relating to Japanese colonialism, evoked during visits to Changdeok Palace. The 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (Anderson, 1991: 7) seems to be further strengthened and emphasised in shared social memories of the past, either glorious or shameful. Here, visitors are expected to consolidate their sense of belonging by means of constructing and reconstructing discursive narratives of collective social memory in an individual and reflexive manner (see Chapter Five and Six).

North Korea as a 'Significant Other'

According to Callahan (1999), academic debates concerning Korean national identity substantially deal with such issues as North/South political conflicts, cold-war security and modernisation paradigms, paying little attention to the symbolic construction of cultural identity and social memory. In his study concerning ways in which the process of proclaiming modern identity requires purposeful construction of particular historical narratives, Hart (2000) comparatively analysed representations embodied within history textbooks in North and South Korean educational establishments. The historical memories represented in the school textbooks generally reflect a dissimilar and distinctive interpretation of history, fuelled by differing ideologies of the two opposing regimes, which strived to forge their own versions of nationalism. Accordingly, Bleiker (2003:123) claims:

> In contrast to this mythical homogeneity we find the reality of half a century of political division, during which the two Koreas have developed identities that are not only distinct, but also articulated in direct and stark opposition against each other. Over the years these antagonistic forms of identity have become so deeply entrenched in societal consciousness that the current politics of insecurity appears virtually inevitable.

History textbooks were at the forefront of elevating each state's own legitimacy, as well as strengthening separate national solidarities (see Lee, Chi-seok, 2005). Hart (2000: 137) states:

> The history that a state decides to display through speeches, education, and official pronouncements represents a process of creating, narrating, maintaining, and perpetuating a collective memory. This memory, in turn, prompts future citizens to remember who their ancestors were, realize who they themselves are, and move and work toward being whom they are meant to be.

The images of North Korea and the North Korean ruling class, portrayed in South Korean (state-led) official material, including history textbooks, have been dissenting and belligerent. The signification of images of North Korea entrenched in South Korean consciousness is clearly encapsulated in Choi, Chung-moo's (1993: 81) observation:

> South Korean schoolchildren visually depicted North Koreans literally to be red-bodied demons with horns and long fingernails on their hairy, grabbing hands, as represented in anti-Communist posters.

Furthermore, kuksa (국사 – *national history*) textbooks signify a range of deflamatory images of North Korea. For example, until the 1980s, textbooks for elementary schools depicted North Korean police officers as wolves clad in stereotypical communist uniforms. It is noted that the former states of East and West Germany also constructed two disparate historical narratives, facilitated by reinstating and reconstituting collective memory for their own political goals (Marten-Finnis, 1995). Although both North and South Korea developed definitions of Korean identity based on their own beliefs and experiences, the notion of 'shared Koreanness' and 'homogeneity' is essential for maintaining national cohesion and unity.

South Korean governments clearly perceived North Korea as an essential 'significant other' in its own version of nationalist ideology. In analysing ways in which South Korean media portray images of North Korea, Chung, Pei-chi (2000) emphasises that North Korea is often constructed on the basis of its 'military-first focus', underdevelopment and irrationality. She further claims that the media played a substantial role in establishing and maintaining North Korea as a major 'national other' in national discourses and narratives. Although the importance of a discourse of unification with North Korea is a more recent national agenda, South Korean media generally portrayed less constructive viewpoints concerning North Korea, helping to build legitimacy of their own nationalist discourse in the international arena. The media significantly contributed narratives signifying South Korea's humanitarian assistance to 'ungrateful' North Korea (Chung, Pei-chi, 2000:108). Nonetheless, Chung, Pei-chi (2000) also highlights that the media industries also portrayed North Koreans as people with the same ethnic and cultural identities, regardless of different political ideologies.

The more recent shift of images concerning North Korea, from a 'belligerent communist regime' to a 'land of brotherhood', is quite substantial in the context of South Korean politics, culture and society. Carpenter and Bandow (2004: 15) note:

> With the end of military rule, both the educational establishment and media, driven perhaps by a mixture of leftist ideology and fear of upsetting the status quo, have begun promoting more positive views of the North.

The 'Sunshine Policy' was articulated as a new and engaging doctrine towards North Korea under Kim, Dae-jung's administration in 1998. It aimed at achieving peaceful cooperation between the two nations, facilitating such short-term reconciliations as political contact, economic aid and business development (Levin and Han, Yong-sŏp, 2002). For example, South Koreans are allowed to visit the North as tourists to the Kumkang Mountains. The current President, Roh, Mu-hyun, proactively continued with the 'Sunshine Policy' as the mainstay of South Korea's official stance concerning North Korea (Newsweek Korea, 2003). Since January 2005, the armed forces in South Korea no longer officially defined North Korea as the state's principal enemy (Hoare and Pares, 2005: 133-134). It is further maintained that:

> ...the rejection of the state-sponsored view of North Korea as an "enemy" brought about the creation of a new "romantic' narrative strategy... Here, the longing for national reconciliation was identified with the romantic urge to come together as one people, one family, much like a wife who wishes to reconcile with her lost husband. Indeed, to think of North and South Korea as lovers, struggling to overcome the division, challenged decades of Cold War rhetoric that portrayed communist North Korea as the South's foreign foe (Jager, 1996: 7).

In one public-opinion survey in 2004, 58 percent of South Koreans in their 20s nominated the United States as South Korea's 'biggest enemy', as opposed to 20 percent who selected North Korea (Chosun Ilbo, 2004). The idea of peaceful coexistence with the North is becoming increasingly prevalent in the consciousness of South Korean people. More importantly, emphasis is being placed on the cultural and racial homogeneity of the two Koreas. Appropriately, Bleiker (2003: 123) states:

> A strong, almost mythical vision of homogeneity permeates both parts of Korea. It portrays the division of the peninsula as a temporary disruption of Korean identity and assumes that unification will eventually recover the lost national unity...This is why North Korea 'is quite literally still family'.

The focus of this current study concerns the presentation and representation of heritage through which people can appreciate and rediscover the potency of unique Korean culture and heritage, re-emphasising the homogeneous cultural and historical roots of Korea. Therefore, it is anticipated that heritage tourism experiences in Changdeok Palace enable South Koreans to challenge the prevalent images and perceptions of North Korea as a rather problematic

'significant other' in the formation of national identities, providing a considered opportunity to redefine and reconceptualise a sense of 'Koreanness' based on a 'deep, horizontal comradeship' (see Chapter Six).

The 'Western Other': Globalisation and Glocalised Resistance

Although Christianity was introduced to Korea from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Treaty of Gangwha between Japan and Korea in 1876 formally marked the nation's entrance to the modern world (Chung, Chai-sik, 1995). More recently, western influence, especially the United States of America as a significant 'cultural other', has become prevalent in contemporary Korean culture and society (Han, Kyung-koo, 2003). Accordingly, Korean traditional culture has become transformed by an indiscriminate influx of western culture. Maalouf (2000: 59) recognises that westernisation is indeed ubiquitous, noting:

> ...the weal of the world and its woe- all of it has come from the West. Wherever on the planet one happens to live, all modernization is now Westernisation. And this trend is merely accentuated and accelerated by technical progress.

Architectural remnants of the past were threatened by contemporary urban developments and rapid economic growth, manifested in the landscape of Seoul. As Kim, Hoo-ran (2005: 45) notes:

> Although it is a city with more than 600 years of history as a capital, very few reminders of its past remain today. There are the Joseon royal palaces that have been preserved and a few other historics sites, but Koreans have done a remarkable job when it comes to bulldozing the old and the quaint to make way for modern high rises. As the country exerted all its efforts into pursuing rapid economic development, there was no time to dwell on the past.

Hewison (1987: 39) succinctly claims that the effect of modernisation lies in the increasing homogeneity of architectural and scenic advances under the influences of modern 'mediocrity' and 'uniformity'. Furthermore, rapid cultural and social change led to emerging conflicts between tradition and modernity, thereby stimulating a marked generational gap. The process of modernisation is deemed disruptive to the preservation of traditional norms and values of society. Lieber and Weisberg (2002: 288) contend that:

> The intrusion of modern Western values combined with the crisis of traditional societies in coping with economic and social change fosters a sometimes bitter backlash and periodically virulent forms of transference and scapegoating.

The advent of a new generation of young people was closely related to postmodern cultural and social change in South Korea during the early 1990s. The 'Orenji jok' (오렌지족 -

'*Orange Tribe*') was at the forefront of this trend, representing young people from Seoul, mainly from the Kangnam area (south Seoul), who in the late 1980s and early 1990s lavishly indulged in conspicuous forms of material consumption and pleasure-seeking activities supported by their parents' income (Han Kyung-koo, 2003). New terms have been continuously introduced, delineating the core characteristics of a new generation of individualistic-based lifestyles (e.g., 'X Generation' and 'N Generation'). However, it is argued that distinctive historical and social experiences and collective motivations distinguish this group of young people from older generations (Ju Eun-woo, 1999). For example, 'N Generation' (network generation) represents younger generations whose main social communication is grounded in the development of such network devices as computers and mobile phones (Heo, Yoon-jeong, 2000)[4]. Park Seong-mee (2001) claims that these individuals are characteristic of being independent, progressive and easily adjustable to the changes inherent in a globalised economy and society. On the one hand, the changing attitude and behaviour of the younger generations positively influence the consumption patterns of a contemporary material society. On the other hand, they have been criticised for being unaware of nationalist sentiments at a time of rapid cultural change. This criticism inspired the researcher to be particularly attentive to the perceptions of this age group concerning traditional forms of Korean culture and heritage (see especially Chapter Six). Nonetheless, as discussed in the following section, nationalistic awareness of the younger generations emerged during South Korea's co-hosting of the World Cup in 2002, signifying the formation of new and open forms of nationalism in contemporary South Korean society.

Despite material advances associated with westernised (global) economic processes, rapid cultural and social change poses an increasing threat to the traditional norms and values of society. As Miles (2000) argues, the globalisation of consumer lifestyles intensifies the instability of social life and undermines localised identities. In response to global assimilation, however, emergent forms of 'glocalisation' often appear (Robertson, 1995). The process of reappropriating and reinterpreting distinctive local (national) culture and identity within global settings and contexts is seemingly vital in resisting the increasing dominance of a homogenised (global) culture.

Reconfigurations of National Awareness and Identity

National Cultural Products

The symbolic significance of the recent revival of Confucianism in both China and other Asian countries can arguably be perceived as an 'oppositional force against the challenge of globalization' (Ning, 2002: 112). The economic success of East Asian countries has partly been attributed to the paradigms and practices of Neo-Confucianism. As White and Goodman (1998: 8) note:

> In an earlier era (the 1950s and the 1960s), Western observers largely perceived Neo-Confucianism as a heavy constraint on the economic programme because of its stress on the importance of preserving tradition, its reinforcement of a social structure which despised and restricted commercial and industrial pursuits, and its hostility to technological innovation and entrepreneurship. Since 1970s, however, Neo-Confucianism- in a protean variety of versions- has been rediscovered as a positive historical force.

The strength of Confucianism, a ruling ideology of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), has been prevalent in regulating and legitimising social and cultural formations. Such Confucian virtues as loyalty, filial piety and ethical morality underpinned the value systems of Korean society. However, Confucianism was criticised as being responsible for the loss of independence at the turn of the twentieth century, degeneration of Korean culture and failure of modernisation (Han, Kyung-koo, 2003). Nonetheless, the strength of Confucian virtues gradually regained status. Interestingly, rapid economic growth and social transition since the late 1980s was attributed to the philosophy of Confucianism, which is deeply grounded in the consciousness of Korean people. Therefore, re-emphasis on Confucian norms and values is arguably perceived as an effective tool in dealing with emerging social problems as a result of rapid cultural and social upheaval. Likewise, it is maintained that:

> ...many elements of Korean traditional culture, hitherto regarded as obstacles to modernization, began to be praised as contributing factors in unique East Asian way of development (Han Kyung-koo, 2003: 19).

The thriving domestic film industry in South Korea is also illustrative of the increasing recognition of nationalistic awareness and cultural uniqueness (Shim, Doo-bo, 2006). Nonetheless, American influences on such popular culture domains as music, fashion, food and movies have been considerable. As Lieber and Weisberg (2002: 282) observe:

> American movies have a huge influence abroad, the action films that dominate international markets represent the reverse phenomenon. They are manifestations of a global market affecting the production of American film making.

The unprecedented popularity of domestic films can arguably be understood as one form of resistance to Western cultural dominance, symbolising the articulation of a new dialectic

position of national cultural products in relation to the influx of global culture. The recent success of Korean films, far exceeding their Hollywood (blockbuster) counterparts in terms of audience share, is a significant achievement in terms of recognising the significance of local cultural products (The Korea Times, 2006).

Importantly, the South Korean government has imposed a quota system that forces cinemas to show local movies on at least 106 days each year in a concerted endeavour to promote the national film industry. Concerned by the recent economic success of local films, the US government demanded an end to screen quotas, arguing that regulatory protection should no longer be applied in an era of market competition. However, South Korean movie-makers strongly claim that the quota system is a necessary option to prevent US cultural dominance despite the fact that it could breach South Korea's free trade commitments (Financial Times, 2003).

The recent success of South Korean films arguably signifies an increased interest in Korean national society. Among the ten most viewed films, five actually deal with nationalistic sentiment; 'Tae Guk Gi - The Brotherhood War' (2004) (11.7 million viewers), 'Welcome to Dongmakgol' (2005) (8 million viewers), 'Silmido' (2004) (7 million viewers), 'Swiri' (1999) (6.1 million viewers) and 'Joint Security Area' (2000) (6 million viewers) (The Korea Times, 2006). Several of these films were particularly engaged in depicting nationalistic sentiments and concerns at a time of such national crises as the Korean War. For example, 'Tae Guk Gi: The Brotherhood War' concerns a story of two brothers caught up in the Korean War and 'Welcome to Dongmakgol' portrays the tragedy of this national crisis. The film is set in a remote idyllic mountain village in the province of Kangwon, where three North Korean soldiers encounter South Korean soldiers and villagers. By portraying ways in which both the parties become socially attached to each other, irrespective of ideological and political differences, this film endeavours to reassure the populace that the two Koreas are 'one nation' shared by 'one people'.

The recent film 'Hanbando' (한반도 – *Korean peninsula*) is the most dramatic example of inculcating anti-Japanese sentiment, intensified by the re-emerging conflicting issues over the Dok-do islets and Japanese textbook representations of a mystified colonial history. This film deals with the hypothetical premise that Japan will emerge in the near future as the main opponent of a unified Korea. The film's director, Kang, Woo-suk, openly admitted that

'Hanbando' was strategically created to express a continued nationalistic-based antagonism towards Japan. Although this film was not as successful as anticipated, it still attracted more viewers than such Hollywood blockbusters as 'Superman Returns' and 'Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest' (The Korea Times, 2006).

'New' and 'Open' Forms of Nationalism

Since the late 1980s, South Korea experienced a new form of nationalist sentiment facilitated by rapid economic growth, political liberalisation and increased self-defense capabilities (Kim, Jin-wung, 2001). Although resentment towards Japanese colonial subjugation remains, recent economic growth and rapid socio-cultural change in South Korea has seemingly passified overt (negative) perceptions of Japan. The experience of co-hosting the World Cup with Japan in 2002 was one implicit attempt to encourage reconciliation between the two countries. Despite some improvement in international relations, political and diplomatic tensions prevail. Moreover, the World Cup experiences actually stimulated discourses of nationalism and national identity.

A number of analysts have critically observed the recent upsurge of nationalistic sentiments prevalent in South Korean society (Kang, Kwon-chan, 2002; Chun, Sun-young, 2003; Lim, Beon-jang *et al*, 2003). For example, Lim, Beon-jang *et al.*, (2003) examined the changing symbolism associated with the national flag at the time of the 2002 World Cup. They assert that symbolic meanings associated with the national flag were significantly transformed from dignity and authority to freedom, passion and intimacy. Throughout the period of the World Cup, there emerged a need to assess reconstructions of national belonging, particularly the core attributes of 'Koreanness'. It is emphasised that:

> Nationalism expressed during the World Cup was not a form of exclusive patriotism, which enforced nationals to understand the nation as a symbol of piety and sheer respect...It was rather passive but still positive expression of our shared identity... This carnival (*the World Cup experiences*) has offered us opportunities to be more open-minded and affirmative toward the outside world, freeing us from the cage of authoritative and exclusive nationalism (Kim, Myung-in, 2002: 26).

More than one million (red-shirted) Korean people took part in street-cheering on the streets of Seoul. This unique opportunity encouraged South Koreans, particularly the younger generations (the '2030 Generation' – referring to people in their twenties and thirties), to become increasingly aware of the significance of national identity as a fundamental means to distinguish themselves from other national identities. The influence of the 'Red Devils'[(5)] is

relevant to an understanding of the dramatic upsurge of nationalistic sentiments by way of supporting the national football team. Its main strength is attributed to its voluntary-based willingness to encourage national solidarity, as compared to the traditional and hierarchical ways of an imposed nationalism. Importantly, there is a growing recognition that a newly-heightened awareness of national solidarity needs to be more open and positive, exempt from authoritative and xenophobic sentiments which exemplify extreme versions of nationalist ideology.

Younger generations have greatly benefited from material affluence and cultural diversity accelerated since the late 1980s. Their societal way of life is characteristic of being individual-oriented and independent, compared to the community-based culture of their predecessors. Nonetheless, this generation has been openly criticised for a perceived lack of nationalistic awareness and national sentiment. However, they are arguably becoming increasingly conscious of the significance of regaining a strong sense of national belonging under increasing threats of globalisation (Lee, Myung-jin, 2005)[6]. The World Cup experiences encouraged South Koreans to realise a strong sense of national consciousness. The influence of young people's culture has powerfully dominated various sectors of contemporary South Korean society. For example, the election of President Roh, Mu-hyun of the Uri Party greatly benefited from the accumulative support of the '2030 Generation'[7]. Given such circumstances, the resurge of nationalistic sentiment has granted young people with opportunities to reconsider and revalue the sovereignty of their culture and nation. It is also anticipated that new and open form of nationalism contribute to strengthening national cohesion and unity by facilitating mutual understanding between older and younger generations, thus essentialising a sense of 'shared Koreaness' beyond generational differences.

Conclusion

The belief and pride associated with the propagation of a homogeneous race and culture have arguably played a pivotal role in unifying Korean nationals, particularly at times of national crisis and foreign invasion. It is claimed, therefore, that a strong sense of 'Koreanness' is based on an ethnic rather than a civic assertion, which is primordially bestowed. The nation's cultural characteristics indeed play a major role in the formation and reconstruction of a unique Korean identity. Moreover, these characteristics constantly reassure Koreans of the primordial nature of their national identity.

However, the chapter reflects on an increasing concern that the concept of Korean culture should be redefined and re-evaluated in terms of accounting for the changing social and cultural traits of contemporary South Korean society. There is also an urgent need to readdress and redefine the significance of (South) Korean culture and society within the context of global cultural spheres. Nonetheless, it is emphasised that in defining (South) Korean identity there ought to be a focus on cultural continuity with the nation's past as the quintessential national virtue, as well as reflecting contemporary needs and social transformations.

The chapter has emphasised that by examining ways in which the role of 'significant others' contributes to fortifying a shared sense of sameness with other members of the imagined Korean nation. It is therefore anticipated that South Korean visitors to Changdeok Palace can conceive an essence of collective nationhood and reconstitute a sense of Koreanness by drawing on reminders of shared national memories pertaining to the construction and reconstruction of 'significant others' (see Chapter Six).

Finally, with regard to the recent upsurge of nationalist sentiment in South Korea the possibilities of developing new and open forms of nationalism are addressed. Importantly, younger generations are at the forefront of rediscovering and re-evaluating the significance of national and cultural identities, reaffirming an essence of national belonging under increasing globalised forces.

Notes

(1) See Sohn, Ho-min (1999) for a comprehensive introduction to the study of Korean linguistics.

(2) Gyeongbok Palace was built in 1395 as the main palace of the Joseon Kingdom by its founder, King Taejo. It was destroyed during the Japanese invasion of 1592 and left in ruins for over 250 years. Starting in 1865, it was rebuilt to its original grandeur. Most of the 200 buildings on the palace grounds were either demolished or structurally distorted during Japanese colonial administration.

(3) South Korean television dramas, movies, pop music and on-line games are becoming extremely popular in most Asian countries including Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, Uzbekistan and Vietnam. This new cultural phenomenon substantially boosted the growth of the South Korean inbound tourism market, attracting foreign tourists who are interested in visiting drama sets and participating in fan meetings with Korean celebrities and entertainers. Even amidst the strained relations over the disputed Dokdo islets, Japan still remains at the centre of the Korean Wave syndrome (see Chosun Ilbo, 2005).

(4) Such generations are popularly referred to as 'Digital Kids', particularly those who are more exposed to the utilisation of computer technology prior to acquiring proficiency of their own language (Weekly Dong-A Magazine, 2000).

(5) 'Red Devils' is the official supporters' club of the South Korean national football team. The club officially adopted the 'Red Devils' signature during the 1997 qualifying season for the subsequent 1998 World Cup. The name originates from the 1983 Mexico Youth World Cup when the Korean youth team reached the semi-final. The international media dubbed the team and supporting fans as the 'Red Furies', which was interpreted by Koreans as the 'Red Devils' (see www.reddevil.or.kr).

(6) See Lee, Myuung-jin (2005) for a broader understanding of the sociological significance of the '2030 Generation' in contemporary South Korean society, illustrating changing perceptions concerning socio-cultural identities, political ideologies and family values.

(7) The 2002 presidential election, when Roh, Mu-hyun became the 9th President of South Korea, has been regarded as 'generational transfer' in the history of South Korean politics. The '2030 Generation' played a major role in Roh's victory over conservative political forces. According to a post-election poll, 48.8% of the 20-39 age group claimed that they voted for Roh in order to achieve a 'generational shift' in South Korean politics and society (JoongAng Ilbo, 2002). Importantly, the advertisement strategies of Roh's camp to cite voter participation through the internet turned out to be very effective in attracting political attention from the younger generations (see Kim, Kyong-dong, 2003). The Guardian (2003) aptly illustrated the unprecedented political change of South Korea to the outside world under the headline: 'World's First Internet President Logs On'.

Chapter Four

The Methodological Approach: An Ethnographic Study of Changdeok Palace

Introduction

Given that the main aim of this research study is to establish a detailed analysis concerning ways in which heritage tourism is subjectively interpreted and represented in Changdeok Palace, this chapter discusses the development of an ethnographic research strategy believed to be effective in gathering ranging social data from targeted individuals and groups. This empirical endeavour is considered to be highly appropriate for comprehending people's perceptions of the selected heritage setting.

The current study seeks to employ a qualitative (naturalistic) approach based on multiple ethnographic techniques and strategies. This approach is believed to provide a suitable methodological framework for unraveling diverse meanings and interpretations of the investigated social phenomena within a specific social institution. Discussions within this chapter emphasise that a quantitative (positivist) approach is not necessarily appropriate for the purpose of this study, which predominantly aims to uncover and evaluate the perceptions and experiences of a range of social actors: domestic visitors, palace custodians and tour guides.

The systematic application of a long-term immersion into an institutional (heritage) setting has not yet been widely employed in tourism studies. Therefore, successful completion of the research study could strongly indicate the epistemological importance of implementing ethnographic techniques concerned with carrying out longer-term ethnographic studies within heritage sites. The chapter considers past contributions concerning ethnographic applications within the tourism and heritage field. Importantly, work also considers the ethnographic strategies employed in the current study through a detailed evaluation of their relevance in revealing the multiple realities of heritage perceptions and experiences. This involves explicating the importance of ethnographic interviews, observational and participatory methods, and friendly/casual conversations. This chapter further highlights practical considerations emerging from the ethnographic study, highlighting the importance of

systematically recording research data and accounting for the reflexive role of the researcher within research environment. Subsequent discussions indicate ways in which the ethnographic data will be analysed and evaluated.

Ethnographic Paradigms and Approaches

The Evolution of Ethnographic Study

Comte (1798-1857) introduced the social scientific approach for studying social phenomena through the systematic collection of empirical data and the employment of observation, experimentation and comparison. Comte's theory, known as positivism, had a profound impact on his contemporaries, leading to the development of sociology as a new science in Europe which arguably revolutionised methodological practices (cited in Hughes, 1990). The new method shifted its domain from philosophy to science and from speculation to the gathering of empirical data (Hughes, 1990).

Comte's work had a fundamental influence on such late nineteenth century theorists as Durkheim, who implicitly urged sociologically-orientated researchers to objectively collect, as well as empirically assess, social facts through statistical forms of analysis. His two empirical-based texts 'Suicide' (1952) and 'The Rules of Sociological Method' (1966), illustrated the importance of applying social scientific paradigms in discovering and analysing the true form and structure of social phenomena. During a similar period, Tylor (1884) emphasised the significance of conducting a series of ethnographic studies with the aim of 'investigating and publishing reports on the physical characters, languages, and the industrial and social condition' of ancient and primitive societies (cited in Tedlock, 2001: 456). As a result, he formulated a range of conceptual applications explicating the key stages of social evolution and cultural progress. The tradition of employing fieldwork as a central element of ethnography, as Tedlock (2001) maintains, was predominantly developed by anthropological enquiries. Accordingly, Malinowski (1978) advocated the importance of 'doing fieldwork' through the ethnographic application of observation in order to ascertain in-depth insights into other societies and cultures, as well as learning local language systems to attain and document indigenous perspectives. In his fieldwork programme (1915-18) concerning the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, Malinowski researched vital socio-cultural components of 'native' communities: travel and trade; ritual, religion and myth; and kinship and local affiliations (Malinowski, 1978).

The Chicago School of the 1920s and 1930s also played a crucial role in developing ethnographic methods in the fields of sociology and cultural anthropology, influenced by the works of Burgess and Park (Bulmer, 1984). The application of the positivist paradigm, which was derived from natural scientific methods, was challenged by an increasing awareness concerning the significance of carrying out such ethnographic techniques as participant observation and ethnographic interviews. Bulmer (1984) notes that the Chicago School of Ethnography was progressive in its ethnographic applications in that it emphasised the importance of observing individuals and groups in their natural habitat by recording life-histories and watching daily events. The most effective research strategy was to actively participate in the lives of others, especially to report on social events, alternative lifestyles and personal circumstances. Park's advice to researchers interested in pursuing social research was unequivocal, stating:

> Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and the door-steps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedowns; sit in the Star and Garter Burlesk;... Go get the sear of your pants dirty in real research (cited in Bulmer, 1984: 97).

Through the application of observational and participatory techniques, this academic institution produced a substantial deal of work on revealing diverse social phenomena in natural settings, particularly exploring marginalised social groups and ethnic minorities (Silverman, 1985).

As mentioned previously, positivism, which was originally employed as an empirical method in social investigation, had a significant impact on quantitative approaches aimed at discovering the regularities of society. The meanings, perceptions and values underpinning the basis of social phenomena are not fully considered by positivists, who are overtly concerned in the scientific generalisation of research data (Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007). Evans (1988: 198) criticises positivists' sole reliance on standardised and quantifiable techniques, stating:

> By restricting the extent of social phenomena to that which is directly observable there is a tendency to extract the phenomena from the social context in which they are observed and measurable. This in turn leads to a tendency to omit consideration of the largely non-observable values, meanings and intentions which may be present in such situations.

Naturalism, however, places emphasis on identifying the underlying attitudes, meanings and values of social phenomena, as well as synthesising its intricacies. The fundamental outcome of the naturalistic approach is thus not to objectively explain but describe social phenomena. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 8) suggest that attempts to discover 'laws' of human behaviour by positivists are misplaced since human behaviour is continually constructed and reconstructed, based on people's interpretations of the situations in which they are involved. The positivist stance to objectively deal with research data is arguably not of great relevance to the naturalistic mode of enquiry. Ethnographic study is expected to contribute to a rather lucid understanding of the beliefs, motivations and behaviour patterns of the subjects being investigated (Hammersley, 1992).

A Subjective and Reflexive Approach

As explicated previously, the preference for quantitative methodologies among social researchers is based on the assumptions that social research should adopt scientific methods that involve rigorous testing of hypotheses (Atkinson and Hammersley, 1994). However, there has been a substantial increase in the employment of qualitative methods and ethnographic-based paradigms for gathering detailed research data from the social world of others. It has been increasingly recognised that social data are primarily subjectively-based, arising from the viewpoints of the researched and the interpretations of the researcher (Thomas, 1993). Turner (2000) also challenges the privilege of objectivity based on the fact that the social positioning and perspectives of researchers are inherently partial. The subjective nature of a qualitative approach can be criticised by positivists who seek to acquire the objective truth concerning the researched phenomena. Yet the subjective paradigm may be appealing to those who attempt to construct personal and informal narratives and representations.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) emphasise that qualitative approaches are better alternatives to quantitative approaches (e.g., statistical sampling and testing) in that they have a capacity to concentrate on social behaviour and communicative structures within their situated context and setting. Riley and Love (2000) also argue that understanding the situational context of natural settings is crucial for shaping social situations. They further highlight the significance of 'investigator(s)-as-instrument' in the process of qualitative research in that 'only the human instrument can grasp the interactions of context and the multiple realities that are known through tacit understanding' (2000: 168). The situational dynamics of qualitative

research significantly evolved from the naturalist school of thought, where emphasis was placed on the importance of considering social actors within their own natural settings in an endeavour to observe and record behavioural dynamics within a particular society, culture or institution (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Phillimore and Goodson (2004: 4) assert that the qualitative inquiry:

> should place emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants, and should view social life as being the result of interaction and interpretations...studying things in their natural settings, interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, humanizing problems and gaining an 'emic', or 'insider's perspective.

Stephenson (1997) maintains that through ethnographic research a subject's personal view or lifestyle may directly represent the socio-cultural and ideological issues concerning the wider social group and phenomenon studied. Social phenomena and settings are multi-dimensional and are often in a state of constant change. Engaging with the emotional and subjective perceptions of the researched is arguably of fundamental significance in acquiring a clearer understanding of multiple narratives and divergent reflections embedded in the social setting.

Importantly, Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue that both positivism and naturalism fail to take into account the fact that social researchers are part of the social world they study. They further emphasise that the standardisation of research procedures favoured by positivists, as well as the naturalists' call for direct experience of the social world, were mainly aimed at eliminating the effects of the researcher on the collected data. The naturalist method also assumes that a culture or society is simply 'out there' to be examined and thus enough attention has not been drawn to the reflexive elements of the research process. However, the importance of recognising researchers as a main instrument during the research process is increasingly apparent outside of the tourism studies domain. Researchers are actively involved in constructing 'intimate, organic and interdependent' research practices (Gonzalez, 2000: 635), focusing on their own experiences and personal traits as an essential part of collecting and analysing data. In the same vein, Turner (2000: 51) highlights that the ethnographer should be seen as an 'active' and 'situated participant' in the construction of accounts and representations which are inherently partial and subjective, rather than an observer of social facts and objective processes. Accordingly, it is increasingly recognised that the researcher is not a neutral and uninvolved subject. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 16) maintain that:

> Reflexivity thus implies that the orientations of researchers will be shaped by their socio-historical locations, including the values and interests that these locations confer upon them. What this represents is a rejection of the idea that social research is, or can be, carried out in some autonomous realm that is insulated from the wider society and from the particular biography of the researcher, in such a way that its findings can be unaffected by social processes and personal characteristics.

The transition of the researcher from a 'passive interviewer' to an 'active negotiator' would significantly affect the interactive patterns and communicative channels of the research process. This repositioning could make it possible to identify researchers as crucial social actors in research contexts and interview situations. Fontana and Frey (2000) also highlight the influence of the researcher in interpreting the social world from a 'reflexive position'. They maintain that the process of revealing the researcher's 'human side' has further facilitated the production of rich and rather varied research accounts. Appropriate illustrations concerned with articulating the researcher's role in the reflexive process relate to exposure of initial prejudices and preconceptions of the researcher and the recognition of continual change within ongoing interview interactions.

Coffey (1999) asserts that ethnographic accounts need to pay special attention to the importance of 'ethnographic self' by describing and critically acknowledging degrees of personal and emotional involvement in the field. Turner (2000) proposes that ethnographers must reflexively interrogate the process by which they themselves contribute to the construction and interpretation of the research data. In the same vein, Heyl (2000) emphasises that researchers need to develop awareness of the complex interplay of 'self' and 'other' during interview situations. Importantly, the current study reflects a postmodernist assertion emphasising that there is no such thing as 'absolute truth' (see Clifford, 1986), especially as clear distinctions between original (truthful) knowledge and representational (fake) knowledge is uncertain in a world that is conceptually complex and changeable.

The Ethnographic Study of Tourism and Heritage

Riley and Love (2000) observe that tourism research methods traditionally concentrated on positivist approaches and quantitative analyses. The authors believe that this emphasis is partly based on concerns that the field of tourism studies has limited training expertise in other paradigms. It is also emphasised that there has been a deep-rooted suspicion in tourism studies regarding the validity of qualitative research findings. In line with this, the financial motives of the tourism industry are mainly attributed to the prevailing preference for

quantitative-based strategies. Thus the main contention from Riley and Love's discussion relates to the need for tourism studies to be increasingly represented by interpretive paradigms and qualitative analyses.

Ethnographic research in tourism studies has started to emerge as an important methodological tool for eliciting qualitative data. There are important enquiries that have sought to deal with various tourism concerns: Japanese tourist experiences in Los Angeles (Moore, 1985); the geographical mobility of resort workers (Adler and Adler, 1999); host perceptions of tourism impacts in Grand Canaria (Bianchi, 2000); social perspectives of night club workers in an Australian strip club (Ryan and Martin, 2001); dynamic roles of long-haul tourists (Bowen, 2002); attitudes and experiences of travelling to the ancestral homeland of the Caribbean (Stephenson, 2002); behaviour patterns and lifestyles of 'drifter tourists' in Asia (Westerhausen, 2002); social processes involved in the development of rural tourism in Monts et Barrages (central France), and its relation to the ongoing production of local identities (Rogers, 2002); and the modernising role of British working holiday makers in Australia (Clarke, 2004).

Stephenson's (1997) study of Afro-Caribbean perceptions of tourism and travel was the product of a longitudinal-based ethnographic study conducted from 1993-1996 in the neighborhood of Moss Side, Manchester (UK). He employed a range of ethnographic methods with the aim of searching for opinions regarding people's perceptions of tourism and travel (i.e., motivations and aspirations, particular places visited and/or not visited, and experiences encountered). His study emphasises the importance of 'friendly conversations' as a necessary strategy to build rapport with informants and to facilitate interactive-based relationships (Stephenson, 2002).

In his study of long-haul tourists traveling from the United Kingdom to Malaysia and Singapore, Bowen (2002) highlights that participant observation proved to be an effective method to gauge specific influences on tourist satisfaction and changes in satisfaction, as compared to the employment of standardised questionnaires. He claims that contact with tourists '*in situ*' provides an effective research context in an 'intangible, inseparable, heterogeneous, perishable, high-risk, high-involvement, inter-dependent, dream and fantasy world' (2002: 8).

Westerhausen's (2002) field research was notable in terms of seeking ethnographically-rich data. The study focuses on the historic contexts and ideologies of contemporary travellers in Asia, providing critical detail on the ranging consumptive behaviour patterns of drifter-style tourists. The work also concerns a series of qualitative evaluations of tourism impact on the islands of Koh Samui and Koh Phangan (Thailand). The research is based on more than sixty ethnographic interviews and a range of informative participatory and observational insights conducted over multiple periods of travel since 1980, implicitly highlighting the merits of opportunistic forms of participant observation. His work insightfully provides ethnographic data concerning the 'physical journey', which explores reasons for travel, destination choices, journey duration, length of sojourn, and financial priorities and concerns. It also draws attention to the many components of the 'psychological journey': attitudes and aspirations, personal development issues and perceptions of home. Furthermore, the study recognises the demographic compositions and gender dimensions of drifter tourism.

However, there has been less of an emphasis concerning ethnographic enquiries within heritage-related studies, despite several notable exceptions (Palmer, 2001; Harrill, 2003; Krauss, 2005). As one of the pioneering ethnographic works concerning UK heritage settings, Palmer (2001) examines the cultural representation and symbolic display of 'nation-ness' in three UK heritage settings – Battle Abbey (East Sussex), Hever Castle (Kent) and Chartwell (Kent). Through the employment of observations and ethnographic interviews with custodians, other staff and tourists, she uncovered visitor reactions and perceptions of each site including the different attitudes and opinions of the respondents. In explicating the practical limitations of ethnographic fieldwork, she particularly commented on the difficulties attached to the covert observation of visitor behaviour patterns, as well as the technical problems of taking notes from a range of visitor comments.

In general, tourism studies in South Korea predominantly focus on illustrating the importance and implications of the tourism industry in economic terms, thus producing a range of statistical variations, correlations and frequencies (see Jeong, Won-il, 1997; Kim, Hong-bumm, 1998; Ko, Dong-wan and Stewart, 2002). Accordingly, the significance of qualitative methods in tourism research is largely underestimated, particularly in terms of developing the depth and breadth of social data. Also, a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical issues and philosophical implications underpinning qualitative research is overshadowed by a deep-seated obsession with producing quantifiable data for the verification of facts and

figures. Furthermore, due to an emphasis on developing economic activities and promoting product values based on industry-led perspectives and policy-making procedures, qualitative-based research concerning the cultural and social nature of tourism and heritage is significantly undervalued within South Korean tourism studies.

A Qualitative Study of Changdeok Palace: Ethnographic Applications

A Multiple Approach to Retrieving Information

The current research study adopts a holistic approach to ethnographic study, which encompasses a range of qualitative methods of investigation. The study is mainly composed of the following strategies for retrieving social data: observation, participant observation, ethnographic interviews and friendly (casual/interactive) conversations. Mixed use of these research methods is believed to contribute to gaining an intimate insight into the intricate social world of heritage institutions.

In addition to the range of ethnographic methods highlighted above, the researcher also utilised personal accounts from students resident in Seoul. The researcher taught the module 'Tourism and Cultural Behaviour' (March-June, 2004) at Hanyang University. The module was attended by 187 students, who were requested to produce a 2000 word essay on the basis of a field trip to Changdeok Palace as part of the assessment criteria[1]. The researcher carefully selected three questions in an attempt to retrieve a range of subjective perceptions concerning this heritage setting. A total of 98 essays pertaining to the research intentions were selected on the basis of their relevancy in responding to the required task. Particular narratives from some of these essays were utilised and referenced in response to thematic concerns derived from the social data as a whole. Accordingly, there was no attempt to quantify themes raised by the students but to qualitatively synthesise and incorporate key personal narratives into the ethnographic text.

Multiple research strategies could counterbalance the biases or flaws arising from the employment of a single method of design (and analysis). At this stage, the current study assumes that heritage representations in South Korea convey a message of 'Koreanness', encouraging people to feel Korean as a consequence of subjective interpretations and interpretive transmissions of identity. Given that the current ethnographic study involves an interpretive focus and aims for the production of 'thick descriptions' (Geertz, 1973), there is a

concerted attempt to account for what is actually happening in the field rather than what is believed to be going on.

In order to comprehend social phenomena and to seek constant clarification of an emerging inquiry, it is arguably necessary to employ research techniques over a significant period of time. The fieldwork study was conducted over five years and composed of five main stages: (1) April, 2002 - January, 2003; (2) December, 2003 - June, 2004; (3) March - May, 2005; (4) December, 2005 - January, 2006; (5) May - June, 2006 (see **Appendix One: Fieldwork Programme**). The later two stages were mainly concerned with reviewing data by clarifying outstanding issues with key informants, as well as retrieving further material necessary to substantiate key themes retrieved from the three (main) stages of the research programme.

The longer-term ethnographic method has obvious advantages in that the ethnographer maintains regular contact with the study group and research environment, as well as encouraging systems of thought to be developed and clarified over a significant period of time (Stephenson and Bianchi, 2007). Long-term immersion can enable ethnographers to slowly but carefully understand the ranging social contexts, and to gradually strengthen open rapport with key subjects. Cole's (2004) ethnography in Ngada (Indonesia) of host perceptions of tourism clearly exemplifies the usefulness of researching phenomena over a significant period of time, implying that given the complexities of tourism development it is pertinent to consider changing dynamics impacting the community over time.

Gaining Access: Processes and Structures

In February 2002, the first phase of the research study, the main concern was how to gain access to Changdeok Palace and be allowed to proceed with the research study. Fortunately, the researcher's close relative, who works for the KNTO (Korean National Tourism Organisation), had important contacts with this particular heritage site. His supporting role at the initial stage was invaluable, not least because the process of gaining access to social organisations can be a frustrating experience for researchers. However, it is fairly common for researchers to gain access to the field through 'nepotistic structures' (Cassell, 1988).

The researcher's relative introduced the researcher to Mr Chung, Jae-jung, senior official for the Royal Palaces and Tombs Management Division of the Cultural Heritage Administration, and also Mr Park, the Operations Manager of Changdeok Palace. This meeting was conducted

in the cafeteria located within the grounds of the palace. When the researcher was asked to explain the main objectives of the research study, it was emphasised that the work would hopefully contribute to the enhancement of the palace's image by revealing its symbolic significance to Korean nationals. In order for the researcher to secure continuous access to the heritage site over a long period of time, it was maintained that a longitudinal study would supposedly be effective in responding to the desired contribution. Despite these explanations, Mr Chung, Jae-jung and Mr Park seemed to be initially disappointed because of an expectation that the research study would contribute substantially to the development of Changdeok as a 'tourist hotspot'. They hoped that the research study would help formulate a clear set of potentially relevant promotional strategies relating to the introduction of specific marketing initiatives and enhancement of the presentational features of the heritage product.

Nonetheless, Mr Park eventually seemed sympathetic to the objectives of the research, recognising a paucity of social scientific research studies concerning the study of Changdeok Palace. He stated:

> Some people have contacted me to seek permission in doing a long-term study of the palace. But they were mainly postgraduate students or academics in the field of architecture, gardening and art history, not many from social sciences and tourism studies... Since the palace was first put on the UNESCO list of heritage sites, more people have shown lots of interests in preserving this place. Developing tourism is also of great significance for the palace, but there are no reference to studies concerned with this ...just a lot of numerical data and charts.... I do actually agree with your idea that it is the right time to conduct a study which can reveal the 'real story' of the palace....detailed accounts which describe what is really going on in this place are needed, especially if we really want to develop and promote this heritage institution in the tourism industry.

Consequently, the initial meeting proved to be constructive as Mr. Park eventually consented to the objectives of the research study and agreed that the researcher should have 'freedom of movement' within the heritage site, involving free entry into the palace's grounds during opening hours. However, the researcher was further asked to gain official permission to participate as an observer in the 'guided tours'. Accordingly, the research scheme had to be formally presented to Mrs Jung (Head of Tour Guides) and Mr Kim (Head Manager of Changdeok Palace). In separate meetings with both individuals, the purpose of employing observational and participatory methods was discussed. The researcher had to assure both parties that the research study would involve minimum disruption. After gaining permission to proceed with the research programme, the first six weeks were spent befriending the tour guides and palace custodians, along with observing the general behaviour patterns of visitors.

The researcher was also quite concerned about the possible problems in using privileged channels of access, which could lead to situations where the researcher might be perceived by tour guides and place custodians as working in collaboration with those who were in higher status (management) positions. For example, one tour guide clearly made her point during the first encounter with the researcher:

> Ms Ji: If you have a special connection with the people in the administration or Cultural Heritage Administration, nobody under investigation will be willing to tell you what they really do, feel, and think about this palace. They *(the administrative bodies)* think they take all the responsibilities of preserving this palace...I am not so sure of it... If you really want to hear our story, you better stick to us not to people over there.
>
> Researcher: I haven't come here to be a spy or to provoke conflicts between you and the administration people.... What I am interested in here is to reveal how visitors interact with heritage representations and what kind of roles you play in that process....
>
> Ms Ji: Well, well.... We will get to know what you are doing here as time goes on ...

In future associations with tour guides and palace custodians, the researcher decided not to inform others of her connection with such bodies as the Cultural Heritage Administration. The difficulties of gaining access to specific social environments are partly related to problems concerning the perceived exploitative relationship between the researcher and their informants. As the range and scope of ethnographic studies has diversified in recent years, access issues have arguably become less socially-bounded for some researchers. According to Harrington (2003: 597):

> Canonical formulations of researcher-participant relationships have usually assumed a white, male or First World researcher interacting with native 'others'. But this view of access has been perpetuated by increasing numbers of nonwhite, female, and Third World researchers entering the field. Such 'native ethnographers' make it difficult to speak of access in conventional terms, particularly when they study their own communities.

In the current research study, it was initially postulated that the researcher's identity as a native (female) ethnographer would pose different concerns and issues compared to the attempts made by non-native ethnographers in their social interactions with 'native others'. Nonetheless, the researcher did not seem to confront many problems impeding the fieldwork process and interrupting interaction with the informants. Interestingly, some of the informants emphasised the importance of Koreans conducting research in their own country and by researchers who represent the younger generations. Palace custodian, Mr Park, highlighted:

> It is a real relief to see that you are interested in these issues... It is quite frightening to look at what young generations are mainly up to in these days... They behave and think as if they seem to forget they are Korean... I think that you *(the researcher)* are in a very interesting position to examine issues of tradition and culture...as you are young but old enough to be concerned about some odd behaviours and trends of overly Westernised teenagers and those in their early twenties...and more than anything else, you now stay in England for higher education...you would now have a distinctive viewpoint concerning issues of identity, tradition and Western influences, compared to when you lived here.

The researcher's gendered status as a female seemingly enabled her to share some commonalities with the tour guides, who were all female, thus establishing initial rapport and developing close relationships with key palace staff. Ms Hong stated:

> As a woman like you, I will try to help you as much as I can...all the tour guides who work here are women...we want you to produce a thesis of high quality... If you had been born in the old days, you would have not dreamed of going to England to become a Doctor... But the world has changed dramatically. It is now our turn... Sadly, this place is still quite male-oriented and the ways in which we are treated are not always fair ...we should work for each other...

The researcher's proactive role in the research programme, as well as her opportunity to engage in a PhD research study abroad, perhaps reflects a broader realisation of the increasing professionalisation of women in the contemporary context of South Korean society. Despite being carefully aware not to disrupt the newly-encountered fieldwork environment, the researcher felt that some staff seemed initially reluctant to get involved in the research study. Interestingly, it was later established that the researcher was initially misunderstood as a close ally of one tour guide who was not very popular within the organisation, resulting in some initial antagonisms. Nonetheless, gaining acceptance from others was a continuous and ongoing process until the researcher established fairly close field relations with most of the palace staff. The researcher's decision to continue to make subsequent field visits was certainly valued by the palace staff, illustrating a sense of loyalty and integrity as well as personal commitment to the opinions of those studied.

Nature and Structure of Ethnographic Interviews

In the domain of qualitative studies, employing in-depth interviews is considered to be quite useful in gathering a range of information concerning subjects' feelings and thoughts which may not be easily recognised in the observational periods of the research study. In an overall attempt to directly interact with people in a localised setting, ethnographic-based interviews arguably contribute to enhancing an understanding of human experiences, interpretations and

personal dynamics. Ethnographic interviewing is perceived as an effective and useful tool in exploring ways in which individuals articulate deep-felt opinions as well as negotiate their personal viewpoints through interactive (open) dialogue (Fontana and Frey, 2000). It is highlighted:

> Increasingly, qualitative researchers are realizing that interviews are not neutral tools of data gathering but active interactions between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results. Thus the focus of interviews is moving to encompass the *hows* of people's lives (the constructive work involved in producing order in everyday life) as well as the traditional *whats* (the activities of everyday life) (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 646).

The focus of ethnographic interviews should arguably be placed on the construction of experiential truths rather than objective truth. Experiential truths can be continually in a state of flux, influenced by the contingent nature and condition of interview situations and interactions. Ethnographic interviews represent an ongoing exchange of inter-related meanings and interpretive reflections between the interviewer and interviewee. Heyl (2000) maintains that the process of employing ethnographic interviewing techniques enables interviewers to establish respectful, on-going relationships with interviewees. He also emphasises that in order to facilitate fieldwork interactions with informants and acquire more reliable interview data, ethnographic interviewing procedures encourage:

> ...enough rapport for there to be a genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposefully with the researcher the meanings they place on events in their worlds. Thus, both the time factor- duration and frequency of contact- ant the quality of the emerging relationship help distinguish ethnographic interviewing from other types of interview projects by empowering interviewees to shape, according to their world-views, the questions being asked and possibly even the focus of the research study (Heyl, 2000: 369).

Turner (2000) maintains that, along with the recent upsurge of methodological perspectives aligned to the postmodern paradigm, considerable focus has recently been placed on the role of the interviewer as a controller and mediator in the interviewing process; together with a critical recognition of the influencing affect of the researcher's personal values and judgements on the research environment and social data. Kvale (1996) also maintains the importance of the constructive nature of the social knowledge, produced through interviewer-interviewee interactions. Appropriately, Heyl (2000: 370) further states:

> Interviewing involves a complex form of social interaction with interviewees...they (research data) recognize that what the interviewees in each study choose to share with the researchers reflects conditions in their relationship and the interview situation. Central to this process is how interviewees reconstruct events or aspects of social experience, as well as how interviewers make their own sense of what has been said.

Therefore, it is clearly argued that researchers are not necessarily non-partisan observers and uninvolved participants in the interview process (Hammersely and Atkinson, 1993; Fontanna and Frey, 2000; Holstein and Gubrium, 2004). There is a growing realisation that interviews are understood as 'negotiated accomplishments of both interviewers and respondents that are shaped by the contexts and situations in which they take place' (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 663). In addition, Kvale's (1996: 5) metaphor of the interviewer as a 'traveler' seems to be appropriate in appreciating the researcher's negotiating role, whereby the 'interviewer-traveler wanders through the landscape and enters into conversations with the people encountered'. Accordingly, knowledge is indeed often socially (and politically) constructed and therefore the task of the researcher is to assemble 'knowledge parts' into a more holistic and coherent explication of the studied phenomena.

Given that the nature of this research study is mainly concerned with exploring visitor perceptions of the palace experience, as well as the perceptions and interpretations of palace staff (tour guides and custodians), ethnographic interviewing can potentially provide more insightful and concrete data rather than structured (formal) interviews. As highlighted by Fontana and Frey (2000), the goal of less structured forms of interviewing is to interpretively understand the views of the subjects themselves. Thus, it should be noted that the interview involves an active process of developing interviewer-interviewee interaction and encouraging interviewers to reflexively position themselves in relation to interviewees (McLeod, 2003).

In the current study, the researcher conducted a total of 130 ethnographic interviews with domestic visitors during the first three stages of the fieldwork. The purpose was to explore the socio-cultural meanings of heritage representations and perceptions of the visitor experience. Although there was no real attempt to systematically quantify the interview process, it was generally felt that this sample size was adequate enough for revealing a diversity of opinions and multiple viewpoints. Most interviews lasted for more than twenty minutes, and up to one hour on numerous occasions, depending on the amount of free time the visitors could spare. They usually took place at a time when the tour guide encouraged visitors to freely wander around (or rest at) the Huwon[(2)]. This garden is one of the most famous and popular venues in Changdeok Palace, which is renowned for its natural arrangements. However, there were opportunities to interview tourists at other places in Changdeok, particularly the cafeteria, souvenir shop and car park.

In the first stage of the research study, 19 ethnographic interviews were conducted with 12 tour guides and 7 palace custodians[3]. The researcher approached palace staff in the first stage of the research study seeking tacit information concerning their occupational roles and responsibilities, perceptions of the heritage setting and perceptions of domestic visitors. Topics during the ethnographic interviews were largely based on general issues and themes derived from the main research aim, as well as topics pertaining to the situational context of the subjects themselves. These topics and related questions were directed by the use of an 'aide-memoire', i.e., a topic guide, which allowed for questioning that was responsive to the issues arising (see **Appendix Three: Ethnographic Interviews, Aide-Memoire**). Although ethnographic interviews do not have to be systematically structured in terms of set questions and a standardised sequence of questioning, there are some basic but fundamental guidelines which can be purposeful in retrieving in-depth information. Spradley (1979), for instance, advised that researchers who employ ethnographic interviews should attempt to utilise different forms of questions: 'grand tour questions', 'descriptive questions' and 'contrast questions'; as well as using verbal cues to prompt and provoke further discussion.

Grand tour questions, which are questions of generality with the intent of initiating interview discussions and asking broader-type questions to seek variable responses, are purposeful in providing a baseline with which to facilitate open conversations. In the context of the grand tour questions pertinent to this study, the following examples represent some illustrations: 'What kind of places do you like to visit?' 'Could you tell me why you wanted to visit (or work at) Changdeok Palace?' and, 'What aspects of Changdeok Palace appeal to you?' These types of questions encouraged the interviewees to then take initiative to discuss at their own pace and in their own desired direction, a range of perceptions pertaining to the heritage setting.

Descriptive questions attempt to ontologically position individuals' depictions and articulations of their palace experiences. These questions can also help to search for heart-felt experiences or emotional-based responses, aiming to clarify viewpoints, meanings and thought-processes. Such questions utlised were: 'What are your feelings about working at Changdeok Palace?' 'Have your feelings/perceptions/experiences of Changdeok changed throughout the time you have visited or worked at the institution?' and, 'What does national heritage mean to you?'

Contrast questions were expected to elevate the conversation and retrieve critical and evaluative detail from the visitors and palace staff. Depending on the nature of the conversation and respondents' awareness of the heritage setting, general illustrations of contrast questions tended to be those such as: 'How does this palace compare to other palaces / heritage centres you may have visited?' and, 'Very recently, another visitor / colleague expressed a different point of view....What do you think about this issue?' Also, when exploring visitor perceptions regarding ways in which the palace was influenced by western civilisation, for instance, the researcher occasionally made such contrasting comments as: 'Do newly-restored royal automobiles look more impressive than the old ones?' 'You must be interested in looking at some modern facilities on display, compared to the traditional aspects of the palace... Is this really the case?'

More importantly, the researcher also tried to present herself in a manner which was unassuming of the reactions and responses of others. Tactics of naivety were quite useful in grasping the reasoning behind individual responses, enabling respondents to become actively involved in explicating viewpoints. Cohen (1984: 226) suggests that the ethnographic interview is a conversation in which 'ethnographers risk the appearance of naivety and ignorance in order to continually satisfy themselves that they have understood what is being said'. Respondents often seemed eager to take a leading role in the discussion, showing keen interest in further developing their own viewpoints, particularly in instances where they believed that they had a deeper knowledge base than the researcher or where their responses impressed the researcher more than they had anticipated. Therefore, such prompting cues as 'Oh, really', 'Ah, that is very interesting' and 'I haven't thought of it in that way', were often deliberately positioned to elicit further responses from the interviewees.

Despite the fact that the issues, questions and themes were strategically developed through comprehending a range of conceptual approaches and methodological frameworks underpinning the current study, during the initial stage of the fieldwork programme the researcher was not always sure of what questions to ask and what issues to observe. Moreover, it was difficult to know when and how to communicate questions and the length of time involved in discussing issues with others. The researcher did, however, slowly develop the skill of adjusting or altering ways to approach interviewees. Consequently, successful ethnographic research is founded on a 'trial' and 'error' process. In his ethnographic case

study of the 1998 Commonwealth Games, Silk (2001) was confronted with a range of possible alterations in the methodological process which he believed depended upon the nature of the research setting, the degree of access permitted and the nature of relationships with informants.

The Role of Participatory and Observational Methods of Investigation

Gold (1958) appropriately identifies four main researcher-based components: 'complete participant', 'participant observer', 'observer as participant' and 'complete observer'. Although this categorisation exposes a certain degree of rigidity in the sense that it implies that ethnographers are distinctively able to become 'participants' or 'observers' in almost essentialist terms, it does allow for some flexibility and interconnections of roles and practices. Ethnographers can also adopt overt and covert approaches (or a combination of both) depending on the scope, nature and intent of the ethnography. The current study exemplified both roles: the overt role was obvious in the context of the employment of ethnographic interviews and pertinent in relation to palace staff aware of the general objectives of the research, but not necessarily the specific intentions; and the covert role was relevant in participating in palace tours as well as in covert observations of visitors.

Dann *et al's* (1988: 25) emphasis on 'systematic lurking' in various inconspicuous (tourism) places and spaces is regarded as a useful tool for observing behaviour, listening to conversations and interacting with others. During the first stage of the research study, some covert forms of systematic lurking took place in and around Changdeok Palace, enabling the researcher to get a 'real feel' of the research setting and observe the visitor experience.

Participant observation involved the researcher being involved in over 80 palace tours during the first, second and third stage of the fieldwork study (see **Appendix Four: Changdeok Palace Tour**). This technique was useful in observing the role of tour guides, as well as their interactions with domestic visitors. Special attention was focused on their narratives, expressions and interpretations. Though known to tour guides, the researcher was initially perceived as a visitor by the tour group. Through covert observation of visitors during the guided tours it is possible to observe natural behavioural mannerisms and visitor actions/reactions. Burgess (1984: 79) provides a clear and convincing case for employing observation as a research tool, stating:

> The researchers can utilise their observations together with their theoretical insights to make seemingly irrational or paradoxical behaviour comprehensible to those within or beyond the situation that is studied.

However, there were several instances where the covert approach was deemed to be problematic, particularly when tourists seemed rather puzzled by the fact that the researcher took detailed notes during the tour. On one occasion the researcher overheard two people discussing why the researcher was looking at the group in a curious manner and at the same time writing notes. This brief discussion concluded in accusations that the researcher was a 'journalist'. Also, several tour guides at a later stage genuinely confessed that they had initially felt rather uncomfortable and pressed when the researcher initially participated in their tour group. Such reservations were mainly related to the fact that tour guides were conscious of how their performances and the interactions with the visitors would contribute to the research findings.

One effective participatory tool of ethnographic research is to partake in a series of 'friendly (casual) conversations' (Spradley, 1979). This approach can enable researchers to approach people in more naturalistic ways and avoid imposing situations. Friendly conversations seemingly encourage individuals to express their personal feelings and viewpoints, whereas as in more formal interview situations it is arguably difficult to make respondents feel comfortable enough to directly indicate their thoughts and viewpoints. In particular, friendly conversations can exert a significant impact on developing and sustaining an effective and reliable relationship with specific individuals, helping to acquire a deeper understanding of the social setting; particular in situations where there are opportunities to meet with subjects/informants on a fairly regular basis. These conversations help obtain both explicit and tacit knowledge, information that is ultimately the hallmark of ethnographic research (Boyle, 1994).

Given the fact that knowledge of social worlds is vigorously developed through inter-subjective and mutual understanding between the researcher and the respondents (Miller and Glassner, 2004), friendly conversations play a crucial role in building and developing personal interactions. Therefore, in the context of the current study they were purposeful in terms of developing sustained interactions with palace staff, especially key informants. Initially, friendly conversations were useful prior to the ethnographic interviews with staff at the initial first phase of the fieldwork programme, helping staff to feel at ease with the

researcher. Friendly conversations, however, were mainly employed more rigourously during all the research stages. Interestingly, some individuals later confessed that they did not feel comfortable to tell what they really thought during the ethnographic interviews.

Although the ethnographic interviews aim to retrieve personal details from interviewees, friendly conversations should be viewed as an additional methodological tool with which to extend personal narratives and privatised confessions. In doing so, they seem to have a natural capacity to build trust and open rapport between the two parties, also enabling the researcher to become aware of the importance of social interaction with others as well as recognising people's individual opinions. The longer the period of fieldwork study the more effective it is to form trustworthy friendships and elicit detailed information, further illustrating the benefits of longitudinal study.

Finally, friendly conversations were also very appropriate in some covert situations when encountering visitors during the 'systematic lurking' encounters, enabling the researcher to retrieve information that did not always follow a formal line of enquiry. Consequently, friendly/casual conversations proved to be constructive in encouraging visitors to utter specific thoughts and concerns during ethnographic encounters.

Recording and Analysing Social Data

Documenting Ethnographic Data

Data was eventually documented in a field diary including daily experiences of the research setting and comments on the researcher's own feelings, impressions and descriptions of the encounters and interactions with the respondents. The transcription of the research data including interview scripts, observational comments and friendly conversations, was all recorded in the fieldwork diary (of which there were five separate volumes). The researcher kept a notebook for initially recording information before it was systematically documented in the diary. The researcher 'jotted down' condensed notes including abbreviated phrases and broken sentences. The researcher then needed to produce more detailed accounts of the interviews and observations soon after specific episodes of observation and communication. A conscious attempt was made in order not to lose some delicate nuances and emotions that were instantly expressed in the research process. However, problems of recalling information can be seen as an impediment to research accuracy. In this regard, the use of a notebook

proved to be of great help for the researcher, enabling her to grasp all the subtle fieldwork concerns as well as recording emerging critical issues and observational-based viewpoints.

The researcher endeavoured to take notes regularly and promptly, including utterances, events and responses, even if certain information may initially appear irrelevant. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) warn that the quality of notes diminishes rapidly with the passage of time. Therefore, the researcher consciously attempted to jot down notes in the course of observations and conversations, wherever it was deemed appropriate. Relying on memory is not always effective, particularly where friendly conversations begin to become more detailed and divergent. It was also recognised, however, that open and continuous note taking during the interviews and discussions could affect the researcher's understanding of emergent issues, especially by over-concentrating on written data as opposed to free-flowing themes elicited from the ethnographic discussions.

The researcher always endeavoured to record her relationships with informants and respondents. This procedure was helpful in exploring ways in which the researcher's attitudes, feelings and preconceptions changed over a significant period of time. Even brief and trivial notes turned out to be of profound significance in the construction of more detailed accounts during the later stages of the research study. Personal accounts of feelings and opinions are of analytic significance in that:

> our feelings enter into and colour the social relationships we engage in during fieldwork...such personal and subjective responses will inevitably influence one's choice of what is note-worthy, what is regarded as strange and problematic, and what appears to be mundane and obvious (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995: 192).

Regular critical inspection of the fieldwork notes was also essential in recognising the researcher's reflexive role in the setting. The researcher was naturally concerned with what was developed and learned, and how this influenced the researcher's self-conscious role in ethnographic encounters. The researcher translated, reviewed, and thematised the research notes on a regular basis, which enabled the researcher to analytically develop and cognitively structure the reflexive notes concerning the research findings and outcomes.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 167) note the importance of fieldwork notes as a means of monitoring the researcher's own personal responses:

> The carefully made fieldwork journal will enable the conscientious ethnographer painstakingly to retrace and explicate the development of the research design, the emergence of analytic themes and the systematic collection of data.

Given that the fieldwork was conducted over a significant time period, the diary was an effective tool in understanding the nature and situational context of the research data. The tape recorder was essentially used to collect and transcribe information from the ethnographic interviews with visitors and palace staff. The issue of seeking permission over the use of the tape-recorder transpired in the first interview with the tour guide, Ms Ji. The researcher was so concerned to articulate her research topics that she actually provoked a negative response from the interviewee:

> Ms Ji: "What is this, is it a tape recorder?"
> Researcher: "Yes, I do not want to miss any of your comments. I need some technical support here..."
> Ms Ji: "Please turn it off right now. I do not like the idea of being recorded... It will make me tell you something in a very superficial way. This is not an investigation of a criminal in the police station...if you want to talk to me, turn it off ..."
> Researcher: "Alright, then is it okay for me to write the responses down?"
> Ms Ji: "That is up to you...but not on a tape-recorder"

Five minutes into the conversation, Ms Ji sought more assurance:

> "Are you sure you have turned off the tape-recorder?"

During most of the ethnographic interviews the researcher endeavoured to use a tape recorder as a tool for collecting data, through either presenting a microphone when approaching the interviewees or asking permission to record the interview. The use of a tape recorder during the friendly conversations with the key informants was not fully facilitated, allowing for more spontaneous, natural and candid remarks and opinions to emerge. Interestingly, some informants were more eager to actively discuss and debate issues when the tape recorder was actually activated. The informants became more articulate in narrating their viewpoints and more active in contributing to the interview process.

Although there were many situations where the researcher mainly relied on memory or brief notes, especially with respect to momentary encounters and brief discussions, it was quite difficult to capture subtle utterances and nuances expressed in the actual conversations themselves. Appropriately, Cook and Crang (1995: 54) emphasise that the researcher may not be able to remember 'the intricacies of not only what was said but how it was said'. Obviously the use of tape recorder was not appropriate in situations where individuals were not usually

aware of the nature of the research study, especially in 'systematic lurking encounters'. Thus, in such situations it was appropriate to rely on memory and recollection of key concerns raised. Apart from a notebook, the researcher made use of any available pieces of paper including the margins of newspapers and publicity material to promptly record what was being seen and heard.

As part of the process of recording information, translation of the research data was essential within this study. The translation of data from Korean to English was a very time-consuming and lengthy process through which the researcher endeavoured to interpret and mediate different cultural meanings in the construction of the translated text. Time gaps between each research stage were necessary for translating and producing detailed transcriptions. The researcher's reflexive role as an 'active negotiator' became pertinent and persistent during the process of translating the research data. A sustained emphasis was placed on retaining the nuances and grammatical subtleties of certain Korean words and expressions that cannot necessarily be directly translated into English. Due to such characteristics of Korean spoken language as the abundance of emotive-based expressions as well as highly articulated self-expressions, the researcher at times needed to interpret the interview texts from the perspectives of the English language user, while striving to convey original meanings and articulations. The process of translating data within this study was, therefore, a crucial stage in which the researcher played a significant role as a reflexive social actor in illustrating, interpreting and inter-contextualising different cultural articulations and expressions.

Analysing Ethnographic Data: A Thematic Approach

Since qualitative research is mainly based on the theoretical and methodological principles of interpretive science, data analysis does not usually contain such quantitative measurement as the standardisation of research material or the application of mathematical techniques (Sarantakos, 1998). Furthermore, the ethnographic data reflects ways in which subjects confer various meanings and diverse viewpoints on social phenomena under consideration. The data can be fundamentally partial, subjective and discursive, subject to differing interpretations and diverse analytical processes.

A phenomenological-type approach to data analysis is concerned with constituting the structures of consciousness and experience immanent in human behaviour within situational social contexts. An appropriate apprehension of the world should entail a reflexive interplay

of human behaviour and social situations (Fielding, 1988). The ultimate goal of this approach is to portray and convey the various manifestations of phenomena rather than obtaining absolute truth or formulating a tangible reality. Berger and Luckmann (1967: 60-1) claim:

> ... the objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity...despite the objectivity that marks the social world in human experience, it does not thereby acquire an ontological status apart from the human activity that produced it... At the moment, it is important to emphasise that the relationship between man (sic), the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one. That is, man (not, of course, in isolation but in his collectivities) and his social world interact with each other.

It seems to be true to state that subjective accounts of individual consciousness and experience, as constructed or construed from the first-person point of view, represent each dimension of the whole spectrum of truth or reality. Although subjective accounts refer to the same phenomenon, their actual manifestations can be multifaceted and multidimensional as constituents of different realms of social knowledge. In phenomenological reflection, the excessive obsession with obtaining one generalised and grounded truth or reality is of no paramount significance. Rather, the focus should be placed on how truth or reality can be re-conceptualised or re-embodied through various individual experiences and interpretations. Berger and Luckmann's (1967) main observation concerning knowledge construction was that belief or notion that human beings (social actors) are both creative mediators and active recipients in the construction of social knowledge.

Given the volume of ethnographic data, the process of codifying and analysing the data was a lengthy and complicated task. Initially, substantial amount of time was spent on reading the data repetitively and identifying such dominant themes as 'emotional and intangible nature of heirtage', 'the role of significant national others' and 'the spiritual elements of heritage tourism experiences in everyday contexts'. Once such dominant themes were clarified, the data were then scrutinised for divergent and recurrent themes. Careful attention was paid to select key narratives which can provide interpretive, revealing and contextual stances of the social actors concerned. Within the context of this current study, it is also important to note that the initial stage of the analysis process involved identifying emerging issues as well as interconnected patterns and hidden meanings embedded within the data itself. At this stage, emphasis was placed on conceptually thematising the varying perspectives and divergent

viewpoints inherent in the research material, with particular regard to the interconnectivity (or non-connectivity) of data to the main suppositions raised in the literature review.

Observational data, produced as a consequence of the researcher's interaction with and observation of others, is not rigidly 'codified' in this current study. Thus, observational data is analysed in a rather flexible, natural and intuitive manner. Interestingly, Sarantakos (1998: 322) emphasised that observational analysis should be 'free of structural constraints such as operational definitions and strictly defined research units', especially if it is to be accepted that any constructions of reality should start from the analytical frameworks inherent within the interactive research environment, i.e., from the participant's point of view rather than the researcher's own interpretation of the situation.

González (2000: 642) places emphasis on the subjective experience and the role of researcher as the 'human instrument' responsible for identifying the essence of the culture and society under investigation, which is believed to be 'tentative' and 'paradoxical'. It seems to be appropriate to assume that the essential characteristics of each culture and society (or social institution) are individually-oriented and contextually-based. Therefore, it is arguably fallible to seek analytic tools which aim for generalisability and objective truth. Concomitantly, the analytic techniques employed in this study do not aim at achieving an ontological truth or reality, which is normative and unified. Instead, a great deal of attention will be paid to developing the epistemological orientation and practice of establishing empirical knowledge, concerning a range of ontologically-based social interactions and related thought processes, thereby elucidating diverse meanings and multiple interpretations of the social actors involved.

Conclusion

As illustrated in this chapter, the chosen research study represents multi-method design features pertinent to ethnographic research, with the intention of producing ranging social data concerning diverse ways of perceiving situations and circumstances. It is believed that the use of multiple research methods are flexible and at the same time sensitive to the dynamic nature of the research setting. Furthermore, long-term immersion into the field setting is epistemologically appropriate in obtaining tacit and intimate knowledge through

multifarious interactions between the researcher and the researched, especially in the context of such social institutions as Changdeok Palace.

As the research study deals with emotive and sensitive concerns relating to issues of 'identity' and 'identification', it was anticipated that selected procedures and techniques allows for individuals to express their feelings, impressions and personal opinions in less inhibited ways within the everyday context of social interaction. In order to present varied experiences and opinions, a phenomenological-based approach emphasising the subjective and reflexive nature of research data is highlighted as a relevant framework to analyse social data.

Notes

(1) Three different essay topics were presented for students' own choice as the researcher did not want to enforce the students to feel compulsive to explore one bounded question. The freedom to choose the area of examination was also believed to provide students with an opportunity to be actively involved in developing their own perceptions and insights, with the intention of hopefully producing rich and innovative accounts of the issues concerned. The three essay topics were as follows:

i) 'Explore ways in which your visit to Changdeok Palace may or may not remind you of your national past and shared (national) identity'.

ii) Critically evaluate ways in which the modern artifacts and settings on display in Changdeok Palace may or may not enhance your 'heritage experience'.

iii) Explain your opinion of Changdeok Palace as a cultural heritage (tourism) attraction?

The first two questions were more directly concerned with examining the main issues of the current research study than the last question, which dealt with such practical dimensions as marketing-led approaches and operational issues. In order not to convey the message that the 'lecturer' was a disguised researcher interested in collating young people's perspectives of heritage representations, guidelines for the assignment were carefully explained to the students within a pedagogic (rather than an ethnographic) narrative.

(2) Huwon is the 'Rear Garden' of Changdeok Palace. It was favoured by kings and their royal families during the Joseon Dynasty as a place for recreation and relaxation. It features many ponds, pavilions and a forest of natural flora and fauna. Such pavilions as Buyongjeong, Yeonghwadang and Juhapnu are located in and around the garden, all displaying traditional Korean architecture.

(3) In the first stage of the research in 2002, there were four tour guides employed on a permanent contract basis, three on a yearly contract basis and five temporary guides who worked in the high season from April to November. Another essential group were seven palace custodians whose responsibilities entailed protecting and supervising the sites from the flow of visitors. Friendly / casual conversations with palace custodians mainly took place while staff was engaged in normal duties. Each day the custodians who were in charge of the main gate, the garden and the rear gate were mainly approached because these spots are less crowded by the flow of visitors and thus an opportune place to conduct friendly conversations.

Chapter Five

Articulating Emotional Attachments to the Nation: The National Significance of Changdeok Palace

Introduction

This is the first chapter of the empirical analysis that is developed from the research findings. The main content of the research data represents anecdotal references and statements sought from ethnographic interviews, friendly conversations and observational notes, as well as from fieldwork accounts derived from participant observation.

This chapter begins with an introduction of Changdeok Palace, particularly focusing on its historical and representational significance. It then explores possible ways in which individuals are able to make sense of who they are and their perceptions of the nation, with particular respect to the emotional and psychological dimensions of national consciousness. Accordingly, substantial attention is drawn to ways in which narratives of the Changdeok experience inspire re-enactments of national belonging, initiated and facilitated by familial associations, collective sentiment and personal remembrance.

The chapter also accounts for Changdeok's proactive role in generating shared meanings and social memory, as well as identifying the importance of sharing heritage experience between individuals in ways which further articulate an essence of national belonging. Moreover, the analytical discussions also examine personal and individual interpretations of shared histories and values, shedding further light on the socio-cultural significance of Changdeok Palace. The discussions and observations that follow are aimed at exploring people's viewpoints and individualised interpretations of the themes highlighted and concerns raised.

Changdeok: 'The Palace of Prospering Virtue'

Changdeok Palace (창덕궁), interpreted as the 'Palace of Prospering Virtue', was originally built in 1405 under the reign of King T'aejong. It was the eastern detached palace of the Gyeongbok Palace, which was the main palace of the Joseon Dynasty. Changdeok was initially known as 'East Palace' and was the most favoured residence by subsequent generations of the Joseon Dynasty. In 1592, the palace was burnt down by the Japanese army

during the Hideyoshi Invasion. King Sonjo initiated its reconstruction in 1607 where it remained the site of the Royal Court until 1872 when Gyeongbok Palace was reconstructed during the reign of King Gojong (1863-1907). In order to enhance Korea's national sovereignity, King Gojong proclaimed the establishment of the Empire of Korea ('Daehan Jeguk' - 대한 제국) in October 1897. However, Korea was annexed by Japan under the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty in 1910, beginning a 35-year period of Japanese rule (The National History Compilation Committee, 2002).

King Sunjong, the last monarch of the Joseon Kingdom from 1907-1910 mainly resided in Changdeok until his death in 1926. Nakseonjae[1] served as the residence for the remaining members of Joseon's royal family (Joseon's last queen, Queen Yun; King Gojong's only daughter, Princess Deokhye; and the last Crown Prince of the Empire of Korea, Prince Yeongchin, and his Japanese wife, Princess Lee, Bang-ja). In the 1970s, a movement to restore Changdeok Palace was initiated and alterations that had been made during the Japanese occupation began to be dismantled. In the 1990s, the palace was architecturally restored to the period representing the reign of King Sunjo (1800-1834). Over the past decade, there has been a sustained emphasis to reproduce and reconstruct its authentic appeal, especially in terms of reflecting the aesthetic styles and values of the Jeoson Kingdom. These redevelopments commemorated the fact that in 2005 Changdeok Palace celebrated six hundred years of existence (Choi, Jong-Deok, 2005).

Changdeok Palace was designated as a World Heritage Site[2] in 1997 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). This organisation described the property as an outstanding example of 'Far Eastern palace architecture and garden design', especially on the basis that the 'buildings are integrated into and harmonised with the natural setting, adapting to the topography of the site and retaining indigenous tree cover'. The criteria for selecting Changdeok as a World Heritage Site was based on meeting three attributes enlisted under the category of 'Monuments, Groups of Buildings and Individual Sites', where points ii, iii and v from a list of ten qualifying attributes were applicable:

> ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
>
> iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change (World Heritage Centre, 2005: 19-20).

Changdeok Palace covers a total area of 580,000 square meters, including the main palace grounds which cover an area of 120,000 square meters. It occupies an irregular rectangle to the north of Seoul, located in Jongno-gu. This heritage site has more buildings preserved than any other palaces from the Joseon Kingdom period, a total of 13 buildings. The most popular sites at Changdeok are the Geumcheon Bridge, which is the oldest stone bridge in Seoul dating from 1411; Nakseonjae, where the remaining members of the royal family resided until the 1970s; Daejojeon, the official living quarters of the kings and queens of the Joseon Kingdom; and the Huwon, which is known as the 'Secret Garden' and described as a place where an idealised rural atmosphere is represented (Taylor, 2003). Changdeok Palace attracted 706,732 visitors in 2006 (405,397 domestic visitors and 301,335 foreign visitors)[3].

Changdeok Palace is directly managed by the Royal Palaces and Tombs Management Division located within the Cultural Heritage Bureau, a sub-division of the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA). The CHA, a government department which manages the country's cultural properties and heritage sites, promotes Changdeok Palace as an 'authentic presentation of heritage....an embodiment of both tradition and a glorious past' (www.cha.go.kr). State-based material, including public documents issued by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) and the Korean National Tourism Organisation (KNTO), also emphasises Changdeok Palace as an authentic and original presentation of heritage. Thus it is indicated that:

'Changdeok is the most authentic royal palace dating from the Joseon Kingdom' (CHA, 2005)

'It (Changdeok) is the archetypal example of Joseon royal palace which reminds us of the splendor of our glorious past' (CHA, 2001)

'It is the most purely Korean' (www.knto.or.kr - official website of KNTO)

'Changdeok is the main stage of the history of Joseon Kingdom, the culmination of Korean Confucianism' (MCT, 2004)

The above promotional literature generally portrays Changdeok Palace as a national site pertaining to the power and legitimacy of the 'majestic Royalty' and 'Confucius tradition'. Waldo's (1964) travel narrative, published in the New York Times, emphasises that a visit to

Changdok Palace is the most essential part of the Seoul sightseeing experience. Curiosity over the lives of the royal family is juxtaposed with the desire to experience the authentic heritage setting of Changdeok:

> Some of the original palace furniture remains, and the atmosphere recalls the grandeur of centuries long gone. There are enormous reception rooms, long galleries and no plumbing... The last member of the royal family still resides on the palace grounds, but visitors are not permitted in his mansion. [Waldo, 1964: XX27]

Recent tourism literature describes Changdeok as 'the most purely Korean of all the palaces and the best preserved of Seoul's palaces' (Insight Guides, 2003: 125), a place 'where you can sense the ghosts of Joseon kings and their rigid Confucian world of duty and study' (Taylor, 2003: 52). The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) indicates the unique characteristics of Changdeok Palace, stating:

> Both the Imperial Palace in Beijing (China) and the Gosho Palace in Nara (Japan) differ fundamentally from Changdeok Palace, however, since they are laid out formally and symmetrically on level ground, whereas the layout of Changdeok Palace conforms with the uneven natural topography of a mountainside. [ICOMOS, 1997: 60]

Ethnographic Conceptualisations of National Identity and Belonging

It is maintained that a nation can be perceived as a 'community of fate' which individuals are born into as opposed to a 'community of choice' (Kumar, 2003: 24). The following visitor narratives articulately focus on the predestined and perpetual nature of nationality:

> Obviously, it wasn't my own choice that I was born in this country, as was the same with my parents. A sense of national belonging is, I presume, destined. It is the feelings of homesickness...people are bound to feel homesick as part of their nature... [man in his early forties]

> A sense of being Korean naturally flows in our blood. Until the heart stops beating, it will be inside us...we sometimes forget about its existence inside us...but I reckon this kind of feeling alarms us from time to time, when necessary and I suppose when it is needed [woman in her fifties]

For some visitors, the task of conceptualising their national identity is perceived as an onerous endeavour. For instance:

> How can I put it into words? Well... it is... it is very difficult, you know...eh... In conversations like this, I have a chance to remind myself that I am a Korean...even though I am not particularly interested in nationalism or patriotism I know I need to take this issue of defining my national identity quite seriously...because it is just part of my inner-self... I reckon...whatever happens, you cannot change your nature...who you are and where you come from, that's all it is, isn't it? [women in her forties]

> I am not sure how I would describe my identity but I do have to ask myself who I really am and where I come from... In the history lessons at school, I learned the historical facts and figures of our nation. I was at times frustrated by the fact I had to memorise them for the exams. Although I knew it was essential to know the roots and evolution of my country and to understand my culture, these factual accounts didn't give me much of an impression. When you think of your country and how you belong, it all comes alive through different senses rather than minds. I would kind of impulsively know the smells, colours and feelings that are specific and unique to Korea, but then again I may not be fully aware of the historical facts about my country... [man in his thirties]

National identity is described in a way which indicates that national identification is founded on the establishment of irreparable emotional bonds. The following comments are illustrations of responses to general ethnographic questions concerning conceptualisations of national identity, indicating how national belonging can be envisaged:

> I don't think I have a really strong national identity... where I have to tell everyone I am Korean. But I do feel a bond to my country...it is an inevitable fact...you cannot challenge that fact...that's impossible. [man in his early thirties]

> It must seems that I've got a weak sense of national identity in general as I tend not to think about it too much...I think about my nationality at the most basic level...that I was born in this country and have always lived here...it is something natural to me...but why particularly in this country? It is your destiny, isn't it? [female in her late twenties]

> I am a Korean. I was born as a Korean. I was just born into my nation... It wasn't my choice to belong to this country, nor was it to belong to my parents. I have never seriously brooded over the meaning of belonging to my country. It is so natural, like breathing, eating and sleeping. [woman in her forties]

Conceptualisations indicate that articulations of national identity are communicated intuitively rather than in a deeply logical manner. Moreover, a sense of national belonging is thus perceived as something that is not intentionally acquired but innately given. Definitions pertaining to national identification reflect affective expressions and sentient feelings rather than rational explanations. Kim, Jeong-hwan's student essay, for instance, states:

> People's national identity is about their feelings and emotions about their nation. Defining national identity is therefore very complicated. It is not so much what your nation actually is but what makes you feel that it exists, its existence, and how strong you feel about it.

National identity is thus signified as an emotional construct, founded upon people's subliminal feelings and sentiments toward their nation. Intangible and subjective sentiments, including shared feelings and emotional bonds, are articulated as having greater significance

in forming and maintaining a heightened awareness of national consciousness than perhaps the more objectively-conceived characteristics (e.g., territory, political alliance and religion). As explicated in Chapter Two, Kohn (1939) conceptually distinguishes national consciousness from love of home and family. Yet some ethnographic narratives signify that national consciousness and related feelings of national belonging can be conceived as an extended form of emotional attachment to the family. For instance:

> Love for my nation is nothing different from love for my family...it is unconditional and indisputable... why do I love my family? Since it is my family...well...the same principle applies to loving your nation ...it is my nation...no one else's. [woman in her early twenties]

> My country is like my own family home. It is just an instinct, I would say. You really do not question your connection to your family, do you? It is the same case with our country, I reckon. I am just born into it and it is natural for me to be attached to it. I think you too will understand that. [Man in his forties]

> Sometimes, I find fault with my family or home. I do not feel I am 100 percent happy with it, but it is always there to be honest. When you think about your nation, it is fairly the same... it is a destiny imposed on my life, like my family... you just have to get on with it. [Man in his fifties]

Despite scholastic attention from modernist perspectives concerning ways in which national consciousness can be achieved primarily through educational instruction (see Kohn, 1939; Gillnet, 1983), some visitor narratives actually emphasise that the relationship between national belonging and education can be tenuous, for instance:

> Loving your nation is in your blood. It is natural, not something that is just acquired at school...when education gets too much involved, your connection can be badly damaged...but it's all about instinct, I think. [Mr. Park, key informant and palace custodian]

> Think about all the pro-Japanese officials and Korean elites who committed horrible things to our country for their own good during the Japanese occupation. What they did to our country was unforgivable...but we, common people, who were not as educated and sophisticated as them, kept our country together all throughout the ordeals... Loving a nation is in people's nature...it does not happen in the classrooms. [Man in his seventies]

> Well, my country is deep inside me, it is something that I know about through my own thoughts... I am always concerned about what things say in the papers and from books and things. When I was in my early teens at elementary school I remember some textbook saying that North Koreans were as cunning wolves... But as you grow up you started to develop your own history awareness, don't you? [Women in her forties]

It is thus clear from the above narratives that national identifications conjure emotive-based expressions and sentimental connections to the nation. Ethnographic narratives are also replete with such expressed metaphors as 'sa-rang' (사랑 – *love*) and 'pea' (피 – *blood*), signifying natural associations with and connections to the nation. Importantly, a range of other narratives utilise the concept 'tanil minjok' (단일 민족 - *one homogeneous race*) to express conceptions of national belonging. The following comment indicates the personal importance of Korea's ethnic homogeneity and its coherent cultural manifestations as key constituents of national identification:

> We are one race... we are 'tanil minjok'... I think that Koreans know this and try to take pride in it... I am not sure if other nations are actually like us...but this is what makes me think about my connection to my country [women in her fifties].

Cogent emphasis on the concept of 'tanil minjok' is also clearly demonstrated in a range of student essays, a frequently used term to emphasise how the national identity is popularly perceived as uniquely exclusive. The following student statements selected from a broader set of illustrations reflexively signify that strong national sentiments are also deeply grounded in the belief and pride that the nation is perceived to be based on mono-racial lineage and mono-cultural roots:

> We are 'tanil minjok'. This fact is of high importance in defining the idea of our nation and national identity. As one nation of common culture and single race, it is not surprising that Koreans are widely renowned for their strong nationalist sentiments. [Lee, Dong-seok]

> I think that the concept of 'tanil minjok' is fundamental in forming and fortifying our national identity. I am very proud of the fact that our nation is very exceptional in terms of a single ethnicity and coherent cultural traits including language, food and so on. This fact makes our nation distinctive and unique. [Kim, Jin-ah]

> We are one culture and one race because we are the descendants of Tan'gun. He was our spiritual leader and guided us, so we are very distinctive because of this. [Lee, Song-ju]

Despite socio-historical transformations and the recent influence of globalised cultural processes affecting Korean society (see Chapter Three), there is a tendency for some ethnographic narratives to relate the authenticity of Korean identity and culture to pre-modern, traditional virtues and traits. The strong belief and pride associated with a homogeneous race [and unified culture] is unmistakably revealed in the following narratives:

> It does not matter how different the world is now from the past... We are one people with the same roots. I do think that nobody can contradict this fact. I am very proud of

> our oneness, and the fact that we are one of the most racially and culturally distinct countries in the world. [female in her forties]
>
> We are all very much alike each other in terms of race, culture and ethnicity. I think these are the most significant traits of our cultural and national identity. It is very important that we cherish this fact. [man in his thirties]

From an ethnographic perspective, national identities seemingly represent the quintessential features of national culture, ethnicity and tradition. In addition, some visitor narratives indicate that social transformations and modern advances should not necessarily deter individuals from holding onto the fundamental and unified belief in what mainly constitutes 'Koreanness', for instance:

> Today's world changes so quickly. It is quite appalling to see it. People say that our identities should reflect those changes, which is quite sensible and true. But there should be an axis which we can stick to... something unchanged and unmovable. [woman in her forties]
>
> If we lose our true identity our country is in jeopardy. There are so many different colours abound in our present circumstances. However, in short, we should not lose our unique colour, whatever happens. [man in his seventies]

Although South Korean academics contest an over-emphasis on the view that the Korean nation is primordially constructed as 'one homogeneous race' (see Lie, 1990; Han, Kyung-koo, 2003; Yi, Jeong-duk, 2003; see also Chapter Three), ethnographic narratives indicate that 'tanil minjok' is seemingly of crucial significance in manifestations of national identification. A considered recognition of the nation's cultural affinities is also yet pertinent in comprehending self-orientations concerning national identity. The following narratives potently indicate ways in which cultural elements are utilised to express forms of national belonging:

> It is not a territory or the government's political agenda that makes me feel attached to my nation... that kind of thinking is too abstract for me and does not really make me feel part of the nation, I reckon.... but when I think about our language, food, culture... and heritage and music, it becomes much easier to define where I belong and what my sense of national belonging is. [woman in her thirties]
>
> When I listen to Arirang (*a traditional Korean song*) or Aekukga (*Korean national anthem*), it makes me feel solemn...and a bit sad... Now I can understand why Koreans who live abroad break in tears when these songs are played on certain occasions. I cannot define nationalism or national identity with much sophistication really. But national identity for me seems to be about this shared feeling of people touched by the national songs... Only Koreans would cry over Aekukga and feel attached to their nation by doing that... [man in his forties]

> My sense of national belonging is this huge pride I have for our culture, which is unique, different and beautiful... This palace really makes me realise how wonderful our culture is. [female in her fifties]

Moreover, the belief and pride in a homogeneous culture and race can reinforce articulations of an exclusive national identity, which can also potentially discriminate 'us' from 'others' (see Chapter Six). Cultural attachments can be emotively expressed and harnessed by the Changdeok visitor experience. Interestingly, one Korean-American in his mid-thirties attempts to explicate his inseparable cultural affinity with Korea, crucially assisted by his visit to Changdeok Palace. He states:

> Despite living in a different country, we were never really detached from our roots in Korea. Right from childhood, my parents impressed upon me Korean family values and cultural things... In my teens, I was quite confused with my dual identity, like any other second-generation Korean-American I suppose... It was quite frustrating not to be 100 percent attached to the place where I was based... Although I became a US citizen, I felt I was Korean in blood. I ate Korean food and spoke Korean language at home, for which I appreciate and respect my parents all the more... My childhood memory about Korea is not significant, unfortunately, because I left at a very young age...but one scene strongly remains in my mind, although I can't fully remember the full details. It was at my grandmother's house that I once visited here in Korea...the colour, the smell... throughout the tour *(at Changdeok)* that old memory just sprang back up and haunted me all the way... I have visited a lot of heritage centres in the States, however, but I have never experienced this feeling...never...

His comments emphasise the emotional and psychological dimensions of national consciousness. As he feels comfortable and familiar with the representations embodied in Changdeok Palace, the visit plays a vital role in reconstructing his emotional and innate attachment to his ancestral homeland. Another young Korean-American, born in America in the early 1970s without particular exposure to Korean culture, exemplified by the fact that he could not speak Korean, is adept in unexpectedly recognising his sense of Koreanness provoked by his visit to Changdeok. He explains that:

> Well...in general, I am a bit overwhelmed by the whole experience today... I've never been here before, but I feel like I have been, which is quite strange in a way... I've just been thinking of my parents, grandparents and their parents.... my roots as a Korean throughout the tour were quite clear. I don't know what it is exactly...but this place does have something that makes me think all about this...it is very difficult to explain but I just feel something deep.

This visitor's emotional attachment to his ancestral homeland is expressed in a rather spontaneous and unconscious manner. Although he could not rationalise his feelings or explain them in detail, his overall experience of Changdeok Palace enables him to feel

connected to a country representing his ancestral roots. Here, the socio-psychological dimension of heritage (see Chapter One) acts as a powerful agent for perpetuating his emotional association and cultural affinity with Korea. The visit encourages him to construct a nostalgic-based narrative on the basis of his cultural and ethnic ties to his ancestral homeland. Research on tourism perceptions amongst diasporic communities draws critical attention to ways in which the nation can be imagined through cultural ties and social meanings, as well as being embodied in the homeland (tourism) experience (see Stephenson, 2002; Duval, 2003; Coles and Timothy, 2004).

In the case of domestic visitors, recognition of the seemingly ineradicable nature of cultural affiliations are realised through spontaneous and unconscious encounters with the heritage setting of Changdoek, enabling individuals to think seriously about their cultural identification. The following comments illustrate this point:

> It makes my stomach churn to feel I am naturally connected with this place. I am part of it and it is part of me. [man in his late thirties]
>
> I never intended to encounter this feeling here. I just instantly knew I am deeply connected with this cultural setting and what it represents to me. Only Koreans would understand what I feel here now. [woman in her fifties]
>
> It just struck me that this place is one proof about my national identity...that is to say you can't share the culture and history without feeling attached to it. I think it is a strong bond really...you know what I mean? [man in his forties]
>
> I just instantly knew I was part of this place and vice versa. As the tour progressed, I became more and more aware of its significance inside me. I felt naturally attached to it. No one forced me to do that, but it just clicked to me. [woman in her late teens]

In describing their tour group experience, visitors tend to implicitly or explicitly comment on ways in which the experience reflects an opportunity to think about their sense of national belonging, particularly expressing how shared memories can help re-establish a sense of national belonging. The two following narratives clearly typify this point:

> Knowing history and sharing history is completely different, I believe. I cannot exactly put it into the words...very hard for me, emm... Well, what makes me realise my own belonging to Korea is that the tour is all about Korean history... any foreigners can know our history but they would not be able to fully understand what it means, because they have not been a direct part of it. I, my parents, grandparents and great grandparents have been a part of it, and all the people on the tour have been a part of it as well ... [woman in her forties]

> Reading a book gives you good knowledge of national culture and heritage, but it does not deeply touch on me. But here, you can feel and learn about what it was like to be Korean. [woman in her twenties]

Importantly, collective memories entail a sense of nostalgia mutually reciprocated and negotiated through intra-cultural communication, where the visitor experience can be understood as one form of communicating national memories. Visitors thus place a strong emphasis on the significance of shared feelings and emotions as key tenets of national awareness associated with the Changdeok experience. Importantly, long-established culture, primordial legacy and common history are thus perceived as constituting factors for upholding a strong sense of national belonging, as opposed to strictly civil forms of citizenship and/or political affiliations to the Republic of Korea (South Korea) (see Chapter Six).

Nonetheless, it is pertinent to identify the significance of 'antecedent cultural ties and sentiments' (Smith, 1994: 378) that underpin national identity. Heritage tourism experiences at Changdeok Palace potentially facilitate individuals to either rediscover or reaffirm innate cultural connections to the nation. More detailed illustrations concerning ways in which national consciousness and notions of nationhood are articulated and reaffirmed at Changdeok Palace are indicated in the following section. The ethnographic narratives presented in this section, however, suggest that that the main conceptualisations of national identity and national belonging are indicative of cultural primordialism, which emphasises the ethnic/racial origins and innate cultural manifestations of the nation (e.g., 'blood ties', 'ancestral roots', 'common language', 'common soul', 'shared memory' and 'cultural affinity'). The nation is thus better understood in this context as a 'long narrative of historical development that historically locates the proto-nation in primordial times' (Calhoun, 1993: 221), as opposed to contemporary political claims based simply on ideological formations inherent in the territorial re-construction of the Republic of Korea.

At this point, however, it is important to note that in most of the ethnographic narratives with visitors and palace staff individuals usually refer to their country (and nation) as 'Hanguk' (한국 - *Korea*). 'Daehanminguk' (대한민국 - *Republic of Korea*) is also used in a formal manner, especially to officiate South Korea as a whole. Accordingly, the concept 'Namhan' (남한 - *South Korea*) is rarely evoked in narratives and is usually recognised more at an international level to distinguish the state from North Korea. For those nationals residing

south of the Demilitarized Zone, 'Hanguk' (Daehanminguk) can be perceived as an emotionally-bounded construct founded on ethnic and cultural affinities. Consequently, it seems appropriate to state that the nation can serve as a 'spiritual principle' (Renan, 1990: 19), encouraging individuals to realise their cultural and ethnic roots as well as their racial lineage. Appropriately, Smith's (1991a) acknowledgement of the 'internal functions' of national identity is relevant in highlighting the importance of the psychological bonds and shared values as key indicators of Korean national identification.

Articulating National Consciousness in Less Salient Situations

A strong sense of national consciousness can be expressed in such 'salient situations' (Billig, 1995: 69) as national events, commemorative celebrations and national incidents. Analysts maintain that international sporting events are useful in exemplifying ways in which national belonging can be explicitly articulated and realised (Hobsbawm, 1983; Fox, 2006). In his study concerned with identifying experiences of collective national belonging among Romanian and Hungarian university students, Fox (2006) observes that sport participation is one of the most prominent mechanisms for enhancing national consciousness. International sport competitions rather than participation in national holidays or involvement in nationalistic-based politics can grant university students with more constructive opportunities for enacting a heightened awareness of the nation, particularly through its ability to display acts of national allegiance and strengthen feelings of national collective belonging.

In expressing feelings of national belonging, several visitors instantaneously draw reference to their allegiance to the national sport teams. For instance, one visitor explicates:

> Well... my respect for my country is always strong and it can show too... like when I am cheering our national teams in international sports events....the World Cup and the Olympics... those are the moments that make you think about who you are and what you feel about your nation...when I shout 'Daehanminguk' during the cheering, it gets me so emotional... when the 'aegukga' (애국가 - *the national anthem*) is played at the beginning of matches or during the awarding ceremony, I just feel like crying...don't ask me the reason for that (*laughs*)... if anybody calls themselves Korean, they would feel fairly the same as me...if not, I don't think they are genuinely Korean....no...they shouldn't be... [man in his fifties]

Another narrative indicates that passionate displays of national identity are intensified in situations where the nation's pride needs to be reasserted:

> ....Well, there are lots of opportunities to pay your respect to your nation... like supporting the Korean national teams in international sporting activities. I feel very

> nationalistic and patriotic whenever our nation competes with Japan... I cannot explain what drives me so mad about the situation... but we just have to defeat them... it is not about the sports game, it is about national pride. [man in his thirties]

A sense of national unity is also vividly expressed through acknowledging the experiences of the 2002 World Cup football tournament, co-hosted by South Korea and Japan (Lee, Hong-jong, 2002; Choi, Yoon-sung, 2004; Kim, S. Seong-seop and Morrison, 2005). Given that the event occurred during the first stage of the study, a range of narratives express a strong sense of national belonging with reference to the fact that the national football team reached the semi-finals of the tournament, for instance:

> Everywhere you go, people talk about our victory. To be a Korean these days seems to be such a blessing. It is just ecstatic...unbelievable. [woman in her fifties]

> We have shocked the whole world and now nobody can regard us as little Korea. I feel so thrilled about what is happening. We Koreans do not feel hungry without food and we are not tired without sleeping a wink when we support our team...why?...the answer is because we are so proud of being Korean. [man in his forties]

> In the quarter final with Italy, I went street cheering in the plaza of the City Hall. It was a shaking experience. We were all one shouting 'Daehanminguk' and singing a cheering song. We were all strangers to each other. It was so emotional to be part of it... When our team finally defeated the Italian team, we laughed and cried all together. It was definitely more than a football game... [man in his twenties]

However, Brubaker (1996) argues that a sense of national belonging is not only provoked under extraordinary conditions but is endemic in modern cultural life, expressed through less overt national celebrations and more localised public experiences. Heritage tourism perhaps can be perceived as a less salient illustration of the ways in which national consciousness can be articulated in modern life, enabling individuals to exchange mutual feelings of national belonging and commonality. As one male graduate in his late twenties observes:

> You hardly come across a chance to define who you are out there *(outside of Changdeok Palace)*, except for occasions when you are cheering our national teams in international sports games... All the way throughout the tour, only one thought haunted me...I am a Korean and this place is Korean... I also felt quite close to the other members of the tour. Whatever their occupations are and whoever they are ... we are Koreans who share common feelings towards our nation....

A range of other narratives reflect the importance of the social presence of other Korean nationals touring Changdeok Palace:

> I feel a close connection to this palace and the people who share the experience of the place, those who were on the tour with me...just the same as hugging the person who sits next to you, or being arm in arm with each other singing a cheering song together,

> like when the Korean team make a goal in the World Cup... they are total strangers who you have never known in your life... but you do feel a strong bond on that moment... just naturally. [man in his fifties]
>
> During the tour we do share certain spirits of this place, which bond us all together... this makes me feel I am part of it all....I reckon. [man in his forties]
>
> Throughout the tour, I have been reminded of recollections of the palace with total strangers. Just because we are the same Koreans we all appreciate it, get quite emotional and feel comfortable with what we find out here. It is amazing to know we are all connected to each other... [women in her thirties]

It is important to note that tour descriptions and accounts do not fundamentally attempt to promote nationalist sentiments but do arouse a spirit of national consciousness among Korean visitors. Tour guides tend to insinuate reference to the ability of visitors to think about their own cognitive conceptualisations of 'nation' and 'nationhood' (see especially Chapter Seven). For instance, in her tour with Korean visitors Ms Hong (key informant) states:

> If you want to understand this place better, try to see things beyond the actual buildings and objects. Please remember that heritage is something that can be seen through the mind, not only the eyes.

The following three narratives further demonstrate the importance of the psychological dimension of heritage interpretation and ways in which individuals can construct a sense of belonging:

> I am not thinking about this place based on the official accounts of our culture and history... which king died in which year, or in what year most parts of the palace were burnt down and who killed who, and so on... these things are of little significance when you figure out your mental connection with this place...which makes you realise and appreciate that connection, to be honest....you just feel it because your thoughts naturally connect with the place because they are awakened by the whole experience....thoughts about your roots, your culture and your country I suppose [Mr Kim - palace custodian and key informant].
>
> Both the buildings and the spirits attached to them are important for me to recognise the significance of this heritage place. The buildings and the trees in Huwon (*the rear garden*) show that this place is typically Korean... When I sat down in Huwon for a little rest, I thought of how all these trees have survived all throughout the years...it was about perseverance and strong-will that kept our nation intact. The buildings and the trees have witnessed all the ups and downs of our nation. People should try to see more of what is seen...To me, a chance to recognise and appreciate the spirits and symbols attached to the outer appearances (*of heritage representations*) was the most important reward of today's visit. [female in her thirties]
>
> First, it was the style of buildings and the arrangements of Huwon that make me realise this is a very important heritage site for our nation. After some while, I started

> to think about what lies underneath... What I mean is its meanings and values. As a healthy body and mind are both important to human beings, so is the heritage of the place. You should not underestimate this. [Mr Yoon – palace custodian and key informant]

Narratives provided by some of the palace staff interestingly indicate that through daily (work-based) engagements within the heritage setting of Changdeok, a personalised sense of national consciousness is evident in expressed feelings of self-worth and acts of national benevolence, for instance:

> Sometimes I ask myself what this place means to me more than a mere workplace... To work here has given me various chances to define who I am and where I come from. If I didn't work for this place, I would have never brooded over these issues while at work. To come and look around the palace every morning makes me feel proud of myself because I feel part of it. It gives me a lot of self-esteem. This is the best quality of working in here... I am doing something for our country and people. [Mr Yoon]

> Tour guiding in Changdeok has given me a chance to reflect upon my own connection to Korea. I have thought about it almost every day since I started to work here. When I come to work in the early morning, every time when I step inside the palace, there is something that makes me become always drawn to the place... Here, I feel I am recognised for doing something good for my nation... it flatters me to think in that way... [Ms Jeon, tour guide]

> When asked where I work, I feel proud of telling people I work in Changdeok. How nice and different it is compared to working in ordinary companies and organisaitons! I am keeping our spirit alive for future generations... I love to think of my responsibilities like that. Not all the Koreans can do that, but I am doing it... [Ms Koh, tour guide]

The physical representations of the heritage setting, which convey distinctive traits of national culture and tradition, have an essential role to play in the visitor experience. Individuals at Changdeok Palace can encounter such physical representations of Korea as building designs, artwork and the practice of garden cultivation. Yet, once visitors are provided with an opportunity to visually digest the heritage features and carefully listen to the oral narratives presented by the tour guides, visitors can then become familiar with the symbolic meanings embodied and exemplified in the physical structure and features of the palace. The interdependence between physical and psychological forms of heritage is thus important in conceptualising national identification. Accordingly, the significance of the tangible dimensions of the heritage setting should be perceived as providing necessary stimuli for augmenting the psychological (and ethereal) elements of the heritage setting. The Changdeok

experience can thus cognitively remind Korean nationals of their 'sentient and felt history' (Connor, 1993: 382).

Subjective Interpretations of National Memory and Cultural Knowledge

As indicated, visitors are potentially likely to strengthen their awareness of national belonging by sharing and communicating perceived national memories inherent in the Changdeok experience. However, collective (national) memories are subject to individually selected recollections of heritage and personal interpretation. This issue is of particular relevance in understanding people's differing appropriations of national memory and cultural knowledge, especially in terms of reconstructing a sense of national belonging. Tour guide and key informant Mrs Kwon, expresses:

> People say that Changdeok is our precious heritage which conveys the nation's legacy. This is an indispensable fact but the ways in which people perceive it are different. We all have individual preferences and personal viewpoints on our nation's past and relate to certain aspects of the palace more than others ... When I explain certain historical facts and events relating to the different areas of Changdeok, visitors' reactions are all different...

In presenting a summary of Ms Kwon's view to another tour guide and key informant, Ms Hong, similar sentiments are noted:

> Yes, people do react differently to the concerns encountered during the tour. I think that is normal. Although we share the same nation, it is evident that certain concerns will prompt more recollections or past knowledge than others, making certain things more appealing or unattractive than others... some identify with stone walls in Nakseonjae, some the indigenous trees and others the Korean wood furniture... Also, people can have different interpretations on the same memory... so some can say that one tree is older than the other, or one piece of furniture is more Korean than the other... I do the same... Personally, I am more interested in looking at some hidden national memoirs and chronicles which have never come to prominence here yet *(in the palace)*. The unique spirit of our nation obviously lives in this place but we understand and appreciate it in our own different ways.

The following comments by visitors further indicate that experiences facilitate national consciousness through the process of individually appropriating national memories provoked within Changdeok Palace:

> What I am impressed with is that I feel like I have been able to think about my nation in an individual way... I listened to the guide's explanations carefully and tried to remember things learnt at school or from watching the television and so on...But what I managed today was to have my own views on them...By doing that, I feel that I am definitely part of this heritage thing. [man in his forties]

> Most of the people say that Huwon is the best part of Changdeok which really represents Korea... although I would not completely disagree with this. I personally think that Nakseonjae or Yeonkyungdang are more Korean in style and atmosphere... Also some people say in the tour that any Japanese influences within the palace need to be abolished. In my own opinion, my view is slightly different... it is not just accepting the history of the country as we are told or taught. The point is that we are part of it all and can share it here. [man in his early thirties]

Mr Yoon interestingly notes:

> This palace holds a story and people have different interpretations over that story. For example, they will show various reactions to the remaining traces of Japanese control in the palace itself....some people might be more aggressive than others or some might try to reason out the issues, whereas some would just make emotional remarks...However, they all will, if there are Korean, feel upset and emotional about their sad history...if they do not feel in that way, they cannot be Koreans, can they?

It can be inferred from the above comments that memories induce different interpretations and represent various interpretive contexts. It is appropriate to recognise that collective (national) memory is rather flexible and can be expressed through differing subjective interpretations. The communication of national memories and shared recollections within the heritage setting does not necessarily mean there is a governing consensus on the nature of heritage interpretations. Rather, the heritage setting facilitates different and subaltern viewpoints concerning the relevance of national memories to people's perceptions and experiences.

Informatively, visitor narratives representing the older generations tend to indicate ways in which the experience of Changdeok can evoke childhood memories, enabling visitors to familiarise themselves with the heritage setting though personal memories. The following anecdotes articulate memories of the past prompted by tangible and intangible significations:

> I feel so comfortable here...I grew up with things such as the Kiwa roof and stone walls...this is our story...story about how we have kept our nation and people. [woman in her late seventies]

> As I was born and bred in a Hanok (*traditional Korean house*) and feel I am very familiar with this kind of traditional heritage setting... Traditional wooden floors in Yeonkyung-dang remind me of a particular moment when my grand mum combed my hair on a sunny day when I was just about 6 or 7 years old. I can remember it very vividly, although that memory hasn't really come up in my life ... Honestly speaking, I do not know when was the last time I recalled that image of my childhood. The big trees in Huwon remind me of a tree which was situated in the centre of my little village. This place takes me back to my forgotten past where I originally come from... [woman in her late fifties]

The air smells and feels so nice here... it reminds me of a little fishing village where I was brought up...where the sunshine falls down on the tree leaves like it did here, and where there are low walls and birds singing. It gives a real feeling of what things were like in old days...what our old country was like... [man in his early sixties].

You probably wouldn't know the name of this tree, it is called an hwasalnamu (화살나무 - *Euonymus alatus*). When I was young, we used to make rice cake mixed with its leaves. I haven't seen this tree for a long time...how wonderful... Today's visit has made me think about things I had forgotten... [woman in her seventies].

Nostalgic yearning for the past is intensified by means of reviving intimate memories and provoking individual remembrance. Visits thus potentially encourage people to reconnect with the past and reawaken intimate and long-forgotten memories. Importantly, feelings of comfort and familiarity facilitated by personal memories are pertinent in fortifying people's emotional attachment to the nation. By engaging with their own personal memories individuals may be more at ease in establishing an intimate sense of national belonging. Therefore, an emotional attachment to the homeland can be further facilitated through such mediums of communication as shared feelings and social (national) memories. Consequently, heritage tourism experiences at Changdeok enable visitors to sense and experience the nation in rather intimate, concrete and affirmative ways.

National consciousness is invoked through interaction with comfortable and familiar surroundings expressive of the nation's symbolic character. The researcher overheard an interesting albeit brief conversation between two women in the Huwon, which exemplifies familial associations between aspects of the palace and home life:

> Woman 1: I feel like this is my home, don't you?... isn't it amazing to have this comfortable feeling right in the middle of Seoul?
>
> Woman 2: Yes, it is... I feel like I have been to here a lot, though I haven't... I just love it.

On another occasion, two elderly women and one elderly man, sitting next to the researcher on a rather large bench in the Huwon area, eagerly discussed with each other views of the tour and what they had just seen:

> Man: Can you believe how familiar these things come across in your mind? I thought all the heritage and history things can be quite imposing and pompous, in a way... but no, it is so different to what I thought it would be, isn't it?

Woman 1: Well it is not a pompous atmosphere, just about royalty... I felt so comfortable in Nakseonjae, which was more or less similar to my grand mum's place... Look at that pond there, and the way the trees are lined over there! You have seen so many things like that all over our country, that's why this place is not so strange.

Woman 2: You are right! You feel familiar with it because it is nothing new. We have grown with it, without necessarily realising it.

Man: Yes, I never thought I could feel this here....I expected it to be very different.

Other visitor narratives also imply the importance of comfort and familiarity as integral to the Changdeok experience, for instance:

> This is my first visit here, but the palace appears so familiar... I don't know why... I just feel so natural and comfortable here. [woman in her thirties]
>
> It is very calm here and relaxing, especially walking in the Huwon. We have a park near where I live...outside of Seoul. Well, this place reminds me of my walks there with all the beautiful trees and the freshness... [man in his fifties]

Individuals tend to initiate the process of conceptualising an essence of national belonging through oral narratives focusing on personal memories and subjective experiences. People are likely to utilise personal memories as an effective means of consolidating their affinities with their country and home life, though not always in a rather overt nationalistic manner but in more subtle ways. Importantly, as memories can conjure familial associations it could thus be postulated that Changdeok also reflects ordinary experiences and articulations of daily life.

Personal memories should not necessarily be perceived as self-indulgent recollections of lived experiences as they are instrumental in serving the purpose of imagining the nation's past and shaping it into a coherent, meaningful and personailsed entity, which lies at the core of a collective sense of national belonging. Their function in familiarising the nation's past is profound in making the abstract and conceptual elements of national belonging more concrete and directly related to people's life experiences. Importantly, individual and subjective perceptions of heritage are more closely related to experiential ways of articulating and enacting national consciousness (see Chapter Two).

Reflexive Evaluations of the Socio-Cultural Attributes of Changdeok

In order to express affinities with the heritage setting, individuals tended to draw reference to less comfortable experiences and encounters with other (foreign) places and heritage sites.

Such comparisons helped to further comprehend the social and cultural significance of Changdeok Palace for Korean nationals. One visitor, who lived most of her life in Seoul, illustrates her own changing perception of the Forbidden City during a one-year visit to Beijing, explaining:

> During my stay in Beijing, I used to go to Jakeumsung (*Forbidden City*). At first, I was truly overwhelmed by its size and scale. I just adored it and I thought it was much more excellent than the Korean royal palaces. I even admitted to myself that Chinese culture was much more superior to ours, and probably this is why it was inevitable for our country to be subservient to China sometime in the past.... But very surprisingly, as time went by I was getting bored of the size and scale of the palace...I found it too much...something important was missing to me... It began to appear as too imposing and over-empowering...I realised it was not something for me...nothing connected there for me...it was just all the appearances...Humble as it might appear, Changdeok is what I feel comfortable with, what I was born and brought up with...

Another visitor also explicates her own experience during a trip to several royal palaces in China, commenting:

> I was overwhelmed by the gold colour prevalent everywhere...just breathless at first...that was one of the most spectacular scenes in my life...But the strange thing was that those overwhelming impressions had gradually disappeared. I couldn't share any intimate memories with that palace...For Chinese people their heritage must bear some symbolic significance in strengthening their connections especially with the appreciation of their old culture and heritage. But as a foreigner, it was impossible to share that significance... As soon as I entered this palace I instinctively sensed that this belongs to me...so comfortable and warm...

Central to the comparative distinctions indicated in the above two narratives is the hierarchical positioning of heritage in terms of social preference, partly determined by intimate associations, emotional attachments and cultural affinities. Other visitor narratives appropriate cross-comparsions between Changdeok Palace and other heritage settings:

> I found those palaces (*in China and Japan*) more and more disconnected with myself ... well do not please misunderstand me, that is to say that obviously it was an unforgettable experience to visit those places, especially in visual terms... as far as I am concerned. Today's visit to Changdeok is very much different...my eyes have not been startled here...well... they have already seen scenes like this so many times...so familiar...but my heart has been quite shocked... There are a lot of things which make me stop and think... [woman in her late thirties]
>
> When we look at the beautiful castles and palaces in places like France, Germany, China and even Japan, we look at them in awe...we never feel that kind of excitement in here because we are very much used to this... Screams of excitement are usually made when people encounter new and different scenes...they do not scream at things that belong to themselves....well...this tells something very important...we wouldn't

> scream at this place because this is ours...what we have lived with through all our life...maybe even before this place was here ... [woman in her forties]

Tour guide, Ms Kang, explains her first impression of Changdeok Palace by comparing her experiences to her UK visit:

> ... the castles in Wales and Scotland interested me greatly because of the glamourous scandals and bitter histories that they were connected with. I did not feel part of it though. At that time, I wasn't aware of the significance of our *(Korean)* palaces. When I finally had an encounter with this palace, it was something beyond description....in a way it wasn't as interesting as the English castles to me... I don't know ... But I felt part of it. I instantly knew it was my culture, history and maybe my self. This is the base on which our roots have rested and evolved....

The above narratives focus on the significance of Changdeok by way of comparison with other 'foreign' heritage settings. In other instances, however, individuals express how embarrassed they feel by their perceived ignorance of their own culture and heritage, not to mention their adoration for foreign palaces. Seok, Ji-eun elaborates on this issue in her student essay. In focusing on her own feelings and experiences, she writes:

> While preparing for this essay, I have found out that there has been a ceremony of changing guards taking place in front of Donwha Gate (*the main gate of Changdeok*) since 2000. I have always dreamt of watching the ceremony of changing guards in Buckingham Palace. That is the place which I want to see first and foremost if I ever go to England. But I have never been aware of the changing guards here. I feel very embarrassed and ashamed of my ignorance... It was a spectacular scene. I felt very proud of the fact a lot of foreigners seemed mesmerised by our cultural ceremony.... Probably I should not be too bothered by the guard ceremony at Buckingham Palace from now on!

Interestingly, one man in his twenties also draws reference to Buckingham Palace:

> When I went to London on a backpacking trip, our group badly wanted to look at the changing of the guard's ceremony in the Buckingham Palace. We arrived at the gate in an early morning and awaited more than three hours until the ceremony finally commenced. It was generally a bit disappointing... nothing glamorous at all against our big expectations. But we just believed that without seeing that ceremony, London sightseeing would not be completed. I don't understand why we were so obsessed with seeing it...maybe just because everybody does it...I haven't had any idea of the changing guards service until today...it makes me laugh to think about all the fuss we made in London... I feel quite guilty about myself being completely ignorant and uninterested in what's going on in my own country sometimes.

Another woman in her early thirties indicates that visiting other foreign places can encourage individuals to self-reflect on their own culture and national heritage, claiming:

> Well...you know what... The rice cakes in someone else's hand always look bigger than those in your own hand...foolish as it sounds, but you can't help believing this is

> a fact sometimes...Lots of people talk about how beautiful and attractive the foreign countries are, that they have visited. But they do not realise how spectacular their own country is...how refined their own culture is...well what I saw in here today is much more attractive than most of the things I encountered during my trips abroad...

The unique appeal of Changdeok Palace can also be distinguished through comparative illustrations with Seoul's other royal palaces. Kim, Chang-soo captures this point well in his student essay, noting:

> The structure of Gyeongbok Palace is very much similar to that of Jakeumsung. The influences of Chinese culture and tradition were of great significance during the period of Joseon kingdom, as was the case with the general history of Korea... Definitely, Gyeongbok is much more grand and pompous than Changdeok. However, due to pervasive Chinese influences, Gyeongbok is not as appealing as Changdeok to us. Changdeok is definitely more Korean.

Other narratives further highlight the fact that Changdeok is perceived as the most 'purely Korean' of all palaces, for instance:

> Well... Gyeongbok Palace exudes an imposing grandeur...it seems too grand to make us feel comfortable...it seems too artificial to make us feel naturally attached... when it comes to Deoksu Palace, well...I don't know really...it seems to be too commercialised... I feel it has lost some core characteristics which it should never have done. [woman in her forties]
>
> When I look at all the couples taking their wedding photos in Deoksu and Kyeongbok, I feel extremely annoyed. They are our royal palaces and have more significance to us and our nation, than just places for taking wedding photos and eating from lunch boxes on the grass...I am so glad that people are not allowed to do those things here (*in Changdeok*)...it is such a relief. We do need to keep this place respectable. [woman in her fifties]
>
> Even the president of our country cannot damage this palace. Changdeok is fundamentally different from other royal palaces because it represents a unique sense of Koreanness. If we do not appreciate this place, it is very worrying because that means we do not appreciate ourselves. [man in his seventies]

One university student expresses an interesting final comment to a rather lengthy two hour interview, stating:

> I have been to Deoksu Palace a lot because it is located in a more accessible location, and I have been to Gyeongbok through schools trips, by myself or with friends... but out of all the palaces, Changdeok was the last hit to me. But as soon as I experienced it, I became so fond of it... To me this place comes across like a newly-wed young woman who is very virtuous and shy, whereas Deoksu or Gyeongbok appear like impure prostitutes...Emm, sorry about my expression, but I do feel in this way. [man in his mid-twenties]

Critical academic commentary indicates that heritage and its past representations can be perceived as the denigration of history due to commercial orientations (Hewison, 1987; Samuel, 1994; Merriman, 2000). However, ethnographic narratives at Changdeok suggest that the components of history and heritage are comparatively constructive, presenting productive interpretations of history and culturally-desired heritage representations. Social adoration for Changdeok Palace is implied in narratives drawing reference to heritage centres where the relationship between heritage and history is perceived to be detrimental. For instance:

> ...this (*Changdeok*) is completely different from the National Folk Village where history is displayed for visitors' fun. That can never be our heritage. This is our heritage here (*at Changdeok*) which should not be confused with a folk village or even a theme park. This is the backbone of our culture and nation. [women in her thirties]
>
> Our heritage should represent the spirit of our culture and nation. Look at the National Folk Village where you can enjoy a less serious version of our history...but this palace exists for teaching us our real culture and history. It is serious but educational. [women in her forties]

Unlike critical commentaries which are concerned with the way in which heritage can be an inauthentic and commodified version of history, narratives actually suggest that history and heritage should not necessarily be perceived in direct contradistinction to each other as separate social entities. Accordingly, heritage and history can be socially and culturally purposeful. The following two narratives suggest that at Changdeok Palace the relationship between heritage and history is mutually complementary:

> Changdeok is in itself our history and spirit...this is a place where all the worldly pleasures should be renounced... [man in his thirties]
>
> This place tells us our history and makes us feel solemn about its historical and spiritual significance. Our heritage is like a mirror to us through which we can clearly see our existence as a distinctive Korean. [woman in his thirties]

In his essay, Jeon Yong-tak emphasises the significance of Changdeok as place where the nation's history is represented without any unnecessary adaptations. He writes:

> Changdeok should be free from any commercially-oriented variations because it is a clear representation of our ul (얼 - *soul*) and our kisang (기상 - *spirit*). Our heritage is a national treasure which evidently shows our nation's cultural and historical significance. Its values are priceless and unbounded... Therefore, a careful consideration should be made to sustain the fundamental nature of heritage as an essential symbol of a nation's history.

In the same vein, palace custodian Mr. Kim strongly objects to the idea of adding artificial elements to the palace, explicating:

> Once a plan to put mannequins in traditional costumes in certain buildings was proposed but couldn't be finalised... what a relief...this is not a place where living history is represented as a way of displaying mannequins and signboards. People should take things more seriously while they are here. This is all about our history and roots.

There is deep concern that the palace should remain as a purposeful provider of heritage representations, for instance:

> Changdeok should be never exploited by commercial drives. It needs to remain as a spiritual place free from all other secular demands or purposes... I also feel so relieved not to see any people taking their wedding photos or using this place for their own personal purposes... [woman in her forties]
>
> How can our royal palaces turn into a fairy-tale place or a theme park? Changdeok should keep its solemn and spiritual atmosphere, distinguishing itself from other spoiled ones (*heritage sites*). [man in his sixties]
>
> ...to lose this place would be absolutely horrid because it means we will lose our self. [man in his sixties]

Therefore, the above narratives reflect on the significance of heritage as a symbolic embodiment of history, generally inciting a need to protect Changdeok Palace from any possible commercial orientations. Nationals are able to realise and reassure the symbolic significance of their national heritage as an essential constituent of the nation's history and legitimacy. Consequently, it is appropriate to state that visits to Changdeok offer nationals an opportunity to encounter, recognise and rediscover their cultural integrity and national consciousness.

Conclusion

In this chapter, particular emphasis has been placed on elaborating ways in which domestic visitors perceive and contexualise a sense of national identity, and how such identifications are articulated during their encounter with the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace. It was highlighted that a sense of national identity is closely associated with emotional attachments to a nation rather than its external manifestations. People's emotions, feelings and sentiments clearly indicate Koreanness as a primordial construct, which is considered to be crucial in conceptualing and contextualising national consciousness.

The significance of antecedent cultural ties and kinship that underpin a sense of national belonging and identity was illuminated, with particular reference to comments strongly expressing people's cultural associations with the Korean nation. For most visitors, heritage tourism experiences in Changdeok Palace are recognised as being familiar and intimate. In particular, the process of familiarisation is conceptualised and developed by means of personal reminiscence and individualised forms of collective memory. Personal memories are thus pertinent in imagining a nation's shared past and shaping it into a coherent meaningful entity, which further constitutes a core element in enacting a collective sense of national belonging. Shared memories rather than factual representations of history encourage individuals to realise and recognise their national consciousness, encouraged by the Changdeok experience. Therefore, Changdeok serves as a symbolic agent encouraging the nation's felt history to be articulated, thus enabling South Korean nationals to reproduce and maintain their sense of national belonging.

Notes

(1) Nakseonjae was originally built as the residence of the royal concubines in 1847. When Lee Gu, the son of the last crown prince of the Joseon Dynasty died in Tokyo on 16, July, 2005, his body was brought back to Korea wrapped in the Korean national flag and was laid in Nakseonjae until the funeral ceremony.

(2) The World Heritage List includes 812 properties forming part of the cultural and natural heritage which the World Heritage Committee considers as having outstanding universal value, whether based on cultural and/or natural attributes. In recognition of the importance of cultural exchange with the outside world, the South Korea government signed UNESCO's 'Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage' in 1988 and seven cultural properties were registered on its World Cultural Heritage list (see Henderson, 2002). Five heritage places were officially designated as World Heritage Sites in 1997: Seokguram Grotto and Bulguksa Temple; Haeinsa Temple's Janggyeong Panjeon; Jongmyo Shrine; Changdeokgung Palace Complex; and Suwon Hwaseong Fortress. Gyeongju Historic Areas as well as Gochang, Hwasun, and Ganghwa Island Dolmen sites were further added in the list in 2001.

(3) Unreleased data provided by Changdeok Administration, Changdeok Palace, Seoul (internally circulated: 20/6/2007).

Chapter Six

Constructions of Nationhood: Ethnographic Interpretations of 'Significant (National) Others'

Introduction

This chapter is mainly concerned with discussing the role of 'significant others' in maintaining a heightened awareness of nationhood and national belonging during the Changdeok Palace experience. It is thus essential to examine ways in which the heritage experience provokes national consciousness, especially through critical acknowledgement to the ways in which significant (national) others are perceived and represented.

Chapter Three illustrates Korea's historical relationship with Japan, highlighting factors which contribute to the prevailing enmity that exists between the two nations. This chapter thus indicates ways in which shared memories of Japanese colonialism encourage visitors to establish a strong sense of national belonging by way of remembering the nation's past ordeal. Furthermore, attention will be drawn to ways in which visits to Changdeok enable South Koreans to realise and reassure their cultural and racial / ethnic affinity with North Korea, apparent in situations where the two Koreas are historically projected as a single national entity. Particular focus will be placed on ways in which individual perceptions and subjective interpretations contribute to redefining and repositioning the role of North Korea in comparison to official discourses.

Finally, there will be a systematic and critical exploration with regard to perceptions concerning the influx of Western culture and values into contemporary South Korean society. Discussion will draw on ways in which Changdeok Palace and related heritage tourism experiences encourage South Koreans to recognise and re-emphasise their cultural roots and national consciousness, further contributing to a clearer understanding of constructions of nationhood.

Evaluating Japan's Perceived Impact on the Changdeok Experience

As explicated in Chapter Three, Japan is conspicuously considered as a 'significant other' in the reconstruction of Korean identities particularly as a consequence of colonialism (Kweon,

Sug-in, 2003). From the beginning of the twentieth century, Changdeok Palace was formally known as 'Biwon' (meaning 'Secret Garden'). 'Biwon' was the name of supervisory body established in 1904, which was in charge of 'Huwon', the palace's rear garden. During the Joseon Kindgom period, Huwon was also known as 'Bukwon' (North Garden) and / or 'Keumwon' (Forbidden Garden). However, some visitors draw attention to the fact that the term 'Biwon' is widely understood as Changdeok Palace's formal inscription. For instance:

> Biwon is a very familiar name to us rather than Changdeok. I was surprised to learn that the palace is not really called Biwon. [woman in her forties]
>
> When I was a university student, this place was quite popular as a nice spot for a date...we all called this place Biwon. As far as I am concerned, Changdeok wasn't familiar to us at all then. [man in his late fifties]
>
> They (*tour guides*) are saying that this place is Changdeok Palace not Bwon. This is a bit of a shock to me. So when you think of the palace's name (*interpretation of Chandgeok being 'Prospering Virtue'*) the whole meaning changes and become even more significant. [woman in her fifties]
>
> I always got confused with Changdeok and Changkyung. To be honest, I have thought of this place as Biwon... I never knew Biwon was the name of the garden in Changeok Palace. [woman in her sixties]
>
> I was a bit confused over the name of this palace...I knew this was Changdeok Palace but used to call it as Biwon. To me this place had come across as a garden than a palace, which is absolutely mistaken. [man in his fifties]
>
> I have always known this place as Biwon rather than Changdeok. When all the news about Changdeok appeared on the media, I wondered where it was. Today, I have learned that I should never get confused over the name of this place again. Changdeok is its original name which our ancestors had bestowed on us. But Biwon refers only to the Huwon area... I feel very embarrassed about my ignorance. [woman in her forties]

Palace staff are generally concerned that visitors are often confused about the name of the palace. Moreover, Japanese colonial administration is perceived to be the main culprit of such conceptual misunderstanding. Accordingly, the downgrading of the royal palace to a garden could be popularly conceived as Japan's colonial intention to dishonour both the Korean monarchy and Korea's national pride. Mrs Jung (Head of Tour Guides) expresses:

> Before entering the path leading to Huwon, I always spare some time to explain to visitors that the real name of this place is Changdeok Palace. It is quite surprising to see how many people are still misunderstood about this issue. I tell them 'even though you might forget all my explanations on the palace when you go back home, please... please never forget one fact. This is not 'Biwon' as you may have been mistaken, it is Changdeok Palace, which is part of our proud heritage designated as World Heritage

site'... I say to them also, 'today's visit is so meaningful in terms of correcting your misconception of this place'.

She further elaborated in a later discussion:

> Some visitors come to me during the rest period in the Huwon or after the tour and thank me for teaching them an important lesson about the name of the palace. From time to time, I make some variations on my explanations during the tours but I would never omit this part... it is not just about correcting the name but all about correcting our history which has obviously been tainted with Japan's malice towards us.

In the same vein, Mr Kim (palace custodian and key informant), who regards himself as the 'Changdeok expert', cogently argues that visitors to Changdeok Palace should be perceptive in recognising Japan's intentional attempts to disregard Korea's national legitimacy and solidarity, maintaining:

> Whether or not this place is called as 'Biwon' or 'Changdeok' is not an important issue. What is significant here is that Japan tried by all possible means to destroy our culture and heritage because they knew that culture and heritage is very much part of our country's existence. When people realise this terrifying plot within this place, they should remember it and think about it very seriously. Some people say that too much obsession with the past can be an impediment to the future, so we have to move forward from our emotional problems with Japan....yes... it is right in a way, but there are things in the past you should remember and consider... and this place is keeping and showing them to us all.

Friendly conversations with key informants during the course of the research study enabled the researcher to acquire invaluable information, which would not have been possible under normal interview situations. Informants feel very comfortable and receptive in expressing their viewpoints, particularly when issues are naturally raised and discursively developed over the course of friendly conversations. During one conversation with Mrs Kwon, the tour guide informatively reveals that it is important to be sensitive to the ethnic composition of visitors when articulating the role of Japanese colonialism:

> Researcher: Where did you learn Japanese?
>
> Mrs Kwon (tour guide): I learned it in a language school. I thought that speaking another language would be of great help for me to find a better job... I have been trying to improve my Japanese as much as possible, but it is so hard for me to be fully understood in Japanese. You must know that difficulty yourself when you speak English.
>
> Researcher: Yes...surely, it is still true when I speak and write English, it just comes straight from my brain not my heart...quite mechanical in a way... It never feels the same when I speak Korean though.

Mrs Kwon: Yes, I do understand. When I do a Japanese tour I sometimes feel frustrated about the fact I cannot be more articulate in explaining the things... Well... maybe it is not just the fluency of language I suppose... You know there are things I do not want to raise...or to discuss too many details in the Japanese tour.

Researcher: Very interesting, but what kind of things?

Mrs Kwon: It is such a delicate and complicated issue... Well, you cannot be too forward with Japanese visitors. I cannot tell them, 'your country did all these horrible things to our country and therefore, you should feel ashamed of your country and ancestors', can I? I use different expressions, for example, I would say, 'some parts of the palace went through a major transformation under Japan's control', instead of 'Changdeok was badly damaged or destroyed by Japan's intentional attempts to eradicate Korea's culture and identity'... deep down my heart I am shouting the truth but you cannot be overtly emotional and personal in work situations, I believe.

Key informants often take initiative in raising issues and directing discussions allowing for more spontaneously-based comments to emerge. This has a desired effect of explicating pertinent issues concerning different interpretations and perceptions of the heritage setting:

Mrs Yoon (tour guide): Tell me, Hyung yu, what aspects of the palace appeal to you?

Researcher: The stone wall in Nakseonjae is so beautiful. I personally do like the colour of the wood used for the building as well.

Mrs Yoon: Well, the back garden of Nakseonjae is also breathtakingly beautiful and so Korean. It is not open to the visitors but you should have a look at it before you finish your research... a special bonus from us... Interestingly, a lot of Korean visitors like Nakseonjae but the Japanese visitors respond to it very differently.

Researcher: Please tell me why this is the case?

She then eagerly explained the differences witnessed between Japanese and South Korean tourists, particularly focusing on one specific anecdote:

Well, there is such a big discrepancy in appreciating Nakseonjae between Korean and Japanese visitors. Koreans express how beautiful it is...how much it resembles their old houses or the images of their ancestors' houses....and how comfortable it appears to be... However, Japanese visitors are generally disappointed with the humble character of the place...I remember one man shouting, 'Look! Lady Lee Bang-ja[1] used to stay here. Although she got married to a Korean royal family member, she had to stay here because she was Japanese. This is too shabby for the royal family to live in'... I was very shocked and embarrassed by his abrupt behaviour. I felt I needed to make a comment on it. I also thought I should be careful not to stir up any more negative feelings. So I just told them that Lady Lee stayed in Nakseonjae because it was then the main residence of the royal family, not because she was Japanese. I really do not know how much that explanation worked effectively...But since that incident, I have been more aware of this delicate issue and have been very interested in observing the differences of their reactions and responses...

On another occasion, the researcher was invited to the Mrs Kwon's office for a glass of cold water and some fruit with two other tour guides. All three tour guides lead the Japanese tour groups. After an initial conversation concerning the day's weather forecast, the topic of conversation gradually moved to discuss the researcher's progress on her current study:

> Mrs Kwon: We are all very interested in your research. Have you found some interesting things yet?
>
> Researcher: Yes, there are a lot of interesting issues and points raised during the interviews... some of the comments from both the visitors and the staff are so insightful and constructive...I am getting concerned though that I need to try to honestly respect people's feelings and emotions when I am translating the data, as the palace does seem to generate a lot of sensitive concerns ...
>
> Mrs Kwon: It must be a very difficult and demanding task to write a thesis in English... It is quite frustrating not to always clearly explain what you really want to emphasise in different languages.
>
> Mrs Yoon: You are right...I always wish I could be more fluent in Japanese...I do basic stuff but I wish I could be more clear and detailed. Compared to the Korean tours, the explanations I provide during the Japanese tours are short and simple.
>
> Mrs Kwon: Yes, it's the same as me. When I speak Japanese it is not as articulate as speaking Korean. I am very aware that people can get offended by my misuse of language...some tensions are already visible when it comes to the issues concerning the recent history of the palace and its influence under Japanese control...I am reluctant to take a risk...
>
> Mrs Kim: I know... When I guide the Japanese groups I feel like something important is missing...the tour is very formal and dry...Language is, I assume, important in sharing common feelings. We are all Koreans who speak Korean language... so some subtle expressions only Koreans share and understand are very important in the Korean tours...you cannot expect that with the Japanese tourists...however hard we try, there is always something missing ...
>
> Researcher: I think from what you all have said, I do need to carefully represent the nuances of expression as much as I can.

The above tour guides emphasise that mediating tour narratives associated with the nation's colonial past to Japanese tour groups was an arduous and sensitive task, where articulations are mechanically expressed rather than the more free-flowing narratives apparent in the Korean tours. Here, emphasis is placed on the intention to encourage domestic visitors to sense their nation's troubled past. The tour guides' role as active mediators of national

sentiments (Cohen *et al.*, 2002) is subtle but pertinent in the context of domestic tour groups (see Chapter Seven).

Tour guide, Mrs Kim, elaborates on the varied forms of communication with different tour groups:

> When I do a tour in Korean, I tend to speak more...I just want to tell everything I know and feel about this place... I want to instil emotion and feelings into my fellow Koreans during the tours. I do appreciate the beauty of speaking my own native tongue, which I never realised before. In my Japanese tour, I put an emphasis on conveying the historical facts and figures in a more formal way... try to keep my discussion in the third-person as much as possible...in order not to be too emotional myself, which stops me from putting blame on them directly.

In general, Korean visitors show keen interest in the fact that Daejojeon and Huijeongdang were the bedrooms of the kings and queens, despite the fact that both buildings were reconstructed during Japanese colonial rule (see Chapter Three). Interestingly, Daejojeon does not possess a yongmaru (용마루 – *ridge*) on its roof, which is usually considered in Korean architecture to be one of the most aesthetic designs of the kiwa roof. The term 'yong', meaning dragon, symbolises the Korean kings and is a term that is frequently used with other descriptions associated with kings (e.g., yongsang – *king's face* and yongpo – *king's garment*). Therefore, the absence of a yongmaru in the king's main bedroom is attributed to the fact that two dragons associated with this building (i.e., the king and the yongmaru) would signify a challenge to the king's sovereignty (Hong, Soon-min, 2001).

One visitor interestingly comments:

> I am curious about the personal space of kings and queens, rather than the big hall or the king's office. You instantly want to know where kings used to sleep and want to have a peep into it ...at the end of the day, kings and queens were only human beings like us. I want to look at that human side of the palace. [woman in her thirties]

In one particular guided tour, the researcher notes of a conversation between two visitors that discusses Daejojeon's unique characteristics.

> Woman 1: I have never known that the ridge of the kiwa roof is called Yongmaru, have you?
>
> Woman 2: No... But isn't it so fascinating to know that this place didn't have one because kings used to sleep here. But you know, if these kings were dragons, then it just goes to show that they were very powerful and influential at that time.

Woman 1: Yes, they were like a god weren't they ... We are so lucky to see all this because no people were allowed in the palace in the past.

In another Korean tour group, two visitors also comment on the cultural significance of Daejojeon:

Man: It would have been absolutely impossible to look at the king's bedroom for people like us when this building was in use...you know that?

Woman: Certainly, this is the centre of the palace. It makes me feel quite solemn about our heritage... the feelings come quite real here.

The architectural profile of Huijeongdang was substantially transformed to that of a western-style building during the Japanese colonial era (Choi, Jong-deok, 2005). Huijeongdang and Daejojeon were supplied with such western-style pieces of furniture as beds, tables and chairs. Visitors appeared to be quite agitated by some of the representations surrounding Huijeongdang and Daejojeon. The introduction of western-style architecture, interior design and furniture is mainly attributed to Japan's colonial administration. The following comments illustrate such negative feelings:

> I do not understand why the Cultural Heritage Administration decided to display a western bed in the queen's bedroom. This is sheer disrespect for our culture and tradition. Our ancestors did not use a bed at all. Sleeping in a bed was not a Korean custom. We Koreans slept on the floor with the Ondol (*Korean underfloor heating sytem*)... Since when has the bed been regarded as something Korean? I think the Wainom (*derogatory term for 'Japanese'*) did this. [man in his seventies]

> It is bizarre and absurd that some people think this is the most attractive part of the palace...this did not belong to us in a strict sense...Japan modified it for their own purposes... Huijeongdang should have never been converted for a car's access... not all our kings and queens used the bed in Daejojeon. [man in his sixties]

> To display a bed in the queen's bedroom is like wearing a western-style suit with a traditional Korean hat. How awkward it is! [woman in her forties]

The above comments illustrate visitors' aversion towards certain artefacts and objects on display which are not perceived to be traditionally Korean. Interestingly, other visitors also regard palace items that are not typically Korean as being related to Japanese influence, regardless of the degree to which such concerns are based on factual grounding. The following comments clearly exemplify this point:

> When I think all the changes made in the palace were mainly done by Japan, that part is so upsetting. I know that using electricity, beds and cars at certain point in our history was unavoidable. But the problem is that the last nation we would want help from during these changes was Japan. Their justification for invading our country is

always to assist in our country's modernisation... this is utter nonsense [man in his fifties]

If we had accepted a bed or a table as part of our culture, then that should be at our discretion and our decision. But the problem emerges when we think about when all these things began to appear in this place...that was under Japan's control of Korea. When we all are aware of this fact, is it really necessary to display them here? [man in his thirties]

The electric bulbs in Injeong-jeon, the bed in Daejo-jeon and the automobiles in Yochago.... They are of foreign origin. They are not fundamentally Korean. They are not ours. They were brought to our country during the Japanese occupation. I feel that all these modern products can sometimes spoil the sacred image of our royal palace. I wanted to enjoy something purely Korean here... To be honest with you, I feel sort of betrayed and a bit disappointed with some of the things I see. [woman in her forties]

However, one set of narratives concedes that the introduction of modern artefacts should be understood as a natural process of historical evolution, as a timely acceptance of foreign civilisation and modern advancement. The following narratives are illustrations which typify this alternative position, implying that Korean national culture is a product of ongoing social transformation, an issue discussed significantly by Lie (1990) and Tak, Seok-san (2000) (see Chapter Three). It is thus highlighted that:

Although these items are not of our origin, they are also meaningful in that they show the natural flow of history which is changing all the time. We should accept they were also part of our history. It could be quite shocking at first because they do clash with the images that rest of the palace projects, but we have to accept them. [man in his forties]

Some elderly people think that modern products like automobiles and electric bulbs are traces from the Japanese annexation. But I do not agree with it. If we weren't under Japan's control, would we still use the gama (*traditional Korean wagon*) and chorongbul (*traditional lighting*)? We would have gone through modernisation whether or not. Other countries did it so why shouldn't we... [man in his early thirties]

It is not desirable to dispute all things just because they are not of Korean origin... I hear that kimchi was originally made without chilli powder, which we believe is the main ingredient. Chilli was an imported product...then kimchi with chilli powder is not part of our culture, is it? [woman in her forties]

Visitors representing the younger generations tend to express rather positive viewpoints concerning the contemporary role of Changdeok Palace as a signifier of foreign culture, particularly in terms of how such influences can constructively help domestic visitors rethink their national identities and colonial past. The following extracts from two student essays

draw attention to the introduction of modern culture and technology within the palace in a way that does not necessarily perceive Japan as ultimately culpable:

> It was impossible to keep our culture and identity completely intact from foreign influence. We should not just blame Japan for the whole change... The inner strength of our identity can be enhanced by accepting and looking again at our traumatic past. What is ironic is that those items on display within Changdeok that are unfamiliar to our culture can really makes us think what is uniquely Korean and what is deemed to be ours. The point is that it is our responsibility to appreciate our nation's remembrance. It should not matter if our past is seen as glorious or disgraceful, whatever the situation is we do have to positively deal with it. [Choi, Won-seok]
>
> Accepting foreign culture does not necessarily lead to the distortion or destruction of our nation and culture. It depends on how we make use of it in further developing our culture... Some people try to hide our shameful past by constantly denying or even justifying it. However, if our culture and history was really distorted by Japanese imperialism, we have to accept and come to terms with this historical fact. Then we can start to learn a lesson from it. Be it shameful and hurtful, it all belongs to us and we should not be afraid of confronting it through our visitor experience at Changdeok Palace. [Kim, Jeong-whan]

Nevertheless, the following narratives suggest that the display of modern artefacts and objects is an inconsiderate representation, ultimately leading to a sense of disappointment:

> I bet the palace has gradually changed over the period of time... you cannot deny it...what matters here is that we have to accept it as a natural evolution of history... If our nation in late 1800s started to accept some conveniences of modern civilisations, that is also part of our history... we all know that, but it is just a disappointment, I guess....you just want to see something very Korean here...purely Korean... heritage is all about this, isn't it? [man in his thirties]
>
> You just get so disillusioned with those things (*modern artefacts*) to be honest... Of course I understand that is also part of the history of the palace... you know that in your head, but you don't want see them deep down in your heart...why can they not just display something exclusive to our country? [man in his fifties]
>
> The Korean aspects of this palace... you know, the roof, the floors and the garden are all wonderful to see. But I am not interested in the modern bits and pieces. I don't know how other visitors think about this, but the palace shouldn't show these because they do not represent Korea and what we are all about. [woman in her thirties]

Japan's perceived systematic conspiracy to destroy Korean traditional culture and heritage is eagerly emphasised in a range of visitor narratives. The following illustrations represent ways in which this adversary is perceived in light of the visitor experience:

> What is more upsetting is how these modern influences came into our country... and came right into the centre of our pride and spirit, the royal palace... Of course, we needed to go through modernisation at some point. The old and inconvenient ways of life should be replaced by the modern and effective ones. This is inevitable...even

without Japanese occupation...But we do not need to show off our disgraceful past in the palace. Without these modern traces our sad history creeps around every corner of the palace... [man in his forties]

They (*modern objects*) make me always aware of the sad aspects of the history of this palace and our heritage. This palace should be one hundred per cent Korean...just about us... no one else... The palace is equipped with electric lighting and a bed. This is no different from a man dressed in traditional Korean costume wearing a western pair of shoes. How ridiculous would it look? [woman in her forties]

Some of the kings would walk out of their grave with bitter resentment. This is not just a national treasure...its significance has been internationally recognised. But that significance does not simply come from the buildings and objects on display...it is connected to the spiritual values of the palace, which is a culmination of Korean culture and history. [man in his seventies]

They were real bastards (*the Japanese*)...you really cannot imagine how bad they were. Even they haven't had any remorse whatsoever about their misdeed up to now... they still keep on insisting their contribution to our modernisation...they maintain their own version of history in history books mainly made-up for their own sake,..they are unbelievable. They are constantly rejecting who they were and what they did in the past... real bastards! [man in his late sixties]

During one conversation with Mr Kim (key informant and palace custodian) it is explained:

Without Japan's invasion, we would have started using the modern products. What is interesting here is that visitors strongly show dislike to modern influences in the palace, often relating them to Japan's control. They are not happy with encountering the memory of disgraceful experiences...They just want to assure themselves that it was not a real part of their history.

In a later conversation, Mr Kim claims:

The point for me is that Japan wanted to damage our royal palace with the intention of destroying our national spirit and solidarity. I want our palace to be preserved as it really used to be when we were the owner of our nation...free from any external influences... not Japanese whatsoever at all.

His main argument implicitly emphasises the significance of Changdeok Palace as an essential representation of shared heritage, pertinent in maintaining and enhancing the perceived uniqueness of Korean national identity. Furthermore, the above comments indicate Changdeok's responsibility for maintaining the nation's shared heritage free from external forces, implying that nationhood manifests such national objectives as the need to present the nation as an entity which expresses a respectable past and also encompasses puristic forms of cultural representation untainted by non-indigenous sources.

Ironically, the denial of Japanese influence on South Korea's modernisation could also be understood as another conspicuous manifestation of a concerted attempt to reaffirm a strong sense of national identity, one which arguably pacifies foreign interference on the nation's historical evolution and drive towards modernisation.

It is crucial to understand that perceived Japanese influences at Changdeok Palace consciously remind contemporary (South) Korean nationals of the bitter memory of Japan's hegemonic practices during its colonial occupation. This is not necessarily an intentional denial of history but a natural rejection in confronting or accepting memories of national shame associated with the colonisation of the Korean peninsular. Heritage, as a visual and psychological testimony of the nation's history, serves as a vehicle through which visitors reaffirm their emotional attachment to their nation by actively delineating 'them' from 'us' (see Chapter Two, Three and Five). By engaging with shared national memories at Changdeok, people realise their national sentiments and feelings of national belonging affected by the omnipresence of Japan as a 'significant (national) other'. Buildings and artefacts perceived to be affected by Japanese imperialism can serve as a reminder of Korea's national humiliation, even among younger generations who never directly experienced Japanese occupation. In this regard, it is crucial to consider the role of shared heritage through which people are able to imagine, contextualise and reconfigure their nation's past. The following comment by one visitor aptly clarifies this point:

> It does not matter where you live at present, whether it is Tokyo, Hong Kong, New York and Paris, or even little villages in Africa. If you identify yourselves as Korean, it means you share the same memories of the past. Only Koreans would feel ashamed of the remnants of Japan in certain parts of the palace... Only Koreans would appreciate and feel proud of our perseverance and integrity.... These feelings towards Japan show how strong our identity is [man in his late twenties].

Emotional expressions and reactions articulating anti-Japanese sentiment ensued when narratives inadvertently drew attention to Changgyeong Palace as a cross-reference to ways in which Japan significantly influenced Korea's royal palaces. In 1911, under Japanese colonial administration, Changgyeong Palace was converted into Changgyeongwon, a playground including a zoo, botanical garden and museum. The construction of a zoo and a botanical garden damaged and distorted the original layout and structure of the palace (Lee, Kyung-mee, 2000). Although the palace was restored to its original condition in 1983 the images of Changkyungwon prevailed, particularly amongst those who remember its existence. The following comments highlight that the conversion of Changgyeong Palace by the Japanese

colonial administration was deeply associated with Korea's loss of national pride and dignity. It is explicated that:

> At least Changdeok Palace was not a zoo! Setting up a zoo in the royal palace was a cruel intention of Japan, aiming at humiliating our nation and people. Japan was very cunning and crafty. They knew how important these palaces meant to us. The display of monkeys and snakes was made in the place where our king lived, the centre of our national pride. [man in his seventies]
>
> Although the Japanese tried to distort Changdeok Palace our other palaces had a worse time... Like the zoo at Changgyeong... When the decision to restore the Changgyeong Palace was made, some government people argued that a botanical garden and a zoo should be kept intact. It was infuriating to accept that these officials are my Korean brothers... Hmm... have they really forgotten how Changgyeongwon came into being at the cost of seriously damaging our royal palace?... hurting our national dignity! [man in his late fifties]

This point is also addressed during one friendly conversation with an elderly male visitor during a guided tour of the palace:

> Man: I don't know how old you are, but did you ever go to Changgyeongwon when you were young?
>
> Researcher: Yes, I did. The visit to Changgyeongwon was seen as the highlight of any visit to Seoul at that time. I bet a lot of people who lived outside Seoul felt the same as me.
>
> Man: But you were then probably too young to understand that this was a very painful scar on our history. It was intentionally made by Japan. Did you know about this?
>
> Researcher: I was not really made aware of this at the time.... Well, I was quite young. When I finally figured out what had been really going on I was very much shocked about it.
>
> Man: That's because you are Korean....of course you should have felt shocked and disgusted by what Japan did to us...but the problem is there are some people nowadays who easily forget about their national identity... this is so worrying. I do want them to experience some grief.

The older generations, who directly experienced Japan's occupation of Korea, more eagerly express individual-based feelings and emotional concerns towards their (historically-constructed) national enemy. Emotive sentiments arguably manifest deep-seated psychological attachments to the nation (see also Chapter Five). The lived colonial experiences of the older generations seemingly play a defining role in further strengthening the subjective elements of national consciousness, articulated within narratives which clearly delineate Japan as the exclusive 'national other', For instance:

It was an attempt not just to colonise but to Japanise Korea. They tried to eliminate everything Korean. We were forced to learn Japanese and worship at Japanese Shinto shrines. The worst thing, I reckon, was that we had to take Japanese names, which was absolutely humiliating. [woman in her late seventies]

We couldn't speak and write our own language. Can you imagine it? We had to forget who we were and brainwash ourselves that we were something different. It was the bitter sorrow of being colonised. [man in his eighties]

I can still vividly remember how frightened I was whenever I bumped into the Japanese policemen on my way back home from school. Although I didn't do anything wrong, I felt like they would take me to the police station and torture me cruelly... there were then so many horrible rumours going around in the village how cruel and inhumane the Japanese policemen were... when little kids didn't stop crying, people used to say that a Japanese policeman would come and get you if you continue crying, then those kids would go quiet in a second... [man in his seventies]

Japan tried every possible means to eradicate our cultural and national identity. Nobody could truly understand that situation if they had not been part of it...As a girl myself, I was so scared that I might be enlisted as a comfort woman. I remember my parents were very worried about me at that time. We badly wanted our country back. We just wanted to speak our language, sing our songs and celebrate our national commemorations... Our nation is like air or water... it is indispensable to our survival, but its significance is easily neglected or underestimated. [woman in her seventies]

As indicated in Chapter Three, despite ongoing political and diplomatic tensions between South Korea and Japan, social and cultural exchanges between the two nation-states are more constructive in recent years. Modernisation and culturally-oriented exports (e.g., Korean drama and films) help reassure a degree of national pride and maintain an international cultural profile. The unprecedented interest in Korean media and cultural industries is prevalent in Asian countries and Japan appears as one of the most impassioned followers of the 'Korean Wave' phenomenon (Choe, Hae-joang, 2005: 152). This sense of national confidence is reflected in a series of narratives, for instance:

Although this palace is a problem when it comes to the Japan issue, it seems true that we were in awe of Japan's remarkable economic and social development in the 70s and 80s, although we never wanted to admit it. Japan was a country far advanced than ours. But this is not in fact the case now. We have caught up with their developments at a speedy rate. They must be quite shocked and intimidated by our advances in technology and a whole range of other things. We are not what they used to think we were...not little or feeble anymore. [woman in her forties]

They occupied and controlled our country for 35 years, and you can see that here (*at Changdeok Palace*) a little bit too. But when I see Japanese people screaming and going crazy about Korean actors and singers on the television these days, it makes me smile and feel so fulfilled. The Korean Wave in Japan means much more than the growing popularity of the (*Korean*) entertainment business. It is the recognition of our

strength and potential, and Japan is now at the centre of all of this. [man in his late thirties]

Japan still has an influence on us.... like at the palace, and it is not generally that positive. Our children have been mad about playing Japanese electronic games and young students have preferred all their stationery made in Japan. More worrying is the uncensored explicit materials that has been illegally prevalent in Korea right now. It has been quite worrying in a sense... and in a way we have remained to be culturally colonised by Japan. But the recent upsurge of Korean wave in Japan seems to be rewarding for our country. [man in his early fifties]

When I look at all these Japanese women who go absolutely fanatical about Korean actors or singers, I feel thrilled ... we have always been one step behind them in our economy, foreign relations and culture. The dominance of Korean Wave in Japan and our economy, ah... you must know Samsung and LG are nowadays more recognised than Sony abroad... all of these things mean more than just a commercial success to us... we've regained our cultural and national pride back. We've proved ourselves to the outside world, most importantly to them (*the Japanese*). [woman in her forties]

Several narratives express positive feelings with regard to the recent reconciliatory mood of social exchange between the two nation-states, focusing on possibilities to readdress past animosities. For instance:

We need to write a new history over this issue with Japan. We cannot harbour hostility and hatred towards them for ever. I know it is very difficult to forget what happened to us but it is time to move forward... we are now living in the twenty-first century. [woman in her forties]

I've got a very close Japanese friend. We once openly talked about our country's problems. He willingly accepted that Japan should be more responsible for what happened in the past. I believe a lot of Japanese common people would feel like that. They are showing more interest in getting to know our culture and nation and we have to give them some credit for that. [man in his twenties]

The possibility of reconciling a history of conflict and generating positive relations between the two countries is advocated by Hong, Soon-min (2001: 35):

After the visit to Changdeok, Koreans would feel hostile and repulsive toward Japan who distorted and ruined their precious cultural heritage. It is a natural and humane response. However, we have to be careful about whom to blame. Japanese colonialism is one thing and Japan is another. Japanese colonialism was led by a minority of militants who were overtly keen on sprawling their colonial ambitions. Most of common Japanese are just the same as us.

When the conflict concerning ownership of the Dok-do islets and the alleged distortion of Japanese history textbooks came to light in recent years, deep-rooted distrust and national disappointment seemingly re-emerged (see Chapter Three). This heightened sense of

disappointment and infuriation is clearly revealed in a range of narratives. The following comments typify the general concerns raised:

> Heritage places need to raise awareness of the problems that the Japanese have caused us, and continue to cause us. Look at what is going on right now with Dok-do... We have to inform the outside world that Dok-do is our territory. We need to correct this untruth in what the Japanese claim and protect our national sovereignty. [man in his forties]
>
> We see at this place (*Changdeok*) how the Japanese tried to control us. They have always tried to control us, isn't 35 years enough? What more do they want from us?...on what grounds? They took our palaces and now they want Dok-do. This is unbelievable. [woman in her fifties]
>
> Changdeok Palace is our spirit and pride... and it's the same for most places. Look at Dok-do, well it is not just a tourist attraction to Koreans but a part of our nation. I cannot really understand why they (*Japanese*) try to keep on attacking our pride. What will they achieve out of this? [woman in her thirties]
>
> However hard each of us pretends we are only okay on a surface level, there is something that never fully glues us together. We are like oil and water, they may stay in the same bottle but it will never mix up. The issues over Dok-do, the textbooks and the comfort women will be always there. When our people visit here (*Changdeok Palace*), what they did to us in the past will be always reminded. Remaining together in the same bottle is then an impossible task. It turns to a very dangerous mixture when fire is around. [man in his forties]

Whilst encountering shared social memories of Japanese colonialism at Changdeok Palace, Japan's crucial role as a 'significant other' is clearly defined in the construction and maintenance of South Korean national consciousness. The palace thus allows nationals to remonstrate against the colonial legacy of Japanese colonialism and revisit Japan's role as a national enemy. Yet in doing so, this heritage setting further symbolises its critical function in restructuring the Korean nation beyond the boundaries of the South Korean state, especially as the narratives point to the symbolic significance of shared memories of Japanese colonial rule, collectively endured by Korean nationals.

Perceiving North Korea: Reconstructing Nationhood Agendas

In South Korea, anti-communism was popularly emphasised as a governing ideology of the state until the late 1980s, where any perceived communist-based violation was regarded as a serious threat to national security (Yim, Hak-soon, 2002). As was maintained in Chapter three, state education (e.g., history textbooks) and the South Korean media were eager to construct populist discourses of exclusion in order to differentiate 'South Koreans' from 'North

Koreans' (Hart, 2000; Chung, Pei-chi, 2000; Lee, Chi-seok, 2005). This point is illustrated in a range of visitor comments, for instance:

> You know...we used to think of North Korean leaders as wolves in red military uniforms...I mean those illustrations in our history books in elementary school... when you think about it, they are quite appalling... we were taught to believe North Korea was our real enemy. [woman in her thirties]
>
> We were, in a way, forced to believe that there did not exist any common people like us in North Korea... it was a frozen land where all cold-blooded and inhumane communists plotted a conspiracy to destroy our innocent people... all the books, newspapers and television were always telling us how bad they were. [man in his forties]
>
> When I was very young I used to think myself that to be a patriot for my country was to save poor North Korean people from the communist regime...because you had always been forced to believe that this regime was bad ... if you had thought of any positive points about North Korea, you could have ended up being in too much trouble. It was like a taboo...nobody dared to know the real truth. We had to just believe what we were told. [man in his fifties]
>
> It was quite bad at one point between us and them but you know it is all changing now. We are mending our ways and trying to see things clearer and that they are not really bad people. Basically, we just had different circumstances and that is because of governments and foreign involvement... the Americans played there part as usual. [man in his late twenties]
>
> We all had to write an essay every year at elementary school usually for an essay competition with the theme of anti-communism... the top prize usually went to the one where sheer hatred towards the North Korean gongsandang (*communist*) was really expressed... I remember writing how much we (*South Koreans*) love peace and humanity as opposed to nasty North Koreans... you must remember that slogan, 'smash up gongsandang!'...it was everywhere then, wasn't it? [women in her late thirties]

Visitors generally highlight that negative images of North Korea and its people were actively employed in state-driven discourses. Deep-rooted distrust and hostility towards North Korea implicitly encourages South Korean nationals to redefine themselves in opposition to North Korea as a rather divisive 'significant other', pertinently illustrated in nationalist discourses, educational agendas and populist narratives. Nonetheless, at one level there remains a certain level of distrust towards North Korea. Mrs Kwon (tour guide and key informant) expresses:

> The North has constantly attempted to disturb the peace of our country. We are the same people fundamentally. Then why did this happen?... difference in politics ...because of it we had to put the gun at each other's heart...sometimes your own blood turned to an enemy and we all have to live with that scar and guilt...the common people in North Korea are just like us. They are not responsible for the situation. It is a small group of people in the higher ranks that need to get blamed.

Similarly, a male visitor in his late fifties states:

> Differences in ideological stance between the two Koreas took so many innocent people's lives... The general public in North Korea has been brainwashed and deceived by a minority of individuals. They are victims who are bullied and exploited by bloody-thirsty bbalgaeingees (*'reds'- communists*).

One female visitor in her fifties claims:

> They (*North Koreans*) are definitely victims of the power game... we are both victims of our sad history. These people are our sisters and brothers who just happened to live in the north of this country. Like us, they did not know what communism and democracy meant and where that division could lead to... It was not our choice to quarrel with each other.

One implicit theme that emerged from ethnographic narratives strongly indicates that North Korea is still regarded as a threatening force to the national security and long-term peace in the Korean peninsular, but the source of culpability lies more with a small number of elites who administer the country as opposed to North Koreans as a whole. In Chapter Three, it is clearly noted that such cultural characteristics as language, blood ties, shared history and national consciousness serve as essential 'ethnic markers' of Korean identity (Feffer, 2003). The focus on the homogeneous nature of Korean society is also evident in a range of narratives asserting the importance of the conceptual significance of 'tanil minjok' (see especially Chapter Five).

The following visitor comments informatively typify ways in which Changdeok Palace is perceived to represent Korea as a whole nation:

> The palace is all about the Korean nation, about us.... Obviously you get some foreign influences like from the Japanese, but North Korea is not a foreigner to us. Regardless of all the problems we have had, there is one fact that still is and will be true forever...we are one people, we come from the same ancestors and we were one nation sharing the same culture and tradition, and we are still speaking the same language. [man in his thirties]

> Just because mostly people of Korea (*South Korea*) visit this palace that is not to say that it is just for people from the south. They (*North Koreans*) are like a troublesome brother. You may not like his attitude and behaviour but you cannot help but love him deep down in your blood. At the end of the day, he is part of you. However hard you might try, you can never be completely disconnected from him... that is the destiny imposed on us, I think. [women in her thirties]

> I think this palace is for all Koreans regardless of who lives in which part (*North or South*). I know that many (*North*) Koreans can't make it here because of the problems

with the border and how it stops people getting in. I reckon that the message of this palace is that it is for all of Korea. There is no border here at all. We eat the same things, talk the same, look the same... and in many ways we will think the same... not about certain things like governments, politics and things like that, but things that non-Koreans wouldn't understand. Yes, this palace is a history for all of us. [man in his thirties]

It is a shame when you see the Chinese tourists here, the Japanese, the Americans and all these people from different countries coming here, especially when you do not see North Koreans. I think you will get the odd few officials that come to Seoul and that's only recently too. To be honest they have every right to come here and share this with us, every right. I hope this will change one day. You know my mum came from North Korea and she still has family there. Why should my family be stopped from coming here, and why should I be stopped from going to one of their visitor places. [women in her forties]

There is a proverb in Korea saying that when your cousin buys a land you get a sudden stomach ache... I think they (*North Koreans*) feel jealous of us because our situations are much better than theirs. People do feel jealous of their family members, particularly brothers and sisters... North Korea is just like us. They eat the same food, speak the same language and share the same cultural things. There are no real differences to us. [man in his sixties]

How painful to think that we cannot fully appreciate our mutual past (*with North Korea*) because of the political disputes. So this place is very important because it is all about our whole history as one nation. When this palace flourished our nation was one not half. This was the place where our kings spent hours to look after our country's business, including the whole of Korea from Bakdusan (*Bakdu Mountain, the highest mountain in the Korean peninsular located in North Korea*) to Hallasan (*Halla Mountain, located in Cheju Island lying south of the Souh Korean coastline*)... We were, are, and will be, the same people sharing the same past. [man in his forties]

In the same vein, Ms Hong (key informant and tour guide) explicates:

> We have regarded Japan and North Korea as our major national enemy. But it should always be noted that there is a significant difference between us and Japan... different race and culture, things like this. Whereas North Korea is part of us...we are of one origin.

The emphasis on a single ethnic and cultural entity is articulated in order to verify the fact that Korea is one nation for North and South Koreans. Changdeok Palace thus serves the purpose of encouraging South Koreans to imagine Korea as one national entity. Mr Yoon (palace custodian and key informant) is keen on explaining how perceptions of North Korea changed over the period of time since he first started his career as a guardian of cultural heritage, explicating:

> You do not hold that hostility towards North Korea when you are surrounded by all these cultural assets of our country. Here, I see it (*North Korea*) as part of me and us.

> This palace was built and arranged by us together as was the same with other places at that time...we should not discriminate against North Korea, at least within places like this... I would be so upset if North Korea insisted that the old tombs of the Gokurye Kingdom are their own cultural heritage. When China made a claim that some remains of Gokurye were part of their cultural heritage, I bet North Koreans were as infuriating and resentful as we were... they belong to us all.

Changdeok Palace provides a seemingly neutral setting where the two Koreas can be imagined, reconstructed and negotiated as one people and one nation. Likewise, the identification of North Korea as part of the wider nation and the nation's imagination is clearly demonstrated in the comments of several tour guides. According to Ms Jeon (tour guide), for instance:

> When asked whether or not Joseon Kingdom was only related to the history of South Korea by foreign visitors, I always clearly explain that we were then one country without the division. North Korea and South Korea were one entity within this palace. It is quite surprising that people do not seem to realise the history of division is not that long.

Mrs Kim (tour guide) also elucidates:

> This place (*Changdeok Palace*) is clear proof of what connects North and South Korea. People say that both Koreas have gone far away from each other over all these years. They speak quite differently from us although we share the same language and there are things that make us think we are quite remote from each other... But this place is proof that shows we were then one country. It is so important because it reminds us and people from the outside world that our destiny is one nation. This is not just the heritage of South Korea but the heritage of Korea as a whole.

The researcher records a discussion between two informants, Mrs Yoon and Mrs Kwon, and Ms Kim, who was generally asked by the two informants to reflect on her past year's experience as a new tour guide. In her response, Ms Kim informatively discusses her experience with North Korean visitors:

> Last year (in 2005), I had a chance to guide a special group of North Korean visitors. Before the tour commenced, I briefly talked to them in the waiting area. At first, I was very much surprised with the fact that they were speaking Korean. I have known the fact that they share the same cultural roots with us. But when I actually saw them using our language, I was very touched and felt quite close to them... The topic of their conversation was Joseon's history and its famous kings. They were talking about Korean history, which was just as identical to mine. During the tour, they ask fairly similar questions which (*South Korean*) visitors normally ask. By the time the tour was finished, I felt nothing different to them. My other colleagues asked how it went and my first response was, 'They are the same, you don't feel any difference really'.

Ms Kim further admits that she subconsciously felt that North Korea was a different and disparate nation to South Korea. However, the experience of guiding a group of North Korean officials encourages her to realise many similarities such as the fact that they speak 'Han-gul' (한글 - *Korean language*), eat 'Kimchi' (김치 - *Korean national dish: pickled vegetables*) and are very much aware of the 'Kiwa-jib' (기와집 - *traditional Korean house*). Recognition of the intrinsic cultural affinities inherent between the two Koreas is arguably of crucial significance in strengthening emotional attachments to the Korean nation, and thus is clear a manifestation of national identity.

Images of North Korea as a 'significant other' are still imminent in ideological and political discourses, but yet appear to be less potent in contexts where cultural representations are socially articulated. Therefore, the Changdeok experience can enable individuals to imagine both nation-states as a single entity. Encountering the nation's shared memories in one unified time-space can seemingly encourage South Koreans to realise and reassure themselves of the essential cultural, ethnic and racial associations existing between the two nation-states.

Westernisation and National Reflection

The influence of western culture in contemporary South Korean society is prevalent in recent decades (Han, Kyung-koo. 2003). Seoul's economic and cultural transformation, for instance, is elaborated upon in a range of visitor narratives. One woman in her sixties, who visited Seoul after thirty years of living in America, emotionally remarks on ways in which this city dramatically changed:

> It has been thirty or so years since I have visited Seoul. For me, Seoul has gone through enormous changes during those years. In my memory, Seoul was gloomy and filled with the harsh reality of a difficult future. Areas like Cheongryangri and Wangsipri in the north of Seoul were so underdeveloped. Life seemed to be an endless suffering...but Seoul was then more humane and down-to-earth. Now, these areas are totally rejuvenated with modern and sleek buildings, and a convenient transportation system...unbelievable...we had to pinch ourselves to see if all this were real and not in our dreams. Seoul has been totally facelifted...but we do miss something that this city hasn't got now, don't we?

One man in his late sixties also identifies a similar impression regarding the changing profile of Seoul, maintaining:

> I have witnessed radical changes in Seoul since the Korean War. Personally I do not like the present image of Seoul as a high-tech metropolis... I feel unfamiliar with all

these skyscrapers, modern and spectacular buildings, and so on. Seoul is more and more like a robot city. It rarely has anything authentic or truly Korean. The outlook for Seoul at this moment is nothing different from what is going on in Singapore and Tokyo...these mega cities... I must admit though that this place (*Changdeok Palace*) does have some real Korean aspects, and this really helps. But I should say I am very ashamed of the way Seoul is becoming too westernised and over-developed. I suppose I am proud of my country, but it is very upsetting for me to see all these things from other countries all around us these days... things that are not Korean... It is all very worrying, you know.

Although the economic achievements of Seoul are highly acclaimed, the dominance of western cultural influences and the rise of ultra-modern developments are perceived to be a clear breach with Korea's (pre-modern) national past (Lee, Dong-yeon, 2004). In an interview with two female university students in their early twenties, deep concern over the socio-cultural transformations inherent in the structural fabric of South Korean society is clearly expressed:

> Woman 1: Seoul has become a huge metropolitan city, flooded with high-tech developments and western culture. Young people on the streets of Seoul seem to be exactly identical with those who live in Tokyo, Hong Kong and New York. You can see it in terms of fashion, trends and lifestyles, and, and so on...what can you think is so special about Seoul and its people...very difficult to come up with good examples, isn't it?
>
> Woman 2: Yes, this is right. If you show foreigners a photo of a young couple having, let's say, a western-style brunch, dressed in world-renowned designer clothes, in a posh restaurant in Apkujeong-dong or Cheongdam-dong, they will not figure out where in the world the couple lives. Those places have simply lost their connection with anything Korean... But any picture of this place (*Chandgeok*) should definitely show up as Korea, obviously if they are aware of Korean architecture... Well, yes, they may not say Korea straight away, but they will know it is far eastern. But with the photograph of western clothes, they really wouldn't know.

Mr Yoon expresses his deep concern, claiming:

> ...this may sound a bit aggressive, but I strongly feel all the Western tourists who are interested in discovering Korean culture and heritage should not fix Seoul as the first destination in their itinerary. It would be disappointing to their whole experience.... They might think Korea just came into being a few decades ago, so there is nothing old or historical in it...the history of our country is over five thousand years...who can see this fact in Seoul?

Some visitor narratives reflect that the existence of Changdeok Palace is a blissful antidote to the modern landscape of Seoul (see also Chapter Seven). One visitor, for instance, emphasises that:

> Seoul is saturated with high skyscrapers and glitzy neon signs. Everything looks new and modern...hyper-modern. I do not think a lot of foreigners would be attracted to Seoul, but the existence of the Changdeok Palace at its heart is such a blessing to Seoul. The recent restoration of Cheonggyecheon[2] also can help establish old images of Seoul. [man in his thirties]

The symbolic and spiritual value of Changdeok Palace in contrast to the modern city of Seoul is further elaborated upon in the remarks and responses of visitors and the palace staff, for instance:

> It is a great relief that we still keep this place in Seoul. This is the place where we all feel we can share who we really are and where we have come from...if we ever lose this place, we will give up being Korean... [man in his seventies].

> How blessed we are to have this place in the middle of the city! How wonderful the palace is to reassure us of who we are in the midst of this very, very modern city, with all these changes going on...It is just such a great relief to us. [Mrs Kwon, tour guide]

> Actually, you cannot just blame the youngsters for their lack of national awareness. The images and scenes of Seoul aggravate the whole situation... This palace can help them and us think about our Korean existence and can inform us that we are not just a ultra-modern society...we have traditions and we have our culture... yes, we have things in the past that we can look back on in order to help us know ourselves...because you can't really do that when you have all these high-tech buildings and plazas, that are not fundamentally Korean, are they? [woman in her forties].

In understanding the symbolic dynamics and social potency of Changdeok Palace as a national site perceived to be imbued with cultural and historical significance, South Korean nationals are able to rediscover and reappreciate their primordial characteristics and historical circumstances. It can thus be suggested that sustaining the nation's cultural associations are at the core of maintaining a sense of Koreanness, particularly at a time of rapid socio-cultural change and the increasing influx of globalised culture.

Younger generations are open to criticism from older generations who suggest that such generations are becoming unaware of, and uninterested in, shared national memories and national sentiment, mainly as a consequence of the social appeal of western cultures and products. The following narratives typify this point:

> We have achieved an economic wealth and prosperity at such a quick pace, you know. But because of this we gradually lose a sense of our Koreanness ... Young people have a big craving for Western products and lifestyles. They even try to look more western, dyeing their hair in western colours, doing cosmetic surgery to heighten their nose and make their eyes look bigger... all the girls on television look fairly the same...absolutely disgusting. They are spending all their time on these silly things at

the expense of being really happy in who they are, contented with their own race and their own identity. [woman in her forties]

You must have heard about this young man who has been through twenty-eight cosmetic surgeries to become a television star...this issue has been very controversial in the media...I cannot believe this is happening in my country... [man in his fifties]

Some young people, not all though, because my grandchildren are quite different...but some youths, well they are caught up in what the West has to offer and what it has that the East doesn't really have. It is a shame because we need this generation to really think about being Korean and being happy about being Korean. Happiness with your own identity is so important, but obviously not for quite a few of our youths today. [women in her sixties]

Even though outer appearances are becoming more and more different, the inner-self remains the same... Dyeing hair and wearing the western-style outfits can change what we look like but it cannot fundamentally change who we are...our nature will be always the same... [man in his forties]

It is the inner-spirits that count... We are Koreans, not Japanese, Chinese or American....this small land in the far-eastern corner of the Asia is our homeland... [man in his thirties]

Mr Yoon expresses his concern with regard to some of the issues raised above:

> These days, everybody seems to be crazy about their appearances. They spend hours and hours working on their bodies to become 'Momjjang' (*a knockout-body*). Many use cosmetic surgery to be a lot younger than what they are. But not enough attention seems to be paid to improving their character, which is really concerning and worrying.

The above comments rather delicately call for a sustained emphasis on the need to maintain a clear sense of identity, which transcends influences that are not perceived to be imbued with traditional values and meanings. Appropriately, some elderly female visitors express concerns relating to the changing role of women in contemporary South Korean society. One woman in her seventies expresses aversion to ways in which young people are insensitive to traditional values and norms. She explicates:

> Young people do not appreciate anything that is old and slightly outdated. It is deplorable that I cannot fully agree or understand my granddaughter's attitude. We hardly finish watching a television programme these days without an argument. I do not like the ways in which young professional women are portrayed in soap operas and films. They change their boyfriends like they change their clothes. They shout at their husbands during arguments. I am happy for what they have achieved in enhancing women's rights. But some values should remain unchanged.

One female visitor in her sixties expresses similar concerns, stating:

> I really don't want my daughters or granddaughters to lead their lives as I used to. I feel proud of such women as Kang, Keum-sil (*the first female Minister of Justice*) and so many others who have proved that women are just as bright and capable as men... We live in Korea not in America. Some young women seem to be very confused about who they are....They regard old things as unfashionable... It makes me frown to look at them getting dressed and behaving as if they were westerners.

The concerns raised here deeply relate to ways in which a westernised value-system is pervasive in South Korean society. Accordingly, the 'western (significant) other' is thought to endanger values and meanings associated with Koreanness, or what is perceived to be traditionally Korean. Although the recent social achievements of young career women in contemporary South Korean society is understood as representing a modern meritocratic society, their perceived indulgence in western forms of consumerism is viewed by older generations to be a social menace to the norms and mores of conventional ideologies associated with pre-modern lifestyles.

Continuing links with the past are seemingly viewed as a form of social stability in a rapidly changing society. One man in his forties maintains:

> Some people claim that sticking to the past could spoil the present...but I do not agree with it... We cannot be here without our past. I always think of the past as a compass which directs us to a better present and future. Some lessons from the past should be kept in order to make the present and future more prosperous and promising for us.

However, the nationalist sentiments of the younger generations, provoked by such salient events as national sport activities (see especially Chapter Five), counteract popular criticism concerning their diluted sense of national consciousness. The researcher is keen on exploring emotive-based perceptions of the younger generation, particularly articulations of national consciousness and belonging. For instance:

> I am not that nationalistic, I suppose. Well...to be really honest, I wasn't that willing to come to this palace at the beginning...there are a lot of exciting places out there...visiting the old palace seemed to be boring and dull. I thought that the palaces are for the old people like my granddad. To be absolutely honest with you, I have kind of enjoyed it...well I suppose I shouldn't really say that I enjoyed it, but it has certainly been an educational experience to me, to know more about my country. I will come again but first I must go and see the other palaces in Seoul. I can then compare my experience with what I have learnt here. [man in his early twenties]

> I used to come and visit the royal palaces as a school trip when I was in elementary school. It was not my will but something we had to do. The palaces to me were a place where I could take some nice photos and eat a lunchbox on the grass...I did not regard any of my visits as meaningful... But this visit...my first voluntary visit

really...has changed my prejudices regarding the royal palaces...they are not boring...actually quite enlightening for me. [woman in her late teens]

Several years ago, or may be even two years ago, I would not have come to these sorts of places. I would be more interested in going to Seoul to go shopping or spend time in the bars and restaurants, not to waste time looking around big places like this. Well, this is how I thought. But I thought I should at least come and see for myself. So today I had a little spare time and was in the area, so I thought why not come and visit. Well, well it has been a good experience for me I must say. The tour guide seems to know what she is on about and the various rooms and things have been very interesting. It has given me a different picture of Korean history that I never really thought about before. [man in his early twenties]

I came here (*Changdeok Palace*) because I was thinking I will go with my parents to make them happy. You know what it is like with parents, you have to do this kind of thing now and again.... to show willingness really and to have a day out with them. My mother is really into this kind of thing. I would say she is quite obsessed with visiting old places. To be honest, at first I felt that it was going to be an unexciting experience. After a while though I got into it and it was appealing. It was sad in some places to see that the past was so important because I never saw it that way... I suppose it is because I have always looked to the future... Yes, I would go and visit other palaces and museums as well, especially as I have now been here. [woman in her twenties]

The actual experience of Changdeok Palace seemingly provides young visitors with invaluable opportunities to counteract stereotypical perceptions concerning the lack of social worth of heritage institutions. In her student essay, Jeong, Se-ah writes:

> I thought the visits to the old palaces are not a very fashionable pursuit for young people. In fact, to visit a royal palace would be viewed as a source of ridicule by my peers. However, I think it is a truly educational and comforting experience. The visitor experience is indeed a learning experience...

Older individuals tend to accept that in their younger years they too had a general lack of empathy for heritage sites, but over time there was a gradual realisation that such places were educationally enriching, enabling them to understand and become accustomed to their own sense of Koreanness. The following narratives typify this observation:

> Well... I thought Korean traditional music and culture was very boring and weird when I was young. But once I happened to have a drink in a traditional tea house in Insa-dong and enjoyed some traditional Korean music. I am increasingly getting more interested in things about this country as I get older [man in his forties].

> As a little school child, I used to adore some classmates who took piano or ballet lessons. In late 60s and early 70s, these things were very middle class and for those from good educational backgrounds. There were a couple of friends of mine who learned Pansori (*one type of traditional music)* and Korean dancing. As young boys, we used to make fun of them, mimicking the sound of Pansori and exaggerating some

> steps and movements of Korean dancing. It all looked so unfashionable to me, quite stupid really. I believed that only my granddad and his friends who could do it properly. But I cannot really remember since when...maybe after turning to my early thirties was when I became a bit more open-minded towards it all... My children are now crazy about pop stars like Britney spears and Lee Hyo-ri, so many other names which I cannot even remember. They wouldn't watch the traditional Korean music show for one minute. But I am not that worried about this as I think they will change when they are older, like I have done [man in his early forties].

However, some young people are indeed very positive about Korean traditional culture and heritage. The following two narratives illustrate this point:

> I am in the final year of university now. So when I look back on how I have changed in the last three years of my life, it has been quite remarkable. Like other people in my age group, I used to adore western culture as a teenager. I liked pizza and hamburgers than kimchi and samkyupsal. When our family ever dined out, me and my brother's last choice was Korean restaurants. We also loved to go to Hof or cafes with friends ...but I am recently keen on going for Korean-type things... [woman in her early twenties]

> Some of my friends make organised trips to museums and heritage places on a regular basis. We even title these interests as, 'In search of our old paths'... They are just like me, they used to regard visits to old places as boring and unstylish, but we have changed a lot over the last couple of years. I cannot really figure out what has made us change like this...we probably just cannot help feeling more attached to things that represent Korea I suppose. [woman in her twenties]

Notwithstanding a barrage of criticism from older generations concerning young people's westernised appearances and lifestyles, it is clearly emphasised that the younger generations can become significantly aware of their culture and tradition. Heritage tourism experiences can thus play a facilitating role in encouraging young people to encounter the essence of nationhood, reassuring individuals of their intimate and emotional connections to their nation (see also Chapter Five).

Conclusion

As the most obvious 'significant other' in the consciousness of South Korean nationals, Japan is clearly engrained in historical narratives and contemporary representations of Changdeok Palace. Shared memories of Japanese colonialism evoked within the palace encourage visitors to reassess their sense of national belonging. Here, heritage, as a visual and psychological testimony of nationality and national identification, serves as a vehicle through which visitors are able to reaffirm their emotional attachments to their 'sentient and felt history'. The process of rethinking the colonial legacy, however, differs in relation to ways in which the

past should be represented, whether in terms of positively accepting the past or in terms of limiting representations of Japan. Nevertheless, perceptions of Japan as a 'national (significant) other' inform South Korean nationals of their colonial past, reminding them of ways in which their sense of nationhood is constructed and reconstructed in the heritage setting.

Despite past negative images and perceptions of North Korea as an essential 'significant (national) other', palace visits enable South Koreans to reassure themselves of their innate cultural and racial affinity with North Korea. Accordingly, Changdeok Palace has a productive effect in that it encourages South Korean nationals to further envisage Korea as a single entity.

The recent influx of Western (globalised) cultural influence, epitomised by the upsurge of material values and commercialised practices, is popularly perceived as a danger to traditional values. Nonetheless, people's perceptions of westernised forms of cultural and economic production enable individuals to reflect on their own sense of Koreannes. Despite the ability of non-traditional forms of culture to divert people's attention away from understanding (and engaging with) the pre-modern past, individuals are able to perceive the cultural site of Changdeok Palace as an immortal memento of their national identity and belonging. In conclusion, heritage tourism experiences in Changdeok Palace play a facilitating role in encouraging younger generations as well as older generations to realise and (re)appreciate their intimate and inseparable connections to the Korean nation and its people.

Notes

(1) Lady Lee Bang-ja was a member of the Japanese royal family whose Japanese name was Masako Nashimotomiya.

(2) The Cheonggyecheon (*Cheonggye Stream*) was an important lifeline for the people in Seoul from the 14th century. It was covered with tarmac during the 1950s in order to extend land for building construction. However, as a consequence of Seoul's regeneration policy, which represents a shift from an economic development approach to one that is more environmentally sustainable, the tarmac has recently been removed and Cheonggyecheon has been restored to its original conditions (Jul. 2003- Dec. 2005), under the authority of the former mayor of Seoul, Lee, Myung-bak.

Chapter Seven

Changdeok's Role in Reproducing Auspicious (National) Encounters and Experiences

Introduction

The main intention of this chapter is to discuss ways in which the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace serves as a social space where individuals can seemingly experience symbolic inversions within the context of everyday life. A substantial emphasis is placed on illustrating the extraordinary nature of the Changdeok experience, which differentiates itself from the world outside, i.e., the modern and contemporary environment of Seoul. The symbolic significance of Changdeok as an antidote to modern life appears to be a salient feature of the heritage tourism experience. It is thus necessary to understand this experience in comparison to the nature of Seoul as a global metropolis.

Importantly, the discussion suggests that visits to Changdeok enable people to experience a sense of 'communitas' (Turner and Turner, 1978), manifested as intense (nationalistic) feelings shared with other members of the tour group. Here, it is expected that tour guides' narratives within the guided tours may contribute to the quality of the visitor experience, particularly in relation to the surreal and extraordinary nature of the heritage encounter.

Despite an observed distinction between the work contexts ('everyday life') and tourism contexts ('out-of-everyday life'), it is indicated that palace staff actually regard work as an opportunity to experience sacred and sublime moments, while still remaining within their daily work contexts. For both visitors and palace staff, experiences of Changdeok are seemingly related to the process of realising and assuring intensified feelings of national belonging. Therefore, the unique heritage and natural setting of the palace arguably enables South Korean nationals to enhance their emotional bonds to the Korean nation as well as each other.

Changdeok as a Special Workplace Environment

As indicated in Chapter One, tourism enquiries have traditionally drawn attention to the conceptual differences between work (everyday life) and tourism (out-of-everyday life)

(MacCanell, 1978; Lett, 1983; Graburn, 1989). The narratives of palace staff indicate that their own work provides them with opportunities to experience sacred and sublime inversions on a fairly regular basis. MacCanell's (1978) claim that the search for an authentic experience is a difficult task in our modern (inauthentic) life seems to be rather misplaced within the context of this study. Narratives substantially emphasise ways in which the work setting is peculiarly unique. The following two narratives typify this point:

> Everyday I feel I am like a time-machine where I go back to a forgotten kingdom of the past. I feel like I am being separated from the present world and redirected towards a place where I feel like a completely different person. Here I can keep some distance from all the problems of daily life [Mrs Jeong].

> When I am on duty for a night shift, I have a chance of walking around the palace. It is a bit scary sometimes, I do not mean about possible ghosts and things like that. There is some indescribable aura that the palace creates... you get overwhelmed by the whole experience. You feel everything surrounding you seems so surreal. I ask myself: 'What on earth am I doing here?' I am so lucky to have those special moments while I am at work... [Mr Yoon]

Given the fact that the work concept is understood as a major element of routined daily life, perceptions of the workplace environment as being separate from the mundane realms of everyday life are rather inimitable. Drawing upon the location of Changdeok Palace (centre of Seoul), Ms Koh, a newly appointed tour guide in 2004, explicates the extraordinary nature of her workplace environment:

> This *(Changdeok)* is located in our daily domain. It is not located in far away mountains or remote countryside villages. It is at the heart of our modern capital, where we all get trapped to survive on a daily basis. I never thought I could feel this sense of freedom here during my work. How lucky I am to work here, being surrounded by all the old trees and beautiful buildings. Sometimes I feel bored within the *(tour guide)* office, but as soon as the tour starts I get drawn deep inside of the palace. I feel I free from all the stress in my life.

In the same vein, Ms Hong explains the auspicious nature of her work. She claims:

> At least in my work, I encounter our heritage and history daily. To experience something special during the work is such a precious gift. This work means something more than making a living.

Mr Kim provides an interesting narrative suggesting that his work also embodies a special dimension, further implying that the sublime experience of work life has a crucial role to play in sustaining intense feelings of job satisfaction. He maintains:

> When I am outside the palace, my job is not that highly-regarded. But as long as I am here, I do not feel envious of any jobs that people have. While I am at work, I

> experience some cathartic feelings. Everyday I am entitled to get away from all the hustle and bustle of everyday chores out there outside the palace grounds. What types of jobs can allow you to do this?

His point is concurrent with Mrs Kwon's claim that the value of her work is not just gauged by her monthly salary. She states:

> How lucky I am... This palace is my workplace...How many people in Seoul are entitled to have a work environment such as this? When I stroll around the area of Huwon, before and after opening times, I nearly forget all the problems of the busy world outside. I feel all refreshed and free...maybe this is closely related to the significance of visiting the palace very regularly... The important point is that this place is a part of our everyday life...you do not need to go to remote mountain villages or religious shrines to experience special and different moments... Yes, it is not just about money and things like that. It is something much more.

This narrative implies that work embodies a journey which reflects enlivened feelings of emancipation from rather onerous work-tasked environments, a journey situated in an almost timeless context detached from normal elements associated with urban modernity. Furthermore, the working environment at Changdeok Palace grants an opportunity for palace staff to share collective memories of the nation's past as evident in the guided tours. During an evening meal, the researcher, accompanied by Mrs Yoon and Mrs Kwon, notes one conversation which clearly illustrates the issues raised above:

> Mrs Yoon: When I look up at the sky in Huwon or sit down in the back garden of Nakseonjae, I do feel I am thousands of kilometers away from all the problems of my life. My work is sometimes an escape from my hard life, I reckon anyway.
>
> Mrs Kwon: Yes, you are right. When you forget about all the trivial bits and bobs within the office, the work itself is so rewarding in many ways. Not to mention the mental fulfilment but also the actual *(physical)* exercise you get during the tours. People pay a lot of money to go to the gym to work out, but we do not need to do this in our job... as you get exercise all the time here...
>
> Mrs Yoon: Maybe that's why all the guides are fairly slim...emm... we can do a lot of things while at work...enjoying the beautiful scenery, breathing fresh air, gaining knowledge about our history and heritage, as well as doing daily exercise... to be honest, our work space was once only limited to a number of privileged people *(royal families)*...this fact always makes me feel a bit special in my work.
>
> Mrs Kwon: .... To appreciate who I am and where I come from is rare and unusual, but this job is all about that.... That is my belief anyway. People pay a lot to find all this out, but we get paid for doing it...very lucky.

Another tour guide, Mrs Jeong, also places significant emphasis on the seemingly surreal nature of her work-based tasks, stating:

> Last year, I had some complex issues to deal with at home, in my family. Coming to work was, to me, a sort of an escape from all of them. When I sat down in Huwon enjoying the warm sunlight and the breeze, I felt in a way kind of numb... you know distant from my problems...yes...what I mean is I felt numb about all the issues I then had in my life... although I knew I had to go back home and deal with them, having bits of rest here and there was a real relief for me...

Changdeok's Role in Facilitating Symbolic Experiences

In general, visitors' narratives display elements of surprise concerning the fact that Changdeok Palace, though situated in the centre of Seoul, is a place exuding elements of separation from the everyday context of urban life. This is certainly noticeable by the way in which the palace is environmentally distinct from modern Seoul and the surrounding buildings. The contrasting components inherent in the dichotomy of work (everyday) and tourism (out-of-everyday) are seemingly reflected within the heritage tourism experience of Changdeok, which invokes certain degrees of social transition but within the wider context of daily life. The following visitor narratives exemplify this issue:

> It is like coming into a different world. I cannot believe I am still in the heart of Seoul feeling like this. Look at all these trees (*pointing to the trees in the Huwon*)...this is a real forest...it is just within a stone's throw from where I work... [man in his forties]
>
> People need to escape from the on and off modern stresses. But we feel we have to go to far places to have that kind of experiences. Not many people would realise that we have this hidden gem just next to us, where we can actually do this...near our home and near where we work. [woman in her fifties]
>
> We dream of stepping out daily life in order to experience something different, meaningful and invigorating. I felt all those feelings throughout the tour. It is marvelous to realise that this place is in our own zone, if you know what I mean. [woman in her thirties]

In a similar vein, Mrs Kim, delineates the secluded atmosphere of Changdeok Palace as one of its most inimitable attributes:

> The atmosphere of this place makes my sense of direction feel completely paralysed... You do not have many chances in Seoul to feel absolutely hassle-free and de-stressed. It is an enclave within a busy city but so different. I feel a bit lost at times.

Palace custodian, Mr Kang, also maintains that the Changdeok experience, irrespective of its central location, encourages visitors to feel de-stressed from the monotony of ordinary life, stating:

> All of a sudden, people realise that this is located in the centre of a big city, especially when they look out at all the modern buildings and houses along the palace wall when

> they are on their way out of the place. I think visitors must feel that they travelled to a far and remote place. When they leave, they check the time *(on their watches)* to remind them of things they have to do at home, school, or at work.

Visitors indicate that the heritage and natural setting that they encountered during their visits are also quite distinct from home life. One male visitor in his early twenties describes how different his experience is compared to the habitual nature associated with familiar patterns of behaviour. He declares:

> I know as soon as I leave this place I will go back to normal... I will probably go get a can of coke from the 24-hour convenience store across the road and listen to hip-hop music downloaded on my MP3. I will then go back home on the subway and spend some time surfing on the internet...

One female visitor in her late fifties explains:

> Well this place is different to my life.... Yes, as soon as I get out of this place *(Changdeok)* I will immediately jump into the same patterns I am used to. Maybe I will stop by the supermarket to get some food stuff for dinner on my way back home. After dinner, I will go for a little walk with my dog in the playground of my apartment complex. I will then watch the news or a drama and then go to bed ...

The secluded atmosphere of this heritage setting illustrates that visits to Changdeok Palace can seemingly enable individuals to escape from the mundane patterns of daily life. In her student essay, Kim, Se-na relates the general atmosphere and experience of her palace visit to a range of pre-modern, traditional and authentic attributes. She writes:

> I watched a TV documentary on Huwon entitled: 'The Four Seasons of Huwon'. It was very difficult to believe that this kind of special space exists in Seoul, our rather chaotic capital. I desperately wanted to examine the genuineness of this fact with my own eyes... To my surprise, the inner-world of Changdeok Palace keeps the conditions of our yesteryears intact, so that we as Koreans can feel part of our past. This is a place where our body and mind can be refreshed. This is a place where we can glimpse at our old nation and its immortal cultural significance, which will guide us through bewildering times and an unknown future... Therefore, Changdeok Palace, which is at the heart of the ever-vibrant and ultra-modern Seoul, is in itself a source of national pride to Koreans.

One male visitor in his seventies exclaims:

> I cannot believe my eyes! How can this place exist here, in the middle of this very, very busy and chaotic city?

Another female visitor in her forties expresses:

> I live in Don-am-dong, which is just 20 minutes away from here....to the north. But I feel I have travelled a long way to come here because the difference is so dramatic. I have never seen so much green since I started living in Seoul....over twenty years ago.

Therefore, it seems relevant to suggest that visits to the heritage site of Changdeok involve auspicious experiences which border on the 'spiritual' and the 'sublime', albeit within the rather secular and experimental context of contemporary life. Changdeok Palace provides 'ritualised circumstances' (Bessière, 1998: 26) through which visitors can enhance their cultural and national identity in ways that are not necessarily apparent in the normal circumstances of familiar life. One man in his late twenties expresses:

> I've passed by this palace so many times without even thinking about what it might be like...But when I came here for the first time today, it has made me feel very enthusiastic. This place has always been here in our lives without us even being aware, a place where our spirits can come alive ... This sounds dramatic, I know, but this is how I feel or reckon anyway.

One woman in her early forties emphasises that the palace is very appealing in that the visitor experience can be perceived as an antidote to the complexities inherent in city life:

> Changdeok Palace is like an island floating in a sea of the modern city of Seoul. The most attractive aspect of Changdeok seems to be its unexpectedness...like finding a precious piece of pearl on the beach...I never thought this place would be as special as this...so tranquil and remote from our very busy city...and it can be a difficult city at times, you should know that?

Changdeok Palace can be epitomised as a space where individual roles and responsibilities are inverted, a symbolic alternative to complex and hectic nature of modern city-life. The two following narratives aptly illustrate this point:

> At least during these moments *(in the palace)* I can be free from a stress-stricken life. It makes us have a chance of thinking about our roots and ourselves, which would never usually occur normally. I feel, in a way, I am a different person here. [man in his thirties]

> I feel all new now...I feel reinvigorated...this has been a very refreshing experience for me. I will come again when and where possible, simply because of the change that it can provide... like an alternative experience. [women in her twenties]

Consequently, as the narratives suggest, the Changdeok experience can be viewed as a genuine form of escape, which is a popular motivation to travel to other places and spaces (see Cohen and Taylor, 1992). Yet this experience is not based on frivolous aspirations but objectives of an educational nature. It also potentially endows individuals with opportunities to experience a series of symbolic inversions (for example, 'tranquility' as opposed to 'chaos',

'comfort' as opposed to 'anxiety' and 'surreality' as opposed to 'normality'). One housewife in her fifties is pleased to find a place within Seoul which offers a sense of freedom and opportunity to participate in a liberating experience. She explicates:

> Once a month, a group of my friends go traveling to a place where we can enjoy beautiful nature and culture...more importantly a place where we can feel free from our stresses... you know, cooking, cleaning and taking care of others... We've been to most of the famous sights within the country. But we never thought of coming here because nobody else realised this place could offer all we wanted. This is absolutely amazing. I will definitely tell my friends that Changdeok Palace is the next destination for our trip.

One male visitor in his forties maintains:

> I joined a mountain climbing club in my company... I might recommend this place as a destination for them to come to ...well...maybe we should realise how lucky we are to be so close to such a meaningful place... There is no need travelling too far to please our eyes...my work is just literally around the corner... We do need to get out of it whenever we can...just come for a little break after lunch...it is another world for us...it can instantly boost your mind and then you can go back and work hard... it is surreal, isn't it?

With this issue in mind, Mr Yoon's narrative relates the Changdeok experience to a secular manifestation of utopia. He claims:

> We always dream of getting away from our routines. We long for something we cannot easily reach everyday...You do not feel envious of nakwon (*'utopia'*) in here. But this is it. If you feel relaxed and fulfilled with the place you are in for that moment, then it is a kind of nakwon ...I believe.

Another female visitor in her thirties maintains:

> I think there is hardly any time to reflect on our inner self in a busy daily life... While I am here, time seems still and some trivial issues and worries out there do not bother me too much... We all dream of finding utopia in our lives...this is it... the place where I can experience something special and sacred.

As explicated in Chapter One, heritage can be perceived and contextualised as one distinct form of heterotopia, a distinct space linked with and contradictory to all the other sites in a society. Heritage sites, museums and libraries can thus be recognised as heterotopias where certain unchanging meanings and timeless values of a given society are firmly maintained and reenacted. Here, recognising Changdeok Palace as an 'effectively enacted Utopia' (Foucault, 1986: 24) is seemingly pertinent in understanding the significance of Changdeok's distinctive social space. Symbolic inversions are encouraged and articulated as alternative forms of social ordering to the normality of those spaces which are less receptive to extraordinary and

auspicious elements. Changdeok Palace as one form of heterotopia potentially provides visitors with a space for enacting timeless expressions of identity. In sharp contrast to the mundane realms of daily life, the sublime and perpetual values of nationality continuity encourage visitors to undergo spiritual elevations. As illustrated in Chapter Five, these elevations are associated with the way in which the Changdeok experience projects a 'spiritual principle' and 'common soul', and thus stands as a representation of the ul (얼 - *soul*) and the kisang (기상 - *spirit*).

Interestingly, observed comments from tour guides during palace tours are concerned with encouraging visitors to become involved in inverted experiences. At the beginning of the palace tour, focus was placed on assuring visitors that their experience would enable them to separate themselves from the grounded contexts of ordinary life. This point is clearly highlighted during tour introductions, for instance:

> All of you must be very tired of the demanding tasks in your life. Well...now it is time to forget all of them. You are going to embark on a voyage through which your spirit will be elevated and uplifted [Mrs Jeong].
>
> While the tour lasts, you will be introduced to a different world where you can relax and recharge yourself. Throughout the tour, you will be surprised by the fact that you can feel so distant from life outside of the palace [Mrs Kim].
>
> Changdeok strives to show historical connections that will stimulate your imagination. You are going to experience a magical journey into the past [Ms Nam].

One set of visitor narratives generally highlight that trips to Changdeok Palace are neither pre-planned nor systematically arranged, but often based on a momentary decision or as a consequence of being in close proximity to the palace grounds. Despite these less devout reasons for visiting the palace, it is clearly maintained that the unexpected encounter enables visitors to reconceptualise an idea of their nation and reconfigure their national identity. One woman in her late fifties declares:

> I came to Kwangwhamoon to participate in the World Cup Festival today, so I thought I should pop in here. I must say I am very much impressed with what I see here (*at Changdeok Palace*). I will suggest to my son that he should come here and I will definitely make another visit soon with my friends. There are not many things you can do with 2,200 won *(approximately one pound and fifteen pence)* nowadays... Actually, I believe that visiting here will be the most rewarding way to spend that money.... This place is full of wisdom and intelligence. This aspect makes me feel very proud to be Korean.

Another female visitor in her forties provides a similar narrative concerning the unanticipated nature of her experience, stressing:

> This place is like finding a four-leaved clover in a bush. I want to bring my family and friend next time. I regularly go traveling to the mountains, national parks and Buddhist temples, all over the country, because I want to feel a sense of relief from my busy life... I do need a break from time to time... I assume that I have looked too far for it when it was actually under my own nose...how ignorant I was, so now I can appreciate it more now...

Changdeok Palace presents itself as a place where individuals can actually experience perceptual-based inversions. It is informative to note that the low stone walls surrounding the palace symbolise the bounded space within the palace. One man in his forties comments:

> Look at those high skyscrapers beyond those walls! They make such a striking contrast with this place... Can you believe we are still in the centre of Seoul? ... Listen to the birds tittering and look at various flowers in blossom. This is so tranquil and relaxing. I feel like I am somewhere in a remote mountain, even though I am not.

A range of visitor narratives spontaneously acknowledges the significance of the spatial boundary of Changdeok Palace. Accordingly, the following comments typify the symbolic nature of the bounded (visitor) experience:

> That low wall shows a contrast between two worlds. Out there life is a real struggle compared to in here where you can rest in peace. [man in his sixties]
>
> From the outside, you never realise there would be a totally different world over those walls. Coming here can give us a mental break without going too far away from home. [woman in her twenties]
>
> I never knew this kind of world would exist behind the walls *(of Changdeok)*. The wall is the same but from inside you can clearly see where you were and what you left outside. I feel like my spirit and body have been cleansed and invigorated. [woman in her late thirties]

Here, it is important to note that the walls of Changdeok Palace do not just delineate the physical boundary between two spaces but actually represent a symbolic boundary by which the inner and outer-space become two disparate entities, characterising different socio-cultural norms and values. Accordingly, walls demarcate two socially differentiated and culturally distinct spaces, i.e., 'ultra-modern Seoul' and 'pre-modern Changdeok'. Jeon, Yong-tak's essay clearly encapsulates this point:

> I kept on looking at the walls *(of Changdeok)* on my way out to Keumomun *(the exit of Changdeok)*. It was such a striking contrast to look at those high buildings, like the main headquarter of Hyundai just over the walls. All of a sudden, the outside

> landscape appeared so strange to me. However, I knew I had to go back home...but I felt like a different person inside Changdeok Palace...

The walls of Changdeok can thus be understood as a liminal threshold illustrating two contrasting worlds. Accordingly, they demarcate the social space of heterotopia from the outer-space of modernity and normality. Importantly, within the inner-space of the palace grounded notions of nationhood and identity are seemingly represented.

Feelings of National Solidarity

Feelings of national consciousness are closely related to perceptions of shared comradeship, where individuals can exchange mutual feelings of national belonging and commonality during their Changdeok experience (see also Chapter Five). As one form of 'communitas', Changdeok arguably provides a situational context where individuals can inter-subjectively relate to one another and experience a heightened awareness of nationality. The following narratives typify this observation:

> Probably you may encounter hundreds of strangers on the streets or in the subway. But you would hardly feel you share something special with them. But during the tour, I felt a strange bond with people in my group. Somewhere deep in my mind there was a voice echoing, 'they are my people who share this precious heritage. [woman in her late twenties]
>
> Here [*at Changdeok*] we are all the same, whether we are fairly rich or poor, well-educated or not so properly educated. We are all Koreans who cannot help but be aware of our beautiful heritage...it is this that is important here...nothing else. [woman in her fifties]
>
> We all walk around the palace together as one people, one country. We all admire the same things and we all feel comfortable...well, I for one felt very comfortable doing this. I assume other people did to. [man in his forties]
>
> You usually don't smile at the people on the street. Our life is too busy and nobody is that bothered by people who they do not know... there are not many things that bond us together these days ... Although you do encounter lots of new group situations it is quite rare sometimes to build a strong relationship with other people ... Well, there were about twenty people in our tour, which was quite a good size to feel at ease with one another. We all listened very carefully to the guide's explanations and laughed, as well as tried to understand things together. When the tour finished, we all said goodbye to each other. We were not a group formed by our will... we just happened to be in the same group... we will probably never meet again... This kind of intimacy would be only possible in places like Changdeok. [man in his thirties]

One significant theme emerging from the above comments concerns the way in which heritage tourism experiences at Changdeok Palace seemingly act as a catalyst through which a strong sense of emotional attachment to the nation and its people can be instantaneously actualised and communicated in the realm of everyday life. Although the space of Changdeok symbolises a physical and cultural distinction to life outside the palace, heritage experiences do not necessarily have to be perceived completely separate from daily life, especially as the palace lies within the centre of Seoul's urban landscape. Public experiences encountered at Changdeok inseparably relate to a sense of collectively communicating nationalistic feelings and sentiments with fellow nationals. It is maintained that:

> Today's visit makes me reflect on the past and how it still continues on and on. It has also made me think of who I am and where I come from. This place seems to belong to me and I belong to it... More people should come and participate in this valuable experience...you feel your country is a part of your everyday life, it sounds astonishing, doesn't it? [woman in her twenties].
>
> This visit simply reminds me of one fact, that I am Korean...which is the most obvious fact but is easily forgettable in my day-to-day life. But I think it is also true that certain things, like visiting this place, play a great role in helping us to think about how we are truly Korean, which you don't often think about...something you often take for granted [man in his forties].

The heritage site and setting can thus play a key role in 'flagging the homeland daily' (Billig, 1995: 93), where a sense of national belonging is reminded and reproduced in public experiences. In the context of Changdeok Palace, elements of national consciousness and nationalist sentiment are often evoked in ways that remind individuals of the essence of nationhood as part of the daily environment. As emphasised in Chapter One, heritage tourism can manifest national solidarities and sacred/special elements, and partly be understood as a form of cultural pilgrimage (West, 2005). The act of exploring and reconceptualising the nation's sentimental past in present contexts may be compared to a search for spiritual encounters, involving a ritualistic enactment expressing the reification of national citizenship. Accordingly, South Koreans, who are national citizens within their everyday environment, can collectively and more explicitly experience feelings of national citizenship in such public events as heritage tourism.

During various tour groups, certain ethnographic observations and interviews draw attention to ways in which national sentiment is reinforced, particularly through utterances manifesting aspects of national belonging and socially-expressed forms of national cohesion. Also, the

ability to be involved in shared social memories is also indicative of the common bonding and mutual identification (see especially Chapter Six). The collective communion associated with the public commemoration of intangible (national) heritage is deemed to be socially bounded and firmly reinforced. Therefore, if individuals attempt to deviate from the group tour other members of the group would normally express strong aversion to their perceived lack of social conformity to shared enactments of national identification, for instance:

> For me, to explore and learn about various parts of the palace was interesting and educational. But what struck me more during the tour was how I became attached to the people in the group. The atmosphere was hospitable and relaxing... Of course there were some people who never properly joined in or did not appreciate the experience ...I felt very upset with them.... They were just a small group of people really. But you know they were missing this precious experience that we could all share together if we wanted to. They absolutely wasted their money and their time... they just tried to do their own thing and were not concentrating. I do not understand why they were even bothered coming here with that attitude and mentality.... Yes, I did enjoy my time, except of course for this situation [man in his fifties].
>
> ...Why do people bother themselves to come here if they are not showing interest in the tours? This is not a zoo or a theme park...if they are not ready to pay their due respect for this palace then there is no point being here... those people are not just ignoring this place, they are disrespecting our culture... I feel very offended by their lack of awareness [woman in her forties]
>
> ... When we went through the palace with the group there was one couple who did not show interest. They were giggling and chatting to themselves, obviously about something else. They should have been keen on understanding their history and their country. It is not right. I kept giving them stern looks to try to show them what they were doing was not nice, but they did not seem to bother [women in her forties].

During a range of guided tours, the researcher notes of several occasions where some individuals produce non-verbal expressions towards others who are perceived not to be conforming to the group tour, demonstrated by the way in which individuals shake their head, frown or grimacingly stare at those who are seemingly distracted or disinterested in the guided tour. Although it should not be assumed that all individuals who do conform to the guided tour are crucially engaged in a discursive process of national belonging, but any implicit or explicit attempt by individuals to deviate from the group situation can be perceived by particular members of the group to be a rejection of the process of collectively experiencing shared elements of national belonging.

Tour Guides as Mediators in the Reconstruction of National Identity

The tour guide system in Changdeok Palace was first enacted in 1979, with the intention of enhancing visitors' understanding of the heritage site. The tour guide service operates throughout the year, during high season from April to October there are approximately seventeen daily tours for Korean visitors. The palace also operates English, Japanese and Chinese tours. In general, the tour lasts for approximately one and half hours, involving site visits to six different buildings including a tour of the Huwon garden (see Appendix Four: Changdeok Palace Tour).

There is no formal training programme for educating tour guides. Newly appointed guides are simply asked to participate in several group tours in an endeavour to obtain detailed notes, emulating the descriptions and explanations in their own forthcoming tours. New guides are also provided with an introductory booklet on the general history of Changdeok Palace. They are encouraged to read a range of reading material concerning Korean history, heritage and culture. Tour guide scripts are mainly based on following the basic outline of the tour (see **Appendix Four: Changdeok Palace Tour**). Also, during the ethnographic interviews with the tour guides it was made clear that tours with non-nationals (i.e., Chinese, Japanese and English speaking tourists) usually follow the same scripts, though descriptions and expressions tend to be more formalised than in the domestic tours where guides can feel more comfortable in their shared deliberations with Korean nationals (see Chapter Six). Although some tour guides try to provide several different explanations concerning particular features of the palace, or mythical legends concerning members of the royal family and palace life, they are generally instructed that they should not be too subjective and judgemental in their descriptions and explanations. This issue is clarified in the initial ethnographic interview with the Head of Tour Guides, Mrs Jeong:

> I advise new guides not to personalise their guide scripts or not to make any statements unless they can be completely sure of them... There are set legends that can be told but they must be stated to the public that they are stories, and they have to work in a standardised way.... Well... history is a very subtle subject, isn't it? We sometimes get visitor complaints on certain guide's comments... We do have visitors who are very much into the history of the nation, the royal palaces and even all the different types of birds and trees. We can not always think our knowledge base is deeper than that of visitors. It is good to know that some visitors are like that. But if we get too many complaints it would damage our professionalism, I believe.... Thus, it seems wise for tour guides not to go over the top. At the end of the day we are all judged as a group.

Nonetheless, tour guides in Changdeok Palace are arguably instrumental in encouraging Korean visitors to undergo auspicious experiences, mediating and communicating elements of nationhood and national identification. A range of visitor narratives exemplify the instructive roles and responsibilities upheld by tour guides. For instance:

> They (*the tour guides*) are not just controlling the flow of visitors or directing the tour-routes. They seem to play a role of a history teacher or a public relations officer who publicises our culture and heritage... [woman in her thirties]
>
> They are very different from the tour guides in those (*commercial*) package tours. I felt like I was in the classroom when I was in the tour, listening very carefully to what were said and explained. [man in his twenties]
>
> The tour guide in my tour was very instructive. She told us quite a bit about the history and the meanings of each place. She taught us a lot of informative things really. [woman in her fifties]
>
> The tour guide was fairly good actually. She explained the history and the heritage of the place. It was all about Korea's interesting past.... Yes, of course it was educational, very enlightening. I learnt a lot of things about my country that I would have not known without coming here. I think the tours will be great also for our school children, who can get real information that can help them in their history classes [man in his sixties]

Tour guides often indicate that their roles embody a strong sense of devotion to their work, for instance:

> I think we should regard ourselves as non-governmental diplomats. [Ms Jeon]
>
> To me, guiding each session is like being on stage. I can be the centre of attention...where I can be the main heroine of a show. I want to impress my audiences. I want to be an inspiration to them as well... I am really connected to my work, I really enjoy it. [Ms Hong]
>
> When I see a group of people waiting for my tour, I feel something deep inside me...hard to explain it simply. I say to myself 'I should not disappoint these people'. I must let them have a good impression of Changdeok. At that moment, I regard myself as the front face of Changdeok. [Mrs Kim]

Most of the tour guides indicate that their roles are distinct from the roles of commercial tour guides. Tour guiding is thus perceived to be something more than simply earning a living, where the responsibilities involve a mediator type-role as opposed to the pathfinder-type role. The latter role is predominantly concerned with leading or directing a group rather than facilitating the inner-directed aspects of the tour (see Cohen *et al.*, 2002). Some tour guides further clarify their current position in comparison to their previous work experiences as commercial tour guides. It is maintained that:

> Most visitors show respect for us. When I worked as a tour guide for a travel agency, I was obviously more commercially-oriented than now. I put a focus on working efficiently for making more profit. As a matter of fact, I became skeptical of the job when I had to encourage the tourists to purchase souvenirs in certain shops... I really did not like it but I couldn't avoid doing it....Now I can be free from all the dark aspects of tourism businesses... I feel like I have regained a sense of self-esteem by working here. [Mrs Kwon]

> I am very proud of my job and myself... I get less paid now compared to working as a tour guide for the travel agency, but I do feel more fulfilled. Mental satisfaction is more rewarding than material things to me...time is also another great benefit of working here. I can invest more time and energy in developing my varying capacities...such as reading, learning foreign languages and things like this. [Ms Kang]

As the above comments indicate, tour guides generally regarded their work as more of a vocation than simply a job. A heightened sense of pride, self-fulfilment and actualisation in the workplace environment of Changdeok Palace compensates for such practical difficulties as physical tiredness and financial dissatisfaction. It seems true to state that working in such national heritage sites as Changdeok is firmly believed in contributing substantially to enhancing the cultural capital and status of the staff (see Bourdieu, 1999). The following narratives typify ways in which the work of tour guides can certainly be perceived to be self-gratifying and self-fulfilling:

> I was a teacher of mathematics. When I got married I quit the job. But I was not happy to be a full-time housewife. I got depressed and had a lot of arguments with my husband. I was desperate to get out of the house and do something I am good at...I wanted to be recognised as me... I am so delighted that my work can enlighten people, young people, to be more aware of their country and themselves. [Mrs Kim]

> My main concern is to make visitors feel part of the process of the tour... This job is not that well paid and is physically exhausting at times, walking and talking all the time...but there is something more to this job than money... the compliments that I get from visitors do keep me going... [Mrs Kwon]

> I feel like I am doing something for my country's sake...it is really good to think like that...it makes you feel fulfilled, it really does. [Ms Hong]

Furthermore, tour guides generally express that they have a very strong sense of empathy with, and reverence for, the site itself. This strong emotional bond with Changdeok Palace is one significant characteristic of the vocational nature of their work. Mrs Kwon reveals that:

> I will quit this job if I get really fed up with it...I will not stick to the job because of my position here...but to work here is not all about money...don't get me wrong, money is of course important... Having a sense of pride as a person who works in national heritage places is priceless... I am willing to make some personal sacrifices

> for the good of my country...But when I stop feeling that way, I bet that will be the end of the story for me... This is sort of a job you should feel very much needed in what you do.

Palace custodians also generally indicate that the nature of their work fosters a strong sense of job fulfilment and personal pride. During a range of ethnographic interviews and friendly conversations with the custodians, individuals are very eager to emphasise that that their employment duties and responsibilities extend beyond simply regulating the flow of visitors or dealing with a range of security issues. Custodians thus regard themselves as auxiliary guides who play a supportive role in successfully operating the tours. Accordingly, custodians place significant emphasis on their own knowledge of the palace as well as particularistic-based aspects of guiding skills, including their close interaction with visitors and provision of efficient support systems. The following narratives typify the crucial roles of the custodians:

> When the tour group is too big, the guide cannot control all the visitors, particularly people at the back. That is when I need to exert my influence. We can get much closer to the visitors by giving some valuable information, person-to-person, that they might otherwise have missed...they seem to feel more comfortable with me because I am often with them in the group...I sometimes tell them not to fall behind the group... at other times, I get involved and speak to them often explaining things that the tour guide may not have said or have not gone into the detail... [Mr. Kwon]

> Some visitors try to embarrass the tour guides by asking tricky questions. It seems that they want to test their professional knowledge. But the problem here is that those visitors do not have deep knowledge themselves. Most of the questions they ask are a little bit vague...they just enjoy trying to catch the guides out ...well...I try to stick to supporting the guides... When I know the answers I secretly tell them to the guides rather than directly explaining to the visitors. I want the visitors to have respect for the guides. I also do not want visitors to go away and speak bad about their experiences of our palace... things like criticising the tour guides...this can be a humiliation... [Mr Kim]

> Sometimes, my role goes beyond controlling the flow of the tour groups. I think most of visitors expect us (*Changdeok staff*) to have a deep knowledge base about our culture and history, not to mention of the history of this place. Some visitors come and ask all sorts of different questions. They all expect me to give them a clear answer, I assume. This is why I have to spare some time to read extra stuff to develop my knowledge, although my work commitments do not directly involve doing it... I am not a tour guide but I do want to impress visitors with my own knowledge as well. [Mr Park]

Both the tour guides and palace custodians appear to have a strong sense of honour to their working environment. The emphasis on their roles as essential 'upkeepers' of the nation's culture and heritage suggests that Changdeok Palace represents the 'historical and sacrosanct

identity' (Wright, 1992: 2) of the nation. As palace employees actually conceive themselves as guardians of national heritage, they have the capacity to officiously and authoritatively label visitors who violate palace etiquette as 'disrespectful' or 'disobedient', particularly those who do not attempt to understand the site's cultural and historical significance. Such perceived ignorance is seen to indicate a level of insolence towards Korea's history and national tale. Mr Kim, Jae-won, for instance, is very agitated when he illustrates his own experiences in encountering and dealing with such visitors. He cogently claims:

> Some visitors think this is a park where they can eat on the grass and roam around freely. I am so disgusted by their ignorance sometimes. This is our precious cultural heritage. If some strangers came to your house and lay down in your main bedroom, how would you feel?

Another palace custodian, Mr Park, also expresses strong antipathy towards a minority of visitors who are seen to display behaviour that is deemed to be disrespectful, stating that:

> I get so upset when encountering some people who never show proper respect for this place...some young couples just let their kids run around the palace, without any proper care and respect...how could this place be treated as a park or playground? That is pure malarkey!
>
> Some people still think that they can come here with lunch boxes and lie down on the grass, idling around all day long. They should've taken some etiquette classes, if there are any... I cannot stand those people who treat this place so cheap... If we explain things, they get outrageous about why they cannot do what they want... phew... [Mr Kang]

Furthermore, several palace custodians maintain that tour guides should also be respectful of the site, actively contributing to the enhancement of the symbolic significance of the palace. Mr Kim contends that:

> The tour guide must have deep respect for the palace. It is the most important quality that they always need to have. Without them fully respecting the site, they can never make visitors be fully aware of how important this place is to them.

He clarifies his concerns in a later conversation:

> I should say that some tour guides repeat the same explanations all year around like a parrot. They do not always seem to be bothered by improving their knowledge and enhancing their presentation skills... To be a guide is more than just making a living from it. They are presenting our culture and heritage. They are presenting these values through raising a spirit of being Korean... Their explanations should be varied depending on the requirements of the group. You cannot please some old people with all the academic facts and figures. They are not interested in which year the buildings were burnt down, rebuilt and demolished again. They do not seem to be bothered by the precise technical terms for different types of doors and chimneys. They need to be more relaxed and provided with fun-added guidance...The guided tours should not be

too standard or characterless... The point I am making really is that it is not a recorded audio tour, which repeats the same story with lifeless machinery sounds. But the human voice can deliver some impressions and feelings as well as fact and figures...

In the same vein, Mr Yoon eagerly expresses his viewpoint, claiming that:

> For me, tour guides must perform an eye-level tour....the motto of 'eye-level education' has been hugely popular in the recent years... that principle should just apply to the tour, I would say. You should either raise or lower your eye-level for visitors' understanding. A good guide is not one who boasts of her expertise and knowledge in front of the visitors... This approach will obviously lead to a better appreciation of the site. If they do not fulfill that role, then they are not qualified for this job at all, I believe... When they (*the tour guides*) do not feel strong respect for this place, how can they expect that visitors will feel the same way? Whenever a new guide starts their work here, I try to give one piece of advice, 'try to love and respect this place first and then you will naturally figure out what you need to do to continue that love and respect for this place'... I do believe that is the most important quality of the tour guide, you know as a jikimee (*upkeeper*) of this place.

One significant theme to emerge from interview data is that custodians place significant emphasis on tour guides as a major actor in facilitating and communicating the symbolic relevance of Changdeok Palace to visitors, particularly in terms of staging and inscribing the socio-cultural implications of national heritage within tourism performances (see Edensor, 1998). The major concern is that if tour guides do not project clear historical narratives of the heritage institution in an interactive and imaginative manner, they seemingly fail to construct a discursive understanding between the visitors and the site itself. When visitors are unable to discern and develop a strong connection with the heritage setting, the issue of constructing and reconstructing a sense of national belonging could be viewed as a social impediment to the role of the heritage site as a facilitator of national meaning and national consciousness.

On the whole, visitors appear satisfied with the performance of the tour guides as an active mediator in enhancing a comprehensive understanding of the significance of Changdeok Palace as a representation of Korean history and heritage. The following comments illustrate this point:

> Today my prejudice about tour guides has been completely reversed. I must admit, I have never had any particular respect for tour guides in the past. They often try to get tips and are not always that approachable. So in my experience, I have been on lots of tours to different places in Korea and overseas, they have not always been pleasant and helpful. But the tour guides working here seem to be totally different. [woman in her thirties]

> The tour guide today was more than I expected. Guides can be quite mechanical. The way they were dressed today in a modern form of hanbok (*traditional Korean costume*) is impressive and very appropriate. [woman in her forties]
>
> All I knew about tour guides was those who work for travel agencies...You do not have that much respect for them... The guides who work here seem nothing like them... [man in his fifties]
>
> I have visited the palaces of Kyungbok and Deoksu several times. I did not know anything about the tour guide system running in here (*at Changdeok*). I was at first a bit disappointed because I wanted to wander around at my own pace. But as the tour got going, I started to understand why it has been introduced and established here. It was very educational and inspiring. Without it (*the guide system*), it would have been impossible for me to learn all the things for one visit. There is an old saying that you can see as much as you know. I could see more of the palace with the guide's explanations. [woman in her fifties]

The tour guides working in Changdeok Palace are recognised as being distinctive from the commercial tour guides, who are associated with the commercial world of tour guiding. Furthermore, their role in enhancing an understanding of the heritage setting is generally regarded as both educational and inspiring. Accordingly, it is clearly indicated that tour guides need to continue to focus on developing and enhancing their knowledge concerning national culture and history. It is thus maintained:

> They [*tour guides*] should first realise how significant their roles are...particularly with respect to all the young school children on field trips. Young students come and learn about out culture and country. One visit to here might be more powerful than ten history lessons for them... Tour guides need to always develop their knowledge and expertise of Changdeok Palace, our culture and history. [woman in her forties]
>
> I personally come here quite often. When I am on the tour, I can tell if that guide really loves her job or not. Some of them look so passionate about what they do. They seem to be really proud... I think that this quality is so important...to love what they do. [woman in her fifties]

Although comments of tour guides are mainly constructive, some visitors are less certain of their roles, critically questioning guides' tour performance and visitor management skills. One male visitor in his forties strongly expresses:

> The guide has got a duty to impart a story of history that is connected to our life... Well, history is rooted in our life, isn't it? The role of tour guides here need to bring life back into being... I felt it would have been better to read a signboard or a pamphlet...what is the point of listening to the same old boring stuff?

One female visitor in her fifties implies that a smaller number of visitors within a group tour would enhance the efficiency and quality of tour guiding in Changdeok. She states:

> There were over one hundred people in my tour. I could not clearly hear the guide's explanation at the back of the group. There was hardly any interaction between the guide and visitors. The guide looked tired and uninterested... I heard that there can be a lot more people in one tour during the weekends and national holidays. That is really worrying... all you would see would be people after people. Nobody would appreciate Changdeok as they should do...less numbers would be much better for us...and tour guides as well.

One man in his thirties expresses similar concerns:

> It (*too many visitors in the group*) really spoiled the whole thing. The guide certainly could not control more than 150 people at her own will. The tour group got distracted easily in places and I finally gave up being enthusiastic about this guide thing. Even in Huwon where we had a little rest, there were so many people queuing for the canteen and the toilet... I bet Huwon would look spectacular in the early morning when there is hardly anybody around... with this number of people tour guiding is certainly not effective, I do believe...but I was told that they do small groups quite often during the week [man in his thirties].

However, the positive impact of the guide system was significantly emphasised in comparison to the initial stages of the establishment of tour guiding at Changdeok Palace. Several palace staff who worked at Changdeok since its development as a tourist attraction in the late 1970s reflected on the introduction of the tour guiding system. The Head of Tour Guides, Mrs Jeong, explains:

> The tour guide system first started in April, 1979. Most of the visitors saw our jobs similar to that of a bus conductress. They mainly saw our role as people who simply indicate the beginning and end of the tour.... Yes, I suppose you could say were pathfinders, but they even called us Yannaeyang ('*Miss Conductress*') ... wow... I now understand that the guide system then must have appeared so awkward to visitors, especially at a time when there were no guide services available in general.

Both Mr Park (former Head of the Palace Custodians in 2002) and Mr Shin (a newly-transferred custodian in 2004) previously worked in Changdeok Palace when the guide system was in its infancy. In the following two narratives, emphasis is placed on ways in which the custodians perceive visitors' reactions and responses towards the guide system:

> In the old days, people strongly showed displeasure against the guide system...some of them shouted at us saying, 'this place is operated by the tax that we pay...we have every right to wander freely around this place...let me talk to the general director...you shouldn't treat the owners of this place like this...it is such an offence...ghita deung deung, ghita deung deung, (*bla, bla, bla*) ...' Nowadays, people try to accept the fact that the guide system might be the best option for keeping this place at its best and at the same time making the most of their visit in terms of contributing to their knowledge about culture and heritage...such a change...whenever I think about this change, I surely can assure myself that our

country is very developed, not just in economic terms but also cultural respect and appreciation. [Mr Shin]

> When it (*the guide system*) was first operated, it was unbelievable. We used to be summoned to the ticket office to deal with some aggressive visitors, several times a day. Some of them hated it....they never understood why they could not freely roam around the palace. We tried to explain that the guide system was for both the visitors and the palace. But some of them even swore at us and loudly shouted things like, 'I am paying tax and I have got every right to freely use these places, this is part of my country'. They also said things like, 'Who do you dare think I am? I am somebody's cousin, or my uncle is connected to the Cheongwadae' (*Blue House: the official residence of the Korean President*)...phew... those old boring stories...well it is amazing to see how our people have matured over the years. [Mr Park]

The researcher raises these concerns with another palace custodian, Mr Kim, Jae-won who expresses:

> Yes, I can see there has been a huge difference in the attitudes of visitors.... They have been greatly improved. It is quite astonishing to see the visitors waiting in a queue to purchase tickets and to enter the palace... We Koreans were not that good at making an orderly queue, as you would know... Before it was not an unusual thing to see some people not queuing and becoming frustrated and impatient, giving up the whole thing and going back home feeling bitter.

Conclusion

Based on the comments of both visitors and palace staff, it has been realised that the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace is regarded as something that is rather extraordinary, offering a brief but surreal experience. The Changdeok experience provides a respite from the daily realities of city life, encouraging people to momentarily escape the workplace environment and/or the mundane realities of home life. In this regard, reasoned emphasis has been placed on the auspicious nature of Changdeok, which stands in sharp contrast to life outside the palace. The palace walls are thus interpreted as a symbolic boundary between two distinct socio-physical spaces. Nevertheless, given the close socio-spatial proximity of the palace to people's daily environments, and the fact that domestic visitors are already members of the national community, the visitor experience should not necessarily be perceived as being completely detached from ordinary life. It should, however, be viewed as an extension of everyday life, providing individuals with opportunities to re-enact and reify their national identities thus enhancing shared feelings of national belonging and national sentiment.

For the palace staff, the practice of working at Changdeok also enables individuals to experience surreal encounters that are also not generally achieved within everyday contexts.

Working at Changdeok arguably provides value-added experiences, particularly given the extraordinary nature of work-based environments pertaining to the experience of sacred and sublime inversions within everyday contexts. In this regard, the working environment at Changdeok reflects feelings of emancipation from rather onerous work-tasked environments associated with elements of modernity.

Furthermore, as an active mediator in the interactive relationship between the visitors and the site, tour guides have a strong belief and pride in their work. Both palace staff and visitors place a reasoned emphasis on understanding the roles of tour guides as mediators and teachers, concerned with the dissemination of national heritage. Rather being perceived as mere pathfinders, it would be appropriate to emphasise that tour guides seemingly adopt a more mentorship-type roles, providing visitors with an enlightened insight into the spiritual meanings of Changdeok Palace. Palace custodians, though providing auxiliary guiding services, could be viewed as 'upkeepers' of national heritage. Nonetheless, palace employees (guides and custodians) arguably play a crucial role as guardians of the nation's history and culture.

Conclusion

The first section of this conclusion is concerned with summarising the major conceptual-based themes derived from the application of the research aim and objectives, drawing together the main empirical findings of the study and attending to the major suppositions raised in the literature review chapters. Significant focus is placed on emphasising ways in which the thesis as a whole contributes to perspectives concerning the dialectical role of heritage tourism in the enhancement of national consciousness. The second section provides a critical re-evaluation of the ethnographic study, particularly its main methods and approaches. The section also highlights and explores other research methods, areas of research and theoretical approaches that could perhaps be utilised in the study of heritage tourism, nationalism and identity, particularly in the context of South Korea.

Summarising Conceptual Themes- Indicating Knowledge Contributions

Chapter One clearly argued that heritage tourism practices can have a prominent role to play in 'nation building', asserting that heritage discourses are not completely related to the presentation of an official ideology of history but subject to personal, informal and subjective interpretations. The discussions reflect the aim of the study concerning an endeavour to produce an ethnographically informed understanding of how heritage tourism and national identity symbolically interrelate, particularly in terms of illustrating ways in which a national heritage site can enable individuals to subjectively and contextually perceive shared elements of social memory and nationhood. Consequently, as part of the symbolic reproduction of nationalism and national identity within ordinary and mundane realms of everyday contexts, heritage tourism experiences are thus believed to be ontologically purposeful in enhancing a sense of national belonging.

In order to understand the relationship between heritage tourism and national identification it was necessary to deconstruct the major theoretical paradigms concerning nationalism and national identity. Thus the principal intent of **Chapter Two** was to evaluate paradigms and practices of nationalism and national identity through focusing on two main contrasting accounts: the modernistic and primordial perspectives. The primordial perspective (see Smith, 1998) maintains that nations are founded on elements of ethnic affinities, racial lineage and shared cultural identities. The modernistic perspective identifies nations as products of

modern historical developments and processes, where nation-ness and nationalism are cultural symbols of an imagined political community, reproduced in people's imagination rather than formed directly from political ideologies. In exploring the genesis of national identity, the modes and patterns responsible for reproducing a sense of national belonging in ordinary and normal circumstances were dealt with by drawing substantially upon the work of Billig (1995) and Edensor (2002). These works concur with the idea that national identity is not just confined to patriotic feelings expressed in passionate, exotic and salient exemplars, but that national identity is constantly reminded and reproduced in mundane, everyday contexts.

The primordial and modernistic perspectives suggest significant scope in systematically scrutinising the context of Korean nationalism and national identity, which was discussed at length in **Chapter Three.** Here, discussions significantly elaborated on understanding Korean national identification in terms of accounting for the changing social and cultural traits of contemporary society, as well as illustrating the essence of traditional cultural values and norms. In an attempt to distinguish the concept of Korean culture and heritage from Western interpretations, the work assessed the historical development of Korean nationalism and national identity. The role of other significant countries in the formation and maintenance of national identity was evaluated in order to inspect ways in which national identifications have been constructed and maintained.

The four objectives of this study were clearly established: (1) to explore individualised and subjective ways in which a sense of national belonging is evoked and collectively negotiated during visits to the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace, particularly to comprehend how elements of national sentiment, social memory and national identity are (re-)conceptualised; (2) To demonstrate how 'significant (national) others' are positioned, narrated and interpreted at the heritage setting, especially to exemplify that shared memories of the 'Korean Nation' are often (re-)constructed on the basis of historical, social and ideological-based relationships with other nation-states; (3) To substantiate ways in which the Changdeok experience contributes to symbolic and spiritual inversions as part of everyday life; 4) To contribute to perspectives concerning the dialectical role of heritage tourism in the enhancement of national consciousness, and to further the development of existing paradigms relating to heritage interpretation and national identification.

Consequently, **Chapter Four** endeavoured to operationalise the above established objectives through detailing the construction of an ethnographic case study application. The study involved a qualitative approach based on the employment of ethnographic techniques and strategies, arguably providing an appropriate methodological framework for revealing diverse meanings, opinions and interpretations of social phenomena with the intention of portraying a range of people's perceptions and narratives concerning the selected heritage site. An ethnographic approach involving long-term immersion into the research setting was claimed to be an effective tool in the production of rich (qualitative) accounts concerning the subjective perceptions and experiences of the selected heritage setting. Consequently, the discussions illustrated the epistemological significance of a longitudinal approach to the study of heritage tourism through the employment of a variety of ethnographic techniques.

The 'ethnographic worth' of specific qualitative-based techniques was empirically established, where it was maintained that such strategies provide an efficient and proactive means of gaining an intimate insight into the intricate social world of heritage institutions as well as understanding the diverse perceptions of both visitors and employees. It was anticipated that this research study would be able to reveal a range of feelings, impressions and experiences concerning issues associated with heritage perceptions and 'national identification'. The selected procedures and techniques arguably encouraged individuals to express their feelings, impressions and personal opinions in less inhibited ways within everyday contexts of social interaction.

In **Chapter Five**, the narratives of the researched clearly revealed that the main attribute of national identity is the belief that South Koreans are '*tanilminjok*' (tanil minjok) (단일 민족 – 'one people, one race'). In conceiving that cultural and racial homogeneity is a principal element in the legitimisation of Koreanness and sustenance of nationalism, collective notions and representations of heritage are instrumental in the primordial project of reinventing key elements of nationhood. Furthermore, the sense of national belonging is firmly grounded in understanding the nation as an organic entity that is predestined and naturally given. Such concerns are clearly summarised by Lim, Ji-hyun (1999: 6), stating:

> Korean nationalism is in a way manifested as a religion and social order inherent in individuals' everyday life. It serves as a social regulation and moral principle which history confers on Korean people... Korean nation based on ethnic and cultural assertions is the most powerful entity in the consciousness of Korean people, even at a time of such absence of political nation-state as Japanese colonisation. Racial and

cultural characteristics of the nation serve as a mythical force in maintaining and consolidating Korea's national solidarity.

A critical understanding of nation and nationhood as primordially given has a decisive value for the national consciousness of South Koreans, particularly within the context of heritage tourism experiences. The primordial nature of the nation and nationalism acts as a firm foundation on which the national imagination is partly founded, reflecting the quintessential elements of nationhood partly sustained throughout Korea's fraught historical circumstances and political turmoil. Furthermore, the concept of the South Korean nation and the related conceptualisation of national identity are arguably grounded in natural affiliations and allegiances, attachments transcending the geo-political contours of South Korea to culturally embrace the Korean nation as a whole. In this regard, the study exemplifies ways in which a primordial-based understanding of the nation and national identity is deeply embedded in articulations of national heritage.

On the other hand, modernistic perspectives also play a significant role in conceiving the existence of the nation as an 'imagined community' (see Anderson, 1991), which is symbolically constituted and reconstituted within the heritage setting of Changdeok Palace. This understanding contributes substantially to the assumption that heritage tourism experiences enable visitors to effectively imagine and communicate the essence of nationhood, illustrated in ethnographic narratives focusing on ways in which heritage and history are pertinent to the social constructions of national consciousness. Finally, situational perspectives regarding ethnicity and identity as a set of processes and social relations (see Barth, 1969 and Eriksen, 1991) assert that ethnic and national identities are reproduced and negotiated within a range of social contexts and situational circumstances. This view is appropriate in understanding ways in which South Korean identities are discursively reproduced, as well as repositioned by socio-cultural transformations associated with globalisation. Nonetheless, it is important to situate the process of globalisation within a glocalised framework indicating ways in which culture, locality and place-based identities are domesticated in everyday enactments of national culture (see Hall, 1992 and Edensor, 2000).

Heritage tourism experiences play a sustained role in reconstituting and recontextualising South Korean national identities as part of the process of maintaining cultural continuity throughout different periods of history, despite political suppression, territorial re-alignment

and ideological conflict. Importantly, the essence of 'Koreanness', which is deeply grounded in the Changdeok visitor experience and its heritage representations, encourages visitors to conceive of their nation as an emotional construct. The empirical-based narratives manifest ways in which a sense of national belonging encompasses elements of 'social intimacy', 'comfort' and 'security'. Connor's (1993: 382) statement encapsulates ways in which the nation can be reconceptualised and thus understood as:

> ... a group of people who feel that they are ancestrally related. It is the largest group that can command a person's loyalty because of felt kinship ties; it is, from this perspective, the fully extended family... It is not chronological or factual history that is the key to the nation, but sentient or felt history.

The Changdeok experience has humanitarian-based potential to enhance emotional connections to a (partitioned) nation and generate a renewed sense of being Korean. This level of national imagination to some extent reflects a dual identity that incites South Korean nationals to rethink their emotional, genealogical and racial ties with North Korea (and more importantly Korea as a whole). Nationals are South Korean in political and territorial terms but Korean in relation to cultural and ethnic affiliations. In many ways Changdeok Palace celebrates the latter requisites of identity.

Visitor and palace staff narratives clearly demonstrate ways in which felt history of the Korean nation is communicated through the medium of heritage tourism. As Changdeok Palace is only one specific heritage setting in South Korea, it would be epistemologically problematic to claim that it represents the whole spectrum of the nation's heritage settings. Nonetheless, it stands as one definitive historical representation that augments national sentiment and nationalistic feeling in an era in which South Korea is beginning to redefine notions of national belonging and come to terms with its entrenched primordial associations with North Korea. Therefore, a sense of national belonging and identity evoked and experienced in Changdeok needs to be understood as one particular (though crucial) mechanism in the (re)contextualisation of (South) Korean national consciousness. The heritage presentations and representations of Changdeok contribute to melding the nation's shared memories of the past into the present context as a rhetorical expression of openly expressed forms of nationalism. For South Korean nationals, Changdeok Palace could stand as a visual and symbolic testimony for sustaining national solidarity and legitimacy. Changdeok is also understood as a site of national nostalgia where the nation's past is commemoratively remembered.

In the overall context of this study, domestic heritage tourism is not just an act of touristic consumption of heritage artefacts but a re-affirmation of national meanings and values. Furthermore, the socio-psychological dimension of heritage is important in understanding how the symbolic significance of heritage is essential in enhancing its long-standing appeal as a potent reminder of nationhood. Barnard (1983) claims that shared heritage is of critical significance in enabling each individual to possess and preserve the distinctive character of a nation's collective soul, which has the capacity to penetrate the national psyche. Therefore, recognition of Changdeok Palace as an essential part of Korea's shared heritage is fundamental in communicating social memories of the past, thereby playing a pertinent role in exalting the 'spiritual principle' of the nation. This signified precept is venerated in this heritage setting in way which perpetuates the nation's past as something which is perceived to be ever immortal and enduringly perennial.

From this study, it is significant to note that heritage tourism is not predominantly related to emphasising one dominant reconstruction and reinterpretation of collective memory, assisted by state-based and hegemonic forms of national sovereignty. Rather, it facilitates ways in which individuals variably position themselves in a broader context of cultural construction and symbolic embodiment of the nation and national identity. The sustainability of Changdeok as a setting for shared national heritage is inseparably related to its symbolic and socio-psychological role in enhancing a cognitive longing for cultural and ethnic continuity. Moreover, the 'internal functions' (Smith, 1991a) of national identity are clearly featured in the Changdeok experience, where psychological bonds, shared values and collective memories are customarily enacted. An individual and subjective understanding of heritage is more closely related to experiential ways of articulating and enacting national consciousness.

The (western) scholastic emphasis on the heritage industry as a commercially-driven denigration of history (Hewison, 1987; Lowenthal, 1998) seemingly undervalues the social purpose of such national heritage settings as Changdeok Palace. It seems appropriate to state that the significance of heritage as an essential element of national solidarity and cultural continuity prevails within the context of Changdeok. Therefore, domestic heritage tourism is not necessarily based on perfunctory experiences but experiences reflecting a voluntary willingness to engage in nationalistic-based commemoration. Importantly, although some analysts assert that heritage tourism reconstructs nationhood experiences (see Urry, 1991 and

Ashworth, 1994) it is essential to examine what factors actually constitute 'nationhood' and determine the definition of a 'nation'. Therefore, before this rather popular assertion can be assumed to have critical value the historically unique characteristics of specific nation-states and the multi-ranging features determining nations ought to be fully addressed in future study. Accordingly, if it is accepted that certain 'nations' can surpass territorial (political) demarcations then heritage tourism should be viewed as manifesting intentions that are culturally and ethnically decisive rather than simply being determined by political boundaries and government ideologies (and hegemonic forms of national sovereignty). This observation was significant in the context of the research findings highlighted in the study. Accordingly, the study further reveals that South Korean visitors are able to practice a re-enchantment of their national past during heritage tourism experiences. An essence of national belonging and sentimental connection to the Korean nation is illustrated by the way in which visitors relate to the site's key cultural attributes, particularly those that are perceived to be uniquely Korean. In a rather detailed and less abstract manner, visitors variously described their view of the palace as a place imbued with feelings of 'calmness', 'familiarity' and 'homeliness'. It is also clear that visits to Changdeok conjure emotive-based expressions of the Korean nation, illustrated through a range of such expressed metaphors as 'love' (사랑 - sa-rang) and 'blood' (피 - pea). Such metaphors were expressed in an affective and emphatic manner.

It is interesting to note that formal perceptions and official interpretations of the palace, evoked through tour guide narratives, are partly concerned with portraying Changdeok as a site which represented royalty and the Joseon Kingdom, which was not significantly reflected in visitors' narratives. Rather, emphasis was overwhelmingly placed on ways in which the heritage and natural setting of Changdeok reawakens and revives actual or imagined nostalgic personal memories, especially those memories pertaining to the enactment of nationhood, cultural tradition and national belonging; irrespective of the nation's royal lineage.

Chapter Six emphasised ways in which Changdeok Palace can arguably act as a catalyst of national re-identification. Shared memories of Japanese colonialism evoked within Changdeok unquestionably encourage visitors to establish a rather strong sense of national cohesion, illustrated by way of remembering and indirectly experiencing past ordeals faced by the 'Korean' nation. Here, heritage, as a visual and psychological testimony of national history, serves as a vehicle through which visitors reaffirm their emotional attachment to the nation by actively delineating 'them' from 'us'. Importantly, South Korean nationals, as a

modern (collective) entity, generally expressed negative emotional reactions towards Japanese colonialism, particularly with specific regard to the national dishonour and trauma experienced as a consequence of the annexation of Korea. At Changdeok, social memories of Japanese imperialism constructively serve the purpose of neutralising the affliction that this 'national other' posed on (South) Korean national identities. It is also important to note that some of the visitors, especially members of the younger generation, regard the modern changes and renovations of the palace as a necessary process of historical evolution, commemorating social and physical dealignment from the traces of Japanese colonialism.

However, past feelings of antagonism concerning the perceived threat of North Korea's political and ideological stance towards South Korea was not perceived to be a major concern within ethnographic narratives and observations. It has been revealed that heritage tourism experiences in Changdeok Palace encourage South Koreans to redefine and reconceptualise the role of North Korea in their national consciousness, as illustrated through romantic narratives that imagine Korea as one single entity. Importantly, Changdeok serves as a symbolic agent for the temporal and spatial re-enactment (and re-embodiment) of national unity, enabling visitors (and palace staff) to encounter and experience the existence of their nation as primordially given. The sentiments of Hoare and Pares (2005: X) illustrate this very point:

> Koreans both north and south are conscious of their long history as a unified state inhabited by a largely undiversified race that managed to maintain its ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity throughout periods of foreign encroachment and occupation... Like other foreigners who have visited both halves of the peninsula, we quickly realized, now always sentimentally, that in the North we were dealing with the same people.

During a climate of reconciliation, originally promoted by the 1998 Sunshine Policy, any future endeavours to encourage the mobility of North Koreans to visit such cultural centres as Seoul could arguably help to commemorate the symbiotic relations and cultural affiliations exiting between the two politically defined nation-states. Accordingly, Changdeok Palace could have a proactive role in the 'national agenda', simply because it represents and symbolises a cultural site for which the 'Korean nation' can commemorate its shared past and common social memories.

Changdeok also enables South Koreans to rediscover their primordial conditions of identity at a time of rapid socio-cultural change and the increasing incursion of globalised culture. As

the empirical data suggested, perceptions for westernised forms of cultural and economic production enabled individuals to critically reflect on their own sense of Koreaness. This reflexive rationalisation of conduct was pertinent in understanding ways in which the palace stands as a central source of the cultural identification process, enabling individuals from different generations to (re-)appreciate and/or reassess intimate affinities to the Korean nation and its people.

Chapter Seven illustrated that visits to Changdeok Palace can enable South Koreans to encounter the distinctive attributes of Korean nationhood as a fundamental means to counteract the prevailing dominance of globalisation in contemporary South Korean culture and society. Here, Changdeok Palace as an essential constituent of the nation's history plays a significant role in inculcating a sense of national stability and continuity in the spheres of everyday life. Based on the research data, it is reasonable to assert that Changdeok is predominantly perceived as a timeless symbol of nationhood in stark contrast to Seoul's profile as a global city. Changdeok Palace stands as a national space where established notions of national memory, history and cultural identity remain notably resilient in an era where global (western) transformations prevail.

One important dimension of the study's findings concerns ways in which Changdeok Palace represents an auspicious and surreal site for the enactment of spiritual aspirations and experiences manifest in nationalist sentiment. The socio-cultural significance of Changdeok Palace can be highlighted as one of the central components in sustaining a belief in the nation's existence in the mundane realms of daily life. The Changdeok experience can be understood as one form of spiritual inversion. Accordingly, life outside the walls of the palace does not necessarily constantly remind individuals of ways to fully acknowledge latent forms of national sentiment as a primary concern of daily life encounters. Here, the walls act as a symbolic boundary by which Changdeok's inner and outer spaces become two disparate entities signifying seemingly different socio-cultural meanings. Moreover, the Changdeok experience manifests a transition from everyday realities to inverted actualisations.

Empirical data, together with a range of subsequent analytical discussions, confirm Billig's (1995) contention that nationalist sentiment in mundane life is not necessarily enacted as a response to grand (national) occasions but can actually be evoked ('flagged up') in experiences close to everyday life, especially in terms of spatial and temporal contexts. The

Changdeok experience thus provides uplifting and spiritual opportunities in reminding people of their national consciousness. However, rather than a form of extreme national sentiment often provoked at a time of national crisis and external threat, national consciousness is tacitly realised and recontextualised within the heritage setting.

From the perspectives of both palace staff and domestic visitors, it seems that heritage tourism arguably provides individuals with a symbolic, sacred and moral experience. The visitor experience is thus perceived as a journey consisting of spiritual inversions enabling visitors to experience a recuperative respite away from the routined and hectic schedule of modern daily life. In addition, its unique atmosphere, perceived as 'tranquil', 'surreal' and 'spiritual', posits the experience as a way of counteracting mundane elements of secularity. The complexity and uniformity of everyday life is thus counter-balanced in visitors' experiences, albeit in a location which is physically located at the very centre of contemporary urban life and socio-cultural transformation. For palace staff, the practice of working at Changdeok Palace also enables individuals to experience surreal experiences that are not achieved with everyday contexts. Moreover, palace staff attempt to provide visitors with enlightened insights into the spiritual (and national) meanings associated with the palace.

Consequently, the unique heritage and natural setting of Changdeok plays a substantial role in formulating its spatial and temporal identity as one form of heterotopia (see Foucault, 1986), inculcating a re-enactment of a timeless utopia which upholds unchanging and perpetual national meanings and values. Changdeok Palace can thus be conceptualised as a special and sublime place embodying eternal symbols of nationhood. Therefore, given the close socio-spatial proximity of the palace to people's daily environments, and the fact that domestic visitors are already citizens of the national community, the visitor experience should not necessarily be perceived as being completely detached from ordinary life. It should, however, be viewed as an extension of everyday life, providing individuals with opportunities to re-enact and reify their national identities thus enhancing shared feelings of national belonging and national sentiment.

Changdeok Palace upholds experiential values illustrated by the way in which the heritage setting involves and encourages interactive relations between visitors and other visitors, visitors and palace staff and visitors and the heritage setting. These multifarious relations potentially enhance an awareness of national identification partly on the basis of observation,

interaction and communication. Moreover, this heritage institution illustrates ways in which the cultural features of one's ethnicity and identity are socially communicated through interpersonal encounters and inter-subjective relations.

Finally, this study has theoretically and empirically examined the symbolic and dialectical relationships between heritage tourism and national identity, seeking to comprehend the dynamic social complexities concerning ways in which a national heritage setting can subjectively and contextually articulate shared social memories and national sentiment. It is anticipated that this current ethnographic study contributes to existing debates and perspectives concerning heritage interpretation, nationalism and the nation. The case study of South Korea presents an enlightened and unique illustration of the multifaceted elements of nationhood and nation identity, where the study of heritage tourism can attempt to unfold the complexities and nuances associated with national identification.

Ethnographic Re-Evaluation: Other Methods and Approaches

The ethnographic techniques and strategies employed within this study are believed to provide a constructive framework for unravelling individual meanings, diverse feelings and variegated viewpoints. Long-term immersion into the research field is pertinent in gaining intimate knowledge of the social actors and setting. The longer-term ethnogrphic approach, conducted over a five-year period, enabled repeated visits with the study group thus sustaining constructive research relationships and in-depth interactions. In particular, the longer-term approach proved productive in building trust and achieving open rapport, illustrated in the range of openly-expressed and emotionally-charged narratives. Appropriately, Geertz (1973: 24) notes that a long-term ethnography is proactive in 'gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live'. Accordingly, this current study reflects an interpretive-based ethnography with the intention not to identify causality and objective truth but to gain a deeper insight into others' points of view and the social setting itself, especially to produce an inter-contextual and nuanced understanding of heritage perceptions. It is maintained that:

> The focus is on how meaning is constructed, the circumstances of construction, and the meaningful linkages that are assembled for the occasion. While interest in the content of answers persists, it is primarily in how and what the subject/respondent, in collaboration with an equally active interviewer, produces and conveys about the subject/respondent's experience under the interpretive circumstances at hand (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004: 145).

Despite the use of the aide-memoire within the ethnographic interviews, as well as the conceptual guidance of general research themes derived from the literature to help stimulate various discussions and encounters, the researcher was still significantly guided by the multiple perspectives and concerns of the study group. The friendly conversations, for instance, served as an active means to facilitate informants' involvement in directing knowledge development and negotiating issues to discuss, particularly in terms of what they deemed to be appropriate.

In the recent tradition of the reflexive practices of social research it is thus necessary to critically reflect on the researcher's role in the process of the research study. In the early stages of the study, the researcher impatiently attempted to seek out as much data as possible within the time-framed fieldwork in a way in which potentially hindered the collection of more spontaneously-derived data. In his ethnographic study of the 1998 Commonwealth Games, Silk (2001) inferred that qualitative-based research encapsulates a learning process often manifesting error and oversight, especially as it is often difficult to predict exactly which particular methods will ascertain 'thick description'. Therefore, key qualities necessary for sustaining a longitudinal study are patience and fortitude, based on time-honoured principles associated with long periods of immersion in the field setting. Although the researcher obviously had no initial ('hands on') training in ethnographic techniques, the Changdeok Palace ethnography was encouraging in that the researcher did eventually begin to understand the importance of ethnographic intuition and perceptivity, though guided and supported by key participants in the field.

The degree of 'researcher impatience' in the early stages of the study was also a reflection of the researcher's limited trust in the richness of attained social data and uncertainty over the merits of informal levels of social inquiry. On reflection, however, ethnographic data is contextually and dialectically enriching but given its depth and range only selected representations can actually appear in the final ethnographic text. This in itself is a frustrating aspect of ethnographic analysis, especially as sorting and organising data is an extensive process and one which involves the researcher having to decide which narrative illustrations have to be excluded from the final text, even though they are arguably pertinent illustrations of ethnographic-based concerns, vocalisations and observations. Nevertheless, this longitudinal study enabled the researcher to eventually feel comfortable in the knowledge that the execution of a multiple-method approach can produce significant benefits.

Yet there are other qualitative methods that could provide further benefit to the study. One important method is the focus group discussion, which is believed to facilitate a range of communicative processes encouraging dynamic group interactions and multifarious opinions to emerge in one given research scenario (Wilkinson, 2004). Initially, the researcher did consider employing focus group discussions in provoking the elaboration and evaluation of the research accounts of key informants. However, given the fact that it was anticipated that there might be some reluctance from participants, particularly in relation to the hierarchical and institutional nature of Changdeok Palace, it was decided that this method would be politically problematic to institute.

Nevertheless, the employment of focus group discussions could have helped to provide an informational balance to the study that admittedly focuses more on participant monologue, and also dialogue between the researcher and participants, rather than on dialogue between research participants themselves. Focus groups could be productive in terms of possibly reducing researcher impact on the research environment. Subsequently, focus group discussions could play an active role in inducing lively discussions and eliciting more contrasting and conflicting viewpoints, helping to extend the conceptual and theoretical perimeters of the wider study.

This study indicated the importance of a detailed consideration of the subjective and individualised perceptions and interpretations of the heritage setting. However, it would have been instructive to seek more official and state-based interpretations of heritage, particularly through employing ethnographic interviews with policy-makers and/or practitioners representing the Cultural Heritage Administration and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, as well as other relevant government bodies. Interviewing key functionaries would substantially contribute to diversifying the research findings, especially in comparing official agendas of heritage with more personalised perspectives. This approach would perhaps have helped elevate a more critical reading of the heritage site, perhaps unearthing politicised agendas and ideological ways of interpreting heritage in the context of a newly modernised and geographically redefined nation.

Identifying what is perceived to be significant or insignificant in evaluating the research data should arguably develop from the participants themselves through a process of social

negotiation. Therefore, the multiple methods adopted in this study sought various perceptions and subjective undertakings of the investigated social phenomena. As a result, there was no attempt to produce definitive and conclusive explanations or ultimate truth, but multiple truths. Given the emphasis on the subjectivity and immediacy of social research no attempt was made to quantify data. It may be the case that quantification methods instituted along side a qualitative approach could enrich or diversify the research findings of certain qualitative-based findings, contributing perhaps to a demographic profile of domestic tourists based on such key social variables as age, social class, gender and educational background.

It would be interesting to examine ways in which other visitor groups perceive, encounter and negotiate heritage representations within the palace, particularly those who have been historically classified as 'significant others'. In terms of the broader composition of palace visitors, Japanese tour groups are a very visible national group of visitors at Changdeok. It would thus be pertinent to investigate ways in which Japanese nationals perceive this heritage setting and the Korean nation, and indeed their own nation's representation and its colonial past. With respect to furthering an understanding of the nation as an emotional construct, it would be useful to conduct research on those visitors who represent the wider Korean diaspora, living in such western countries as America and the UK. This would encourage a deeper understanding of how ethnicity and identity intersect with heritage tourism.

In 2006, Changdeok Palace announced that every Thursday visitors are allowed to freely visit the heritage setting on an individual basis rather than through the guided tour. It would thus be informative to research ways in which individual visitors are able to perceive the heritage experience in comparison to the guided tour experience, helping to extend an understanding of individual experiences outside of the more facilitated experiences and encounters. This would broaden the understanding of self-identity issues that are associated with articulations of national identification.

In the wider context of heritage tourism in South Korea, it would be insightful to research ways in which different heritage settings representing different periods of Korean history contribute to constructions of national identity. Given that Changdeok Palace is a historical legacy from the Joseon Kingdom and thus emblematic of Confucianism culture and social order, it would be relevant to produce a comparative study with heritage settings that reflect different religious backgrounds (e.g., Buddhism and Shamanism) or varying historical

contexts (e.g., the Three Kingdom period). This endeavour would extend our understanding of how aspects of religion encompass elements of nationhood. There is also ethnographic scope in researching other national royal palaces in Seoul (e.g., Gyeongbok Palace and Changgyeong Palace), which would help further understand ways in which national identity and social memories are articulated.

Importantly, however, the Changdeok Palace ethnography illustrates the versatility of employing longitudinal approaches within the study of heritage tourism, especially in terms of the ontological and phenomenological relevance of studying the interrelationships between social institutions and tourism experiences. Accordingly, heritage tourism studies have significant potential in pursuing institutional-based ethnographies in a diverse range of other heritage settings (e.g., folk villages, art galleries and national museums).

Finally, in future theoretical-based enquiries, the study topic would benefit from a systematic analysis of newly emerging paradigms manifest in the study of heritage and citizenship. Indeed, Brubaker (1998) maintains that discussions of citizenship in the age of the nation-state are largely about constructions of nationhood and nation, as well as meanings of belonging. Therefore, is would be fruitful to conceptually explore ways in which domestic heritage tourism can reinforce and re-enact a sense of what it means to be a modern citizen, opening up further discussions concerning the ethnic and cultural elements of citizenship embodied in national heritage settings.

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Appendix One

Fieldwork Programme

Stage 1 April 2002- January, 2003	-Gaining access to the research setting: formal meetings with Chung, Jae-jung (senior official in the Cultural Heritage Administration) and Mr. Park (Operations Manager in Changdeok Palace); official approval to conduct the longitudinal study -Sytematic lurking around key locations (eg., the Huwon, Cafeteria and the Rear Gate) -Conducting friendly conversations with palace staff (12 touris guides and 7 palace custodians) prior to ethnographic interviews -Empoying ethnographic interviews with 19 palace staff -Participating in 40 random tours -Conducting ethnographic interviews with 60 domestic visitors -Identify key informants (3 tour guides and 3 custodians), who were willing to contribute to the research programme on a very regular basis -Systematic recording of data (via regular use of the fieldwork diary) -Attaining a range of secondary source material (e.g., policy documents, palace archive material and historic manuscripts) -Transcribing ethnographic data -Reviewing the field diary and research data on a regular basis, providing conceptual and theoretical cues for the litetrature review -Recognising some contingent and divergent issues from initial data analysis, providing a framework for future ethnographic investigation
	-Procative use of friendly conversations and developing the researcher's role as an active negotiator within the fieldwork study

Stage 2 December, 2003 – June, 2004	-Collecting, reviewing and translating secondary sources concerning Changdeok Palace and Korean heritage -Conducting friendly conversations with palace staff -Employing, sorting, categorising and analysing students' essays as written (ethnographic) texts -Developing trustworthy research relationships with the key informants -Participating in 25 random tours -Conducting ethnographic interviews with 40 domestic visitors -Transcribing ethnographic data -Evaluating how the reflexive role of the researcher has evolved through critical deconstruction of fieldwork diary material
Stage 3 March- May, 2005	-In-depth discussions with key informants concerning newly emerging issues -Furthering the reflexive role of the researcher in knowledge development and the process of negotiation in the ethnographic study. -Casual/friendly conversations (including those initiated and led by palace staff) -Participating in 15 random tours -Conducting ethnographic interviews with 30 domestic visitors -'Systematic lurking' in key places -Translating ethnographic data: ethnographic interviews with domestic visitors and palace staff, and student essay and fieldwork diary material
Stage 4 December, 2005 – Jan, 2006	-Meeting key informants to seek further clarification of specific divergent issues raised from data analysis -Systematic lurking in key places -Updating secondary source input, particularly new publications on Changdeok Palace and Korean heritage

	-Translating, thematising and analysing ethnographic data
Stage 5 May – June, 2006	-Friendly conversations with newly-appointed palace staff -Regular encounters with the key informants -Updating material concerning the general profile of Changdeok Palace (e.g., visitor numbers, annual revenue, changes made in the guided tours, general administrational changes and PR material) -Visiting other royal palaces (participating in the guided tour at Gyeongbok Palace) -Summarising and analysing thematic features of the social data, and establishing the conceptual framework of the ethnographic study

Appendix Two

Vignettes- Palace Staff

Key Informants

Tour Guides

Ms Hong, Hyun-joo has worked as a tour guide on a temporary basis since 2000. She previously worked as a freelance translator for a Korean firm specialising in importing Japanese cartoons. She only conducted tours with Korean tourists and was hoping to be selected to conduct the Japanese tours.

Mrs Kwon, Hyun-joo used to work as a commercial tour guide for seven years before joining Changdeok in 1999. She was first employed on a contract basis for three years and was then transferred to a permanent post at the palace from 2001. One of her voluntary roles is to collect historical-based information on the palace and circulate it to other colleagues.

Ms Yoon, Sook has worked for Changdeok since 1987. She became interested in Korean heritage after living overseas, particularly in Iran when her husband worked for a Korean company. She was also very keen on improving learning Japanese because of her personal interest in Japanese culture and arts. She currently leads the Japanese and Korean tours at the palace.

Palace Custodians

Mr Kim, Jin-young worked at the palace since 1998. Although he was mainly responsible for the general upkeep of the palace he perceived himself as the 'Changdeok Palace expert'. He was immediately drawn to the beauty of Changdeok during his first visit twenty years ago. He collected rare historical material on Changdeok and wanted to establish his own collection of historical material concerning Changdeok Palace. He was extremely upset when he was transferred to Deoksu Palace in late 2004. He died of a heart attack during a morning patrol of Deoksu Palace in January, 2005.

Mr Kwon, Sang-joo started to work for the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) in 1987. He worked for various royal tombs before joining Changdeok in 2001. He became the head of the palace custodians in 2004.

Mr Yoon, Seong-il joined the palace in late 2001 as his first post. Since he worked for Changdeok, he has been an active member of a recreational organisation that regularly visits national parks and various heritage places in South Korea. He was transferred to one of the royal tombs in the third stage of the fieldwork in 2005.

Other Palace Staff

Tour Guides

Ms Hong, Ki-hyun has worked at the palace since 2003 and conducts tours with Korean tourists. She has a degree in Korean folklore studies.
Ms Jeon, Eun-ja had lived in China for a number of years and applied for her current post because she wanted to improve her understanding of Chinese language. She currently guides Chinese and Korean tourists. She has worked at the palace since 2002.

Mrs Jeong, Hyun-sook was one of the original members of the tour guides at Changdeok palace in 1979. She applied for the job immediately after graduating from the university because she thought that guiding in royal palaces was respectful job for a young woman. She has been head of the tour guides for the past 8 years. She conducts tours with Korean and English speaking tourists.

Mrs Jeong, Il-sim has worked for Changdeok since 1995 as a tour guide for Korean and English speaking tourists. On her Korean tours she is particularly keen on explaining the palace's architectural history.

Ms Ji was a tour guide from 2001 but resigned in 2002. She was responsible for the Korean and English tours.

Ms Kang, Seok-kyung learned Chinese for two years when she lived in Beijing in the late 1990s. She has been working at the palace since 2002, conducting tours with Chinese and Korean tourists.

Mrs Kim, Hae-nam has worked at the palace since 1999 and conducts tours for Korean and Japanese visitors. She often conducts her tours with a special emphasis on famous film locations in the palace grounds that have been televised in period dramas.

Ms Ko, Won-sun has worked at the palace since 2004 after being employed as a guide in the National Folk Museum (Seoul). She conducts tours with Korean tourists.

Ms Nam, Hyun-jeong has worked at the palace since 1998, conducting tours with Korean tourists.

Palace Custodians

Mr. Jeong, Bae-young has been working for Changdeok for three years. He worked for the main office of CHA but found office-based work too monotonous. Working in Changdeok was more interesting and rewarding.

Mr. Kang, Kwi-yeon has worked for the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) for the last 32 years. He used to work for another World Heritage Site in Seoul, Jongmyo (the Royal Shrine). He has worked at the palace since 2002.

Mr. Kim, Jae-won has worked at the palace since 1999 but has been employed by CHA throughout the 1990s.

Mr. Park, Tae-sik was the head of the palace custodians in 2002 but was transferred to another royal toumb in late 2003. He has worked for CHA for 33 years. He used to work for Changdeok Palace from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, returning to the palace in 2000.

Appendix Three

Ethnographic Interviews: Aide-Memoire

Changdeok Palace Employees

Topic Themes and Examples of Inferred Questions

1. Background Information

Examples:

'How long have you been working at Changdeok Palace?'

'What made you become interested in working in such heritage places as Changdeok Palace?'

'What are your general perceptions of Korean heritage and history?'

2. Workplace Values

Examples:

'What are your feelings about working at Changdeok Palace?'

'What aspects of your work are appealing...Why is that the case?'

'What does it mean to you, working at a 'national' (and world) heritage site?

'Have your feelings/perceptions/experiences of Changdeok changed thoughout the time you have work in the institution?'

3. Perceptions of the Heritage Setting

Examples:

'What is your impression of Changdeok as a visitor attraction?'

'What aspects of the Palace do you find inspiring and/or no so challenging?

4) Percetions of Korean (Domestic) Visitors

Examples:

'What do you generally thinking about Korean visitors?'

'What are the positive (and negative) experiences of your relationship with these visitors?'

'Do you feel that they really appreciate this palace?'

'Have you come across difficult situations with visitors?'

'What are your experiences of foreign visitors compared to domestic visitors?

5) General Perceptions of Chandeok Palace

Examples:

'What do you think needs to be improved to increase Chandeok's appeal as a heritage site?'

'What is specicial or different about Changdeok Palace compared to other heritage places you have previously worked / visited?'

Changdeok Palace Visitors

Topic Themes and Examples of Inferred Questions

1. Background Information

Examples:

'Is this your first visit?'

'How often do you visit cultural heritage places?'

'What are your impressions of Korean heritage and history?'

2) Percetions of National Belonging and Consciousness

Examples:

'How do you feel about being Korean?... What does it mean to you in general?'

'How do you view your (South) Korea?

'How do you perceive other nations in relation to your own nation'? (especially Japan, North Koera and other western societies/cultures')'

'When do you feel a strong about your connection to your nation?'

'Do you feel a close connection to this place?'

3. Visitor Values

Examples:

'What made you become interested in visiting heritage places... any particular reasons?'

'What do you think/feel about Changdeok Palace as opposed to other heritage places/royal palaces?'

'What aspects of your visit were interesting/disappointing...Why is that the case?'

'Are there any general or specific concerns that you have with regard to your vistor experience?'

4. Perceptions of the Heritage Setting

Examples:

'What is your impression of Changdeok as national heritage?

'What does it mean to you to visit national heritage sites?'

'What do you think is the most important attribute that can enhance your appreciation of national heritage?'

'What aspects of the Palace do you find inspiring and/or no so challenging?

5) General Perceptions of Changdeok Palace

Examples:

'What are the main reasons for visiting Changdeok Palace'?

'Have your feelings/perceptions/experiences of Changdeok Palace changed after the visit?'

'Did you feel that you learnt anything interesting about the palace and/ about yourself?'

'Did you know about the tour guide system operating here before the visit?'

'How did the guides generally perform, especially in terms of providing clear informational detail and information concerning Korean history / heritage?'

'What did you know about Changdeok before you visited here?'

'What is the most interesting building/area of Changdeok?... What are your reasons for this?

'How does Changdeok compare to other heritage settings / palaces?'

Appendix Four

Changdeok Palace Tour

The guided tour lasts approximately one hour and twenty minutes, covering 2.1 kilometers. The guides provide a brief introductory explanation concerning the history of Changdeok Palace and the general itinerary of the tour in the foreground near Donwhamun (돈화문 – *the main gate of Changdeok*). The group is then directed to walk through Geumcheongyo (금천교 – *the stone bridge*) before entering the area of Injeongjeon (인정전 - *the main hall*, National Treasure No. 225). The group then visits Seonjeongjeon (선정전 - *the administration hall*), famous for its unique blue-coloured kiwa roof, and Eochago (어차고 – *the royal garage*); where restored vehicles are displayed. The group moves towards the bedroom departments of the royal families, Daejojeon (대조전) and Huijeongdang (휘정당). Nakseonjae (낙선재 – *pavilion*; home of the last descendants of the royal family) is the final building that visitors see before entering the Huwon (후원 - *rear garden*), where Buyongji (부용지 - *pond*), Buyongjeong (부용정 - *pavilion*) and Juhamnu (주합루 – *royal library*) are all located. The guided tour only explores the front area of Huwon, where visitors have a twenty minute rest period. From this point, the visitors are then guided through Bulromun (불로문 - *gate*), reaching Yeongyeongdang (연경당 - hall), where they can explore a typical house of the Confucian literati in the Joseon Kingdom period. Finally, the tour group is directed toward the rear gate of the palace, Keumwhomun (금호문), where the tour terminates.

HERITAGE TOURISM AND SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF CHANGDEOK PALACE, SEOUL

PhD

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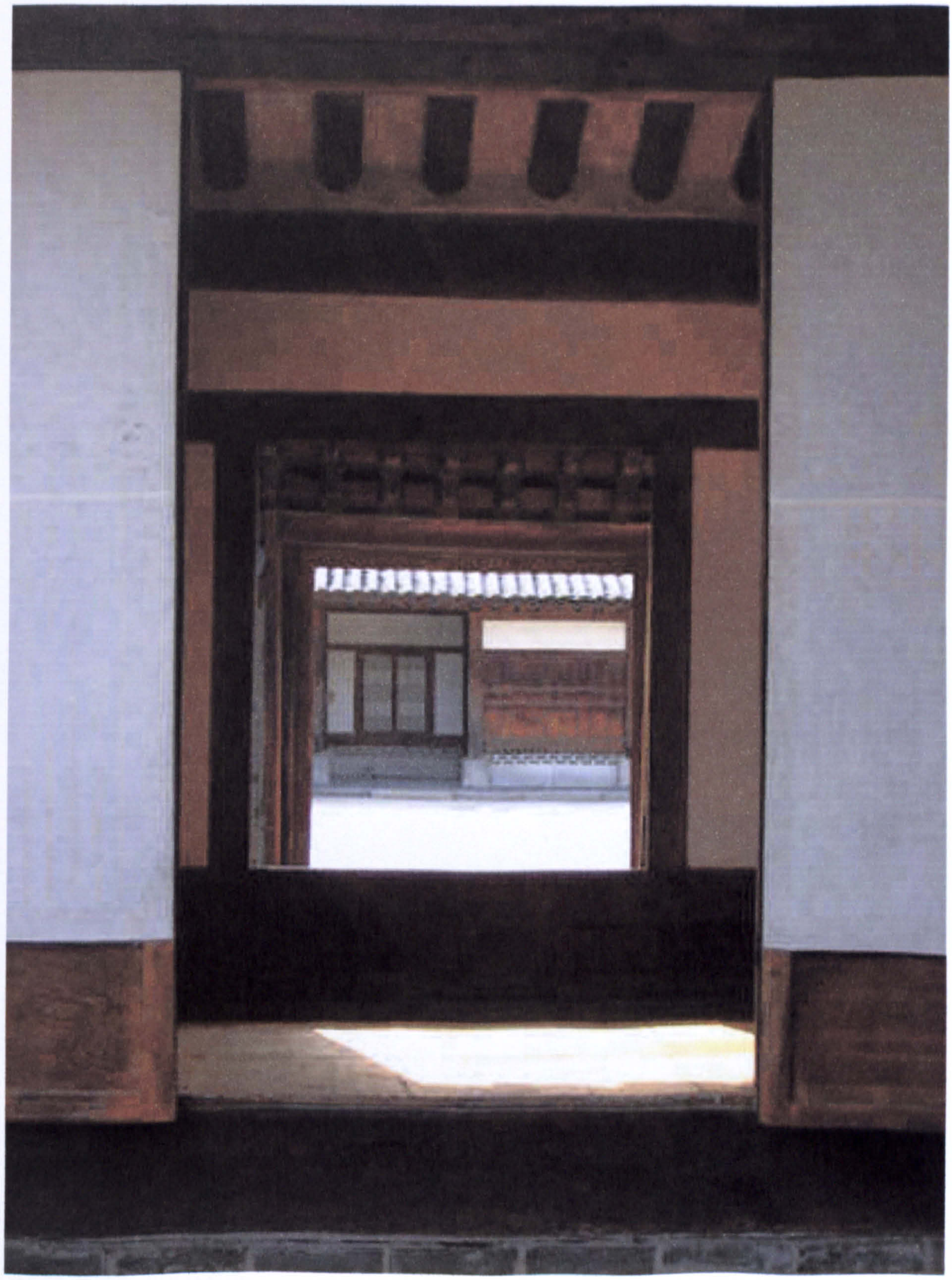
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