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NATIONAL TOURISM POLICY AND SPATIAL PATTERNS OF DOMESTIC TOURISM IN

SOUTH KOREA

Abstract

The implementation of national tourism policy is manifested in the development of

destinations and in patterns of tourism activity. Based on Brenner's notions of spatial rescaling

and spatial selectivity, this study assesses the changing distribution of domestic tourism in South

Korea between 1989 and 2011, and relates these changes to the national tourism policies put in

place during those years. Spatial statistical techniques including Moran's global *I* statistic and

Local Indicators of Spatial Association are employed. Findings suggest that while domestic

tourism activity became less concentrated at the macro level during the study period, at a finer

scale it is clear that this deconcentration is nevertheless occurring in a clustered manner. Thus,

while the traditional emphasis on Seoul and the southeast appears to have declined, the

distribution of tourism's benefits is still uneven. Observations with regards to future tourism

policy and concomitant spatial patterns of development and activity are provided.


Keywords: domestic tourism policy, exploratory spatial data analysis (ESDA), South Korea,

spatial selectivity, state rescaling

NATIONAL TOURISM POLICY AND SPATIAL PATTERNS OF DOMESTIC TOURISM IN SOUTH KOREA

Introduction

Discussions among scholars of regional development, critical geography and political economy have in recent years focused increasingly on what Brenner (2009, p. 124) has described as the "geopolitical economy of state space." In particular, these discussions have focused on the notion of state rescaling, "processes through which new, multiscalar hierarchies of state institutional organization, political authority and regulatory conflict are being generated" (Brenner 2004, p. 449). This process of rescaling sits within the context of the global transformation of political economy over the past century, notably the shift from the Fordist-Keynesian era of managerialism and the welfare state, to the post-1970s era of competition and entrepreneurialism. One outcome of this process of special interest in this particular paper is the phenomenon of state downscaling, the devolution or decentralization of regulatory power to the subnational administrative level which has pervaded most of the nations of the developed world in the current period.

As Brenner (2004) explains, the varying emphases of successive administrations has significant implications for the geography of the state: "Each historical formation of state spatiality is associated with policy frameworks that target specific jurisdictions, places and scales as focal points for state regulation, public investments and/or financial aid" (Brenner 2004, p. 453). This process of spatial targeting or selectivity tends to privilege certain interests, actors, locations and scales over others. Thus, while the Fordist-Keynesian era targeted capitalist industrial growth at the national level, more recent attention has been shifted to sub-national regions. Brenner goes on to call for empirical analysis of the impacts of specific state policies at

the sub-national level, and identifies housing and employment as two potential candidates. In this paper, the emphasis is on outcomes of policy regarding domestic tourism. Specifically, the purpose of the paper is to assess the spatial distribution of domestic tourism in the context of shifts in national tourism policy in the Republic of Korea (South Korea) within the framework of Brenner's notions of spatial rescaling and selectivity. The paper employs rigorous spatial statistical techniques, a methodological approach to date rarely employed in the tourism literature, and is based on the underlying premise that to effectively respond to future tourism trends it is first critical to understand past and present tourism activity. As noted by Butler (2009, p. 349), "If we are to understand where tourism is going and what form it is likely to take in the future, we need to be able to understand both where it has come from and what is likely to shape it in the future." Given tourism's inherently geographical nature, assessment of historical and current spatial patterns of tourism, in particular in light of shifting directions in government policy, can significantly aid the identification and subsequent implementation of the most desirable future tourism strategies at the national, regional and local levels.

The Role of Tourism Policy in the Context of Tourism Planning and Economic Development

The typical rationale for the implementation of national tourism development policy is simple: the expected creation of income and jobs (e.g., Telfer 2002b). [It should be noted that in some Asian nations such as China and North Korea tourism policy has also been used as an instrument of broader political ideology, though these special cases are beyond the scope of the discussion here.] As outlined by Gunn (1979), the effective regional development of tourism is dependent upon both the heightened demand for travel – in terms of not only the desire but also the ability to participate in tourism activities – and the expanded supply of tourism infrastructure,

including the provision of key elements such as transportation to and within tourism destinations, accommodations, food and beverage options, attractions and events, etc. In some cases, tourism development capitalizes on the presence of natural and/or cultural resources, often of the common-pool variety, within existing communities, whereas in other instances entire destinations have been purposefully created by national tourism development entities in essentially blank-slate environments, e.g., Cancun (Bosselman, Peterson, and McCarthy 1999). Such master-planned developments represent an agglomeration approach to economic development, whereby the spatial clustering of complementary producers and providers offers both increased choice to the consumer, and economies of scale to the industry (e.g., Hirschman 1958; Mills 1972; Schumpeter 1949). However, this growth pole approach to development has been criticized; while the development of new resorts may indeed lead to modernization within their confines, the extent to which their benefits trickle down beyond the owners and operators of the newly created tourism enterprises, or trickle out into surrounding communities and aid in the lessening of regional inequalities, is questionable. The alternative development paradigms that have emerged since the 1970s favor smaller-scale, more people-oriented approaches that encourage local participation via bottom-up planning and incorporate not only economic but also social and environment concerns (Telfer 2002a). As noted by McLennan, Pham, Ruhanen, Ritchie and Moyle (2012, p. 802), "Transformational change in the tourism industry needs to be *planned* to ensure positive outcomes with minimum negative impacts ..." (emphasis added).

Tourism Policy as an Agent of Spatial Change

Given the tremendous size of the tourism industry and the importance of tourism to many national economies, the lack of study of the outcomes of national tourism policy is surprising;

analysis of the spatial outcomes of such policy is even less developed. It would seem particularly instructive to conduct analyses of current and historical policies in terms of the observed outcomes of their implementation, with an eye to the optimization of future courses of action. Hall and Jenkins (1995) emphasized the desirability of analyzing the outcomes of public policy at a number of levels (macro, meso and micro) over both time and space, as well as the importance of the consideration of historical factors such as earlier tourism-related decisions, actions, procedures and programs.

The era of Community Structural Funds under the European Commission (EC) in the late 1980s and early 1990s saw considerable investment in tourism throughout the EC nations. In Ireland, for example, a previous policy emphasis on overseas promotion was shifted to one of substantial subsidized investment with the goal of creating employment in and redistributing income to the poorest regions of the country. However, as Hannigan (1994) explains, this strategy was not successful since an analysis of business revenue and employment creation from 1988 through 1992 revealed that most growth actually occurred in areas where tourism had traditionally been a major industry already. In the United Kingdom (UK), a similar goal of dispersal was underway during this period. For example, two of the goals of the British Tourist Authority at the time included dispersing inbound visitors throughout the country, in particular to areas of high unemployment, and maintaining the proportion of nights spent outside London at a minimum of 60 percent (Pack, Clewer, and Sinclair 1995). The authors noted that their analysis of the spatial and temporal characteristics of overseas tourism demand was the first known analysis of the success of this national tourism dispersal policy. Using the Herfindahl index of concentration, they indicated that the level of spatial concentration of international tourism demand did indeed decline between 1976 and 1992. However, in their conclusion they caution

against the interpretation of their findings as indicative of policy success, since much of the shift in activity they uncovered appeared to be to regions surrounding London rather than more remote locations. As Hannigan exhibited for Ireland, tourism growth in the peripheral regions, and the resulting creation of new income and jobs, was far less dramatic.

Soshiroda (2005) outlines the development of inbound tourism policy in Japan for the period 1859-2003. Of most relevance here, the piece describes the 1987 "ten million plan," which aimed to double outbound tourism as a means of lessening the political friction then being created by Japan's monumental trade surplus, followed in subsequent decades and as a result of the overwhelming success of the 1987 outbound plan, by a series of programs designed to boost inbound travel. These included the 1996 "Welcome Plan 21," the 1997 "Law to Promote Inbound International Tourism by Diversifying Destinations in Japan," and, in 2003, the inauguration of "inbound tourism initiatives for Japan" and the "Visit Japan campaign." As Soshiroda notes, these inbound policies were novel for the nation in terms of their focus on regional revitalization. This new emphasis reflected increasing collaboration between central government on the one hand, and local government and private industry on the other, as well as the gradual transfer of power over tourism policy from the former to the latter, throughout this period.

Vera Rebollo and Ivars Baidal (2009) present an alternative approach to the consideration of policy. Specifically, rather than considering the impact of policy on tourism development, they discuss the impact of tourism – in their case the proliferation of low-cost air carriers – on regional policy in Spain. In particular, they note the acceleration of the construction of tourism housing (real estate and holiday homes) at the expense of traditional, hotel-based

accommodations along the Mediterranean coast, and the implications of such development for the sustainability of the region.

Analysis of Spatial Patterns of Tourism

Tourism is at its very core a distinctly geographical phenomenon, involving the movement of tourists from one place – their places of origin or generating regions – to one or more destinations via a complex web of multi-modal transportation networks. Analysis of the spatial patterns of tourism supply and demand, and of tourists' movements or flows, has long been recognized as a fundamental component of the geographical approach to tourism. Indeed, these foci represented three of the six key areas of geographic emphasis highlighted by Pearce (1979). The analysis of tourism patterns and flows appears to have peaked in the 1980s and early 1990s. Perdue and Gustke (1985) provided a secondary analysis of the interregional distribution of leisure travel within the US based on the 1977 National Travel Survey, while Hudman (1989) described current and future outbound travel patterns among US travelers. Pearce (1987) demonstrated the role of charter operations in the spatial diffusion of international package tourism in Europe between 1970 and 1980. Later, Pearce provided analyses of domestic travel patterns in New Zealand and Sweden (1993 and 1996, respectively). Oppermann (1994) examined the influence of length of stay on the spatial dispersal patterns of inbound visitors to New Zealand. A comprehensive analysis of the origins of international tourists for the period 1974-1990 was provided by Hudman and Davis (1994). More recently, Li, Meng and Uysal (2008) documented the spatial patterns of flows among the Asia-Pacific countries between 1995 and 2004 using the concepts of the country potential generation index and gross travel propensity, while both Zhang, Xu and Zhuang (2011) and Yang and Wong (2013) employed

exploratory spatial data analysis (ESDA) techniques to assess the distributions of inbound international and domestic tourists to cities throughout China (these latter two contributions are discussed in more detail in a methodological context below).

Other studies have explored the distributions of tourism industry activity through space and/or time. Williams and Shaw (1995), who noted the neglect of theoretical or empirical analysis of regional tourism development, illustrated the polarization of tourism as measured by the distributions of tourists and tourism-related employment in the UK in the 1980s and early 1990s. In contrast, Krakover (2004), who reiterated the lack of work on tourism's role in economic development and found no relevant references since the Williams and Shaw (1995) piece, identified a trend of convergence between core and peripheral areas as measured by the distribution of hotel rooms, bed-nights, hotel revenues and hotel-related jobs in Israel in the 1990s.

Though the analytical rigor of these analyses has certainly increased over time, the emphasis on international activity – whether the flows of international tourists between nations, or their travel patterns within destinations nations – has remained dominant. Authors such as Canavan (2013) have observed a similar emphasis on international over domestic travel in the broader tourism research realm. The most likely explanation for this continued focus on the international traveler is two-fold. First is the greater availability of international tourism statistics, itself a function of the greater ease of documenting international arrivals and departures. Second is the continuing recognition among government agencies of international travel as more significant from an economic perspective since at the national level inbound international tourism represents a form of income whereas domestic tourism represents the

recycling of monies within the nation. The analyses presented here are therefore somewhat novel in their emphasis on spatial patterns of domestic tourism activity.

The Use of Geographic Information Systems and Spatial Statistical Techniques in Tourism Analysis

Reference to the utility of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) within the tourism realm first appeared in the 1990s. Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999) and Mcadam (1999) presented reviews of the applications of GIS in sustainable tourism planning and management in the UK. Both included definitions of GIS and summaries of functionality, and both highlighted the opportunities that this technology provides for the visualization and analysis of spatial phenomena. More recent applications have included the use of GIS to map the locations of commercial ecotourism operators in New Zealand (Dickey and Higham 2005) and the distribution of local tourism systems in Italy (Lazzeretti and Capone 2008). Feng and Morrison (2002), Lau and McKercher (2007) and Chancellor and Cole (2008) each employed GIS in their representations of tourists' origins and/or movement patterns in Indiana, Hong Kong and North Carolina, respectively. Most recently, Zhang, Xu and Zhuang (2011) and Yang and Wong (2013) have demonstrated the application of GIS-based ESDA techniques in the context of the distributions of tourists in Chinese cities. Both papers employ Moran's $I$ measure of spatial autocorrelation and the local indicator of spatial association (LISA) to identify spatially-dependent patterns of tourism activity.

Nevertheless, in general GIS would seem to remain relatively underexploited by tourism researchers and practitioners in terms of the power of its analytical capabilities, particularly with regards its abilities to help address "a major challenge of contemporary tourism studies" as

identified by Cole (2007, p. 183), that is, comprehension of the systematic interactions between entities and regions of varying sizes and, the current authors would add, at different (local, national, etc.) scales. While the majority of the works highlighted above are mostly descriptive in nature, this piece is among those breaking new methodological ground in its application of advanced spatial statistical techniques including Moran's $I$ and LISA.

The Case of South Korea

As Park (2008) describes, the East Asian nations have been characterized by a particularly high degree of 'active,' or what might also be referred to as 'top-down,' governmental regulation of private economic activity in the latter half of the twentieth century. In South Korea, the period of export-led industrialization beginning in the 1960s was led by its then authoritarian regime within a highly centralized government structure. The spatial selectivity of this industrialization strategy favored the further development of the already more urbanized and industrialized regions of Seoul and the southeast, and served only to exacerbate regional economic inequalities. Park (2003) outlines the processes and outcomes of state-led industrialization and political regionalism in South Korea through the 1960s and 1970s. By the 1990s, however, after the Declaration of Democratization in 1987, political democratization was occurring. This process was accompanied by substantial decentralization, first under the establishment of the Local Autonomy System in 1991, and more recently with the coming to power of the Roh Moo-hyun administration in 2003. In his inaugural speech on 25 February 2003, President Roh stated:

> For the future of the country, the centralization and concentration in the Seoul
> metropolitan area can no longer be left unattended. Decentralization of power to
> the provinces and balanced national development have become tasks that cannot
> be put off any longer. The central and the provincial parts of the country should

be developed in a harmonious and balanced manner. The provinces should design
their own future autonomously, and the central government should help them out
(in Park 2008, p. 47).

Table 1 identifies the presidents and reigning ideologies of South Korea since 1980. It is

the premise of this paper that the characteristics of these various presidencies will be reflected in

the development and implementation of South Korean domestic tourism policy, and manifested

in spatial patterns of domestic tourism activity, particularly in terms of the shift from a military

regime to a more democratic and increasingly region-focused system beginning in the 1980s.

Insert Table 1 about here

The travel and tourism industries accounted for 5.1% of national gross domestic product

and 5.4% of total employment in South Korea in 2011 (Timetric 2012). However, as shown in

Table 2, outbound international tourism has outstripped inbound arrivals every year since 2000,

prompting the government to take steps to boost inbound tourism, e.g., via the "Korea,

Sparkling" campaign. The revitalization of domestic tourism has also been identified as an

important task by the Korean government, as an additional means of ameliorating the tourist

balance deficit, and both of the most recent tourism plans – Tourism Vision 21 (1999-2003) and

the Tourism Development Plan (2002-2011) – specifically highlight the significance of

encouraging increased domestic travel.

Insert Table 2 about here

Method

The spatial statistical techniques employed in this paper reflect the fundamental

geographic concept of spatial dependence. The concept of spatial dependence is best captured by

Tobler's (1970) First Law of Geography, which stated that while everything is related to

everything else, near things are more related than distant things. The degree of spatial

dependence within a distribution can be assessed at two levels – the global and the local. The

most commonly employed global measure of spatial dependence, also known as spatial

autocorrelation or spatial clustering, is Moran's global *I* statistic (Moran 1950). Moran's *I* is

calculated as follows:

$$I = \frac{N}{S_0} \Sigma_i \ \Sigma_j \ w_{ij} \ (x_i - \mu)(x_j - \mu) / \Sigma_i \ (x_i - \mu)^2 \ , S_0 = \Sigma_i \ \Sigma_j \ w_{ij}$$

where $w_{ij}$ is the matrix of weights ($w_{ij} = 1$ if area i and area j are adjacent; otherwise, $w_{ij} = 0$),

$x_i$ is the number of domestic tourists in area *i* (in this case, si or gun), $x_j$ is the number of

domestic tourists at area *j* (si or gun), $\mu$ is the average number of domestic tourists, and N is the

total number of areal units. Moran's *I* statistic ranges between -1 and 1, with a value of 1

indicating perfect positive autocorrelation, a value of 0 indicating a lack of autocorrelation (a

random spatial pattern), and a value of -1 indicating perfect negative autocorrelation. Findings of

both positive and negative autocorrelation are indicative of non-random spatial patterns. Positive

autocorrelation refers to patterns in which similar values tend to occupy adjacent locations, i.e.,

high values tend to occur adjacent to high values and low values adjacent to low values, whereas

negative autocorrelation refers to patterns in which high values tend to be located next to low

values.

As a global measure, Moran's global *I* cannot be used to identify the location of

geographic hot spots or clusters, i.e., it can indicate the existence of spatial autocorrelation but

does not provide any characterization of the exact nature or distribution of the spatial dependence

indicated. LISA can, however, be used to identify the location and significance of geographic hot

spots in a dataset. LISA is calculated as follows:

$$I_i = \frac{(x_i - \mu)}{m_2} \Sigma_j w_{ij}(x_j - \mu), \ m_2 = \Sigma_i \ (x_i - \mu)^2 / N$$

Results of LISA analysis can be classified into five categories: (i) high-high (HH); (ii) high-low (HL); (iii) low-high (LH); (iv) low-low (LL); and (v) insignificant, and can be presented in the form of scatterplots and significance maps. In the context of this paper, the five categories can be operationalized as follows: (i) high-high – clusters of locations with high domestic tourism activity, indicating positive spatial autocorrelation, and also called hotspots; (ii) high-low – locations with high domestic tourism activity adjacent to locations with low domestic tourism activity, indicating negative spatial autocorrelation; (iii) low-high – locations with low domestic tourism activity adjacent to locations with high domestic tourism activity, indicating negative spatial autocorrelation; (iv) low-low – clusters of locations with low domestic tourism activity, indicating positive spatial autocorrelation; and (v) insignificant – no clustering or spatial autocorrelation between locations. Mapping and spatial statistical analyses were conducted in ArcGIS 9.3.1.

The secondary data required to complete the analyses were derived from the Korean Culture and Tourism Institute (KCTI), the research institute within the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) commissioned to promote the country's tourism industry and conduct tourism research. KCTI defines domestic tourism as the visitation of any South Korean citizen to a range of free and fee-based travel and tourism-related sites, including national, provincial and county parks; recreational forests; tourism farms; registered hot springs; resorts; and, amusement/theme parks. There is no required minimum travel distance from or minimum length of stay away from home. Tourism activity is reported in KCTI's Annual Visitor Survey Report. Visitor numbers are collected by local government entities and are uploaded to KCTI on

a monthly basis. Uploaded data are reviewed and approved by the MCST and then posted in the

form of downloadable Excel files by KCTI in their Tourism Knowledge Information System.

Analysis was conducted at a series of spatial scales, ranging from the macro (the four

major regions labeled capital, middle, southeast and southwest), to the meso (the sixteen

administrative sub-regions – a combination of nine provinces and seven cities – that make up the

four major regions) to relatively micro (the 82 cities, or 'si,' and 83 counties, 'gun,' that make up

the country) (Figure 1). The study period (1989-2011) reflects the full time span of comparable

and confirmed data. Rather than analyze each available annum, the decision was made to identify

four temporal cut-off points in the data. These four cut-offs correspond to the earliest and most

recently available statistics but also reflect some years with missing data as well as the

transitions between South Korean presidencies. Hence, the paper focuses on the years 1989,

1998, 2003, and 2011.

Insert Figure 1 about here


Results

Both the volume of domestic tourism in South Korea, as well as the propensity of South

Koreans to travel domestically, have increased over the study period, 1989-2011 (Table 3). Table

4 illustrates the regional share of domestic tourism in South Korea for the same period. At the

most aggregated level (the four main regions), it is apparent that while the capital region's share

of domestic tourism activity has remained relatively static over the study period (between 11%

and 13%), and while the middle region's share has increased somewhat (from 27% in 1989, to

35% in 2003, and 32% in 2011), more dramatic shifts have occurred in the southeast and

southwest. Specifically, while the southeast region's share of domestic tourism has declined from

49% to 31%, the southwest region has seen its share double from 13% to 26%. As such, the

distribution of domestic tourism activity appears to have become less concentrated over time.

Insert Tables 3 and 4 about here

These general observations conceal some more dramatic variations at the provincial/

metro level, however, reflecting the significance of an awareness of the scale of analysis in such

situations. For example, Gyeongbuk and Gyeongnam maintained and slightly increased their

respective shares of domestic tourism despite the declining popularity of the southeast, while the

rising popularity of the southwest appears due primarily to increasing domestic activity in

Jeonnam and Jeonbuk, and despite the halving of the proportion of domestic activity occurring in

Jeju.

Table 5 lists Moran's global $I$ score for South Korean domestic tourism activity across

the 165 cities and counties between 1989 and 2011. As highlighted in Figure 2, the global score

of autocorrelation rose on seventeen occasions throughout the period, from an initial value of

0.01 in 1989 to 0.33 in 2011. The positive nature of the coefficient on the score suggests a rising

degree of positive autocorrelation, i.e., a tendency towards a non-random pattern of domestic

tourism activity in which cities/counties exhibiting high (or low) levels of domestic tourism are

more likely to be situated next to cities/counties with similarly high (or low) levels of activity.

Insert Table 5 and Figure 2 about here

Figures 3-6 illustrate the location and type of domestic tourism hot spots throughout

South Korea over the study period. Results of the LISA analysis are presented in tabular form in

Table 6, indicating the change in the number of cities/counties exhibiting each of the five

outcomes of LISA analysis (high-high (HH); high-low (HL); low-high (LH); low-low (LL); and

insignificant).

In 1989, only 12 (7.8%) of the 165 cities/counties exhibited statistical significance in the LISA analysis. Four hot spots (labeled HH) of domestic tourism activity were identified: Busan, Daegu, Daejeon and Gyeongju. Busan, Daegu and Daejeon are metropolitan areas, while Gyeongju is a well-known domestic tourism destination offering a range of heritage and cultural attractions as a result of its history as the capital of the Silla dynasty for a thousand years. Three of the four hot spots identified in 1989 lay in the south-east region of the country. No LL areas were identified.

By 1998, 17 (10.3%) cases of significance are indicated. Four hot spots (HH) of tourism activity are still evident, though with one change in location, with Daejeon being replaced by Seoul. The increasing intensity of domestic activity in Busan, Daegu and Gyeongju is highlighted by the emergence of LH areas between them. No LL areas were identified.

By 2003, the number of significant cases rises to 37 (22.4%). Twelve hot spots can be identified (Boryeong, Busan, Daegu, Daejeon, Gangneung, Gwangju, Gyeongju, Incheon, Mokpo, Seogwipo, Seoul and Sokcho), and for the first time these hot spots are located throughout all four major regions of the country, including in the southwest. Nine new LH cases emerge, in particular around Gyeongju and on Jeju Island, indicating the spatial diffusion of domestic tourism activity in these areas. No LL areas were identified.

Finally, in 2011, a total of 72 (44.2%) cases of significance are revealed. While the number of hot spots of domestic tourism activity increases by only one (Jeju), many new HL and LH locations become evident. Three areas of LL activity emerge, Uiryeong, Uiseong and Yeongyang.

Insert Figures 3-6 and Table 6 about here

Discussion

This paper has demonstrated the application of rigorous spatial statistical techniques to the analysis of domestic travel activity, in so doing answering Brenner's (2004) call for empirical study of the implications of state policy at the sub-national level. It is one of only a few papers in the tourism realm to employ such techniques, and the first to make the connection to Brenner's work on the geopolitical economy of state space, thereby making both methodological and theoretical contributions to the tourism literature. Findings indicate that both the volume of domestic travel and the propensity of South Koreans to travel domestically have increased over the past two decades, in part no doubt due to the increasing availability of leisure time (the five day work week was introduced in 2004) as well as rising levels of disposable income. At the macro level, the increase in domestic tourism activity has been accompanied by a decline in the concentration of domestic arrivals, with a substantial evening out occurring between the southeast and the southwest. Historically, most national and regional industrial development projects outside of Seoul occurred in the southeast portion of the country, in and around cities such as Busan and Daegu. According to Park (2008), the development of this manufacturing-based axis of development can be traced back to the Japanese colonial period, when the Japanese promoted industrial development along the railway between Seoul and the port city of Busan. More recently, this spatial inequality has been exacerbated by the origination of all but one of South Korea's seven most recent Presidents from the east side of the country, and is reminiscent of Brenner's (2004) discussion of spatial selectivity, the privileging of certain interests, actors and locations over others. Through time, rising levels of wealth in these urban and industrial centers and concomitant demand for leisure travel experiences saw the creation and gradual expansion of hot spots of domestic tourism activity, as reflected in the Moran maps (Figures 3-

6). Meanwhile, the southwest region was somewhat excluded from regional development initiatives, likely limiting the propensity of its residents to engage in domestic tourism but also preserving its natural and cultural resources for later tourism development. With the shift towards decentralization and more balanced development in the last two decades, however, the southwest has emerged as a site of increasing domestic tourism activity. The prior under-utilization and de-facto protection of its resources has ultimately paid dividends as consumer preference has shifted towards more nature-based, culturally-enriching and authentic tourism experiences.

Inspection of Moran's global *I* measure of spatial autocorrelation (Table 5) suggests that the distribution of domestic tourism in South Korea is shifting from an essentially random spatial pattern to one of increasing positive spatial dependence, i.e., a situation in which counties with high (low) levels of domestic tourism activity are increasingly likely to occur adjacent to counties with similarly high (low) values. Localized analysis confirms the emergence of an increasing number of hot spots of domestic tourism over time (Table 6 and Figures 3-6). Thus, while the distribution of domestic tourism activity has become less concentrated at the macro (four regions) level, at a finer scale it is clear that this deconcentration is nevertheless occurring in a clustered manner. As observed by Yang and Wong (2013) in China, many of these clusters represent either major urban areas with large populations of residents with an increasing propensity to travel and recreate, or coastal areas and islands offering attractive tourism settings, e.g., Gyeongju and Jeju Island. Gyeongju is located between the cities of Busan and Daegu, and was also the location for the very first government-sponsored tourism development, the Bomun Lake Complex (Resort), on which construction commenced in 1973 and the first portion of which opened in 1979 (development continues and the complex is slated to be fully completed in

2018). The early emergence of Jeju as a site of domestic tourism activity is also reflective of some of the first official government policy related to tourism development. The Law to Promote Tourism Complex (Resort) Development was enacted in 1975, and Jeju saw the first such post-legislation development, the Jungmun Tourism Complex, in 1978. In the 1980s, with the spread of democracy and the beginnings of a shift from exclusive national development and control to more regionalized and *laissez-faire* perspectives, both policy and commercial activity focused on the southeast. The first two of the six mega tourism development projects, initiated by President Kim Dae-jung, and on which construction commenced in 2000, are both located in the southeast, namely the South Coast Tourism Belt Development project (2000-2009) and the Tourism Development of Confucian Cultural Area project (2000-2010).

Transportation linkages clearly play a role in facilitating the distribution of tourism activity, even if inadvertently. As noted by Yeoman (2012), though "The future of tourism is dependent on the future of transport" (p. 212), "transportation is seldom considered in the destination planning process" (p. 213). In the case of South Korea, the major highway and rail projects sponsored by the national government do seem to bear a relationship with the domestic tourism patterns observed. Construction began on the Tongyeong-Daejeon Jungbu Expressway in 1985 and was completed in 2005. This highway connects Seoul to Daejeon (one of the four original tourism hot spots) and then to Tongyeong on the south coast. Travel into and around Busan, Daegu and Gyeongju have been further ameliorated by the 2001 opening of the Jungang Expressway from Chuncehon in Gangwon province to Busan, which connects with the Daegu-Busan Expressway, and the launching of the Korea Train eXpress (KTX, South Korea's high-speed rail system) between Seoul and Busan in 2004. Despite the decline in the proportion of total domestic tourism activity occurring in the southeast region relative to the other three

regions, the continued dominance of hot spots of activity within this region (as revealed by the LISA analysis) is indicative of the strength of these three cities/counties as growth poles of domestic tourism activity. The hosting of significant events and the recognition of areas for their natural and cultural significance accentuates these areas attractiveness. Busan, for example, hosted the Asian Games in 2002, and the surrounding provinces of Gyeongbuk and Gyeongnam have seen the designation of four of South Korea's ten World Heritage Sites (WHS) since 1995 (Seokguram Grotto and Bulguksa Temple in 1995; Haeinsa Temple Janggyoeng Panjeon, also in 1995; Gyeongju Historic Areas in 2000; and, the Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong in 2010).

The more recent emergence of the southwest region of the country as a domestic tourism destination dovetails with the completion of the Seohaean ("West Coast") Expressway Seoul to Mokpo in 2001 as well as the commencement of KTX service between Seoul, Gwangju and Mokpo in 2004. The southwest provinces of Jeonnam and Jeonbuk are each home to one WHS, the Hwasun Dolmen Site and the Gochang Dolmen site respectively, both designated in 2000. The emergence of the southwest as a domestic tourism destination is evocative of Brenner's discussion of state spatiality and spatial selectivity. Specifically, while he states that "the evolution of state spatiality is strongly path-dependent insofar as many of its characteristics may be reproduced, reinforced and even locked in during the process of historical evolution," he goes on to observe that, "despite this path dependency, systemic transformations of state spatiality may occur when inherited forms of spatial selectivity are modified significantly enough to create qualitatively new geographies of state territorial organization and state regulatory activity" (Brenner 2004, p. 456).

As noted above, the development of significant clusters of domestic tourism activity has clearly been centered around major metropolitan areas and along South Korea's coasts. The majority of cases of insignificance remaining as of 2011 are located in inland and more rural areas. The locations of the three LL hot spots indicated in 2011 (Uiryeong, Uiseong and Yeongyang) is intuitive given that these counties are all home to low populations in economically depressed and geographically remote rural areas.

Assuming no dramatic shift in policy by the incoming administration (a topic which is discussed in more detail below), current and future tourism development in South Korea will for the most part be concentrated on four national tourism mega projects: the Jirisan Mountain Area project (2008-2017), the West Coast Tourism Development project (2008-2017), the East Coast Tourism Belt Development project (2009-2018) and the Peace Life Zone project (2011-2020). Three of these four projects are located on the west side of the country, and one is in an inland area, representing a fundamental shift from the historic focus on the southeast and coastal portions of the nation. The first three projects listed were initiated during the Kim Dae-jung administration (Kim Dae-jung being the only one of the seven most recent Presidents to have originated from the west side of the nation), while the latter was initiated by Roh Moo-hyun, whose commitment to decentralization and more balanced development has been highlighted above. The stated goals of these projects include the identification of attractive and authentic tourism resources; the enhancement of national competitiveness as a tourism destination via efficient utilization of these tourism resources; the facilitation of balanced regional development; increase in the economic benefits accruing to local residents; and, the maximization of project effectiveness through the encouragement of collaborations between and among local governments (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism 2012). Enhancement of the national

tourism product has two goals, increased inbound international tourism and increased domestic activity (particularly relative to outbound international trips), the combination of which will help improve the balances of tourists and tourism payments. The findings presented above illustrate that domestic tourism activity in South Korea has indeed increased since 1989, and that at the macro level a more balanced distribution of activity and benefits has been achieved. Nevertheless, at a finer scale domestic tourism activity remains clustered, suggesting the need for the national, regional and local governments to reconsider how the benefits of this clustered activity can be even more widely distributed throughout surrounding communities so as to truly achieve the decentralization, more balanced development and accrual of benefits to local people desired as outcomes of national policy.

The development of new tourism destinations, especially in previously untraveled areas, will undoubtedly continue to reduce the concentration of tourism activity at the macro and meso levels, thereby more evenly spreading not only the distribution of tourists but also the positive impacts of their spending. Technological and transportation-related innovations are likely to contribute to the development of new attractions and activities within these destinations (Yeoman 2012). In addition, Yeoman (2012) highlights the potential for food-related tourism in South Korea, noting the regional distinctions and unique food cultures that can be found across the country, variations that are likely to appeal to the rising desire of tourists to satisfy their increasingly diverse cultural curiosities. Local governments could therefore focus on promoting local foods and food cultures in combination with their unique physical, historical, and other cultural attractions in the future.

As development continues, however, it would also behoove the Korean government to consider the longevity of these projects in the context of Butler's (1980) destination life cycle,

one of the key tenets of which is the need for management intervention to prevent development from exceeding destination carrying capacity (Butler 2009). Destinations reaching and exceeding their carrying capacities, i.e., within the stagnation and decline phases, are characterized by a leveling off and eventual decline in visitor numbers. Such sites could in the future be identified using LISA analysis techniques by their loss of hot spot status. Pak and Yeo (2003) applied Butler's model to Jeju Island, a location that saw its regional share of domestic arrivals halve between 1989 and 2011 (though absolute arrivals have increased, from 2,992,096 persons in 1990 (Pak and Yeo 2003) to 7,578,301 persons in 2010 (Jeju Special Self-Governing Provincial Tourism Association 2011)). As of 2003, Pak and Yeo placed Jeju in the development phase of the destination cycle, progressing towards consolidation. They therefore recommended Jeju implement diversification strategies so as to ward off the destination's untimely slide from the development phase into consolidation and eventual stagnation, which the continuing rise in visitor numbers suggests has successfully occurred. Nevertheless, a decade has passed since their writing and as new and more destinations emerge the challenge to remain attractive only increases.

Historical Moran's *I* and LISA findings could also be extrapolated into the future, to help identify both emerging and declining destinations, as well as to identify those regions that continue to lag behind in tourism and broader economic activity and that might be the most appropriate sites for major new developments in the future. The central government has seen success in this realm already: Jeongseon County in Gangwon province, which had experienced severe economic problems due to a decline in coal mining, with substantial concomitant out-migration, and which had no other significant natural or cultural resources to draw upon, has been transformed by the development of Kangwon Land, which includes the only casino in the

nation that allows domestic visitation. Employment of the techniques demonstrated here might be tied into the broader development of a spatially integrated system of tourism areas across the nation, a system that recognizes and attempts to reflect the distributions of existing tourism resources, current and planned transportation networks, trends in travel and activity preferences, and the economic need of individual regions.

The findings presented could also serve as an input into scenario analyses, the purpose of which are to inform users of plausible future conditions via attempts to take into consideration variations in the myriad of critical influences on tourism activity such as mobility, fuel prices, socio-demographics, technological advances, and climate change (see, e.g., Moriarty 2012). Son (2013) provides five future scenarios for South Korea in 2030, representing various combinations of future conditions with respect to economy, society, environment, technology and governance, with which past, current and future tourism policy and trends could be interlaced. Of most relevance to future trends in tourism, he emphasizes South Korea's aging population, urbanization, growing demand for energy, and uncertainty with respect to its neighbor to the north, all of which could influence the volume and location of future travel activity. An integrated approach, taking into account a broad set of current and future trends and conditions, could enlighten future tourism development throughout South Korea.


Limitations and Future Research

This piece has focused on the spatial outcomes of South Korean national tourism policy. Like any nation's, South Korea's socio-political history is unique, thereby somewhat limiting the generalizability of the specific findings. However, South Korea is not alone in having experienced a relatively recent and rapid period of social, political, economic and technological

growth and change; similar visualization and spatio-temporal analysis of the outcomes of the national tourism development process could provide useful implications for territorial development in other nations in or entering into similar periods. Nevertheless, the greater contribution of this piece should perhaps be seen in its novel application of Brenner's notions of rescaling and selectivity, and its employment of as-yet rarely utilized spatial statistical techniques.

While the analyses presented do provide invaluable information regarding the outcomes of South Korean national tourism policy, they are represented in inert GIS-based maps and do not nor cannot reflect local, human reaction. Park (2008) emphasizes that, though the growth strategies implemented in East Asian nations such as South Korea may represent regulation at the national scale and within a highly centralized structure, these policies nevertheless have significant impact at the local level. Further, given the emphasis on national interests, the interests of the localities may not necessarily be served or even considered at all. Spatial selectivity, by definition, implies the potential for uneven distribution of benefits and, as a result, uneven development. Assessment of the competition, and sometimes conflict, resulting from the implementation of such policies was beyond the scope of this study but is a worthy avenue of future research from both a quantitative and a more qualitative perspective. Understanding of local impacts and attitudes is important not only as a means of maximizing benefits and minimizing disruption and costs for destination economies, societies and environments, but also in terms of maintaining a welcoming atmosphere for tourists and increasing the likelihood that they will both return and recommend the destination to others. While tourism is by its nature a global phenomenon, its impacts, both positive and negative, are most acutely felt at the local level.

The concentration on annual regional domestic tourism activity by definition precludes various other dimensions of tourism, all of which are of equal interest and would serve as productive avenues of future inquiry. For example, the focus on annual visitor numbers conceals variations in arrivals by season, while the focus on South Korea's sixteen principal regions and 165 cities and counties may belie variations in tourism activity at the finer scale. The variations in findings with regards to inbound tourism in China between Chen and Huang (2006), who employed provincial-level data, and Yang and Wong (2013), who utilized city-level data, are illustrative of the effect of the spatial scale of analysis on study results. Finally, this study did not consider the distribution of inbound international tourists to South Korea. It would be instructive to analyze the spatial patterns of these arrivals so as to assess the similarities and differences between the two types. Yang and Wong (2013) suggested that the mechanisms of domestic and inbound international tourism growth can differ based on their observations of Chinese cities.

In January 2013 a new President of South Korea was sworn into office. Park Geun-hye is the daughter of former president Park Chung-hee, an ROK Army General who ruled from 1963 to 1979. The current President Park's association with the pre-democratization period was the cause of some controversy during her campaign. Nevertheless, and despite her political ties to the southeast of the country, it is hoped that that she will continue to support the current tourism mega projects highlighted above, especially given her apparent commitment to regional equality and more balanced regional development, thereby continuing to address the impacts of previous administrations' tendencies towards more spatially selective policies and outcomes. In particular, it is likely that Park will attempt to address the economic recovery of her country, of which increased and more widely distributed domestic tourism activity could play one vital part. At the first Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism tourism promotion meeting over which she

presided, President Park described tourism as one of the "vital new growth engines for the Korean economy" and emphasized the need for tourism policy designed to create new tourism products based on Korea's unique natural, cultural and human resources (Lee and Lee 2013). Continued longitudinal tracking of the distributions of domestic tourism activity at multiple spatial scales will allow the outcomes of the new and future Presidents' policies to be assessed. While the volume of tourism activity may be used as a proxy for other measures, analysis of spatial variations in other aspects such as the distribution of tourism-related spending, investment and employment would be equally illuminating.

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Table 1. Presidents of South Korea, 1980-2013

| Period | President | President's Home Region | Presidential Party/Ideology/Background |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1980-1988 | Chun Doo-hwan | East (Gyeongnam) | Democratic Justice Party/retired ROK Army General |
| 1988-1993 | Roh Tae-woo | East (Daegu) | Democratic Justice Party/retired ROK Army General |
| 1993-1998 | Kim Young-sam | East (Gyeongnam) | Democratic Liberal Party/first civilian President in over 30 years |
| 1998-2003 | Kim Dae-jung | West (Jeonnam) | Millennium Democratic Party (now the Democratic United Party)/Nobel Peace Prize recipient in 2000, known as the "Nelson Mandela of Asia" |
| 2003-2008 | Roh Moo-hyun | East (Gyeongnam) | Uri Party/his administration was dubbed the "Participatory Government" |
| 2008-2013 | Lee Myung-bak | East (Gyeongbuk) | Saenuri Party/Former CEO of Hyundai Engineering and Construction, former Mayor of Seoul |
| 2013- | Park Geun-hye | East (Daegu) | Saenuri Party/daughter of Park Chung-hee, President of South Korea 1963-1979 |

Table 2. Balance of Tourists for South Korea, 1995-2011

| Year | Number of Inbound Tourists | Number of Outbound Tourists | Tourist Balance (Inbound - Outbound) |
|------|---------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1995 | 3,753,197 | 3,818,740 | -65,543 |
| 1996 | 3,683,779 | 4,649,251 | -965,472 |
| 1997 | 3,908,140 | 4,542,159 | -634,019 |
| 1998 | 4,250,216 | 3,066,926 | 1,183,290 |
| 1999 | 4,659,785 | 4,341,546 | 318,239 |
| 2000 | 5,321,792 | 5,508,242 | -186,450 |
| 2001 | 5,147,204 | 6,084,476 | -937,272 |
| 2002 | 5,347,468 | 7,123,407 | -1,775,939 |
| 2003 | 4,752,762 | 7,086,133 | -2,333,371 |
| 2004 | 5,818,138 | 8,825,585 | -3,007,447 |
| 2005 | 6,022,752 | 10,080,143 | -4,057,391 |
| 2006 | 6,155,047 | 11,609,878 | -5,454,831 |
| 2007 | 6,448,240 | 13,324,977 | -6,876,737 |
| 2008 | 6,890,841 | 11,996,094 | -5,105,253 |
| 2009 | 7,817,533 | 9,494,111 | -1,676,578 |
| 2010 | 8,797,658 | 12,488,364 | -3,690,706 |
| 2011 | 9,794,796 | 12,693,733 | -2,898,937 |

Source: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (2012).

Table 3. Volume and Ratio of Domestic Tourism in South Korea, 1989-2011

| Year | Number of Domestic Tourists | Ratio of Domestic Tourists to Residents |
|------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 1989 | 250,941,364 | 5.91 |
| 1998 | 345,254,293 | 7.45 |
| 2003 | 519,424,303 | 11.05 |
| 2011 | 746,600,176 | 14.93 |

Source: Tourism Knowledge Information System (http://www.tour.go.kr/main.asp).

Table 4. Regional Distribution of Domestic Tourism in South Korea, 1989-2011

| Region | 1989 | 1998 | 2003 | 2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Capital Region | 11.3% | 12.7% | 11.4% | 11.2% |
| Seoul | 3.8% | 3.3% | 2.2% | 1.5% |
| Incheon | 1.1% | 3.6% | 2.6% | 1.9% |
| Gyeonggi | 6.4% | 5.8% | 6.6% | 7.8% |
| Middle Region | 27.0% | 32.5% | 34.9% | 32.2% |
| Daejeon | 4.3% | 2.7% | 2.3% | 1.9% |
| Chungnam | 11.4% | 14.1% | 21.3% | 12.3% |
| Chungbuk | 4.0% | 5.2% | 4.9% | 6.0% |
| Gangwon | 7.1% | 10.5% | 6.4% | 12.0% |
| Southeast Region | 49.3% | 38.1% | 39.7% | 31.1% |
| Busan | 21.5% | 11.6% | 7.4% | 7.4% |
| Daegu | 10.0% | 9.4% | 14.7% | 4.8% |
| Ulsan | 1.2% | 1.1% | 2.1% | 0.7% |
| Gyeongbuk | 8.4% | 8.1% | 8.6% | 8.5% |
| Gyeongnam | 8.2% | 7.9% | 6.9% | 9.7% |
| Southwest Region | 12.6% | 16.7% | 14.0% | 25.5% |
| Gwangju | 2.2% | 2.7% | 2.3% | 1.7% |
| Jeonnam | 3.4% | 4.5% | 4.9% | 14.2% |
| Jeonbuk | 2.0% | 3.4% | 4.6% | 7.1% |
| Jeju | 5.0% | 6.1% | 2.2% | 2.5% |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Percent | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Total Number | 250,941,364 | 345,254,293 | 519,424,303 | 768,451,213 |

Source: Tourism Knowledge Information System (http://www.tour.go.kr/main.asp).

Table 5. Moran's Global I Statistic for Spatial Autocorrelation of Domestic Tourism in South Korea

| Year | Moran's I | t-value |
|------|-----------|---------|
| 1989 | 0.01 | 1.67* |
| 1990 | 0.03 | 1.89* |
| 1991 | 0.02 | 2.13** |
| 1992 | 0.03 | 1.75* |
| 1993 | 0.06 | 2.42** |
| 1994 | 0.05 | 2.58*** |
| 1995 | 0.06 | 2.32** |
| 1996 | 0.07 | 2.77*** |
| 1997 | 0.08 | 2.19** |
| 1998 | 0.13 | 2.34** |
| 1999 | 0.16 | 2.47** |
| 2000 | 0.14 | 1.95* |
| 2001 | 0.18 | 2.41** |
| 2002 | 0.19 | 1.79* |
| 2003 | 0.21 | 2.84*** |
| 2004 | 0.23 | 2.58*** |
| 2005 | 0.24 | 2.75*** |
| 2006 | 0.28 | 2.95*** |
| 2007 | 0.27 | 3.07*** |
| 2008 | 0.30 | 3.12*** |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2009 | 0.32 | 3.35*** |
| 2010 | 0.33 | 3.42*** |
| 2011 | 0.33 | 3.61*** |

***p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, * p < 0.1.

Table 6. Significant LISA at 5 percent pseudo-significance for domestic tourism in South Korea

| Spatial Typology | 1989 | 1998 | 2003 | 2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High-High (HH) | 4 | 4 | 12 | 13 |
| High-Low (HL) | 5 | 6 | 9 | 22 |
| Low-High (LH) | 3 | 7 | 16 | 34 |
| Low-Low (LL) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Not Significant | 153 | 148 | 128 | 91 |
| Total | 165 | 165 | 165 | 163* |

* the total number of units declines from 165 to 163 due to the consolidation of four units into

two

Figure 1. Location, Regions, Provinces, Counties and Metro Cities of South Korea
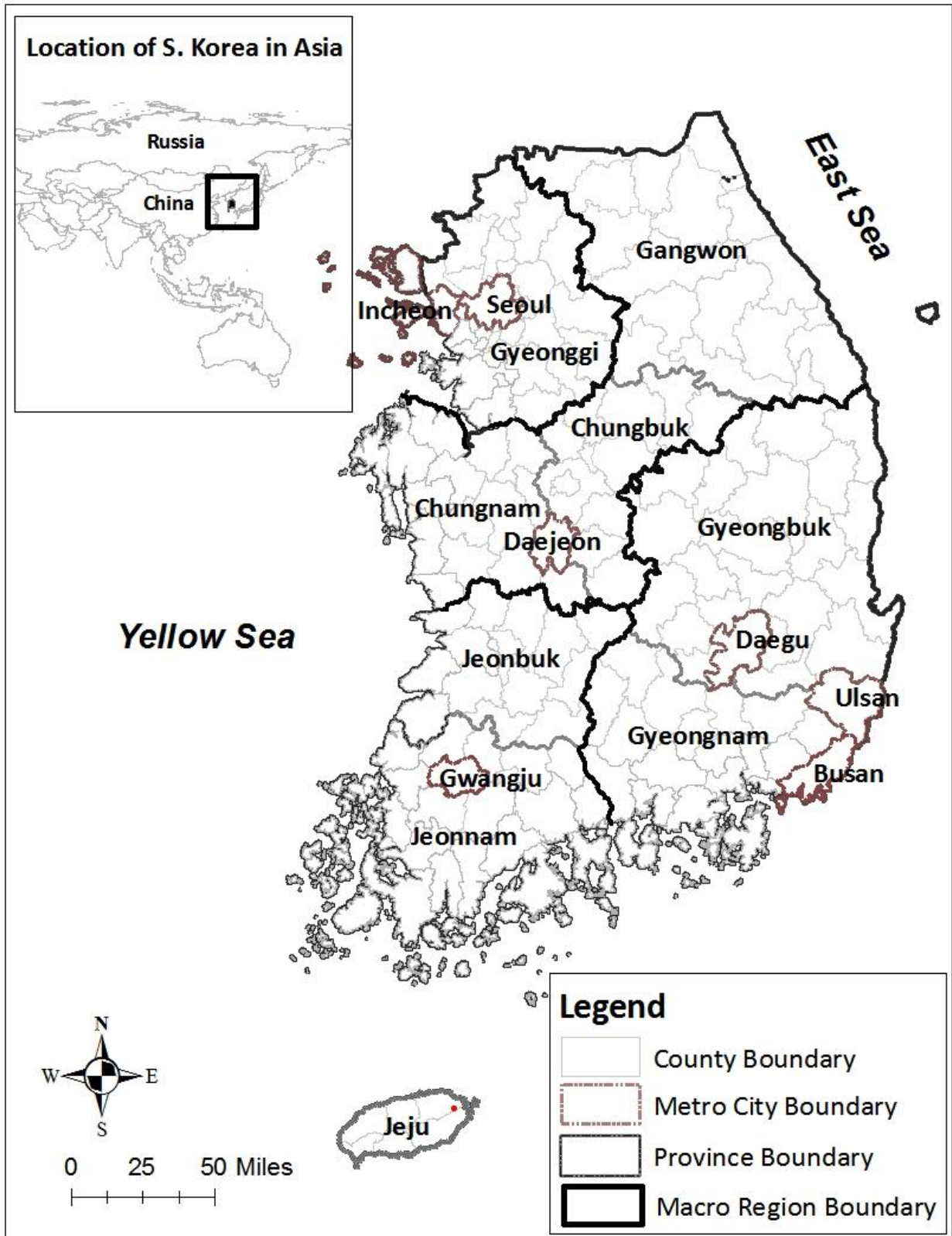
Figure 2. Moran's Global *I* Statistic for Spatial Autocorrelation of Domestic Tourism in South Korea
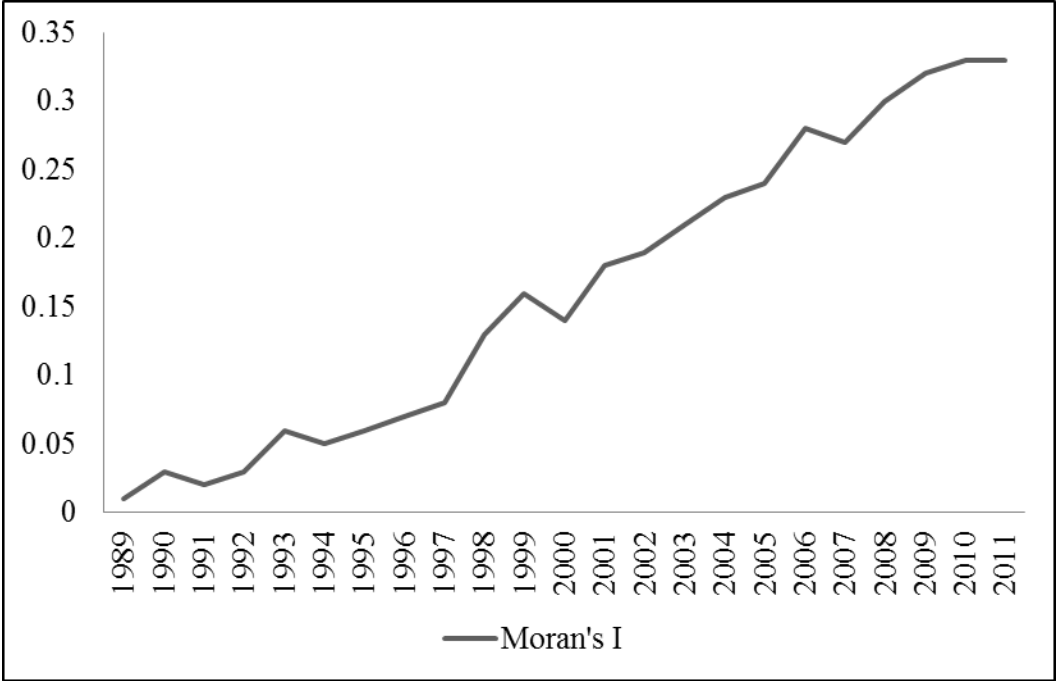
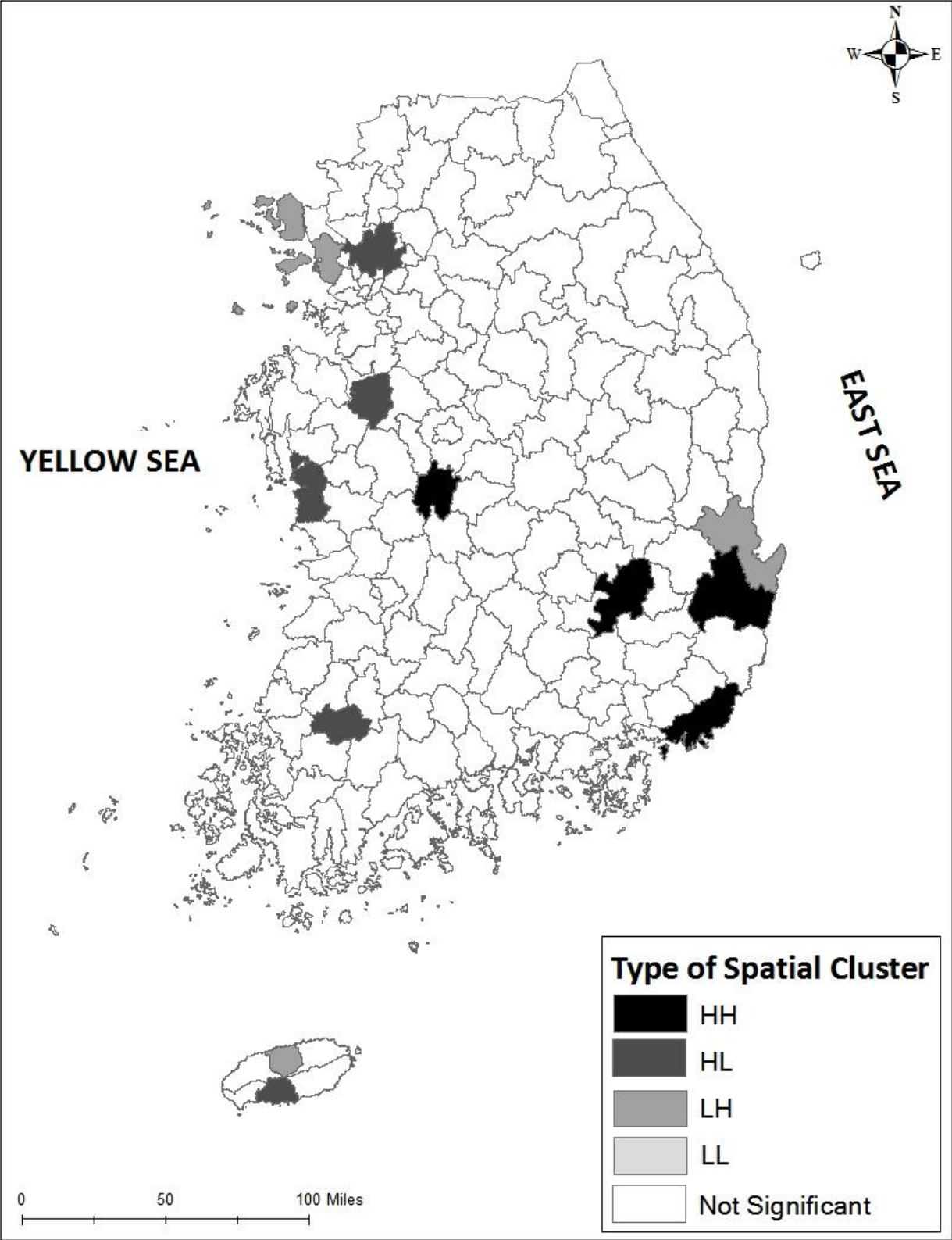Figure 3. Moran Significance Map for Domestic Tourism Activity in South Korea, 1989

Figure 4. Moran Significance Map for Domestic Tourism Activity in South Korea, 1998
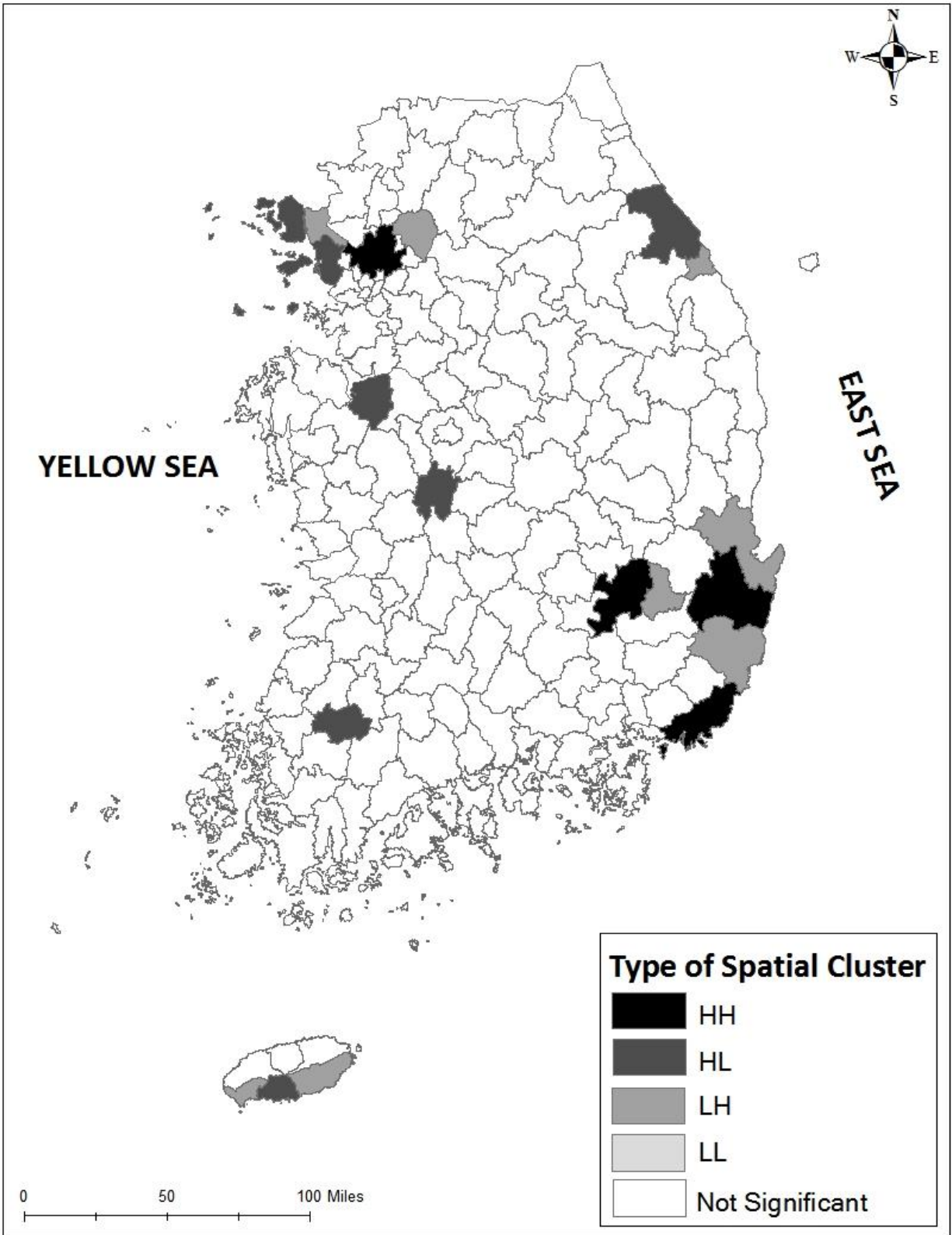
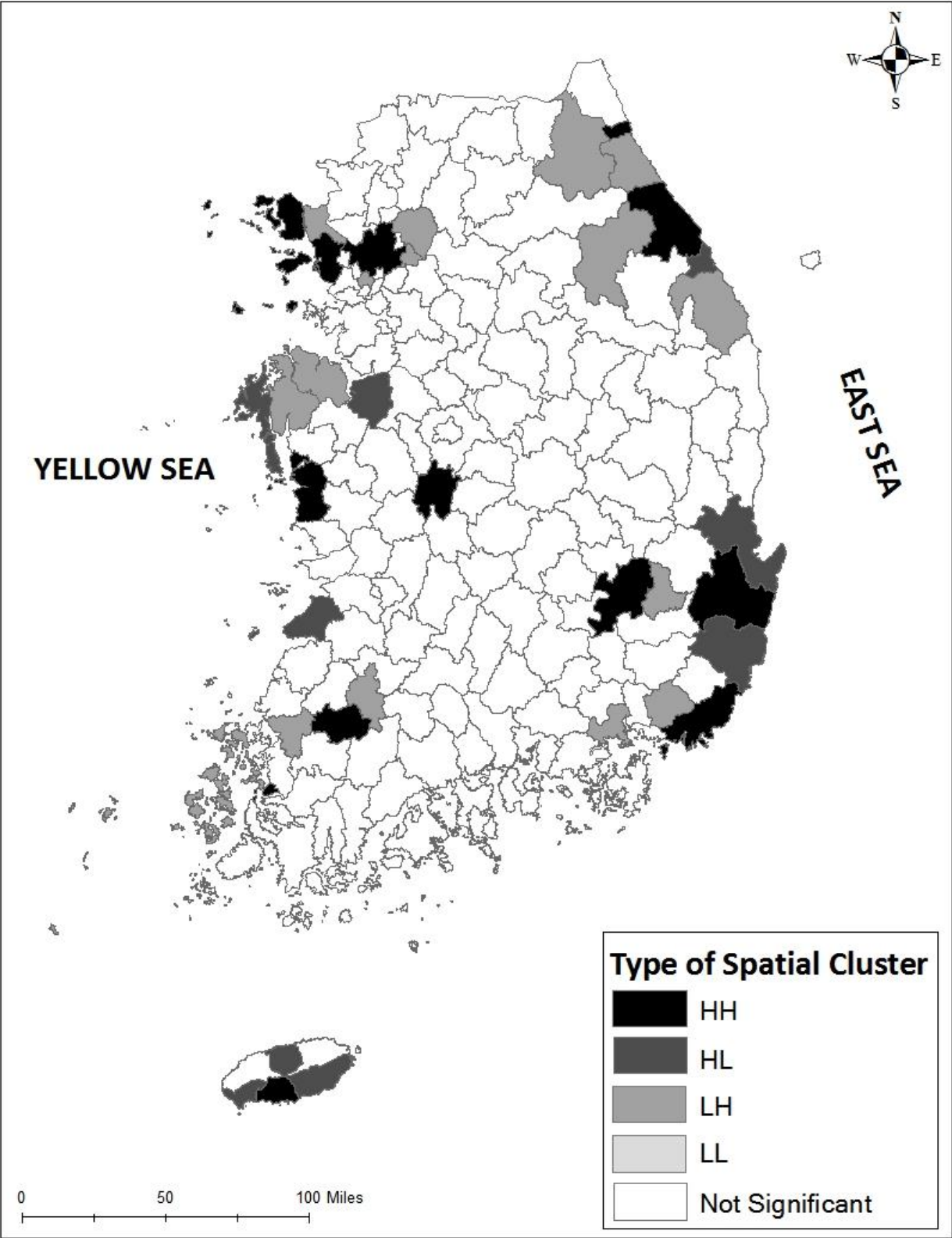Figure 5. Moran Significance Map for Domestic Tourism Activity in South Korea, 2003

Figure 6. Moran Significance Map for Domestic Tourism Activity in South Korea, 2011