

**The Impacts of Authorised Dictatorial Discourse on  
Heritage Management –  
Case study: South Korea’s Military Dictatorship Era  
1961 – 1988**

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*This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.*

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## **Declaration**

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any other such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except in the Preface and specified in the text.

This dissertation does not exceed the limit of 80,000 words (or 350 pages) approved by the Archaeology and Anthropology Degree Committee and the Board of Graduate Studies at the University of Cambridge.

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## **Abbreviations**

CDH – Chun Doo Hwan

CHA – Cultural Heritage Administration

CPA – Cultural Properties Administration

FYEDP – Five-Year Economic Development Plan

MDE – Military Dictatorship Era

PCH – Park Chung Hee

ROK – Republic of Korea

## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates some of the impacts a ‘dictatorship’ can have on the management and uses of heritage sites. More specifically, it endeavours to examine how a dictator’s interests in certain heritage sites and particular territories can affect how heritage becomes preserved and promoted in both the medium and long-terms. The relationship between heritage and dictatorship has, arguably, been relatively under-studied compared to research on the nation-state. In recognising the importance of understanding how different political systems (in this case exemplified by dictatorial regimes) can have various and particular outcomes on heritage, this study will develop the concept of ‘Authorised Dictatorial Discourse’ (ADD) as an original contribution to the field of Heritage Studies. It stems from Laurajane Smith’s (2006) seminal works on Authorised Heritage Discourse and her argument about how authorities in the form of decision-making bodies have medium and long term impacts on the preservation and promotion of heritage sites and that this happens detached from the wider public. I argue that her concept is based on democratic political systems.

To develop the concept of ADD, South Korea’s Military Dictatorship Era (1961-1988) will be used as the central case study. The two dictators (Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan) orchestrated strictly controlled and very particular heritage and territory policies. Their authoritarian decisions debatably had profound impacts, making their cases very suitable for further analysis. To provide more detailed insights, this dissertation will analyse six heritage sites in terms of how they were targeted by the two dictators as tools of narrative constructions. These case studies will be used as an analytical lens to: 1) cast light on how and the extent to which the politics of heritage and the politics of territory were interlinked and influenced the management and uses of heritage, 2) reflect on the common pattern of heritage and territorial management during dictatorships, and 3) argue how the current AHD (Smith 2006) need to be problematised in terms of its remit.

# Chapter 1 – Introduction

## 1.1. ‘Heritage’ and ‘Territories’ during Dictatorship

In a dictatorship, an individual (or small group of individuals) creates and enforces, sometimes violently (Arendt, 1973), a state-sponsored ideology – which may sometimes rely on the nationalist sentiments of the citizenry – thereby controlling and manipulating all forms of cultural and social life (Linz 2000).

(After Galaty and Watkinson 2004:3)

Dictatorial regimes, on the whole, can be summarised as extreme and manipulative systems. Many states have experienced some kind of ‘one man rule’ at some point during their history – ‘dictatorship’ being a common and recurrent form of this type of rule (Hertzler 1940:157). Hertzler explains that in most cases, dictatorial power was assumed in an “unorthodox, irregular, illegal, or extralegal manner, by the *post-facto* invention of some fiction of regularity or constitutionality, or by belated approval involving some strained constitutional interpretation” (1940:157). Broadly speaking, this is where and why ‘heritage’ often comes into the picture. Dictators, upon illegal assumption of power, commonly desired to construct an appropriate and very particular narrative, not only to “fabricate an elaborate cult of the personality to prove that he is more intelligent, more potent, and generally superior to any other human beings” (Rodney 1981:65), but also to find a means to ‘justify’ their actions.

Numerous past dictators have long realised the ideological importance of ‘the past’ and have sought to wield archaeology as a political tool (Galaty and Watkinson 2007:1). Examples of this includes: German archaeology under Hitler (e.g. Arnold 1990, 2002a; Arnold and Hassmann 1995), or the Soviet-style archaeology that formed under Stalin (e.g. Dolukhanov 1996; Klejn 2012; Trigger 1989). In such cases, not only was ‘the past’ (or *some* parts of the past) deliberately and systematically manipulated (Galaty and Watkinson 2007:3), it was also used with the singular purpose of legitimising the ruler’s claims on the nation. That decision-making and powers are not distributed in dictatorial regimes and that in many cases the management and uses of heritage became entirely respondent to a dictator (if the dictator was interested in heritage) can be underpinned to be what makes it different to other



types of political system's use of heritage. In other words, the use of heritage with political purposes cannot be said to be exclusive to dictatorships but what makes the management and use of heritage during dictatorships distinct from other types of political systems is, arguably, the way (and the extent to which) it can be (and has been) subjectively (ab)used by a dictator. Many past dictators have also had their specific interests in territories (ranging from interest in a certain part of the country or interest in expanding their territory). It is thus a common feature of dictators that they have/had very intimate and distinct relationships with both 'heritage' and 'land' (more specifically, *certain* heritage sites and *certain* parts of the land).

Further insight into the relationship between dictatorships and heritage is, however, urgently needed. There are three core reasons for this. Firstly, dictatorships have been relatively under-studied in the investigations of the relationships between archaeology/heritage and politics compared to the research that has been produced on the nation-state (e.g. Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Diaz-Andreu 2007; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Meskell 1998). Secondly, evidently from numerous cases of countries that have come out of dictatorships, their (e.g. Italy's, Spain's, Cuba's, etc.) dictatorship periods have had profound, long-term impacts on the preservation, perception, and value of certain heritage sites (e.g. Galaty and Watkinson 2004; Gonzalez 2018; Rodney 1981; Viejo-Rose 2015) – shedding light on the significant lasting impacts the power and decision-making of dictatorial regimes can have on heritage. Thirdly, understanding the adjustments to the heritage usage that may be needed post-dictatorships is a topic that is of great contemporary relevance for countries emerging out from dictatorships (e.g. Albania, Cuba, Libya, Romania, Iraq, etc.).

This research, therefore, seeks to gain a better and wider understanding of the relationship between 'heritage and dictatorship' particularly regarding whether they exercised a particular version of authorised discourses on heritage (Smith 2006) and how they exercised territory policies that influenced the preservation and promotion of heritage sites. In doing so, the specific and original aim is to gain a better insight into, and also demonstrate how and the extent to which, the politics of heritage and the politics of territory can be interlinked within this kind of political system. This will also involve analysing the dictatorial system's distinct impacts on the preservation and promotion of heritage.

## 1.2. Overview of the research

This research examines how and to what extent ‘dictatorship’ – the power, the control, and the degree of authority that comes with this particular political system can affect the management and uses of heritage. More specifically, the aim is to examine the extent to which the political management of heritage and territory during dictatorships can become an ‘Authorised Dictatorial Discourse,’ the concept stemming from Smith’s (2006) works on Authorised Heritage Discourse (hereafter AHD), and how such political power can have medium and long term impacts on the preservation and promotion of heritage sites. It will do so through the case of South Korea’s Military Dictatorship Era (hereafter MDE) (1961–1988) by investigating two core instruments that evidently affected South Korea’s heritage during this period: 1) the period’s heritage policy (how it resulted in valorisation and subsequent actions) and 2) the period’s ‘territorial politics,’ which debatably interfered with the management of heritage – in particular through the promotion and prioritisation of a specific region (namely, the Yongnam region).

With the nature of dictatorial power, this meant that it became possible for the South Korean dictators to dominate the decisions of the state as well as to put into actions their preferences, idiosyncrasies and desired. Examining the case of South Korea’s MDE, therefore, can show how, and to what extent the management of ‘heritage’ and ‘territory’ became an Authorised Dictatorial Discourse according to the needs, wants and circumstances of two dictators (Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan) between 1961 and 1988 and how their decision-making and power subsequently affected the preservation and promotion of South Korea’s heritage sites.

The MDE is, on the whole, associated with two military dictators (Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan) and one president (Roh Tae Woo) who successfully transitioned the country from dictatorship to democracy. Although Roh Tae Woo was also a military-general turned politician, as he managed to establish his political position through a democratic election, he cannot be categorised as a dictator. In order to examine the distinct relationship between heritage and dictatorships (and also territorial politics), this dissertation will focus on the dictatorial regimes of Park Chung Hee (hereafter PCH) and Chun Doo Hwan (hereafter CDH). The MDE has and continues to attract a great deal of attention. Paik (2011), a scholar

in English Literature and a public figure in the democracy struggle in the 1970s and 1980s, notes how feelings in South Korea today are divided, and indeed, “passionately so” as:

...many of the people who went through that era dominated by that man (referring to PCH) still remain alive and active. They include both those who on the one had either took an active part in his rule, or otherwise benefitted from it and came to possess strongly vested interests, and on the other hand, the victims of that rule who suffered tortured, imprisonment, enforced poverty or deprivation of their rights, and the families and close friends of those so persecuted or even sent to their deaths (Quoted in Kim and Sorensen 2011:85).

Sharply divided judgments can be found: some have reviewed the era favourably, describing it as a time of “turbulent ideological and political transition” (Kim 2004), “born in a crisis” (Kim and Vogel 2011), the “East Asian model of nation-building” (Kim 2007), a “miraculous” economic development that marked the second half of the twentieth century in South Korea, and also a “stunning phenomenon” (Hwang 2010; Kim and Sorensen 2011). For others, however, the MDE cannot be discussed without mentioning the blunt and unapologetic dictatorship as well as the harsh treatment of the numerous opposition and student protests against the military administration, namely the Gwangju Massacre in 1980 (Choi 1999; Kim 2007; Lee 2015; Shin and Hwang 2003). Understanding the political and social sensitivity of this period as well as the background circumstances is important when approaching or analysing the heritage and territorial policies PCH and CDH implemented as some of their decisions were what sparked the issues of were at times a response to the sensitive situations. In other words, the heritage and territorial policies of PCH and CDH were arguably inter-connected to their personal and political circumstances.

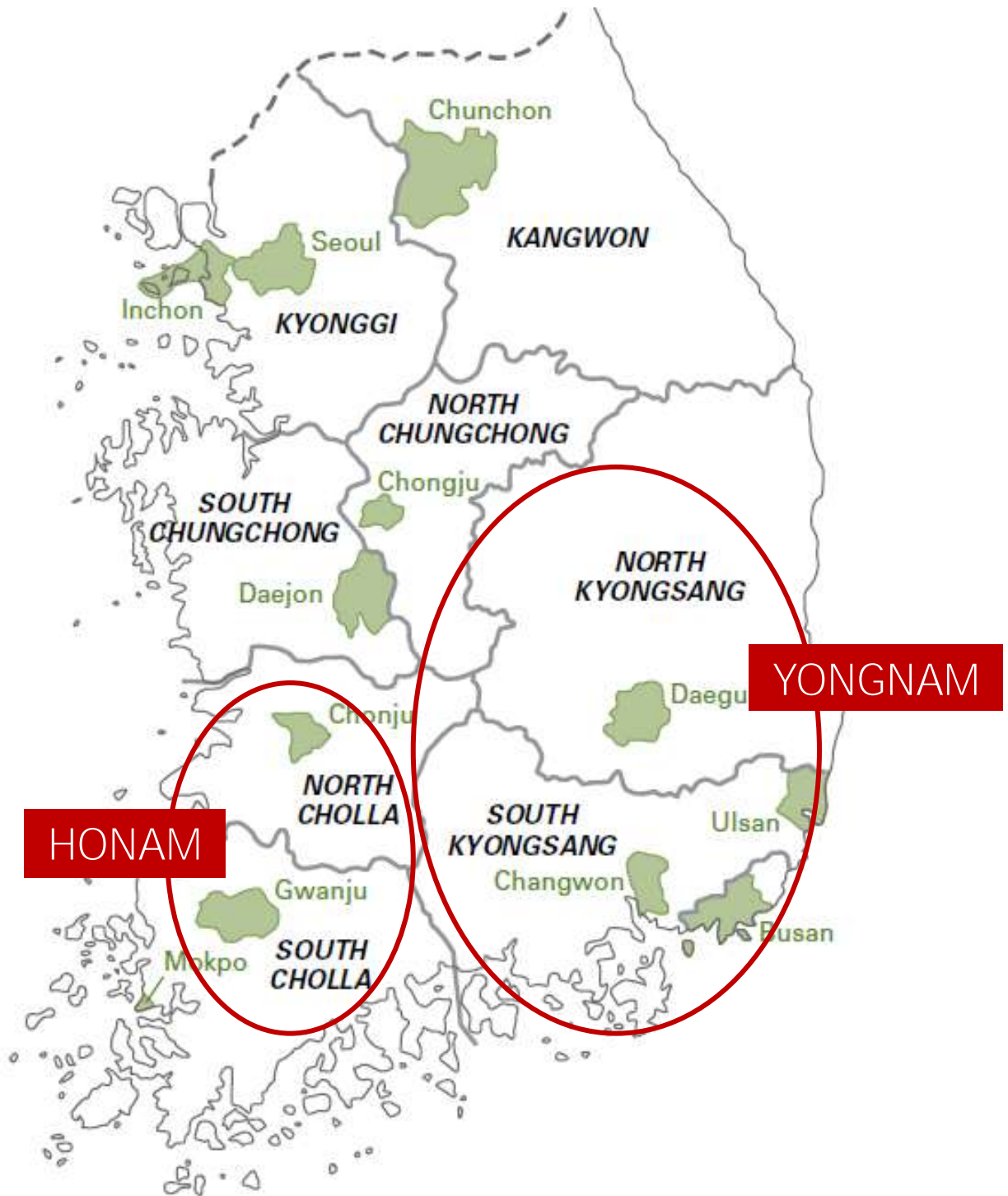
Regarding the heritage policy during the MDE, with PCH's rise to power in 1961, he (in the same year) proactively launched a culture sector and it was named the Cultural Properties Administration (CPA). The CPA became established in order to restore and protect South Korea's cultural heritage. In the following year (1962) the Cultural Protection Law (*Munhwajae pohobôp*) was promulgated on January, 10. Yu (2004:52-54) notes how although this was South Korea's first united and comprehensive heritage law, most of its contents mirrored those of the Japanese Cultural Protection Law (quoted in Lee 2015:97).<sup>1</sup> The CPA became (and still remains) the backbone of South Korea's heritage policy and was (is still today) the core instrument used for the management of the country's heritage. This base allowed PCH and then later CDH to sit as the chairman of the culture sector. With their position, they authorised which heritage sites were in need of restoration and were of importance to the country. Many scholars have remarked that both PCH and CDH carefully selected heritage sites to complement their personal and political agendas (e.g. Choi 2012; Jang and Han 2013; Jeon 2015; Yim 2012, etc.).

In terms of South Korea's territories, PCH immediately after his assumption of power orchestrated the rapid industrial development of the Yongnam region (the south-eastern area) (fig 1.1). The decision of PCH to prioritise the industrial development of the Yongnam region in the early 1960s meant that the region transitioned into an industrial city with the construction of new roads, railways, seaports, airports and other infrastructure (Choi, Ryu and Park 2005; Sakong and Koh 2013, etc.). These decisions and actions led to significant changes, with some parts of South Korea becoming highly urbanised whereas other regions were left comparably rural and under-developed. On the topic of the PCH's territorial politics, it is beneficial to examine the issue of the historical regional disputes in South Korea, especially between the Honam and Yongnam regions. Addressing the historical regional dispute between these two regions can assist in the wider understanding of 1) how this dispute carries a long historical tracing, 2) why PCH's selection and favouritism of the Yongnam region grew into such a sensitive socio-political issue, and 3) how such an extreme territorial policy subsequently affected heritage sites.

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<sup>1</sup> Yu (2004:43) notes how it is assumed that PCH's government had insufficient time and resources to formulate a new legal system and therefore had to adopt the Japanese law on the grounds that the Japanese situation was similar to the Korean one (quoted in Lee 2016:97).

The two regions are known to have had a quarrelsome relationship, which some scholars (e.g. Lee 2008; Park 2009; Peterson and Margulies 2010, etc.) have dated to the Three Kingdom Period (57 BC – 668 AD) in reference to the tripartite division of the Korean continent (Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla) as the genesis of current regionalism. Various historical incidents have been proposed to explain the origin or reason behind this disagreeing relationship between the two regions. Despite the lack of clarity as to when and why this dispute arose, what is clear is that the Yongnam area was politically selected and superior for the most part whereas the Honam region was continuously politically neglected. It was upon this historical basis that PCH implemented a territorial development policy in favour of the Yongnam region in 1962. As Oh (1999:81) notes, the Honam region had “clearly been discriminated against economically ever since the advent of the military-led rule headed by Park Chung Hee.” Oppositely, the Yongnam region came to benefit by the introduction of numerous industrial projects. This dispute between the two regions and the political regional bias of the dictators is a central concern of this thesis. By further examining six heritage sites from the two regions (three from the Honam and three from the Yongnam), this research investigates how and the extent to which PCH and CDH’s authority over heritage determined which heritage sites were made ‘of importance to the country,’ and conversely, which sites became neglected or forgotten and also how their decisions on South Korea’s land either assisted or interfered with the preservation and promotion of the selected case study sites in both the medium and long terms.



**Figure 1.1** Map of South Korea showing the Honam and Yongnam regions (Park 2009:321)

### **1.3. Theory: ‘Authorised Discourse’**

This thesis draws upon Laurajane Smith’s (2006) seminal works on AHD as its theoretical framework; particularly her arguments concerning the power relations (the authorised bodies) that control ‘the way of seeing’ and the ‘way of talking’ about heritage. This notion will be used to explore the power-dynamics involved in heritage management use during dictatorial regimes. Smith’s AHD will be scrutinised in terms of its limitations in understanding dictatorships based on the argument that her current model is not applicable to all types of political systems.

### **1.4. Research Objectives**

The ultimate objective of this research is to examine the extent to which the management of heritage and territory during dictatorships can become an ADD and how such authority (decision-making and power) can have medium and long term impacts on the preservation and promotion of heritage sites. With this question as the macro line of questioning, this thesis extrapolates into three more detailed research objectives:

- 1) How and to what extent did the two dictators (PCH and CDH) use heritage and territories to construct, reconstruct and promote a range of identities (his own in particular)?
- 2) Can there be beneficial impact from political/dictatorial indifference (in regards to both heritage and territory)?
- 3) To what extent can the authority and power of a dictator (over heritage and territory) influence and solidify which heritage sites become important to the country, and conversely, which sites become neglected or forgotten?

## 1.5. Scope of the research

The timeframe of this thesis encompasses the years 1961 – 1988 within the history of South Korea. The starting point is with PCH's rise to power via a military *coup d'état* on May 16, 1961, and the end point is the year 1988 with the end of CDH's administration. In terms of figures, as mentioned, two will be reviewed: PCH and CDH. PCH and CDH's ideological thinking, decisions and actions regarding heritage and land are essential to this thesis as a central concern is how heritage sites in South Korea became affected by such decision-making and power. As for regions, the Honam and Yongnam regions will be focused as each represents political select and neglect at opposite ends of the spectrum.

## 1.6. Works previously done in relation to this research

A lot of scholarly works can be found in relation to this research, many that significantly inspired and shaped this study and its objectives. Three areas of existing literature can be explained to be relevant to this dissertation: 1) Laurajane Smith's (2006) works on AHD, 2) research conducted on dictators and their usage of heritage sites, and 3) studies done on South Korea's MDE (in particular its heritage policy and territorial politics).

Firstly, Smith's (2006) works on AHD is crucial as her propositions regarding heritage as a 'cultural process' and an 'authorised professional discourse' acts as this study's main theoretical background and framework. Two notions, in particular, are relevant to this thesis. One is her argument that heritage is a 'discourse' with the particular management of heritage authorised by those in the 'position of power.' This notion has triggered how during dictatorial regimes, the 'position of power' is held solely by a single individual (sometimes with a small entourage – often contributing considerably to the dictator's ideas and visions) as opposed to the power being rotated and dispersed, meaning that they become the *only* legitimate spokesperson for the past. Two is from finding limitations in her model of the AHD: it is arguably limited and applicable to western democratic states. In this respect, Smith's core concepts and the limitations of her model have inspired the direction of this study and its original contributions.



The second area of literature is in regards to research conducted on dictators and their decisions and usage of heritage sites. A particularly important study to this research is Viejo-Rose's (2014) book *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory after Civil War*. In her book, she examines Franco's decision-making and powers on Spain's cultural heritage after the Civil War. She details how Franco envisioned building a New Spain and how "a dichotomy was therefore created by which the regime was both building a New Spain and restoring the Old Spain to its former glory, a tension that recurs throughout the reconstructed projects" (Viejo-Rose 2014:68). She also adds how Franco "added" and "made corrections to the material culture when it did not conform to his preconceived image." This links very closely to my research as both works concern the impacts dictatorial power can have on the physical preservation and symbolic meaning and value of heritage sites.

Another relevant study is by McFeaters (2007) *The Past is how we present it: Nationalism and Archaeology in Italy from Unification to WWII*. In his work, McFeaters explores Mussolini's interests in ancient Rome and how he, as dictator, ordered to restore anything that was 'ancient Rome' and furthermore how he attempted to construct and strengthen his Fascist ideology supported by his highly edited heritage narrative. He also explores how Mussolini's territorial interests were one with his heritage interests; both subject to their connection with ancient Rome. This case reveals the extent to which the politics of heritage and the politics of territory were interlinked and influential to the management and uses of Italy's heritage – a topic my research aims to cast more light on. In addition, Gonzalez's (2018) book *Cuban Cultural Heritage: A Rebel Past for a Revolutionary Nation* has been insightful as it offers the case of Cuba; a country having recently come out from dictatorship and currently entering a crucial period of rapid changes. His work incorporates the study of heritage into the general question of postcolonial Cuban nation-building and by doing so, provides a better understanding of the uses of heritage in different regimes (namely Socialist). He furthermore investigates the long-term impacts of heritage policies after conflicts. My research sits close to this concern of long-term impacts as it aims to expose some of the lasting physical and ideological impacts PCH and CDH had on a few of South Korea's heritage sites. Indeed, these studies each offer, in different lights, critical insights into the relationship between heritage and dictatorship. Fundamentally different to these works, however, my research aims to focus on the respective and collective impacts a dictator's heritage interests and territorial interests can have on the preservation and

promotion of heritage sites. By doing so, I hope to provide a clearer understanding of how during dictatorships, heritage (its meaning, (re)interpretation, value, preservation, promotion, etc.) can become profoundly and substantially affected by political decisions on both heritage and land.

Lastly, existing studies on South Korea's MDE and in particular its territorial policy and heritage policy are essential to this thesis. Regarding the MDE's territorial policy and the topic of regionalism, extensive studies can be found (i.e. Choi 1991; Huer 1989; Kim 2004; Kim and Sorensen 2011, etc.). PCH's territorial policy has been widely discussed. The contributions of Kim and Vogel (2011) in their publication *The Park Chung Hee Era* provides an in-depth assessment and analysis of PCH's decision-making, powers and the outcomes – clearly shedding light on the extent of authority PCH had during his regime over all South Korea's managerial sectors. Kim and Sorensen's (2011) edition of *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era 1961-1979* is another focused study on PCH covering his industrialisation policy, labour policy and also a special essay on how one could think about the PCH era. Sakong and Koh's (2013) comprehensive study *The Korean Economy: Six Decades of Growth and Development* furthermore presents details on the two dictatorships as well as the regimes beyond them. The topic of regionalism (on the dispute between the Honam and Yongnam regions) and its impacts on South Korea's politics, culture and economy have also been analysed (e.g. Choi 1987; Choi 1991; Lee 2000; Lim 2015; Park 1988; Moon 1988, etc.). Park's (1988) evaluations found in *Regional cleavages and orientations toward the political system in Korea* has been especially insightful as the political alienation and discrimination of the Honam region is thoroughly detailed.

In terms of the MDE's heritage policy, a considerable amount of work has been produced covering both PCH and CDH's uses of heritage in the process of their image and narrative (re)constructions. Analysis of PCH's heritage policies and more specifically his Gyeongju-centric developments are comparably more abundant compared to works conducted on CDH's heritage interests (i.e. CHA 2011; Choi 2012; Chung and Ro 1979; Eun 2005; Jager 2003; Jang and Han 2013; Jeon 2013; Kim 2008; Lee 2003; Lee 2015). Choi's (2012) assessments in *Park Chung Hee's Project on Developing the Ancient City of Gyeongju*, for example, brings to the surface the extent of PCH's 'personal' selection of heritage sites as well as the extent of authority he had over the culture sector. This can be seen through Choi's

(2012:208) remarks of how Gyeongju became a “product of Park’s personal desires and pursuits.” CDH’s heritage policy focusing on the Baekje Historic Areas has also been given spotlight, although not nearly as much as PCH’s heritage policy (i.e. CHA 2011; Kim 2006; Kim 2007; Yim 2002; Lee 2015, etc.). The CHA (2011) reports reveal how CDH shifted the focus from ‘Gyeongju’ to ‘Baekje’ with his assumption of power.

These studies relate to this research in that they all, to a certain extent, evaluate the impacts ‘dictatorship’ had on the movement, management and focus of heritage and territory management. None of these studies, however, examine the collective impacts of PCH and CDH’s heritage policy and territorial politics on the preservation and promotion of heritage sites dispersed in the two regions that were most affected during this period. This thesis examines the two topics together to focus on the extent to which the politics of heritage and the politics were interlinked and influential to heritage management in South Korea. Overall, the four areas of literary studies are instrumental to my research as they provide the necessary theoretical lens and historical context. They are all applicable and invaluable to my research but they each study have certain limitations. This dissertation responds to some of the limitations and moreover endeavours to make a contribution with a wider dimensional understanding of the relationship between heritage and dictatorships.

## **1.7. The structure of the thesis**

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Following on from this introductory chapter, chapter 2 presents the theoretical and methodological framework. Chapter 3 covers the relevant historical context and background and it unfolds largely in three parts. The first part reviews the history of the conflict between the Honam and Yongnam regions, examining a few distinct historical documents in order to comprehend how and why this regional dispute occurred and continued throughout the different periods. Understanding historically and contextually how and why this dispute became solidified is important in respect to grasping why the territorial politics during the MDE grew into such a sensitive socio-political issue. The second part details the more recent historical events prior to the MDE starting with the year 1910. This was the year when the Japanese invaded Korea and thus the beginning of a series of traumatic events (i.e. colonialism, foreign administration, war, etc.). All these events had a catastrophic impact on South Korea in a number of ways. Being cognisant of these

events is important for understanding the full context of how and why the military dictatorship began, as well as the circumstances it faced in 1961. The last part focuses on the MDE by looking at the military rise to power, PCH and CDH's heritage policies and their territorial politics. The contents covered in this historical chapter will provide necessary backgrounds to chapter 4, 5 and 6 in terms of contextually understanding the status of each case study site during the MDE accordingly to PCH and CDH's heritage and territorial interests.

Chapters 4 and 5 are case study chapters. Chapter 4 concentrates on the three heritage sites within the Honam region and investigates the impacts of PCH and CDH's heritage policies (ADD) and territorial politics on their preservation and promotion. As the Honam region was an area that became 'neglected' politically, this chapter questions, through its case studies, whether and how being located in the politically-neglected region determined or influenced the management and uses of the three sites. Chapter 5 follows the same format as chapter 4 but focuses on the three heritage sites within the Yongnam region. As this region was the politically-selected area, however, it questions through its case study sites, whether being located in the politically spotlighted and prioritised area had an impact on the preservation and promotion of the heritage sites. Chapter 6 provides the comparative analysis of the cases and also briefly examines the status of each site's preservation and promotion after the MDE in order to gain an insight into some of the long-term impacts 'dictatorship' had on these particular sites. Lastly, chapter 7 will make the final analysis and close by bringing together my arguments on the concept of 'soft and hard' AHD.

## **1.8. Original contributions**

This thesis aims to contribute to Heritage Studies broadly in two respects. The first is to add to and, somewhat challenge, Smith's (2006) works on AHD. As mentioned, her existing studies on AHD is arguably not adjusted to all political systems but rather offers a general political approach regarding heritage management and its use. This thesis, with its central focus on heritage and dictatorships, will expose how the AHD can have different versions depending on the type of political system and its power structure. The second is to explore the distinct characteristics of heritage and territory management during dictatorships. From doing so, it will reflect on the common pattern of heritage and territorial management during dictatorships and moreover, cast light on how, and the extent to which, the politics of heritage the politics of territory were and are interlinked and influential to heritage management. Overall, this research endeavours to gain a more distinct understanding of the relationship between heritage and dictatorships and also bring to the surface the need to broaden the understanding of the heritage discourse.

## **Chapter 2 –Theoretical Framework and Methodology**

The aims of this chapter are threefold. The first is to overview Laurajane Smith's (2006) work on AHD, which will be used as this study's theoretical guide. The second is to introduce and develop a modified version of the AHD: Authorised Dictatorial Discourse (ADD). This modified version endeavours to point out some limitations of the AHD in understanding heritage management and use during dictatorial regimes and furthermore underline some of the key characteristics and patterns of ADD. The final part of this chapter will present the methodology.

### **2.1. Theory: Smith's (2006) AHD**

Smith's (2006) AHD will be examined in three sections. The first section will explore some of the key preceding literature. This is beneficial as such works arguably provided antecedents and governing components to the idea of Smith's AHD and thus can assist in understanding on what existing grounds her concept was moulded and defined. Next, the AHD will be overviewed by covering its central notions and scholarly critiques. The final section will address some of the limitations of the AHD.

#### **Key preceding literature**

Smith's AHD builds upon a substantial amount of preceding literature, particularly (but not limited to) ideas related to power, discourse and also heritage as a 'process' (heritagisation). Regarding 'power', Smith draws directly upon Foucault's work produced during the late 1970s on 'governmentality.' 'Governmentality', essentially, concerned what Foucault otherwise referred to as 'the art of government' or 'the rationality of government.' Foucault questioned how people are made governable through the examination of 'the conduct of conduct' (Chamberlain 2014:396). His understanding of the term 'government' has been explained to have been both 'wide and narrow'. He saw the role of the government to shape, guide, or affect the conduct of some person or persons (Burchell et al 1991:2). Foucault's interests were evidently in the nature and practise of government: *who* has the power to govern, the nature of governing and *who* becomes governed. Simply put, he argued that there

is a governor (the government) and the governed (the people) and this process is rationed and in some respects manipulated by ‘the *technique* of power’ as well as the ‘power of knowledge.’

Foucault further explored into the technique of power and the interlinked relationship between power and knowledge. He (1979) claimed that power creates knowledge and forms of subjects who are restricted as well as enabled by its omnipresent force. Foucault’s understanding of power and knowledge was that ‘power’ (the government) controls and furthermore defines knowledge. This concept of power shaping, influencing and in some cases even dominating knowledge is deeply embedded in Smith’s (2006) AHD; how the power-relations (government, experts and involved sectors) control the way of seeing and talking about heritage. Using Foucault’s concept, depending on the degree of power of a political system, the domination over knowledge can be comparably weaker or stronger. In other words, theoretically, the degree of power is directly proportional to the degree of knowledge; the degree of power affects the degree of knowledge. Applying this to democratic states which Smith’s model of AHD is built on, with the nature of democracy of power being dispersed and rotated, ‘knowledge’ can be understood to be less exerted or enforced compared to political systems such as dictatorial or communist states. This idea will be revisited later on in this chapter in the exploration of ‘ADD.’

The power of the government in shaping and influencing ‘knowledge’ has been closely observed by and through the concept of discourse. Numerous prominent scholars can be found on the topic of discourse, Foucault being at the forefront. His interpretations on discourse are that it undergoes constant change as new utterances are added and that it is not a place into which the subjectivity irrupts, but is rather a space of differentiated subject-positions and subject functions (Foucault, in Burchell et al 1991: 54). Kendall and Wickham (1999:42) analyses Foucault’s ideas on discourse; how it is a body of statements that are organised in a regular and systematic way but with rules regulating how those statements are created, what can be said and what cannot, how spaces in which new statements can be made are created, whilst making practises material and discursive at the same time.

That discourse is produced and reproduced as well as transformed to embody a specific ensemble of ideas and concepts has been suggested by Hager (1996:44). The implication is

that discourse encompasses a process; a process of ideas and concepts that becomes made into an official statement and then practised as a formal act. This idea that language and practise is inter-connected and that language becomes used to ‘do things’ has been explored by numerous scholars (Fairclough 2001; Hall 2001; Wetherell 2001). Within the abundant literature on the heritage discourse, a commonly reoccurring proposition is that ‘social actors’ are involved in the production of managing and ‘seeing’ heritage (Bourdieu 2000; Fairclough 2001; Fischer 2003; Marston 2004; Wacquant 2000). Furthermore, a strongly proposed point is that *words*, when said by people with power, can persuade, maintain, legitimise and even “change the world in particular directions” (Fairclough et al 2004:2). A consistently raised point within the literature on discourse is that power is rationed and reasoned; it is held but with rules and restraints. This, however, is less applicable depending of the type of political system and its power structure – an area this thesis aims to cast more light on.

Another area of literature preceding Smith’s AHD that is noteworthy is Harvey’s (2001) proposition of ‘heritagisation.’ This concept essentially argues that it is important to make space for a longer historical analysis of the development of heritage as a ‘process.’ In other words, he claims that we need to consider the ‘scope’ of heritage studies as a discipline by looking further and deeper into the historical narrative, more so than simply picking out heritage sites that fit or complement the present-day context (2001:320). Harvey points out that many contemporary studies have failed to explore the historical scope that the concept really implies, “whilst being preoccupied with certain manifestations of heritage’s recent trajectory” (Harvey 2001:320). The benefits of adopting a longer historical analysis, according to Harvey, would be a deeper understanding of the nature of heritage as well as it allowing up to go beyond treating heritage “simply as a set of problems to be solved.”

The problem that Harvey points out in regards to contemporary heritage practises is that it is ‘present-centred.’ He uses words such as ‘presentness’, ‘current-circulation’ as well as ‘present-centredness’ to imply that heritage is produced like a trend; something to fit the present day context and the present day narrative. He notes that heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences (ibid. 320). He underlines that heritage is used to represent a particular moment, reflect contemporary agendas, perceptions and also the arrangements of that time (ibid. 320). He furthermore asserts that since heritage and is produced in the present, our relationship



with ‘the past’ is understood in relation to our present temporal and spatial experience (ibid 325). He firmly stresses that by focusing on the historical narrative we deem to be important and meaningful in the present day, we are consequently destroying the authentic version of the past and “replacing it by simulacra of that past” (ibid. 325). Harvey notes that the inevitable nature of heritage is that it has always developed and changed according to the contemporary societal context and according to the power relations and that any real engagement with debates about how heritage is involved in the production of heritage, power and authority becomes obscured. Harvey’s idea of heritagisation will be revisited in the exploration of the characteristics of ADD later on in this chapter.

### **Overview of Smith’s AHD (central notions and scholarly critiques)**

Smith explores heritage as a ‘cultural practice’ and a ‘process’ that involves the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings (Smith 2006:11). Heritage, accordingly, is not a thing of place, but “an intangible process in which social and cultural values are identified, negotiated, rejected or affirmed, reflecting contemporary cultural and social values, debates and aspirations” (Smith 2006:3). She asserts that heritage is subjected to management, preservation and conservation processes (Smith 2006:3); thus it is what is done to, or with, heritage sites that is significant, rather than the places themselves. She observes that heritage is being made, and that power relations are present in terms of who decides and influences what is accepted as heritage and heritage values. Smith coined this production of heritage ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse’ (AHD). The AHD, explained in her words, is “a process of mediating cultural change” and a process where in the narrative, “values and cultural and social meanings that underpins certain identities are asserted, assessed and legitimised” (2006:300).

That heritage becomes authorised by power relations (authorised bodies, i.e. the government, public bodies and scholars) is fundamental to her notion. She claims that the AHD is “a professional discourse that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations,” and also “dominates and regulates professional heritage practises” (Smith 2006:4). Smith argues that they (the ‘accountable’ public bodies), with their expertise knowledge, create a way of talking about and a way of seeing heritage. The public also has a voice to a certain extent but Smith emphasises how some people have *more* weight

than others when talking about heritage. Therefore, she states that one of the consequences of the AHD is that it defines and restricts who the legitimate spokespersons for the past are (Smith 2006:29).

The roots of the notion that there is a ‘correct’ form of heritage can be traced back to the 19th century debates concerned with the authenticity of cultural remains. Concerning this, Smith and Waterton (2009:27) note that the concept of authenticity owes its legacy to both Enlightenment rationality and Romanticism. During the 19<sup>th</sup>-century, Ruskin in the UK and Violet-le-Duc in France, among others, debated the nature of conservation work and argued for the ‘moral’ worth of conservation over restoration. Such ideas about the innate value of remains became embedded in what was to become standard understandings of what constitutes ‘heritage.’ On this basis, Smith argues that the AHD, as a dominant practise, arose from “the agitation of archaeologists and architects for the protection of material culture they deemed to be of innate and inheritable value” and their claims that they uniquely possess the knowledge to be able to arbitrate on such matters (2009:27).

The AHD and its central notions, in particular, the use of the terms ‘discourse,’ ‘language,’ and ‘control,’ have been argued by Smith and scrutinised by numerous scholars. ‘Discourse,’ according to Smith, reveals how heritage is an ‘elitist’ and ‘exclusive’ form. She argues that this discourse has divided and pre-arranged those who either have the authority to speak about heritage and those who do not (2006:12). She strongly pinpoints how the AHD is beyond and larger than individual attempts to define or interpret heritage. Centrally, Smith claims that this discourse constructs, regulates, controls, and manipulates how heritage is perceived and managed. Responding to Smith’s arguments on discourse, Waterton asserts that heritage is not a fixed and unchanging *thing*, but is something that is constructed, created, constituted and reflected by discourses (2010:4). She adds that discourse “does something” – mainly, creating and constructing a version of reality (2010:5) and that an understanding of heritage both determines, and is determined by, “a dialectic relationship between society and discourse” (2010:7). Hogberg comments that Smith has conducted a critical discussion of the established insitutionalisation and self-confirming practice of heritage management (2012:133). He further notes that Smith demonstrates that power over how ancient monuments and sites are communicated and made accessible rests with a small group of professionals (the professionals being officials, antiquarians, and scholars) (2012:133).

Harrison has also acknowledged Smith's works on discourse and power by claiming that she has drawn attention to the knowledge/power effects of heritage, and "the concrete ways in which power is caught up and exercised through the exhibition and management of museums and heritage sites" (2013:112). He further adds that this is an area of concern that has become central to the emerging interdisciplinary field of critical heritage studies. However, his critique concerning her ideas has been that heritage is also 'beyond' the discourse. He argues that Smith's focus on the discourse of heritage "does not always produce an account that adequately theorises the role of material things" (2013:112). Harrison further critiques that Smith's advocacy of critical discourse analysis has reduced the discourse to 'texts.' On this note, he writes that it is important to "bring back the affective qualities of heritage 'things' more squarely into the critical heritage studies arena" (2013:112).

Regarding 'language,' Smith argues that social meanings, forms of knowledge and expertise, power-relations and ideologies are all embedded and also reproduced via 'language.' She writes that the AHD, with its discourse and language, is ultimately able to operate "from a position of power." This, according to Smith and Waterton (2009:29) is because it "legitimises and authorises" a particular pattern of management and a way of speaking. That discourse authorises a particular way of speaking reveals how 'discourse' and 'language' are intertwined in the AHD. Consequently, Smith asserts that heritage management and interpretation has become very tightly drawn (2006:12). She argues that at one level, heritage is about the promotion of "a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites" (2006:4) in order to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present. On the other hand, however, she notes that "heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and define received value and identities by a range of subaltern groups" (Smith 2006:4).

Hogberg (2012:132), applying this concept of 'language discourse' in his critical analysis of signs at ancient monuments in Skåne (southern Sweden), notes that conveying information and knowledge at ancient monument and heritage sites is an "obvious element" in today's cultural heritage management and that studies have shown that when sites are made accessible and provided with signs, it is done through an "official language." Hogberg argues that this state of affairs has been held up as an example of how the heritage management

sector has failed to question the way in which it communicates and selects contents in what is mediated through the language via text, illustrations and the layout of signs. Ultimately, he writes that this language discourse has cemented established perceptions of what heritage and heritage sites represent and what their functions are in today's society (2012:133).

'Control' (and power) is another key notion of the AHD. Smith inter-connects this issue of 'control' to discourse and language and claims that a profound consequence of the AHD is its power and control to legitimise or delegitimise claims on heritage including those that relate to identity. She asserts that the power and control of the AHD is in many respects a "form of heritage itself" (2006:299). In other words, she argues that 'the way of seeing' heritage is privileged by the AHD. Smith states that the AHD, with its control, constructs not only a particular definition of heritage but also "an authorised mentality" (2006:52). This is why, according to Smith, heritage can become not only "a tool of governance," but also "a tool of opposition and subversion" (2006:52). Essentially, she explains that the power and control of the AHD means that it is able to actively and continually recreate and reassess heritage to conform to the social, cultural and political needs of the present (Smith 2006:83).

This 'way of seeing' controlled by the AHD has captured the interest of numerous scholars (i.e. Breglia 2006:13; Crouch 2010; Palmer 2009; Schofield 2016; Thomas 2008; Waterton 2008; Waterton 2010a). A common interpretation amongst them regarding this control has been that it is an ideological discursive formation – grounded in the materiality of heritage and its non-renewability, privileging the grand, the old, and the aesthetically-pleasing. Waterton, concerning Smith's arguments about the control of the AHD, agrees that heritage is indeed monitored and organised predominantly by heritage professionals. She furthermore argues that these professionals "regulate, influence and contextualise" heritage through discourse (Waterton 2010:7). She moreover writes that our understanding of heritage has been "so completely accepted as residing within the parameters of the AHD" that we are left with only the "mundane task of debating its technical conservation" (2010:4). She emphasises the enormous extent to which the AHD has taken over how we interpret heritage. Thomas, concerning these controlling professionals, critiques that the role of heritage officials (the 'experts') in future should be to guide and facilitate the public (Thomas 2008, quoted in Schofield 2016:12). Schofield further argues that people have their own views of heritage and will no longer simply accept the "official view" (2016:12). He adds that heritage

is “one of those things on which everyone has expertise” (2016:12). Palmer, also along the same lines, writes that heritage involves continual creation and transformation that this is why

...heritage processes must move beyond the preoccupations of the experts in government ministries and the managers to public institutions, and include the different publics who inhabit our cities, towns and villages (Palmer 2009:8).

Palmer (2009), Thomas (2008) and Schofield (2016) collectively argue that heritage is for ‘everyone’ and that we are all heritage experts in many respects. Their critique of the AHD is that although the heritage professionals have a definite role, their job should be to guide the people, not to completely control how they interpret their past. Another argument concerning this notion of control is by Pendlebury (2013:8) who pinpoints that the real concern is the controversial question of *who* has *how much* power to control, define and change values in heritage.

To sum up, Smith’s AHD broadly combines the central notions of discourse, language, and control. These notions argue how heritage is a process that becomes negotiated, manoeuvred, manipulated and controlled by the power relations (the authorised bodies). According to her model, heritage (in terms of its values, meanings, management, etc.) is authorised by power relations who justify and claim such authority with their ‘expertise knowledge.’ With such expertise knowledge, these power-holders construct and regulate heritage. In terms of the aims of the current research it is, however, important to point out that in the contexts discussed by these authors, these regulations are accountable to the heritage laws and to other related public bodies and in some ways also to the public, as seen in the increased emphasis on satisfying the tax payers.

### **Limitations of the AHD**

This section will briefly note some of the limitations of the AHD argued by other scholars followed by the limitation of the AHD this thesis aims to address and contribute towards.

Numerous scholars have addressed the limitations of Smith’s AHD. For example, the AHD has been argued to have limitations in understanding conservation planning. Pendlebury

argues that the current framework of AHD in terms of conservation planning is too broad. He suggests that we can detect further sub-AHDs within planning and groups these sub-AHDs around the short-hand labels of *Conservation Principles*, *The Heritage Dividend*, and *Constructive Conservation*, “each with a somewhat different rhetorical purpose” (2013:1). The AHD has also been argued to have limitations in understanding the heritage discourse in eastern countries. Hui, in her investigations of heritage discourse in Hong Kong from 1970 to 2016, argues that although the notion of the AHD is largely valid for understanding the heritage discourse, especially within British contexts, there is a limitation when attempting to understand heritage in Hong Kong (2016:49). Another argued limitation was suggested by Smith herself in terms of understanding *how* identities are actually constructed. She critiques that the AHD is too monolithic as there is very little sense of how identity is actually constructed by or from heritage sites or places (Smith 2009). Further debated limitation of the AHD was pointed out by Harrison (2013) concerning Smith’s discussions on discourse. He claims that Smith has largely ignored the affective qualities of heritage and he argues that heritage is “beyond” the discourse framed by Smith. He elaborates that it is necessary to consider combining a critical approach to the discourse of heritage with “a more thorough consideration of its material affects” (2013:113).

The limitation of the AHD that this thesis focuses on is that it is not applicable to all types of political systems, particularly in this case, dictatorial regimes. Smith’s AHD is fixed on how heritage is constructed and regulated in western democratic states and although it offers a critical insight into power-relations concerning heritage management, her notions do not apply equally well in different political systems. I note that the scope of ADD does cover ‘authoritarian systems’ on the whole mainly due to the varying nature of power acquisition and power structures within the different authoritarian systems. For instance, although dictatorial regimes and monarchical systems both fit under authoritarian rule, the nature of the monarch and dictator assuming power in most cases differed with the monarch generally acquiring power through bloodline and the dictator often using force and illegal means. As mentioned in chapter 1, the emphasis on heritage during dictatorships was often due and motivated by the desperation to construct an appropriate narrative to secure and maintain political legitimacy. With legitimacy being less of an issue for monarchs in most cases, the desired narrative via heritage (if any) as well as the management and uses of heritage can be broadly understood to have been driven by different factors (i.e. for prestige or to

show/display to other countries). Thus, ADD cannot be seen to cover all authoritarian regimes. The fundamental aim of developing ADD, is firstly to expose how the AHD needs to be varied and adjusted depending on the extent of or absence of accountability and secondly to provide a suitable lens to examine heritage management under dictatorial regimes.

## **2.2. Authorised Dictatorial Discourse (ADD)**

Building from the literature above, this section will develop ADD. In order to do so, firstly, three cases of dictatorial regimes will be used: 1) Mussolini in Italy, 2) Franco in Spain and 3) Castro in Cuba. Through these examples, the aim is to carve out an initial outline of ADD by examining how and to what extent they each selected, constructed and regulated heritage. Secondly, ADD will be situated among Foucault, Harvey and Smith's ideas to tentatively put the ADD into perspective. I note that discussions in this chapter are indeed tentative as the main conclusions will be drawn upon after the exploration of the case of South Korea's MDE.

### **Dictators and heritage: selecting specific parts from the nation's past**

To firstly look at the case of Mussolini's dictatorial regime, his selection from Italy's past was transparent in terms of the time period, past figures and sites. 'Ancient Rome' became emphasised through the restoration of ancient Roman relics, and the promotion of Rome's historical figures (Gilkes 2003; McFeaters 2007; Nelis 2007). In the twenty one years he was in power (1922- 1943), Mussolini reorganised and re-developed Rome by exposing ancient buildings and ruins as well as adding significant new public buildings; the aims of these were to provide physical manifestations and support for his fascist ideology (Cohen 2010). Moreover, Mussolini is known to have tried to equate himself with some of Rome's best known historical figures, namely Romulus, Aeneas and Augustus. In doing this, his goal was supposedly to prove the fascist theory that a new Renaissance would begin and that he would represent the pinnacle of Rome's founder and be a re-newer in an age of heroes (Gilkes 2003; McFeaters 2007). In his autobiography, Mussolini wrote: "my objective is simple: I want to make Italy great, respected and feared; I want to render my nation worthy of her noble and ancient traditions" (1928:308-309). A significant part of this plan included fabricating *romanità* a key component of the fascist state and ideology (McFeaters 2007; Painter Jr.

2005).<sup>2</sup>

The core *romanitàs* was linked to the late Republican and early Imperial Rome, and this was connected to the political background of the *ventennio fascista* during the years Fascism was in power (Nelis 2007:392). The idea of *romanitàs* fundamentally encapsulated the Fascist virtues of discipline, hierarchy and order with the Fascist “new man” modelled on the Roman legionary (Arthurs 2012). This became an important cult, providing Mussolini with a way to gain public support. The project to excavate Rome, therefore, became a programme undertaken to remind the Italian people of their country’s legacy. For Mussolini, *romanitàs* took the form of incorporation of fascism’s emphasis on modernity, youth, revolution, and establishing a new Italy on the back of ancient Rome’s glories and achievements (McFeaters 2007; Painter Jr. 2005). *Romanitàs* and moreover Fascism has been perceived as Mussolini’s creation to mould a certain sense of modern ideology which looked at the future but at the same time also looked back at an idealised Roman past (Nelis 2007:393). Nelis (2007) claims that it was “a universal ideal which was highly suited for the quasi-religious discourse that Mussolini developed and which contributed to the so-called “consensus” situation in which the regime found itself at the beginning of the 1930s.”

The heritage policy under Mussolini’s dictatorship can be summarised as the following: 1) he selected ‘ancient Rome’ to support his vision of the ‘new Italy,’ 2) he turned to certain past figures who were well-established literary leaders of Rome in order to construct his image as Italy’s new unrivalled and patriotic leader, and 3) he emphasised the glory days of ancient Rome via its relics to remind the people of their legacy and to, more importantly, publicise to the nation that he cared greatly for Italy’s past achievements. The authorised heritage policy during Mussolini’s regime mirrors Smith’s AHD in the sense that specific parts from the past became resurrected to create a particular value and meaning in the present. The clear difference, however, is the transparent lack of accountability and regulations. That certain parts of Italy’s past became fabricated and manoeuvred according to and for Mussolini’s aims, arguably, meant that the ‘way of seeing’ heritage became privileged and decreed by Mussolini alone with his monolithic power over Italy’s managerial sectors.

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<sup>2</sup> Visser (1992) notes that *Romanitàs* was not a new ideology but had existed before the fascist revolution and was employed to justify Italian colonialism in Africa before World War I.



Franco in Spain can be seen to have modelled his heritage policy based on Mussolini's actions. Viejo-Rose (2014:68) notes how Franco needed to legitimise his assumption of power in Spain, especially having come to power after revolting against a democratically elected government. Franco referred to the 'Old Spain' in his process of constructing a 'New Spain.' Viejo-Rose explains how despite the public discourses re-iterating that Franco was building a New Spain, a convincing lineage and inheritance – *Patrimonio* - had to be found in the 'Old Spain.' This was achieved by

...selecting the historic periods, events, personages and legends that suited the new vision of Spain – constructing a historical narrative for which the regime would appear as both legitimate heir and protector. A dichotomy was therefore created by which the regime was both building a New Spain and restoring Old Spain to its former glory, a tension that recurs throughout the reconstruction projects (Viejo-Rose 2014:68).

Franco clearly had a preconceived vision of what he wanted Spain to look like which meant that a form of "editing" of history took place in the actual conservation work. She further notes that when the material did not fully conform to his preconceived image, "corrections" were made via restorations (Viejo-Rose 2014:70). The characteristics of Franco's heritage policy can be listed as him: 1) having a vision of *his* New Spain supported by a highly and personally edited reference to parts of the Old Spain, 2) turning to very specific historic periods, events, personages and legends to back up his vision, and 3) 'editing' and 'correcting' parts of the past through restoration projects in order to make them conform to his vision. Indeed, he, with his dictatorial authority, was able to influence the entirety of Spain's heritage management and infrastructure.

In terms of Cuba, a more recent case, Gonzalez's (2018) notes how the Cuban revolutionaries (from 1969 to 2008) "coopted and reinterpreted" the previous bourgeois national narrative of Cuba and aligned it "with revolutionary ideology through the use of heritage and public symbols." He adds how by changing the uses of the past in the present, they (the Cuban revolutionaries) were able to "shift ideologies, power relations, epistemological conceptions, and economic contexts into Cuba we know today." Concerning these symbols, Gonzalez claims that they were "the building blocks of broader representation frameworks, including myths and narratives" and when used as a public symbol, heritage was used to "both reflect and help legitimise the hegemonic social order" (2018:10). Indeed,

symbols played a significant role during these years in Cuba representing what the power-holders wanted to emphasise.

Gonzalez analyses how an important characteristic of Cuban ideology was that it “evolved and was intimately interwoven with a number of popular and collective experiences” (2018:69). He further adds that these evolving ideologies gradually became incorporated into the symbolic structure of revolutionary ideology in the form of myths (ibid. 69). It is evident that the power holders during the Soviet states used heritage with the belief that the new symbolic order would somehow “transform individual consciousness” (ibid. 65). Gonzalez concludes that heritage during this time was a “contested terrain between competing representations, symbols and narratives of Cuban national identity” and how this, in many respects, demonstrates how the Cubans engaged with the past in many ways (ibid.29).

The heritage policy during Cuba’s dictatorship can be summarised as follows 1) the power holders negotiated their contested past by using the memorialising function of heritage to legitimise different political projects and power positions within the new state, and 2) the power holders, through the removal of symbols, exerted a ‘selective remembrance’ in terms of place and historic significance. The case of Cuba reveals the remarkable extent to which the meaning of heritage can change, transform and evolve depending on the ideology desired by the dictatorial government. During these years, according to this desired ideology, some parts of heritage became destroyed, some parts underwent material additions or the reworking of certain elements, and some parts had the inscription of specific features added into a new symbolic order primarily to transform the social interpretation of places (Gonzalez 2018:75). Similarly to the Mussolini and Franco cases, Cuba’s dictatorship demonstrates the extent to which the meaning, value, management and uses of heritage can become entirely subject to a dictator’s circumstances and his desired ideological narrative.

### **Carving out ADD**

From the three examples above, a few distinct and common characteristics of heritage management during dictatorships can be traced and they can be used to carve out the initial framework of ADD. Reoccurring aspects are that the dictators 1) selected a specific period,

figure or episode from the past, 2) constructed a specific national narrative, 3) regulated the management of heritage not according to expert advice but on the dictator's orders, and 4) manipulated the physical heritage (via conservation work), its meaning and value.

To firstly look at how the dictators 'selected' a specific part from 'the past', the practise in itself cannot be seen as a distinct trait of heritage management under dictatorships. Political systems from all over the world have, and continue to, emphasise a particular part from the past depending on the present day narrative. What differed, however, was the extent to which the past became oriented by and for the dictator and his government without accountability or negotiations. In the case of Mussolini, his selection involved ancient buildings and ruins associated with ancient Rome. For Franco, he selected periods, events, personages and legends that complemented his new vision of Spain. In terms of Castro, myths and narratives of heritage became used to legitimise the hegemonic social order. To secondly look at how dictators constructed their specific narrative, Mussolini can be seen to have used heritage to support the fascist ideology as well as to build his own image as Italy's new unrivalled leader. Franco also built his narrative via heritage around the 'new vision' and 'new Spain.' Castro reinterpreted and transformed ideologies to support his new rules and regulations. Thirdly, all three dictators regulated heritage according to and for their desired narrative. This meant that the advice of professionals and experts became insignificant; their role instead was to follow the orders given by the dictatorial government. Lastly, common in all three cases is how heritage became heavily manipulated all in terms of its physical conservation, meaning and value. Mussolini went as far as to add new buildings to the existing ones, Franco 'edited' and 'corrected' historical buildings via conservation work and Castro reinforced the revolutionary ideology via heritage and symbols. The 'extent' of their actions is indeed noteworthy. They went as far as to forcefully combine old and new buildings (Mussolini), carve new symbols on centuries old building (Franco), destroyed certain buildings when it did not fit the stressed ideology (Castro). Through these examples, it is possible to see the extent to which heritage became manipulated according to the ideology of the dictatorial governments.

To tentatively carve out ADD, its characteristics can be listed as a scenario: the dictator assuming power in an unorthodox way; turning to 'the past' to secure and maintain political legitimacy; managing heritage according to their narrative, and going as far as to change or destroy the physical heritage or its meaning.

## **Situating ‘ADD’ amongst existing ideas**

Evidently, existing literature related to power and discourse provided governing components to Smith’s idea of AHD. ‘ADD’ has derived from Smith’s AHD, or more specifically, from finding limitations in the AHD. Situating ADD amongst these key preceding literatures, therefore, is important in terms of putting the concept of ADD into perspective in order to clarify how and where it sits.

Firstly, Foucault’s notion that power controls knowledge is at the core of ADD. As noted above, according to Foucault, the degree of power can be understood to be directly proportional to the degree of knowledge enforced. In other words, the stronger the power, the easier it becomes for the power holders to manipulate knowledge. With the power of the dictatorial government being higher and more intense than the power structure of democratic governments, theoretically, ‘knowledge’ can be controlled all the more. Smith (2006) draws directly upon Foucault’s work on governmentality and furthermore looks at heritage as governmental. ADD can be drawn from this idea of heritage as governmental but in a more concentrated form; ‘power’ (the dictatorial government) enforcing ‘knowledge’ (the heritage knowledge) with the goal to secure and maintain political legitimacy as well as to hold social control. Next to refer back to Harvey’s ideas on heritagisation, he argues that heritage has, and still is today, developed and changed according to present day concerns. He strongly stresses that heritage is produced and this is something that becomes even more obvious during dictatorial regimes; the dictators ‘producing’ a narrative and ideology via a carefully thought-out heritage selection. Harvey claims that heritage is present-centred but during dictatorships, heritage is dictator-centric. This idea fundamentally casts light on the dangers of neglecting the longer historical scope of heritage which is that the authentic narrative can be lost. As seen from the examples explored above, during dictatorships, the authentic narrative was in some respects deliberately altered or modified in order to complement the dictator’s vision. In this regard, ADD can be seen to represent one form of heritagisation.

Lastly to situate ADD within Smith’s AHD, the idea of ‘selecting,’ ‘constructing’ and ‘negotiating’ heritage are clearly developed arguments. These ideas in relation to heritage management have been explored abundantly. For example, Graham and Howard (2008:2) assert how heritage is “constructed and shaped by the political, economic, and social

responses to the formation of collective memory.” In terms of heritage negotiation, Smith (2006:4) remarks how heritage is about negotiation – “about using the past, and collective or individual memories, to negotiate new ways of being and expressing identity.” Seen in this light, it can be argued that heritage inevitably has been and will continue to be an authorised discourse used as a political tool to serve in the particular interests and ideologies of the present (Gillis 1994:14). Smith’s model of the AHD, however, is only applicable in countries where power is distributed and where accountability exists in terms of laws and regulations. It is also only applicable in the context of established political legitimacy. In dictatorial regimes, regulations, laws and accountability, in general, are absent. The position and extent of power are not rotated or dispersed and in many of the historical examples, the selection of heritage became almost entirely respondent, dependant and subject to the dictator with very little or no negotiations or adjustments.

Another crucial point to consider is the problem of political legitimacy for dictators. Galaty and Watkinson (2004:4) claim that, on the whole, the relationship between archaeology and ideology tends to be more strongly expressed in totalitarian regimes, whereas in democracies, this relationship can be much more subtle, and in some cases almost absent. In cases such as those discussed above, very different forms of discourses on heritage existed, as the dictator controlled and governed the way heritage became seen, talked about, valued and managed. The meanings and values of heritage became framed and moulded by the narrative desired by the dictator. Consequently, this has meant that many post-dictatorship countries have heritage sites today that have become romanticised and mythicised and also sites that have become discriminated against, isolated and even destroyed without any of this being subjected to wider agreements. To underpin the need to develop a version of the AHD particular to dictatorships, it is essential to recognise that, as argued previously, the current framework of the AHD does not apply equally well in political systems that are not democratic. Table 2.1 outlines the main differences between AHD and ADD.

AHD (Smith 2006)		ADD
Professional discourse		Dictatorial discourse
Social and cultural practise		Dictatorial practise
Heritage used to construct values and meanings in the present for varied audiences		Heritage used to invest, force, romanticise, and legitimise a desired narrative and image by and for a dictator
‘Way of seeing’ and ‘way of talking’ about heritage privileged by professionals and experts	→	‘Way of seeing’ and ‘way of talking’ about heritage decreed solely by the dictatorial government
Negotiated and adjusted according to the involved voices of different sectors		Little/no negotiation or adjustments with other sectors
Authorised by the related professionals and bodies (accountable to government)		Authorised by one person (dictator) or sometimes with a small entourage
Laws and guides (legal restrictions)		New laws, new polices or beyond the law

**Table 2.1** – The differences between AHD and ADD

Essentially, whereas the ADD also constructs and regulates heritage, there are three crucial differences compared to the AHD, each related to the absences of accountability. These are about 1) ‘who’ authorises heritage management, 2) ‘how’ heritage becomes managed, and 3) ‘who’ controls laws and policies. That there is no office or public authorised bodies and that regulations and accountability are absent in ADD are what primarily distinguishes it from the AHD. Indeed it is in terms of power, and how it is being exercised, that dictatorships differ from other kinds of political systems. Singling ADD out from the AHD aims to reveal the impacts dictatorial power and control can have on how heritage becomes constructed, regulated, managed and used.

### 2.3. Methodology

As noted, the case of South Korea’s MDE will be used as the main case study to examine the characteristics and consequences of heritage management and use during dictatorial regimes. The two dictators expressed a great deal of interest in cultural heritage and in turn made significant changes to a number of South Korean heritage sites. The MDE was also a period of extreme territorial politics with the dictators favouring one region heavily whilst neglecting another region to the other extreme. This case, therefore, was selected to examine what outcomes can occur from such dictatorial actions on heritage and land.

## Notes on data collection and rationale

When deciding which types of data to use for this research, I initially considered conducting interviews as it would enable me to collect primary data on how certain people (those who had first-hand experience of this era) felt about the MDE's ADD and territorial politics. However, prior to leaving for fieldwork, it became ever clearer that the ultimately important research objective was to examine the impacts of the MDE's two policies on the preservation and promotion of the sites. In other words, the focus of this thesis is centrally on the *sites* themselves rather than the people. Therefore, I opted to use documentary evidence as my sources and to leave out the interview data for two reasons. The first was to ensure that the data would allow the medium and long term impacts of the MDE's ADD and territorial politics on the six sites to be compared and analysed factually and statistically (e.g. through statistics on state-funding, a comparison in terms of the number of excavations, etc.). The second was that I also came to recognise that (although very interesting and important in their own rights) people's perception of the impact would not necessarily be the same as the actual impacts on sites. Due to limitations of space and time, only one of these angles could be pursued in depth. I decided to focus on the actual physical and managerial impacts as that would be most revealing of the actions exercised by this kind of political regime.

To specify what I mean by 'documentary evidence,' it refers to excavation reports, conservation reports, photographs, statistical figures in terms of national expenditure and state funding, and newspaper articles. The reason for turning to the above set of data was in order to both directly and indirectly spot government initiatives and also in order to examine the extent to which the dictatorial regimes permeated into and affected the cultural sector (CPA) and the media (newspapers).

I relied heavily on newspaper articles written both during and post the MDE and they were selected for two reasons. The first was due to South Korea's particular circumstances; it is important to note that due to a series of traumatic events prior to the MDE, the South Korean economy was very under-developed and unstable leading up to and during the MDE. It was only with the turn of the 1960s that South Korea slowly started to see economic developments under the orchestration of PCH, which ultimately led to the remarkable achievement of South Korea joining the OECD list in 1996. Such circumstances meant that

during the MDE, the media in terms of expression and representation of different sectors and voices saw little advancement. In other words, mass-media (newspapers) predominantly reflected and reported what the dictatorial regimes expressed interest in rather than portraying a more balanced picture. Thus the newspapers released during the MDE in many respects can be seen as both direct and indirect government data. With this in mind, special attention was paid to the words that were used, emphasised, and repeated to the nation in order to trace any nuances or political motivations. I acknowledge that the actual use of government materials such as policy statements, memoranda, advice to officials, etc. would have provided a more solid analysis of the dictatorial impacts but due to the focus of my thesis being on the physical preservation and the information the *citizens* were provided with (more so than the actual ‘behind the scenes’ of the dictatorial government), I decided to focus on the list of data mentioned above. The second reason for using newspapers articles was due to their convenient access via an online database called Naver News Article Library. This database provides open access to newspaper articles between the years 1920-1999 with a keyword research.<sup>3</sup> In order to retrieve sources that are not available online, I visited the six sites, associated universities and institutions, museums and also the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) archive all within South Korea during fieldwork.

### **Outline of fieldwork**

Fieldwork was conducted in South Korea over a period of six months (from July to December 2016). As the majority of reports and data are stored in universities and institutions rather than being published documents or open-access files, it was crucial for me to accumulate the data in person. I visited the three case study sites in the Honam region during the first half of fieldwork and the three sites in the Yongnam region during the second half. A full list of visits is detailed in the appendix. I also planned out visits to associated universities, institutes, museums and the CHA archives in between the site visits.

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<sup>3</sup> Naver news Article Library: [newslibrary.naver.com](http://newslibrary.naver.com)



## Progression, results and challenges of fieldwork

Month	Aims	Results
July (2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To visit the CHA archives (located in Daejeon)</li> <li>2) To find excavation and conservation reports on my case study sites</li> <li>3) To translate the retrieved files into English</li> <li>4) To visit relevant libraries and national archives</li> </ol>	<p>Visited the CHA archive and found the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Publication of “A 50 Year History of the CHA, from 1961 – 2011”</li> <li>- Visual sources (e.g. photographs, sketched) on my case study sites (excluding the Suncheon Bay site)</li> <li>- Excavation reports on the Gochang Dolmen site, the Mireuksa Temple site and the Seokguram Grotto site</li> </ul>
August (2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To visit the Gochang Dolmen site and to collect data from the Gochang County</li> <li>2) Take photographs of the site as it appears today</li> <li>3) To take photographs of the dolmens ‘outside’ the UNESCO designated radius as it appears today</li> </ol>	<p>Visited the Gochang Dolmen site and successfully retrieved data on its management from the curator of the Gochang Dolmen Museum.</p>
September (2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To visit the Suncheon Bay site</li> <li>2) To take photographs of the site as it appears today</li> <li>3) To meet with the curator of the Suncheon Bay site to collect data</li> </ol>	<p>Visited the Suncheon Bay site and retrieved the following data:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A few dissertations produced on the value of the site</li> <li>- A power-point presentation that was made on the history of the site’s management (provided by the site curator)</li> <li>- Statistical information on local and state funding</li> </ul>
October (2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To visit the Mireuksa Temple site</li> <li>2) To take photographs of the site as it appears today</li> <li>3) To visit the Wonkwang University Research Institute for Mahan Baekje Culture</li> </ol>	<p>-Visited the Mireuksa Temple site and found excavation and conservation reports which were provided by Wonkwang University</p>
November (2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To visit the Tumuli Park Belt site and the Seokguram Grotto (both are located in Gyeongju)</li> <li>2) To collect data on both these sites</li> </ol>	<p>- Managed to retrieve information and data on both sites from the curator of the Gyeongju National Museum.</p>
December (2016)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) To visit the Bangudae Petroglyphs site</li> <li>2) To make final visits to archives and libraries for data collection before returning to Cambridge</li> </ol>	<p>Visited the Bangudae Petroglyphs site and collected data and also made final visits to archives and libraries to collect last parts of data</p>

**Table 2.2** Fieldwork overview

A few challenges were faced during fieldwork, some foreseeable and others unexpected. A predicted challenge arose from language and translation. Early excavation reports (reports produced prior to the MDE and during the MDE) had a significant amount of Chinese characters (*Hanmun*) incorporated into the texts. This meant that I had to seek expert help when translating and interpreting the data. A totally unexpected problem, however, was the earthquakes that struck the Gyeongju region during September of 2016. The ancient city of

Gyeongju is where two of my case study sites are located (case studies IV and V). Multiple earthquakes occurred (earthquakes measuring 5.3 on the Richter scale) which meant that a considerable amount of relics became damaged as well as access into the city being temporarily prohibited. I considered changing case studies IV and V but Gyeongju is essential to my research as it was the area that PCH took the greatest interest in. I managed to visit Gyeongju in November, and the earthquake did not affect the data collection in the end.

### **Presentation of case study sites and rationale behind their selection**

In selecting the more detailed case studies, my aim was to find sites that could show the different expressions of the two dictators among the national narratives they produced and promoted. In other words, I wanted to find specific cases that could reveal the extent to which PCH and CDH, with their power, dictated ‘knowledge’ as well as cases that show how heritage indeed became ‘produced’ according to and by PCH and CDH.

I had clear goals when it came to what I wanted from my case studies, which were to further develop ‘ADD’ (in terms of its characteristics and consequences) and also to examine how dictatorial power over ‘land’ subsequently affected heritage management and use. With these goals in mind, I selected six sites in total: three from the Honam region (the neglected region) and three from the Yongnam region (the favoured region). I also looked for heritage sites that were either selected or neglected by PCH and/or CDH in order to investigate the extent to which the dictators regulated the heritage policy in South Korea. Another aspect I took into consideration in the selection of my case study sites was to use a combination of sites that are both better known and lesser known in the present day in order to examine whether such outcomes were impacts of dictatorial select and neglect.

Region	Name of site	Type of heritage	Status during the MDE
Honam	Gochang Dolmen site	Prehistoric tomb site	-Outside the MDE's interest-sphere -Considered 'less interesting'
	Suncheon Bay site	Natural ecological site	-'Natural' sites were not specifically considered 'heritage' in the same regards as 'cultural heritage'
	Mireuksa Temple site	Stone pagoda Buddhist temple	-Spotlighted as important 'national heritage' immediately in 1962 and was especially focused on during the 1980s by CDH
Yongnam	Tombs 155 and 98 in Gyeongju	Royal tomb site	-Spotlighted as important 'national heritage' by PCH during the 1960s and more so during the 1970s
	Seokguram Grotto	Buddhist statue monument	-Spotlighted as valuable national heritage during the 1960s and all throughout the MDE
	Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyph	Prehistoric Petroglyph rock art	-Discovered in 1971 but was left 'outside' the interest of the dictatorial regimes

**Table 2.3** – Presentation of the six case study sites

### The Honam region sites (case studies I – III)

#### Case study I - the Gochang Dolmen site

This site was overall outside the interest of the MDE both in terms of the specific site and the region as a whole. 'Dolmens' on the whole did not fit the desired heritage aesthetic that both PCH and CDH were after which were 'aesthetically impressive monuments' to help them emphasise a very particular narrative (further details on this will be included in chapter 3). Very little was known about dolmens academically prior to the MDE and I argue that their low profile as 'heritage' leading up to the MDE had a governing impact on their treatment during the MDE, and that such neglect during the dictatorship period had an extended impact on the awareness level of the site today (i.e. the site is much lesser known than the city of Gyeongju which was persistently valued as 'heritage prior to and during the MDE). In many respects, this site opens up and supports the argument that heritage during South Korea's MDE was politically prioritised or neglected subject to and depending on whether or not it supported the grand narrative the dictators wished to construct and deliver to the nation. It is interesting to see how the status of the dolmens changed post the MDE; how there was a

move away from the dictator's narrative to the 'collective' narrative. This site was therefore selected to reveal how a combination of being located in the Honam region, being little established as 'heritage' prior to the MDE, and not fitting the heritage-aesthetic and narrative PCH and CDH were after, all had profound impacts on how the dolmens became preserved and promoted during and even for a considerable time after the MDE.

### Case study II – The Suncheon Bay site

The Suncheon Bay site was predominantly selected due to its status as a 'natural' site. The concept of 'natural heritage' was not established and recognised or valued to the same degree as 'cultural heritage' prior to and during the MDE. It was, however, regarded as a unique ecological site worthy of special attention – as can be seen through newspapers that were written on the grounds. I argue that the CDH government used this site as a means to cover up a political scandal (details will be included in chapters 3 and 4). During the 1980s, the grounds were temporarily promoted with political motivations and then abandoned soon after. The particularly interesting point regarding this site is how its value as a site changed after the MDE during the 1990s; the locals of Suncheon started to get involved by clearing out the litter that was gathered due to abandonment. Since then, the Suncheon City government and moreover the South Korean government have expressed interest in the site and have made plans to preserve the grounds as a natural heritage site. In this regard, this case can effectively compare the impacts of ADD (during the MDE) and then AHD (post the MDE) – with the democratic government post the MDE responding and adjusting to the people's collective desire to preserve the grounds.

### Case study III – The Mireuksa Temple site

This site, despite it being located in the politically neglected region, became selected by both PCH and CDH to undergo intense restoration and research. The reason for it was mainly as it fitted the heritage-aesthetic the dictatorial regimes were looking for; it, for them, represented a 'strong' and 'proud' past of Korea. It was also pre-established as 'heritage' prior to the MDE, which I argue was a crucial factor in it becoming selected in 1962 by PCH. The CDH government, in particular, shifted the focus to this site and spent an enormous amount of national expenditure on its restoration, which again, I argue was used as a tool for CDH's

image reconstruction post the national scandal of the Gwangju Massacre (details to be included in the next chapter). This site was selected to argue and reveal the impacts of such intense political selection as well as an important characteristic of the ADD: the extent to which dictators can use heritage according to their personal circumstances and desires.

### **The Yongnam region sites (case studies IV- VI)**

#### Case study IV – Tombs 155 and 98

These two tombs in Gyeongju were in many respects an ‘obvious’ choice as they were at the forefront of PCH’s heritage selection during the 1970s. The city of Gyeongju in itself became targeted by PCH to be made into an international tourist attraction and the excavation of these two tombs became the heart of this project. What the tombs represented, which was power and prestige during the ancient Silla dynasty, was the grand national narrative PCH was very much after and with the ultimate motivation to find the ‘golden crown’ inside the tomb, a substantial amount of state funding and expertise was put forth. Moreover, the PCH government utilised the construction of the Seoul-Busan Expressway to provide convenient access into the city to encourage tourism. Even today, these tombs are iconic and representative of South Korea’s heritage. The tombs, therefore, were selected mainly as they strongly contrast case studies I and II, and also to examine the extent to which they became used by PCH to complement the grand narrative he needed to claim legitimacy.

#### Case study V – The Seokguram Grotto

From all six sites, the Seokguram Grotto was arguably the most valorised as ‘heritage’ prior to the MDE with the Japanese expressing interest in its conservation as early as 1910. The grotto was made during the Silla dynasty and after various attempts to conserve it prior to the MDE, the PCH government prioritised its restoration in the early 1960s and ever since, its acknowledgement as a masterpiece has been maintained. The amount of time, money, and experts that were invested into this site as well as the number of newspapers released reporting on its restoration progress and value collectively reveal the impacts dictatorial prioritisation had on its preservation and promotion. Thus, this site was selected to

demonstrate the extent to which dictatorial selection could impact on the value of a site in both the medium and long terms.

#### Case study VI – The Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs

Predicted to have been formed towards the end of the Neolithic period to the Early Bronze Age, the Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyph site was ‘hidden’ and ‘unknown’ until 1971. It took a considerable amount of time before it was promoted on a political and public level. The question is why? The Petroglyphs were located in the Metropolitan City of Ulsan which was selected by PCH in the early days of his regime to be made into South Korea’s industrial powerhouse, and one might have imagined that the discovery of a new site could have immediately been used to add to the value and importance of the city. This did not, however, happen. Whether or not the Petroglyph fitted obvious desired connotations for the city will be analysed in chapter 5.



**Fig 2.1** Map of South Korea showing the locations of each case study site

## **Step-by-step methodology for examining the impacts of PCH and CDH's heritage policies (ADD) and territorial politics on each site's preservation and promotion**

This investigation will be unravelled into four parts: 1) site biography, 2) an examination of the preservation status during the MDE, 3) an exploration of the promotion status during the MDE, and 4) a review of the long-term impacts of PCH and CDH's heritage policies (ADD) and territorial politics. These four steps will be applied to all six case studies.

### **Site biography**

As the first step, a site biography will be presented covering a) location, b) historical context and c) archaeological significance. Pin-pointing the exact location is crucial as this thesis is concerned with how and the extent to which PCH and CDH's territorial interests and policies influenced the preservation and promotion of heritage sites. The location will be contextualised in terms of its status during the MDE (i.e. was it an area targeted for industrial development or was it outside the political interest-sphere?). Next, both the historical context and archaeological significance of each site will be explored including *when* such contexts and values became ascribed and formulated (i.e. was it prior to, during or post the MDE?). This section will also examine whether, and if so how, this timing influenced, narrated or determined how these sites became perceived and managed during the MDE. Additionally, as some case study sites were better known and officially acknowledged as 'heritage' than others, I will pay close attention to whether there were official sign posts, gates and laws to protect the sites during the MDE. This is important as 'pre-valorised' heritage evidently was crucial in becoming selected by both PCH and CDH. The site biographies will overall lay out the relevant background context required for the main investigation.

### **Preservation status during the MDE**

This next section will review the preservation status (efforts and actions) of each site during the MDE. In order to do so, records regarding 'what was done' (i.e. was it removed, neglected, forgotten, restored, reconstructed, etc.) to each site with the intentional aim to preserve it (and use it) will be listed and analysed. Any photographic documents obtained during fieldwork will be included for visual analysis. Secondly, 'what was done to the region' will be reviewed.



This part will look at whether or not the region of that heritage site became targeted for industrialisation or for any other politically directed projects (such as tourism) during the MDE and then question how, and if so to what extent, such decisions and actions affected the preservation of the heritage. This section will close by analysing to what extent PCH or CDH's (or both) authority, power and control over the heritage site and the region overall affected the preservation of each heritage site during the MDE.

### **Promotion status during the MDE**

The analysis of the newspapers will involve two steps. The first will focus on 'how much was written' and the second will focus on 'what was written' during the MDE about each site. The tones of the articles written will be extracted questioning a) why the article was written, b) whether anything specific was continuously emphasised, and c) whether any political agendas or motives can be found. This section will further question to what extent PCH and CDH's authority and specific interests in certain heritage sites and territories governed what and how much became headline topics to the nation. Overall, this part is interested in finding out how and to what extent heritage became used politically to construct and promote identities - both regarding the political leaders themselves and the heritage region as a whole.

### **Long-term impacts**

The long-term impacts of PCH and CDH's two policies on the six sites will be analysed in chapter 7 by examining whether efforts or actions to preserve and promote the sites continued, progressed, changed, or declined after the MDE. To clarify, 'long-term' broadly encompasses the time period from immediately after the MDE to the present day. It must be noted that as the Naver News Article Library Database only stores newspaper articles written until 1999, the review of the long term impacts on the promotion will use and combine articles published until 1999 with other local and national sources that detail the efforts made after the MDE to promote each site. This section aims to question whether, and if so to what extent, PCH and CDH's authority over heritage and territories had long-term, extended influences and impacts on the preservation and promotion of the six sites.

## **Chapter 3 – Historical context**

This chapter provides the relevant historical context for this thesis. The first part will review the history of the conflict between the Honam and Yongnam regions by examining episodes that are revealing of their relationship. This context is important for comprehending how and why the regional dispute occurred and solidified and also for understanding why PCH's favouritism of the Yongnam region in 1961 grew into such a sensitive socio-political issue. The second part will go through the historical events prior to the MDE, starting with the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1910. Korea experienced a series of traumatic events between 1910 and 1961 which had a catastrophic impact on the South Korean economy. Being cognisant of these events is crucial for grasping the circumstances in which the MDE began. The last part will focus on the MDE. It will unfold by detailing the military rise to power followed by a review of PCH and CDH's heritage and territorial policies. The aim is to point to the historical developments that affected heritage practises and policies.

### **3.1. The history of the conflict between the Honam and Yongnam regions**

The Honam (south-western) and Yongnam (south-eastern) regions within South Korea have had a difficult relationship for a long time. Various historical periods and events have been proposed to be the origin of this regional dispute. The explanations are not, however, transparent (Ha 2006:108). Lee (2008:258) asserts that the conflict is "ambiguous in its origin with some tracing the conflict back to ancient times, rooted in the remote past, and others remarking that the conflict of the two regions resulted from recent political developments."

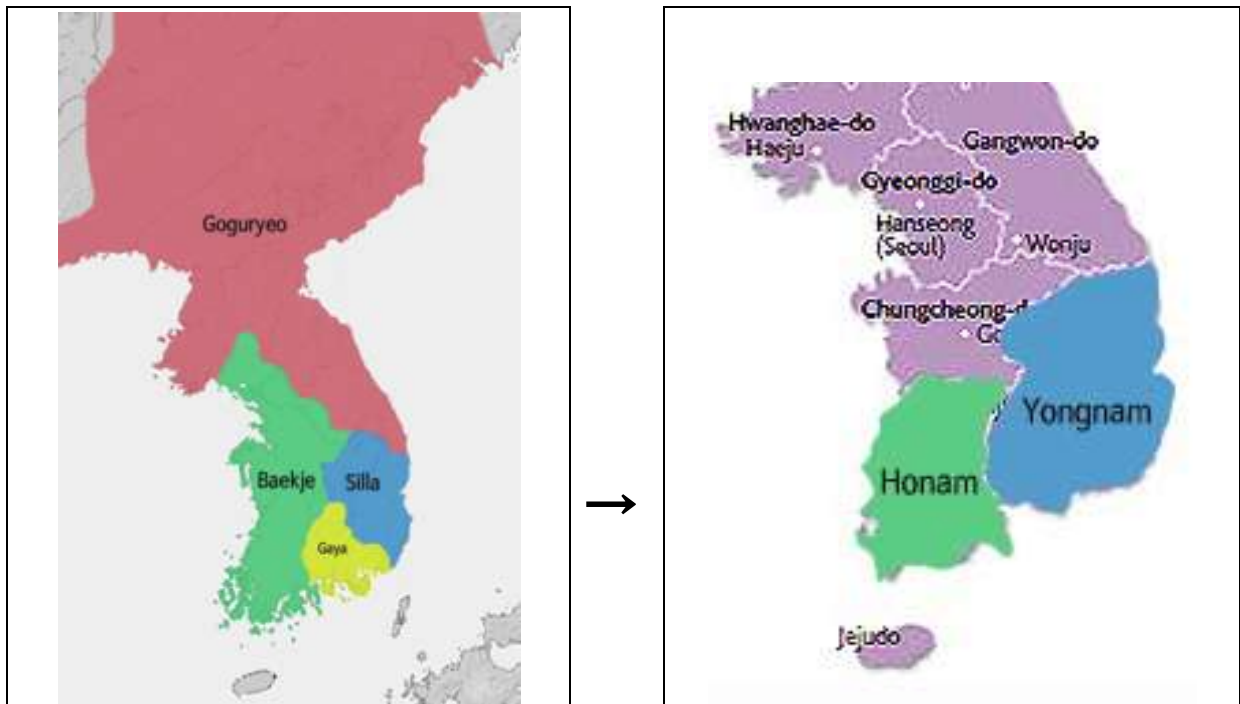
It is necessary to note that the regions within South Korea had different names throughout the course of Korean history (i.e. Silla and Baekje, Yongnam and Honam, Gyeongsang and Jeolla, respectively.). In the present day, South Korea is more commonly divided and known by its provinces. The provinces are South Korea's most formal and largest administrative unit, most of their names originating in the early Joseon dynasty (1392 – 1910) (Park 2009:320). The dispute between the two regions is, therefore, referred to as both the conflict between the 'Honam and Yongnam' and more specifically, the 'rivalry between the Jeolla and Gyeongsang.' This thesis will use the terms 'Honam and Yongnam' in reference to

the regions and their dispute because these terms encompass the larger territorial areas and are on the whole more accurate when referring to the general historical dispute between the two regions.

Three periods that reveal how this physical and ideological divide was orchestrated politically throughout different periods will be briefly examined: 1) the Three Kingdom Period, 2) the Goryeo Dynasty, and 3) the Joseon Dynasty. Although arguments about the dispute expand beyond these three periods, they are arguably the most distinct – primarily due to their published and preserved documentation.

### **The Three Kingdom period (57 BC – AD 668)**

The Three Kingdom Period (57 BC – AD 668) has often been proposed to be the origin of the conflict between the two regions supported by the theory that the tripartite division of the Korean peninsula became the genesis of modern-day regionalism (Lee 2008; Park 2009; Peterson and Margulies 2010). Korea gradually entered this distinct era in the first four centuries of the first millennium B.C (Peterson and Margulies 2010:12). The Three Kingdoms were **Goguryeo** (founded in 37 BC), **Baekje** (founded in 57 BC), and **Silla** (founded in 57 BC) and they survived into the seventh century A.D. During this time, Korea was separated into three distinct areas. Together, they dominated the Korean peninsula and parts of Manchuria for much of the first millennium C.E.



**Fig 3.1** Map of Korea during the Three Kingdom Period (left) and map of South Korea today (right)<sup>4</sup>

A great deal of hostility and conflict is recorded to have occurred during this period (Kang 2003). In particular, conflict is known to have grown between Baekje and Silla, with Baekje building its powerbase in the south-western area and the Silla establishing its powerbase in the south-eastern area. Despite the unification of the kingdoms, the historical animosity between the two regions did not abate, as was evident in the ‘Later Three Kingdoms Period’ (AD 880 – AD 917) with fierce battles taking place even after the downfall of the Unified Silla (Park 2009). This incident, therefore, has been suggested by some scholars (e.g. Lee 2008; Park 2009; Peterson and Margulies 2010, etc.) to have been the root of the conflict between the two regions in later periods (Park 2009). However, Park (2009) qualifies that this historical interpretation has “serious limitations owing to the lack of documentation” adding that conflicts in the Three Kingdoms period are regarded as “inadequate to explain regional sentiments of today.” Moreover, the documents from the period are not evenly distributed in terms of the different partners as the Silla dynasty became most powerful (especially during the Unified Silla Period) and may have influenced later understandings of the conflict.

<sup>4</sup> The green shows the Baekje Kingdom which is today’s Honam region and blue shows the Silla Kingdom which is today’s Yongnam region

### The Goryeo Dynasty (918 – 1392)

Another distinctive historical period associated with this dispute is the Goryeo Dynasty (918 – 1392). This Kingdom was founded by General Wang Geon who established a new dynasty in 918, named Goryeo, which lasted until 1392 (Nahm 2007:41). Wang Geon established an efficient central bureaucracy patterned after the Chinese. He and his immediate successors divided the kingdom into provinces, prefectures, sub-prefectures, districts and smaller administrative units. Furthermore, military bases and guard posts were established throughout the country and frontier defences were strengthened (Nahm 2007:41).



**Fig 3.2** Map of Korea during the Goryeo dynasty

Two prominent documents supporting the existence of regionalism during the Goryeo Dynasty have been preserved. Firstly, King Wang Geon’s *Ten Commandments* promulgated in 943 CE recites how the King warned: “Do not promote Honam people to higher government

positions, for their minds resemble the rugged mountains surrounding them” (Choi 1991). Secondly, according to another document called *Hunhyosipju*, prejudice between Yongnam and Honam deepened during that time. King Wang Geon was supposedly informed by a *fungsu* specialist that a treacherous power would emerge from the Honam region (Lee 2008:258). *Fungsu* (or *feng shui*) refers to a Chinese philosophical system of harmonising everyone with the surrounding environment (Lee 2015). Some Koreans are known to have studied *Feng Shui* (otherwise referred to as the Wind-Water Earth Principle Theory) since the Three Kingdom and Unified Silla eras. Such sources have been used to study and explain the enhancement of the stereotype against the Honam people (Choi 1991). Although this regional bias may have been passed down from previous ideological prejudices, these documents reveal how these prejudices became formalised and regularised.

### **The Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1910)**

The Joseon Dynasty succeeded the Goryeo Dynasty in 1392. It was founded by Lee Seong-gye, also known as Taejo. Similarly to the previous administrative division, the Joseon dynasty also divided the kingdom into sub-sections: eight provinces which were divided into prefectures, counties, and other smaller administrative districts (Nahm 2007:53).

During the Joseon Dynasty, interregional divisions emerged in the political culture as well as social order and economic relations. The Honam region, again, was regarded as the land of “treason” and was unfairly overlooked for government jobs (Lee 2008:259). During the Joseon Dynasty, the laws and institutional edicts were based on geomancy, which Yea (2000: 72) notes had the deliberate purpose of excluding former Honam people from politics, thus “rendering the region isolated and disadvantaged in a permanently united Korea” (from 918 onward). The first king of Joseon, King Taejo (1392 – 1398) supposedly feared that the Honam people would attempt to regain power and territory and thus divided the country; especially considering their previous bitter experiences (Yea 2000: 72).



**Fig 3.3** Map of Korea during the Joseon Dynasty – divided into eight provinces

This led to the formation of further ideological prejudice against the Honam people, meaning that the Honam people were officially discriminated against politically, culturally, economically and socially. To look at another prominent example of the regional dispute during the Joseon Dynasty, it is relevant to note that literature and scholarship began to flourish under conditions of state endorsement and patronage of Confucian learning, which involved extensive scholarly research on Korean society, culture and geography (Yea 2000: 73). One of the most comprehensive works on the eight provinces of Korea appeared in 1432: the *Augmented Survey of the Geography of Korea*. Yea (2000:73) notes that in addition to the practical information that it provided, the document also described the people from each province. The people from the Honam province were documented as ‘kindhearted and gentle’ but also, ironically, they were documented as ‘manipulative and calculating’ and ‘ardent followers of shamanism, or ghost worship.’

The overall notion concerning the Honam people, according to the *Geographical Description*, was that they lacked the application and the ability to diligently study Confucianism, which was the followed and respected ideology throughout the Joseon Dynasty. They were consequently seen to be “immoral, impolite, and in need of special attention in order to be appropriately educated” (Yea 2000: 74). Moreover, Song adds that, during the Joseon Dynasty, a higher proportion of Honam peasants moved to other regions to escape from exploitation by landlords. Their status as ‘unwelcome poor immigrants,’ in addition was a reason for the development of the unfavourable stereotype about the people from Honam (Song 1990). Lastly, to refer to one more document produced during the Joseon Dynasty, in 1474, a report to King Sungchong about Honam was written by Chunmi, a bureaucratic official who was governor of the region for a time during the Joseon dynasty. Chunmi characterised Honam as a “bad province - full of thieves, murderers, and pirates.” According to this report, because Honam peasants never stored their rice harvests, in bad years many of them became beggars and thieves. Often these thieves would disguise themselves as Japanese pirates, so that it became extremely difficult to identify and control them (Yea 2000: 74). Overall, from such published material and official reports, it is apparent that regionalism became a firmly established political and cultural feature during the Joseon Dynasty but what is less clear is what it was about the Honam people that made them politically threatening.

## **Disucssions**

Using a few historical documents as examples, it can be shown how regionalism in Korea has been a long-standing issue. A linear and common theme that has run throughout is the political discrimination against the Honam region. I would also suggest that early publications and implementations of the political discrimination of the Honam region were passed down to the next periods, solidifying a strong ideological prejudice that the Honam people should be avoided and treated with caution. The Yongnam region on the other hand (where the ancient Silla kingdom was located) was on the whole ‘politically favoured’ and ‘superior’ which furthermore meant that they were able to enjoy both political and economic benefits. The Japanese invasion of Korea in 1910 ended the Joseon Dynasty and marks the year Korea lost its independence and rights until 1945 when Japan surrendered.



### **3.2. The period from the Japanese colonial rule to the MDE**

... Korea is located in the heart of East Asia. This fundamental fact of geographical location has always been a major factor in Korea's history. Surrounded by major powers of Asia and the Pacific – each vitally interested in controlling the strategically located country – Korea has become many a times battle ground in struggle for power” (McCune 1956:3).

As can be learnt from the quote above, Korea's geographical (or *geopolitical*) location has many times been the cause of international conflict. Korea's location has been referred to as “a geopolitical curse” (Jung 1998) as well as “the doomed peninsula” (Hickey 1999). Clifford explains how Koreans themselves have described their geographical setting as “a shrimp among whales – hemmed in by powerful neighbours” (1998:8).

The years 1910 – 1960 will be reviewed. The year 1910 is significant in the history of Korea mainly for two reasons. Firstly, the year brought an end to the Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1910), ultimately ending the monarchical system in Korea<sup>5</sup>. Secondly, 1910 marked the beginning of the Japanese colonial period (1910 – 1945). Kim (2007:21) notes that it is “impossible to understand the problems and events faced by the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948 without reference to the legacies of the Japanese colonial rule and the American military government.” Chronologically, during this period we see first Japanese colonial rule (1910 – 45), then the U.S. military administration in the South (1945 – 48), the division between South and North Korea (1948) followed by the establishment of the First Republic of Korea (1948), The Korean War (1950 – 53) and, finally, in 1960, the collapse of the First Republic.

#### **Japanese colonial rule (1910 – 1945)**

When the Japanese annexed Korea in 1910, the new governor-general had absolute power over the new colony's affairs and of the eight governor-generals, who successively controlled Korea, seven were army generals and one was an admiral. The Japanese colonial administration managed to sustain itself by its large constabulary forces (which were given

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<sup>5</sup> The Joseon Dynasty ruled over a united Korean Peninsula for over 500 years – starting with the fall of the Goryeo Dynasty in 1392 through to the year 1910 when the Japanese invaded Korea.

jurisdiction over the civilian police force), and the military police rapidly became “the most dreaded enforcers of colonial directives which proved to be the most brutal oppression as well as a conspicuous source of grievance to the Korean people throughout the colonial period” (Nahm 1988:223). The Japanese emperor issued an Imperial Rescript on August 29, 1910, which provided terms and conditions for how the Korean people would be treated: if the Koreans enjoyed the rights and privileges under the “benevolent rule” of the Japanese emperor, they would be treated as if they were Japanese. The reality, however, was that the Korean people were put under a militaristic rule which fundamentally drove them into slavery. The Koreans not only lost their national independence, but they also lost their lands and rights, and “were forced to live according to regulations under the control of the Japanese” (Nahm 1988:223).

Nahm clarifies that the Japanese aims in Korea were: 1) to exploit human and natural resources in order to aid the economic development of Japan, 2) to assimilate the Koreans into Japanese culture and to construct a strong logistic base for Japan’s continental expansionism, 3) to “Japanise” Korea by discouraging the Korean language in the early days and then later forbidding the Korean language, and 4) to force the Koreans to abandon their traditional family and given names and adopt Japanese styles names and to overall make extinct anything that was traditionally or culturally Korean (1988:22). Japan kept a close watch on Korea and suppressed resistance ruthlessly and this involved suspending all Korean newspapers as well as disbanding all Korean political organisations and making public gatherings illegal (Hart-Landsberg 1998:51).

Resistance was met with force as the number of militaries and civilian police rose from 6200 in 1910 to 20,800 in 1922 (Hart-Landsberg 1998:51). The harsh treatment continued until August 15, 1945, when the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Powers, ending World War II in the Pacific, and bringing to a close the Japanese rule in Korea. Unexpectedly and most unfortunately for the Koreans, however, independence was to remain an illusion as soon afterwards, the peninsula experienced the coming of the armies of the United States and the Soviet Union, who Kim (1975:8) notes “would seek to shape the course of post 1945 politics in Korea.” During the Japanese colonial period, arguably, regionalism faded as the whole nation lost its independence.

## **U.S. military administration in the South (1945 – 1948)**

In the days just before the Koreans heard the voice of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito broadcasting Japan's surrender and Korea's liberation on August 15, 1945, John McCloy of the State-War Navy Coordinating Committee (SWNCC) directed two young colonels, Dean Rusk and Charles H. Bonesteel, to withdraw to an adjoining room and divide Korea (Cumings 1997:186, 187). It is known that the Americans officials consulted no Koreans in coming to this decision, nor asked the opinions of the British or the Chinese (both of whom were to take part in a planned "trusteeship" for Korea. Thus, upon liberation in 1945 from the Japanese colonial rule, Korea was drastically divided into two zones along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel and was placed under separate military controls exercised by the Soviet Union and the United States as they had accepted the Japanese surrender in the northern half and southern part respectively (Nahm 1989:1). Kim explains that in August 1945, the Soviet Union (as a result of breaking Japanese diplomatic codes) was the first to learn of the impending Japanese surrender (2007:25). Kim adds that the USSR was quick to declare its entry into the Pacific War and that within a week, Soviet armies swept into Manchuria and northern Korea (2006:25).

The U.S. government officially pursued division, over the objections of the Soviet Union, in order to protect its political gains in the south. The main interest of the U.S. military government has been claimed to have been to build a bulwark against communism – "if possible, together with the South Korean people and, if possible, in a democratic political system" (Helgesen 1998:68). The Americans have been evaluated to have been "completely unprepared to handle the chaotic situation that met them in post-colonial Korea" (Fredrick 1948, quoted in Kim 2007:28). They had no directives, no plans, no personnel trained in government duties and less than a month to prepare for the Korean landings. Hart-Landsberg states that the troops arriving in southern Korea were primarily an instrument for carrying out U.S. foreign policy objectives (1998:18). The decision made by the U.S. and the Soviet liberators created a geopolitical circumstance that Koreans "had never before experienced in their long history" (Olsen 2005:74).

## **The Korean War (1950 – 1953)**

The Korean War began in the early hours of June 25, 1950 (Sandler 1999:47). The conventional claims that the Soviet Union are known to have built a “puppet Communism government in the North” and furthermore encouraged it to invade South Korea in order to “Communistise” the entire peninsula (Hart-Landsberg 1998:112). The story follows that the United States presented itself as a defender of freedom against communist aggression and then entered the war on the side of the beleaguered South “as the leader of a multinational, UN mandated force.” The defense of the south was successful— although at a significant human cost during the process of driving back the aggressors (Hart-Landsberg 1998:112). During the three years of the Korean War, the number of deaths and casualties were staggering – there are numerous accounts of the statistics. For example:

...about 3 million Koreans were killed, wounded, or missing. Those whose families were broken up by the war numbered an astounding 10 million (a third of the combined population of the two Korean states in the early 1950s (Williams 1993:245).

The war also brought about the destruction of urban infrastructure and industrial facilities. More than half of the urban infrastructure including roads, railways, bridges and power supply facilities were damaged (Sakong and Koh 2013:178). The Korean War “thrust upon both Koreas the task of economic recovery – demanding external aid” (Williams 1993:258). The bigger problem, however, was that by reinforcing mutual distrust between the two Koreas, the war created a “major hurdle in the inter-Korean dialogue” (Williams 1993:258). Although the physical fighting ended in 1953 with an armistice agreement, this did not mark the ultimate end to the war between the South and the North since even today the two parts remain bitterly opposed, and the situation has been claimed to be “a king of unfinished war” (Cho 1984:4).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The two Koreas today have recently seen advancements in their relationship; revealed through meetings between the two leaders, Kim Jong-Eun from the North and Moon Jae-In from the South. Their meeting at the Demilitarised Zone on May, 2018 was reported all around the world.

## **The rise and collapse of the First Republic (1948 – 1960)**

The establishment of the First Republic was made official on August 15, 1948. The plan and vision of this new government was to rebuild the economy with a series of reconstruction plans. This plan aimed to expand the economic infrastructure, build key industries, and increase the productive capacity of manufacturing (Sakong and Koh 2013:11). Prior to its establishment, an important ceremonial event was held on October 16, 1945 (two months after liberation from the Japanese colonial rule) when the seventy-one year old Korean politician Syngman Rhee returned to Korea from his forty-one year American exile. Kim (2007:33) claims that Rhee was

... a leading crusader for Korean independence from Japan and the first president of the Republic of Korea. He was arguably one of the most prominent Korean leaders of his time and in Korean history. He lived through the crucial decades stretching from the decline of the Joseon dynasty, Japanese colonisation, division of the Korean peninsula, and the Korean War. He played a pivotal role in liberating Korea, and in founding and defending the Republic of Korea.

Most Koreans welcomed Rhee as a national hero. His popularity and prestige were so high that almost all of the political parties (both left and right) wished to have him as their leader (Kim 2007:36). When the U.S. military administration came to a close, Rhee was sworn in as the first President of the Republic of Korea (hereafter ROK). The day (August 15, 1948) symbolised, and to this day symbolises, freedom and victory for the South Korean nation.



**Fig. 3.4** Photograph of the central ceremony celebrating the establishment of the ROK in 1948 (Sakong and Koh 2013:11)

As exciting and desired as independence was, the South Korean nation had to deal with its immediate reality. The internal situation of South Korea was indeed very unstable in the early days of the ROK. The very existence of the ROK was “of urgent concern from the beginning” (Kim 2007:84). Sakong and Koh (2013:9) notes that liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 left Korea in “economic chaos” and that most of the Japanese businessmen, managers, and technicians returned to Japan, “leaving many firms bereft of management or technical expertise.” Tax collection was almost impossible in the ailing economy and the survival of the nation was greatly (almost entirely) dependent on foreign aid (Kim 2007:83). Kim (2007:42) argues that Rhee inherited a nation “unmanageable” even for an experienced and capable government and that it would have been unlikely for any government to have adequately dealt with such a complex set of problems. Furthermore, Kim asserts that state building in Korea was extremely difficult – more so than in other new nations – primarily owing to the partition and the consequential ideological confrontations.

Krause (1977) documented that the cost of the physical destruction in South Korea amounted to three billion dollars in an economy whose total GNP was about 1.7 billion dollars in 1953 (quoted in Kim 2007:70). To add to this account, the figures show that nearly half of the manufacturing facilities (43 percent) were destroyed or damaged – with industrial

output declining by around 50 percent and agricultural production dropping by 27 percent. South Korea was unable to sustain itself economically or militarily and its survival depended upon the continued availability of economic and military assistance from the U.S. (Kim 2007:49). Although the U.S. military government was no longer technically governing South Korea, their power and help remained the only hope for the South Korean people and its economy. Statistics in 1954 reveal that foreign aid constituted a third of the South Korean national budget rising to 59.4 percent in 1956. Moreover, during the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the U.S. aid accounted for about 75 percent of the South Korea's defense budget and 50 percent of the civil budget (Kim 2007:73). The U.S. provided famine relief but they did not look beyond to permanently solve the problem. During this period, South Korea failed to begin working towards long-term economic development. On top of all this, another severe problem that the Rhee government faced was the millions of refugees who "wandered aimlessly seeking shelter, food and other necessities" (Mo and Weingast 2013:1).

The First Republic was indeed turbulent with the introduction of a new political system (or an attempt.) It eventually collapsed – with the official closing date being April 19, 1960. An era that started off with much enthusiasm and hope had an undignified ending. Behind its fall was the student revolt - students who felt resentment and anger towards autocratic rule and the perversion of democracy under the First Republic. Despite the remarkable progress that the First Republic made under Rhee's administration, Rhee was driven from office. Once again, the political system became unstable (Kim 2007:4).

## **Discussions**

It is important to recognise that the challenges that South Korea experienced meant that the country had very little opportunity to advance or to develop – all it hoped to do for a few decades (from 1910 – 1960) was to survive. As is to be expected, the sense of national identity became "fatally damaged" (Kim 2007:9). Arguably, such extreme circumstances enabled the military to rise to power – extreme circumstances demanded extreme measures. The periods reviewed in this section each and collectively reveal how international territorial politics led to the collapse of the Korean economy. They furthermore show how external invasion (starting with the Japanese) blurred the prior internal dispute in Korea. In other words, the Japanese arguably blurred the lines within Korea and in the process of doing so;

they themselves became the new common enemy. The U.S. and Russia went further and created a new sharp and threatening line (the DMZ). Reviewing these periods considering the procedures and intentions of wider territorial politics can show how power relations can have the authority to create new lines as well as the meanings behind them.

### **3.3. The Military Dictatorship Era**

This last section will review the MDE in three sections: 1) the military rise to power, 2) PCH and CDH's heritage policy (ADD) and 3) PCH and CDH's territorial politics.

#### **The military rise to power**

The collapse of the Rhee government (1948 – 1960) was followed by the short-lived Chang Myon Era which was the brief government between the Rhee regime and the PCH regime. The one-year Chang Myon government had neither the experience nor the capability to lead the nation (Kim 2007:94). Kim (2007:94) remarks that the biggest and most fundamental problem of this new government was that they were “staffed by men with the same background, attitudes, and programs as their predecessors in the Rhee administration.” This only added to the already disoriented and dysfunctional South Korean economy. By this point, South Korea was truly in need of a new start.

The new chapter for South Korea literally began with a ‘march’ on May 16, 1961 with a *coup d’etat* engineered by General PCH. On the morning of the coup, the revolutionary forces announced over the public radio that the “military authorities” had taken over the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the state and had organised a “Military Revolution Committee” (Kim 2007:99). The *coup d’etat* was called the “revolution for national salvation” or the “revolution for national reconstruction” and this action was justified by saying that it came in time to “save” the nation from collapsing (Kim and Sorensen 2011:96). The rise of the military to power was repeatedly justified under the emphasis that the purpose and goal was to ‘save’ the nation.



## **PCH and CDH's heritage policy (Authorised Dictatorial Discourse)**

For the examination of PCH and CDH's heritage policies (ADD) it is important to pay attention to the launch of the heritage sector in 1961 which provides insight into why and how 'heritage' was made into a national agenda by PCH amidst such difficult economic circumstances.

One of PCH's foremost actions following his rise to power was to proactively launch an official culture sector, named the Cultural Properties Administration (CPA). PCH's prioritisation of heritage as a key national agenda has been widely discussed (e.g. Jager 2003; Kim 2007; Lee 2015; Yim 2002; Yu 2004, etc.). A frequently cited reason for this proactive launch is that PCH had to find the most appropriate and efficient way of legitimising his illegal seizure of political power and he did this by associating himself with specific parts from the nation's past. PCH's approach was to form "new national narratives" with strong masculine images and national myths based on selection of heritage sites (Lee 2015:96). PCH's emphasis on heritage has also been associated with his nationalistic views and motivations to 'restore' the broken national pride via cultural heritage. He is said to have believed that through the restoration and emphasis on South Korea's cultural heritage, the citizens would be able to resolve national insecurity and restore their identities as a proud nation. Naturally, the topic of cultural identity in South Korea was a major issue due to the experience of Japanese invasion and then U.S. influences which significantly transformed and eroded Korea's traditional culture (Yim 2002:38). PCH addressed this issue immediately with his rise to power.

Prior to PCH's assumption of power, South Korea's heritage policy had little administrative structure and little priority as a national agenda. Before the Japanese colonisation, there was no systematic legal protection or management of heritage, although there were some significant but varied interests in specific sites. Simultaneously with their efforts to 'Japanise' the Korean population, the Japanese also had a distinct interest in Korean heritage, and they selected some sites for restoration. They also created some legal instruments. Pai (2001:78), for example, notes that the Japanese government-general in 1911 promulgated the first historical preservation laws in Korea. These laws were

... the first detailed and organised list of preservation guidelines issued by the Ministry of Interior and encompassed everything from daily temple administration to documentation of ancient Buddhist ruins. They included regulating the appointment of the chief abbot's duties and obligations; the reporting of all temple affairs and governance of temple activities aside from daily prayers; the issuance of permits to hold public religious events' and regulations dictating the use of temple estates, including surrounding forests and harvested products (Pai 2001:78).

Pai further notes that the Japanese heritage management laws were applied to Korea in three stages. They were characterised by “continuing refinement of the categories of architectural monuments and classifications of art and the inclusion of nature conservation” (Pai 2001:79).<sup>7</sup> The U.S. military administration continued to ‘manage’ South Korea’s heritage management by establishing the Creation of the Former Royal Household Office in 1945 to oversee duties related to the management of cultural heritage. Regarding the heritage policy during the Rhee regime (1945 – 1960), the immediate reality of South Korea meant that ‘heritage’ or ‘culture’ did not become a priority despite Rhee’s endeavours to emphasise the importance of South Korea’s cultural heritage to the nation.

The launch of the Cultural Properties Administration (CPA) was indeed symbolic as it meant that South Korea was able to operate a heritage policy on its own terms. This launch meant that the heritage policy was able to become officially centralised and formalised. However, this matter can be said to be controversial as in reality, the heritage policy became *PCH’s* heritage policy – with him sitting as the chairman and directing all heritage-related decisions. As briefly mentioned in chapter 1, in 1962, the legal framework for the culture sector became established and was called the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, *Munhwajae pohobôp*. This law became publicised as South Korea’s first united and comprehensive heritage law although it built directly on the cultural protection laws of 1950 that Japan had created (Lee 2015; Pai 2001). Yu (2004:43) notes that this may have been due to the fact that PCH’s regime lacked the time and resources to formulate a completely new framework (quoted in Lee 2015:97).<sup>8</sup> The provisions of this law, however, meant that cultural heritage was further defined and codified, thereby providing a means for preserving tangible and

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<sup>7</sup> These laws were a combination of late Meiji heritage management laws, including Lost and Stolen Antiquities, Temple and Shrine Protection Laws, the Preservation of Stone and Metal inscriptions, and Imperial Museum Laws (Pai 2001:79).

<sup>8</sup> The original protection act was Act No.961 of January 10, 1962 and on April 11, 2007 it was wholly amended by Act No.8246.

intangible Korean cultural heritage. This legal framework provided an official legitimate base for the culture sector. Interesting, it did not become a restraining factor to PCH and then CDH during their regimes. In other words, as dictators, PCH and then later CDH were above the law.

### **PCH's heritage policy (Authorised Dictatorial Discourse)**

A few aspects from PCH's background are arguably relevant for studying his heritage policy and heritage views. One is that he attended a Japanese-controlled school in Korea. Despite high academic performances and achievements, PCH has been recorded as a “recalcitrant adolescent who was clearly frustrated with the Japanese colonial rule.” Such frustration has been analysed to have been the root cause of PCH's development of a strong sense of national consciousness (Kim 2007). Another is that PCH's life changed personally and politically when Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945. At the time, (aged twenty-nine) PCH became a second lieutenant in the South Korean army, but in February 1949, he was sentenced to life imprisonment for the communist activities that implicated him in the Yōsu Rebellion (Kim and Sorensen 2011:25).<sup>9</sup> However, the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 enabled him to have a second chance as he was reinstated in the army and from then on, his army career continued smoothly until he rose to the position of major general. Kim explains that PCH was rarely content with his career in the army. Ultimately this led him to lead the military coup on the dawn of May 16, 1961 (Kim and Sorensen 2011:25).

As such, some parts of PCH's background can be suggested to have shaped his thoughts and views on nationalism and his urge to ‘modernise’ Korea. His upbringing during the Japanese colonial period arguably affected him deeply. He was keen to construct new national narratives and in the process of doing so, he erected monuments memorials and statues as reminders of the Japanese invasions (Lee 2015:98). Furthermore, his military background also significantly shaped his ideals. PCH greatly admired the Admiral Lee Sun Shin – a national hero who fought against the Japanese invasion of 1592 (Lee 2015:98). By reinforcing past military heroes such as Lee Sun-Shin (i.e. by erecting a life-size statue of

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<sup>9</sup> The Yōsu Rebellion occurred in mid-October 1948 when the Korean peninsula was still coping with its recent division into North and South. Violent protests broke out in Yōsu (a city in the Honam region) against the government headed by the anticommunist president Rhee.

him in Sejongno Street, Seoul, in 1968), perhaps he wished to emphasise and communicate the value and essential need for the military in Korea and to moreover indirectly construct his own image as the nation's hero or even the present day Admiral Lee.

'Nation' and 'national' were key words in PCH's political mission; they were clearly the *promoted* and *emphasised* words. The importance of nationalism was stressed in almost every statement he made (Kim and Sorensen 2011:96). Since PCH's political ideals were so imbued with national consciousness and identity, it is not surprising that 'cultural heritage' became emphasised as a central national agenda. When analysing PCH's thinking and intentions regarding heritage and South Korea's *need* for it, firstly, it is evident that he was aggravated by the Japanese occupation of Korea and believed that Korea had been weak and helpless. This points to his justification and promotion of the military; by stating that Korea was weak and therefore had to surrender to foreign invasion, it implied that South Korea *needed* the military and its power to protect the country. Secondly, PCH believed that South Korea needed to re-build a sense of cultural identity as the Japanese rule and the U.S military administration brought in 'outsider' identity and ways – which he saw as negative and offensive. Thirdly, with 'nationalism' at the core, PCH wished to emphasise South Korea as a "racially homogenous nation" (Choi 2012). PCH evidently had a very solid colonial view of history as well as specific parts and people from Korea's past that he found to be important and impressive.

The heritage policy during PCH's regime can be divided into two parts - the 1960s and the 1970s. The 1960s was broadly used to set the scene – launching a heritage sector, establishing laws, institutions, organisations and public funds related to the cultural sector (Ministry of Culture and Information 1979:228). Furthermore, two lists were put together in 1961: the designated list of 'National Treasure' and also the designated list of 'Treasures' (CHA 2011:42). The National Treasure List formulated in 1961 provided a means of spotlighting selected heritage in the form of monuments, stone pagodas and Buddhist sculptures. In other words, 'aesthetically impressive' monuments were emphasised as national treasures and were leading support to PCH's new narratives of nation-building. In 1964, a more comprehensive and systematic measures were put forth with the Five-Year Plan for the restoration of cultural heritage (1964 – 1968). The goal of this plan was to conserve 427 designated heritage sites. Despite the comprehensive planning, however, the plan was not

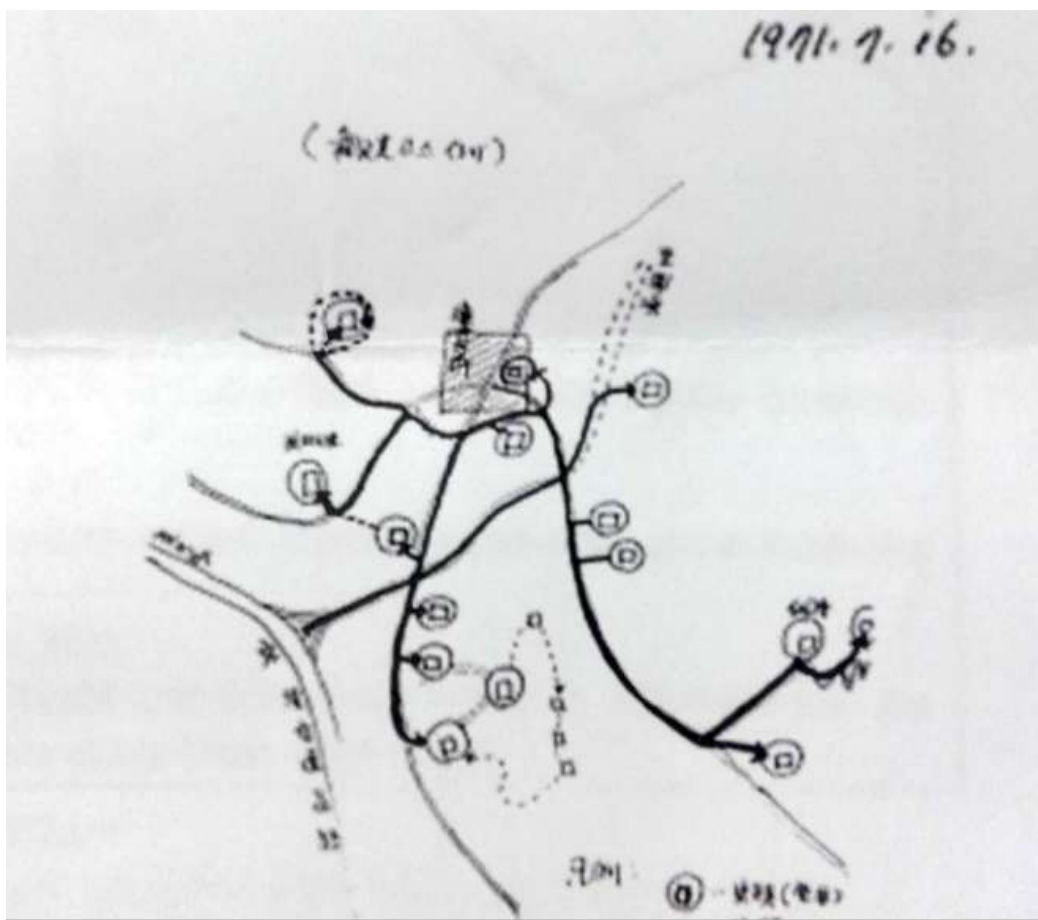
fully implemented due to a lack of both funding and technicians (Jang and Han 2013:225).

In the understanding of South Korea's 1970s on the whole, it is necessary to make note of PCH's *Yusin* Constitution which enabled him to gain 'monolithic control' over all sectors of South Korea – including the heritage sector. The word '*Yusin*' in Korean means 'rejuvenation,' 'renewal,' and also 'restoration'. The *Yusin* system arguably is the most controversial aspect of the PCH era. It began with the Fourth Republic in December 1971. It was fundamentally a 'self-coup' in which PCH assumed further dictatorial powers. As part of this system, PCH suspended the constitution and dissolved the legislature (Kim and Sorensen 2011).

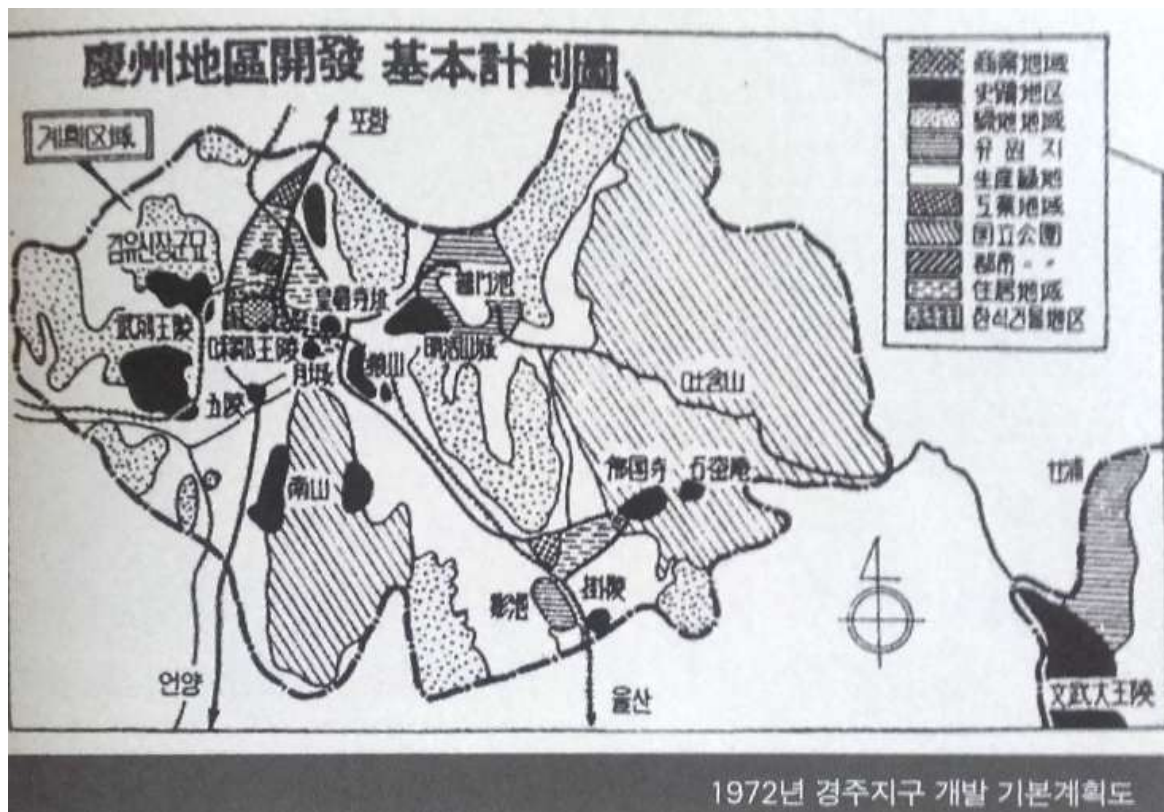
It was through this new forceful system that the heritage policy also began to see changes. The heritage policy became even more strictly dictated. Choi (2012:193) explains that PCH set out to establish South Korea's autonomous view of history by the turn of the 1970s. This decade made PCH's priorities and ideological thinking regarding heritage transparent. It predominantly focused on restoration and developments of the ancient city of Gyeongju (a city located in the Yongnam region) holding a range of outstandingly preserved remnants of sites and artefacts from the ancient Silla Dynasty (57 BC – 936 AD). PCH has been recorded as having been personally intrigued by the heritage in Gyeongju (CHA 2011; Choi 2012; Jang and Han 2013; Jeon 2015; Yim 2002, etc.). Choi, for example, remarks that the development of Gyeongju was a product of PCH's "personal desires and pursuits" (2012:208). This was reflected in his orders: PCH ordered that the Gyeongju development project be prioritised and commenced so that the city could become an international tourist attraction and this order became forcefully implemented. It is necessary to note that other heritage sites around South Korea were selected to undergo restoration throughout the PCH regime but the primary focus was placed on the restoration and promotion of Gyeongju.

In 1973, the PCH government published the first five-year master plan for cultural development to be implemented during the period 1974–1979. This was the first comprehensive long-term plan for cultural policy. The Gyeongju project, meanwhile, began in 1972 and lasted until 1981. During the first five-year term (1972 – 1976), the focus was placed on maintaining the Gyeongju area, while the second five-year term (1977 – 1981) building upon the foundational works from the previous term, focused on the construction of

Gyeongju into a cultural tourist attraction (Choi 2012:199). PCH's goal was to make Gyeongju into an international tourist attraction and to make it a role-model for future cultural sites (Choi 2012:199). Consequently, the 'Gyeongju Development Industry' grew into South Korea's largest-scale excavation project of the time (Choi 2012:184). Choi (2012) notes that a problematic issue with PCH's orders and actions from an archaeological point of view was that he "manoeuvred the excavations according to his own desires and interests" and rather than listening to expert archaeologists, he was more eager about the "fast-timing of findings" (Choi 2012).



**Fig 3.5** – PCH's own sketch/ vision of Gyeongju as an international tourist attraction, showing just how 'hands on' he was with the Gyeongju project (Choi 2012:196)



**Fig 3.6** – Development plan for the city of Gyeongju as an international tourist attraction in 1972, showing the functional details of the tour route (CHA 2011:151)

Although the five-year plan for the restoration of cultural heritage included other projects (i.e. Buyeo, Gongju, etc.), the majority of the national expenditure and time was allocated to the Gyeongju development project. The PCH government needed a source of revenue to carry out the Gyeongju project and to this end an application was made to the IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). In 1969, the PCH government requested a loan on the basis of this project. Consequently, the sites in Gyeongju became surveyed (Choi 2012:199). Conveniently for PCH, in July 1971, the World Bank provided monetary funding for the development of the tourism industry in South Korea – which PCH used for the Gyeongju project (Jeon 2015:189). In the 1970s, a separate IBRD sector was created especially for the tourism industry. In the midst of the planning of the Gyeongju-development, in June 1971, twenty million dollars was lent by the IBRD to South Korea (Choi 2012:199). When compared to the amount requested from the IBRD for the Seoul-Busan Expressway (thirty million and three hundred dollars), it is clear that the Gyeongju development funds

were not at all small (Choi 2012:200).<sup>10</sup> PCH himself visited the site multiple times and emphasised that “only by this way (preserving the heritage in Gyeongju) will the nation’s history and cultural legacy be preserved” (Choi 2012:202). The national project, however, came to an abrupt end when PCH was assassinated on October 28, 1979.

The remnants of the Silla Dynasty in Gyeongju, in many respects, supported PCH’s desired narrative construction that Korea was once a strong and racially homogenous nation with a powerful military base to protect the country from foreign invasion. Choi (2012:185) notes three main characteristics in regards to PCH’s heritage policy: the first is that it was a dictated one, as opposed to one that involved communication or feedback from other elements of the South Korean nation including its people. The second is that his policies were centred on strengthening his personal systematic legitimacy for presidency. The third is that ‘Gyeongju’ was selected for development in order to promote his own personal view of history, with a specific focus on the historical figures he himself greatly admired and favoured. What is evident is that the heritage policy was orchestrated by PCH’s circumstances (as a leader who wanted to secure legitimacy) and also by what (sites) and who (historical figures) he personally admired. His position as a dictator meant that he was able to authorise such decisions through the use of national expenditure and also through his commands of archaeologists and researchers. PCH was the *only* legitimate spokesperson for heritage during his administration. He controlled and authorised all heritage-related decisions and used personally selected and edited parts from the nation’s past to mould values and meanings *he* wanted and needed to secure legitimacy.

### **CDH’s heritage policy (Authorised Dictatorial Discourse)**

CDH forcefully took over the government on September 1, 1980, following the assassination of PCH. CDH is perhaps best known or most frequently discussed for his engineering of the Gwangju Massacre in 1980. Covering the contents of the Gwangju Massacre is fundamental in understanding the CDH dictatorship and I argue that it is essential in the comprehension of his heritage decisions and policy. Arguably, his heritage decisions and policy was a response to the Gwangju Massacre. In approaching or analysing CDH’s heritage policy, it is necessary

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<sup>10</sup> The actual athenaeum statistics during the 1<sup>st</sup> five year cultural plans (1974-1978) was a total of 63.1% of the national budget, and statistics saw an incredible increase in 1979 (Jeon 2015:196).



to briefly review some parts of his background alongside the contents of the Gwangju Massacre.

Specifically, two things are arguably worth mentioning: one, his educational background and two, his military career. In terms of his educational upbringing, CDH enrolled in an elementary school under the Japanese control (Kim 2007:158). This meant that he (much like PCH) also became deprived of national identity. He later used this in the construction of his image by bringing this back into the present narrative and commemorating national independence fighters. His military career is also necessary to take note: it began in December 1951 in the midst of the Korean War where he was admitted into the Korea Military Academy as a member of the first class of a rigorous four-year programme modelled after the U.S. military academy (Kim 2007:167). His military background enabled him to become personally and professionally acquainted with PCH. CDH is recorded to have supported PCH's coup and went on to serve as his secretary for civil affairs during the junta government (Kim 2007:167).

As for the Gwangju Massacre, when a second military rebellion was orchestrated by Major General CDH on May 17, 1980, a series of widespread street demonstrations occurred throughout the country in opposition to the new authoritarian political order (Kihl 2005:77). As was to be expected after the 18-year PCH dictatorship, another military coup infuriated the nation. The biggest demonstration occurred in the city of Gwangju – South Korea's fourth largest city located in the Honam region. Tens of thousands of students and other protestors poured into the streets of Gwangju. Just before the strike on May 16, CDH sent army troops to Gwangju and had them armed with riot gear and live ammunition. Two days later, CDH promulgated even harsher restrictions. This involved closing down universities and newspapers and arresting hundreds of student leaders along with twenty-six political opponents (Szczepanski 2017).

The protests in Gwangju became a full-scale riot – lasting from May 18 to 27. The protesting students and citizens were forcefully suppressed resulting in 191 official dead and several thousand wounded – although eyewitness accounts states the figures to have been much higher (Clark 1988; Kihl 2005; Lee 1999). There is one source estimating that a minimum of six hundred were killed and a maximum of two thousand were wounded

(Cumings 1999a:114). During this riot, CDH and his military forces were careful to make sure that this mass-killing in Gwangju did not become known in other parts of South Korea. National and international reporters were strictly prohibited from coming into Gwangju and all phone lines in Gwangju were blocked. A German reporter, Jürgen Hinzpeter who was based in Tokyo at the time, managed to secretly get into Gwangju and was able to document the carnage.<sup>11</sup> Despite CDH's efforts to conceal this news, Hinzpeter's footage was seen around the globe. If it had not been for this footage, arguably, this incident in Gwangju may have been quietly buried with the killed citizens.

The reveal and aftermath of such a tragic incident meant that CDH and his government lost legitimacy in the eyes of the Korean people. In particular, this event ultimately coined CDH and his government as the 'enemy' of the Gwangju and the entirety of the Honam region. To locate this incident in the larger scope of the dispute between the Yongnam and Honam regions, it can be said that this incident dramatically solidified and deepened the already sensitive relationship. For the Honam region, they once again became the victims, only this time it involved the mass killing in one of their cities. The fact that CDH's debut into politics involved such mass killing of South Korean citizens is indeed relevant when discussing CDH's image-making in relation to the heritage policy.<sup>12</sup>

Much like PCH, CDH also proactively associated himself in the cultural heritage sector from the early days of his regime although he did not take the same path as PCH in terms of developing the ancient city of Gyeongju. Despite PCH's endeavours to make Gyeongju an international tourist attraction, CDH opened a new direction for South Korea's heritage policy which publicly emphasised that culture was no longer limited merely to heritage and traditional arts rather, that it was extended to contemporary arts and to the everyday life of the people (CHA 2011).

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<sup>11</sup> Source from The New York Times: '*In South Korea, an Unsung Hero of History Gets His Due*' by Choe (2017.08.02)

<sup>12</sup> The documentary items related to the Uprising (in the form of documents, photographs, images, etc.) was inscribed officially in 2011 to the UNESCO Memory of the World Programme under "Human Rights Documentary Heritage 1980 Archives for the May 18<sup>th</sup> Democratic Uprising against Military Regime, in Gwangju, Republic of Korea." <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-4/human-rights-documentary-heritage-1980-archives-for-the-may-18th-democratic-uprising-against-military-regime-in-gwangju-republic-of-korea/>

The CDH government published two comprehensive plans for cultural policy: 1) the “new plan for cultural development” (1981) and 2) the “cultural plan in the sixth five-year plan for economic and social development” (1986) (Ministry of Culture and Information, 1981 and 1986). According to these plans, the primary cultural policy objectives were the following: establishing cultural identity, promoting the excellence of the arts, improving cultural welfare, promoting regional culture, and expanding cultural exchange with other countries (Yim 2002:41). It can be analysed that CDH chose to find and leave behind his own ‘trademark’ in the culture sector.

With the turn of the 1980s, the overall focus within the culture sector shifted from ‘Silla Gyeongju’ to the ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ and the heritage sites in Seoul such as the Joseon palaces (CHA 2011:220). CDH dictated two specific motivations regarding heritage: the first was to repair the historic attractions within Seoul (i.e. the royal palaces of the Joseon dynasty) and the second was to excavate, protect and conserve the Baekje Historic Areas (the Mireuksa Temple in particular). Just as PCH wished to develop Gyeongju into an international tourist attraction, CDH was also eager to turn these selected sites to international tourist attractions.

Regarding CDH’s involvements in the restoration of the Joseon palaces located around Seoul, Lee (2015:100) notes how the Gyeonghuigung Palace site became designated a historic site in 1980, followed by investigative excavations and restorations taking place on the sites of Changgyeonggung Palace, Gyeonghuigung Palace and the Sajikdan Altar, in 1986, 1987, and 1988 respectively. CDH is known to have been eager to restore these sites around Seoul partially to prepare them in time for the Seoul 1988 Olympics hosted during his administration (CHA 2011).

The stand-out heritage-decision during the CDH regime during the 1980s, however, was the restoration of the Baekje Historic Areas. The ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ refers to a group of monuments located in three cities: Gongju, Buyeo and Iksan. The monuments found within these three regions relate to the last period of the Baekje Kingdom (representing the period from 475 – 660 CE). Today, the Baekje Historic Areas refer to the eight archaeological sites which were collectively designated as UNESCO World Heritage on July 8, 2015. These sites represent the later period of the Baekje Kingdom. The Baekje Historic Areas project during

the CDH regime started in 1980 and lasted until 1988. CDH's government selected a few heritage sites to undergo restoration but the prime focus was placed on the Baekje Historic Areas – particularly the Mireuksa Temple site. The Mireuksa Temple site received political interest and investment prior to the CDH regime (i.e. by the Japanese and also by the PCH government), but it was with the turn of the 1980s that a more dedicated approach was adopted comprehensively to understand the structure of the temple as well as to preserve and restore the standing remains (CHA 2011:241).

A question at this point emerges: why did CDH specifically select the Baekje Historic Areas and particularly the Mireuksa Temple site? Other than suggesting that he endeavoured to leave behind his own trademark in the culture sector, there can be said to be more to his specific selection. As noted, the ancient kingdom of Baekje was geographically located in today's Honam region and thus exemplifies the tense relationship with the ancient Silla kingdom (which was located in today's Yongnam province). PCH decided to prioritise and invest in the heritage in Gyeongju which is located in the Yongnam region. In some respects, this decision may also be linked and connected to his regional bias in favour of his home region. But CDH selected an opposite route by focusing attention and national expenditure towards the Baekje Historic Areas located within the Honam region. A paradox here is that CDH is, and has been since 1980, considered an 'enemy' of the Honam region. My theory regarding CDH's specific choice in selecting the Baekje Historic Areas connects to CDH's negative relationship with the Honam region – perhaps he purposefully decided to invest towards the heritage in the Honam region in order to make amends or to change his image via heritage. In the next chapter, it will detail how CDH made efforts to specifically preserve the eco-marshes within the Honam province (case study II). It is plausible to suggest that such actions may have been CDH's political gesture to reconstruct his image in the Honam region following his political scandal.

Although CDH's decision and selection regarding 'which heritage' to prioritise differed to PCH's, CDH's method of focusing on specific heritage sites can be evaluated to have been the same as PCH's. Similarly to PCH, CDH was able to (with his position degree of authority and control) dictate which heritage was 'of importance to the country' and which heritage sites to invest in.

## **The MDE's territorial politics**

The final part of this chapter will examine PCH and CDH's territorial politics. This context will be used in the next chapters (4, 5, and 6) to analyse how and to what extent their decision-making and powers on South Korea's land impacted on how the six heritage sites became preserved and promoted.

## **PCH's territorial politics**

As previously explored, by the time PCH assumed political power, South Korea's economy was substantially damaged. The territories of Korea had formerly been dominated by primary industries of agriculture, forestry and fisheries and so PCH's vision to embark on full-scale industrialisation can be evaluated to have been highly ambitious (Sakong and Koh 2013:80). His vision was to adopt a government-led growth strategy to build an industrial base for South Korea, and he proclaimed that economic development would be the central agenda of his administration (Sakong and Koh 2013:16). PCH's territorial priorities focused on industrialising the capital city (Seoul) and the Yongnam region.

Why did PCH select and favour the Yongnam region? In approaching this topic, it is important to make note of one of his prominent political rival in the Honam province, Kim Dae Jung. Kim Dae Jung was the well-known leader of the Honam region (more specifically, Gwangju). With Kim Dae Jung as his political rival and threat, scholars have noted how PCH once again intentionally spurred negative and divided regional feelings between the two regions as a political gesture (i.e. Kim 2007; Kim 2011; Kim and Sorensen 2011; Palais 2011, etc.). Kim Dae Jung had solidarity in voting in the Honam region. Palais (2011) notes how the Honam people demanded their fair share and believed they could only obtain it by winning political power. The Yongnam people desired to retain their economic advantages rather than lose them. Palais also adds that both sides (the Honam for Kim Dae Jung and the Yongnam for PCH) had reasons for their votes. PCH, therefore, targeted the Yongnam province. The fact that he was born and raised in the Yongnam province (Daegu) also appealed greatly to the Yongnam people as many voters during this period voted according to the region the candidate was from more so than any other factor (Kim and Sorensen 2011:108).

One can argue that this specific regional prioritisation stemmed from the combination of his motivation to strengthen his political powerbase in the Yongnam region and also from his personal favouritism towards his home region. It is perhaps fair to mention, however, that circumstances then meant that the government had access to very limited funding and resources to say the least which meant that it was impossible for the government to implement a balanced and distributed form of industrial development nationwide. Also, arguably, there were discernible reasons for the selection of the specific regions within the Yongnam region (i.e. the selected cities were mostly coastal cities such as Ulsan and Pohang which would enable easier access via shipping, etc.). PCH announced that the aim of concentrating industrial development in specific region and selected “growth centres” was to use the limited resources efficiently to support the country’s rapid economic growth (Sakong and Koh 2013:174). The selection of the Yongnam region, nevertheless, inevitably became a highly sensitive socio-political issue.

In the early 1960s, PCH proclaimed ‘the hierarchical arrangement of national goals.’ They were 1) modernisation of the fatherland, 2) economic development, 3) security of the nation, 4) recovery of genuine democracy, 5) constructing a welfare state, and 6) reunification of the fatherland (Kim and Sorensen 2011:98). PCH stated that although there were numerous national objects, some matters were *more urgent* than others. Amongst the national goals was to rapidly push ahead with economic development and industrialisation. The problem that fundamentally led to the ‘resurrection’ of regionalism was that the areas selected for development were unapologetically all within the Yongnam region.

An important plan put forth was the series of ‘Five-Year Economic Development Plans.’ With PCH introducing and launching the first ‘Five-Year’ Economic Development Plan in 1962, the ‘Five-Year’ plans grew into a dominant national agenda and continued to be implemented throughout and post the MDE. For example, the first ‘Five-Year Economic Development Plan’ (hereafter FYEDP) had clear goals and blue-prints to pursue a growth strategy managed by skilled bureaucrats (Hwang 2010:231). With such a vision in mind, the first FYEDP aimed to create an economic base for the industrialisation of self-sustained growth and was geared toward attaining a 41 percent increase in gross national product during 1962 – 1966 (Kim 2007:112).

As part of the first FYEDP, in 1962, PCH's government designated the city of Ulsan in the Yongnam region as a special industrial development site. The construction of the Ulsan Industrial Complex was commenced on January 27, 1962. PCH went to Ulsan himself to cut the inaugural tape and he declared that Ulsan would become a special industrial zone (Kim 2007:113). The area became the site of South Korea's first petrochemical complex and later the location of the Hyundai Group's huge shipyard and auto factory. Since then, Ulsan has grown into South Korea's main industrial power-house. In addition, another city in the Yongnam region, Pohang, was targeted to house an iron and steel company, named POSCO (Pohang Iron and Steel Co. Ltd). In the initial phase of the FYEDP, there were limited funds and resources available, but PCH and his government provided a wide range of special assistance and privileges – both political and administrative support – in order to establish and operate the institution (Kin and Sorensen 2011:49). Upon thorough planning, POSCO was founded in 1968. It is clear that PCH had a keen interest in POSCO's construction – reflected in his frequent visits to POSCO (Kim and Sorensen 2011:49).<sup>13</sup> POSCO became a key driving force behind South Korea's rapid industrialisation - a phenomena representing a model case.<sup>14</sup> Overall, during the first and second FYEDP undertaken in the 1960s, PCH invested heavily in physical infrastructure such as power plants, express highways, and seaports among others in order to lay the foundation for export-driven industrialisation (Sakong and Koh 2013:102). With the first FYEDP as a starting point, more areas within the Yongnam region started to become selected for development.

Another significant act of PCH regarding South Korea's territories was the construction of the Seoul-Busan Expressway. This expressway has been referred to as the 'bloodline' of the Korean transportation system as well as a key in the development of high-level industries like steel and automobiles (Kim 2007:119). Seoul is the capital city of South Korea and Busan is the second capital – a large city in the Yongnam region. As the Korean economy expanded, PCH became increasingly concerned that an inadequate transportation system would create serious hurdles to economic growth. This was not an easy task at the time as much of the infrastructure had been damaged during the Korean War. Nevertheless, PCH was determined to progress.

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<sup>13</sup> A total of thirteen visits over an eleven year period, from November 1968 when he first visited the construction site, to October 1979 just before his assassination (Yoon, from Kim and Sorensen 2011:49).

<sup>14</sup> Today, it is the fifth largest steel company in the world, with an annual production capacity of 30 million tons of steel.

The construction began in January 1968 and the PCH state “mobilised all available resources to accomplish construction of the 428 kilometre route within three years” (Kim 2007:118). PCH is known to have supervised “every aspect of the construction,” even inspecting all the possible routers for the express way by helicopter (Kim 2007:118). The construction of the expressway was finished on July 7, 1970, two years and five months from the start of construction. It was “the largest civil engineering project ever launched in Korea’s history” (Kim 2007:118). The expressway naturally meant that exports such as steel and automobiles were transported to the Yongnam region – enhancing the opportunities and advancements of the Yongnam region.



**Fig. 3.7** Iconic blinds showing of the Seoul-Busan expressway during (left) and after (right) construction (both images are from the display at the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History)

On the topic of PCH’s territorial politics, the establishment of the *Chaebols* is arguably a central issue. ‘*Chaebol*’ is a Korean word that refers to family-owned businesses with intra group cross-shareholding and transactions and octopus-like diversifications. They are also known as the ‘financial cliché’ (Hwang 2010:232). Kim and Vogel (2011:256) assert how the *Chaebol* were created and managed by the state for national interests, with PCH “sitting on top as the CEO.” The purpose of their establishment was so that in South Korea’s incomplete,



less developed market, they would be able to utilise the intra-group transfer of money and personnel and moreover work in line with the government to pursue mass productive investments and market shares (Lee 2003:34). The reasons as to why they are connected to regional bias and the territorial politics of the MDE is because PCH mainly selected family firms based in the Yongnam region. Through the family-owned conglomerate businesses, PCH launched a project to establish heavy industries such as ship-building, petrochemicals, automobiles, and electronics. These were all business with big economies of scale, so concentration on them encouraged the growth of big conglomerates such as Samsung, Hyundai, Daewoo and Lucky-Goldstar. The development of these new industries was combined with an overall national development plan (Kim 2007:134).

In the 1960s, there was a systematic effort to jump start the economy and the PCH government actively promoted exports with pecuniary and other incentives given to exporters (Sakong and Koh 2013:2). Initially, the incentives were supposed to be ‘non-discriminatory’ in regards to the fact that all exporters with a good export performance were entitled to them regardless of their business sector. With the turn of the 1970s, however, the PCH government began to concentrate its efforts on promoting Heavy and Chemical Industries, which was when the South Korean government market system became more “selective and discriminatory” (Sakong and Koh 2013:2). As noted, between the 1960s and 1980s, the industrial development became increasingly concentrated in specific regions and “growth centres” (Sakong and Koh 2013:174).

Regarding the relationship between the government and the *Chaebols* during the PCH regime, the government granted these firms privileges in that they lent them money at cheap rates and in turn, these family-businesses grew into domineering businesses in South Korea. This also meant, however, that they were strictly under the control of PCH; PCH jailed blacklisted workers who tried to organise unions (Clifford 1998:6). Consequently, the *Chaebols* grew extremely prestigious, financially rose to the top and came to dominate the South Korean economy but they did also experience political repression and a tightly controlled economic system which allowed PCH to dominate their businessmen, bureaucrats and workers (Clifford 1998:7).

By the end of the Fourth FYEDP (1977 – 1981), the Yosu industrial complex had been built for petrochemicals, the Changwon complex for machinery, the Pohang complex for steel, the Okpo complex for shipbuilding, the Kumi complex for electronics, and the Onsan complex for nonferrous metal industry (Kim 2007:134). Changwon was the largest. It became the centre of the steel, machine and automobile, and shipbuilding industries. The PCH government estimated that about half of the nation's total industrial production would take place in Changwon by the early 1980s. Two hundred and twenty companies with about 100,000 workers were scheduled to operate (Kim 2007:134). All Yosu, Changwon, Pohang, Okpo, Kumi and Onsan are located within the Yongnam region.



**Fig. 3.8** Photograph showing the Changwon Industrial Complex (right) and the Daewoo Heavy Industries – Okpo shipyard under construction (left) (Sakong and Koh 2013:183)



**Fig. 3.9** Photographs of the Ulsan Industrial Complex and Ulsan Seaport (right) and the Pohang Iron and Steel Company (left) (Sakong and Koh 2013:179)

It is evident that PCH preferred allying with the firms from the Yongnam region in order to ensure against the danger of non-Yongnam business groups coalescing around one or another alternative regional centre of political power. There were also some non-Yongnam entrepreneurs such as Chong Chu-Yong of Hyundai (Kangwon Province), Kim U-Jung of Daewoo (Kyungki) and Cho Chong Hun of Hanjin (Seoul) when they shared his (PCH's) visionary mind, "can do" spirit, and entrepreneurial capabilities (Kim and Vogel 2011:267). Even from this list, however, it is clear that the Honam region was left out completely in PCH's industrialisation plan and generally in the 'select' policy for national development. This naturally brought about resentment and anger within the Honam region. Kim and Kong (1997:49) note that for many Koreans, *Chaebol* symbolises "inequality in their society." The government concentrated their support to them through access to credit, business licenses and so on. PCH and CDH both exercised authority over the *Chaebols* regarding the terms of their entry into the market through preferential treatment, while punishing certain popular sectors in civil society, such as depriving organised labour of its right to collective bargaining (Johnson 1987; Kihl 2005).

Overall, with his dictatorial power and control over South Korea's territories, PCH was able to implement a policy wholly in favour of the Yongnam region through industrial developments, higher employment rates, convenient access to and from the capital city, etc. Such actions in favour of the Yongnam region not only spurred and 'resurrected' regionalism back in South Korea but also had direct and indirect impacts on the preservation and promotion of numerous heritage sites.

### **CDH's territorial politics**

Discussions on CDH's territorial politics are mainly focused on his engineering of the Gwangju Massacre in 1980. It became a domineering topic so much so that amongst other decisions and actions he ordered during his regime regarding South Korea's land, he is arguably best known and most discussed for his role in the Gwangju Massacre. Kim (2007:158) notes that CDH "proved a controversial figure from the beginning. He was the target of hatred and vilification at home and was infamous abroad owing to his authoritarian rule and alleged implication in the Gwangju Uprising." The CDH government made efforts to

overcome this political scandal in numerous ways. For example, in order to restore public trust, CDH renewed his strong determination to “root out corruption” (Kim 2007:170). This partly involved making high officials to register their assets as an institutional device to prevent them from gaining illegal wealth by taking advantage of their situation (Kim 2007:170). Furthermore, the CDH government on September 19, 1980, presented to the nation the official draft of a new constitution (although it maintained the provision that the president was to be elected indirectly by a popularly elected electoral college) (Kim 2007:171). Another noteworthy aspect of the CDH regime is the Seoul 1988 Olympics. Kim (2007:175) claims that the Seoul Olympics became a historical turning point in South Korea’s nation building and that under the galvanising slogan of “successful hosting of the 1988 Olympics,” South Korea was able to “accelerate economic and social development in order to make the international event a success.”

Kim (2007:180) claims that CDH was “more anxious than anyone to get the economy moving and determined to make economic success a cornerstone of his presidency.” He announced three goals in August 1981 which were: 1) maintaining price stability, 2) liberalising the economy through lessened government control, and 3) increasing social development benefits (Kim 2007:181). CDH’s territorial policy can be analysed to have differed in many respects to PCH’s. For example, his administration pushed anti-*Chaebol* measures in order to enact fair trade. He ordered conglomerates to “dispose of affiliated companies in excess of management capabilities” (Kim 2007:185). Although the *Chaebols* continued to (and still continues to) exert a significant amount of power and prestige, such measures to abolish dominant power can perhaps be interpreted as CDH’s methods of (re)constructing his image as a ‘fair’ president. Kim evaluates that CDH recognised the problems of the PCH regime’s power structure; that PCH had concentrated too much power in one area (the Yongnam region) which led to the distortion of governmental management (2007:206). This did not mean to say that the Yongnam region during the CDH regime experienced a decrease in their economic development. Despite the publicised ‘fair’ policy, that CDH was from the Yongnam region in many respects automatically made him a representative of the Yongnam region.

Overall, CDH’s territorial policy post the Gwangju Massacre arguably was less ‘Yongnam-centric’ compared to PCH’s. A significant tool CDH used to reconstruct his image

was heritage. His government selected heritage sites located in the Honam region and this will be further explored in the next two chapters. Nevertheless, CDH's political power-base can be explained to have been based in the Yongnam region – much like PCH. The fact that he was from the Yongnam region and engineered a massacre in Gwangju arguably made the situation more sensitive. Kim (2007:198) states that despite such efforts of CDH to reconstruct his image through a more 'fair' territorial policy, CDH "never achieved full political legitimacy." The Korean nation simply believed that he was responsible for the brutal crackdown of the 1980 Gwangju Uprising and that his administration was "the continuation of the dictatorial Park regime under a different name" (Kim 2007:198).

## **Concluding remarks**

To summarise, the first section has reviewed three periods that reveal how a dispute between the two regions grew into a stereotype which then became formalised and legalised. The second section has reviewed 'what happened' before the MDE starting with the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1910. It can be understood that the Japanese invasion blurred and faded the long-standing dispute between the Honam and Yongnam regions as the nation lost its independence. Even after liberation from the Japanese, Korea had to immediately deal with its brutal reality. Such a series of events can be explained to indeed have blurred 'regionalism' for a few decades. The third section has examined how with the practise of regionalism blurred but the memory still existing, PCH started to implement a heritage and territorial policy in favour of the Yongnam region. It has also reviewed CDH's decisions and actions regarding South Korea's heritage and territories. What can be learnt is how when PCH started to implement yet another territorial policy in favour of the Yongnam region – followed by CDH's engineering of the Gwangju Massacre – South Korea once again became a regionally-divided and culturally-fragmented nation. Park (1988:49) states that regionalism, "as a phenomenon of culturally and politically divided cleavage, posed a serious problem in terms of a functioning a political system." Yea (2000:69) elaborates on this topic and claims that the Honam region has "long suffered the stigma of social discrimination." The next chapters will use the contents covered in this chapter to furthermore investigate how PCH and CDH's decision-making and powers over South Korea's 'heritage' and 'territory' impacted on the preservation and promotion of six heritage sites.

## **Chapter 4 – The Honam region (Case studies I – III)**

This chapter focuses on the three case study sites within the Honam region: 1) the Gochang Dolmen site, 2) the Suncheon Bay site and 3) the Mireuksa Temple site.

### **4.1. Case study I: The Gochang Dolmen site**

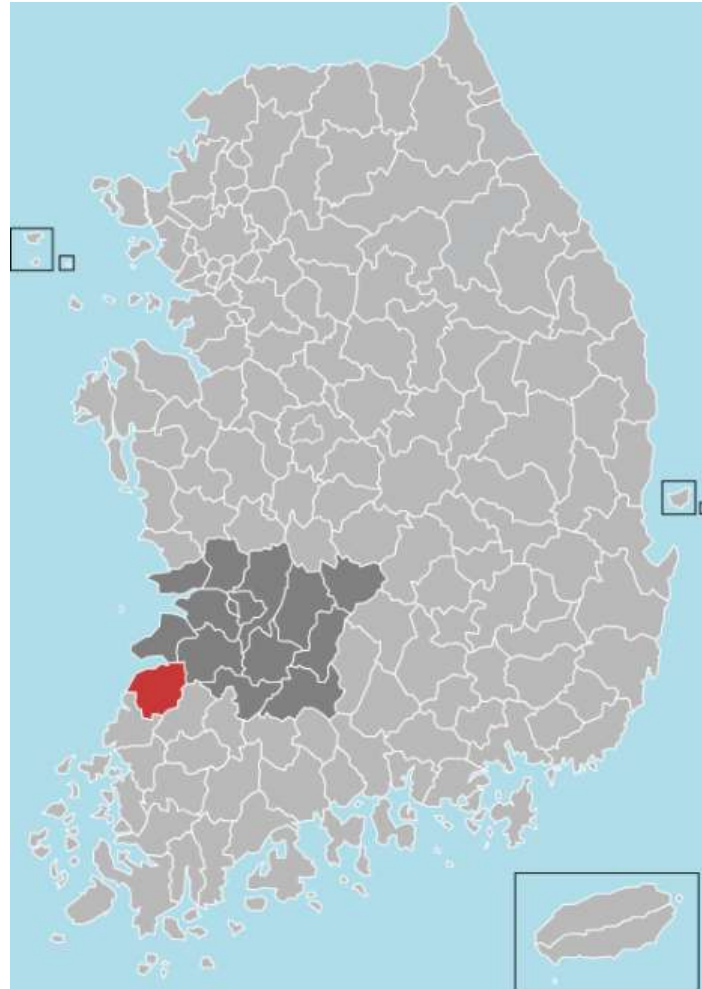
The Gochang Dolmen site is a Bronze Age burial site containing 447 well-preserved dolmens, densely clustered within a radius of 1.8 km around the towns of Chungrim-ri and Sanggap-ri.

#### **Site biography**

The site, along with the dolmens sites in Hwasun and Ganghwa, was designated as UNESCO World Heritage in December 2000, evaluated as “unique,” “very rare,” and “very old heritages” (Lee and Shin 2010:4). The UNESCO nomination (2000) described the Gochang Dolmens as “megalithic funerary monuments, which figured prominently in Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures across the world during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BCE” ([whc.unesco.org/en/list/977](http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/977), accessed date June 15, 2016). It is relevant to note that including the dolmens outside the ‘designated zone,’ there are approximately 2,000 dolmens scattered around the Gochang region.

- Location

The Gochang Dolmen site is situated within the Gochang County (fig 4.1). During the MDE, this region was very much outside the political interest in every regard and was primarily left for its traditional agricultural activities.



**Fig 4.1** - Map of South Korea - Gochang County shown in red

- Historical context

Dolmens in Korea are broadly associated with the Korean Bronze Age (1500 – 300 BC) (Ko 2007; Kwak et al. 2009, etc.), a period noted by Ko as a time of great economic and social transformation, witnessing the emergence of social complexity in the peninsula (2007: 1). More specifically, the dolmens in Gochang have been dated to 500-400 BC (Klimczak 2016). Despite a large number of dolmens scattered around Korea and their link to important stages in the history of the country, there has not been a long tradition of their interpretation. According to Ko (2007:7) their interpretations first became an explicit interest in North Korea in the late 1950s after the division of the country with studies published in 1957 by Jeong and in 1959 by Do. This is an interesting difference although the potential reasons for it is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Somewhat of an interest only emerged in South Korea during the mid 1960s (Ko 2007:7). There were only two excavations conducted on the

dolmens in Gochang during the MDE; one in 1965 and the other in 1983 (further details of these excavations will be included in the next section). It is relevant to note that during the early 1960s, as mentioned in the previous chapter, ‘cultural heritage’ started to become spotlighted for restoration and promotion with the formulation of the National Treasure List in 1962 as well as certain sites (i.e. Seokguram Grotto in Gyeongju) making headlines in the media. The Gochang Dolmen site did not make the National Treasure List, nor was it even considered a ‘national heritage site’ during the MDE. What this shows is that ‘dolmens’ were not perceived as ‘heritage’ by the dictatorial government and therefore was not processed or promoted as ‘heritage’. We can return to Harvey’s (2001) ideas on heritagisation; the dolmens, or more specifically, their aesthetic, were evidently not in line with the contemporary (dictatorial) narrative and thus were not perceived, protected or promoted as heritage to the nation. The heritage ‘trend’ at the time was on reinforcing the already well-known ‘impressive’ sites (i.e. the palaces and the temples) to support the dictatorial governments’ narrative construction and evidently, dolmens were not regarded as political narrative-material. It was not until the 1990s that the dolmens started to become nationally acknowledged as ‘heritage’ leading up to UNESCO World Heritage Designation. This change furthermore demonstrates how heritage (its perception, value, importance, etc.) is prone to change.

- Archaeological significance.

Dolmens, on the whole, were not given much spotlight by either the PCH or CDH regimes. Both PCH and CDH preferred sites that had a distinct masculine quality in terms of traditional notions of robustness and strengths (Choi 2012; Eun 2005; Jeon 2015; Yim 2002, etc.). As examined in the previous chapter, PCH was eager to remind the South Korean nation that they were once a strong and racially homogenous nation and he did so by focusing on selected remnants from the ancient Silla dynasty. CDH also selected sites with strong and impressive aesthetics such as the royal Joseon palaces and the ancient Baekje monuments. With their ‘degree of power’ (Foucault 1979), they were able to govern the direction of heritage management. That the dictatorial governments had such control over the archaeological significance of the sites (the heritage narrative) and that the heritage selection became manipulated to serve *their* desired narrative sheds light on the importance of developing ADD. This case, amongst others, show the extent to which dictators had



enormous impacts on heritage meaning and value.

As noted, it was only with the turn of the late 1990s and early 2000s that the archaeological significance of the dolmens became formally studied. The UNESCO nomination in 2000 claimed that the dolmens in Gochang possess authenticity of form, materials and location ([whc.unesco.org/en/list/977](http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/977), accessed date June 15, 2016). This evaluation was based upon the fact that most of the dolmens have remained untouched since the time of their construction – meaning that their present condition is the result of normal processes of decay as opposed to interfered destruction. Although a few dolmens have been dismantled by farmers, the overall assessment has shown that the stones have survived intact and their original location and form can be identified without difficulty. Moreover, in 2003, an official survey was conducted on the number of dolmens in Gochang. This survey revealed that there are 1,665 dolmens, forming 205 clusters. Of these 1,327 were further examined in 2005 (Lee and Shin 2010:29). Extensive studies in 2009 recorded that there are approximately 30,000 dolmens distributed around the country, of which 10% (3,000) are located in the Honam region (table 4.1). Of the dolmens situated in the Honam region, over 60% (around 2,000) were found to be distributed around Gochang (Kwak et. al. 2009:248). Furthermore, a quarry near this site has added important archaeological information about, and thus value to this site. Lee and Shin notes how it has provided important information about the construction processes of the dolmens as well as significant insights into how dolmens emerged and changed through time (2010:4).

Region	Number of clusters	Number of dolmens	Percentage (%)
Gochang	205	1,665	63.3
Gunsan	11	26	1.0
Gimje	3	11	0.4
Namwon	27	84	3.2
Muju	8	20	0.8
Buan	17	80	3.0
Sunchang	28	118	4.5
Jeonju	14	79	3.0
Iksan	4	9	0.3
Imsil	24	143	5.4
Jangsu	40	150	5.7
Jeongeup	20	82	3.1
Jinan	22	16	6.3

**Table 4.1** - Distribution table of dolmens known from the Honam region (After Lee and Shin 2010:28)

Arguably, the timing of the discovery of the dolmens, the historical context and archaeological significance influenced, to a considerable extent, how the site was perceived and valued by PCH and then CDH. Firstly, comparison with the number of cases which were established as ‘heritage’ prior to the MDE show they received much better treatment in terms of how they were valued and protected by the culture sector and this was based on PCH and CDH’s orders (CHA 1997; CHA 2011). This is, for example, the case for the Seokguram Grotto (in Gyeongju) and the Mireuksa Temple site (in Iksan). It is plausible that the little understanding of the dolmens prior to the MDE made their status and value less important during the early years of the MDE; but it seems more likely that as dolmens in themselves did not fit the aesthetic promoted at the time, even if they had been better understood academically, their valuation and management may not have differed significantly. Moreover, the fact that the dolmens were left near the residential houses with no fences or sign posts until 2008 rather than being preserved and protected reveal how the slow progression in terms of understanding the dolmens determined both their management and promotion not just during but also for a considerable time after the MDE.

## Preservation status during the MDE

Based on Lee and Shin’s (2010) data, only two official excavations were conducted on the dolmens in Gochang during the MDE. Prior to the MDE, no records of official academic research or excavations in Gochang can be found.<sup>15</sup>

Year of Excavation	Directed by	Aims	Results
1965	National Museum of Korea	To excavate three dolmens located in Sanggap-ri.	The structure of the three dolmens became established.
1983	Wonkwang University	To excavate 22 dolmens distributed over Yonggye-ri and Ungok-ri.	The dolmens were moved to and restored in the Wonkwang University Museum Garden.

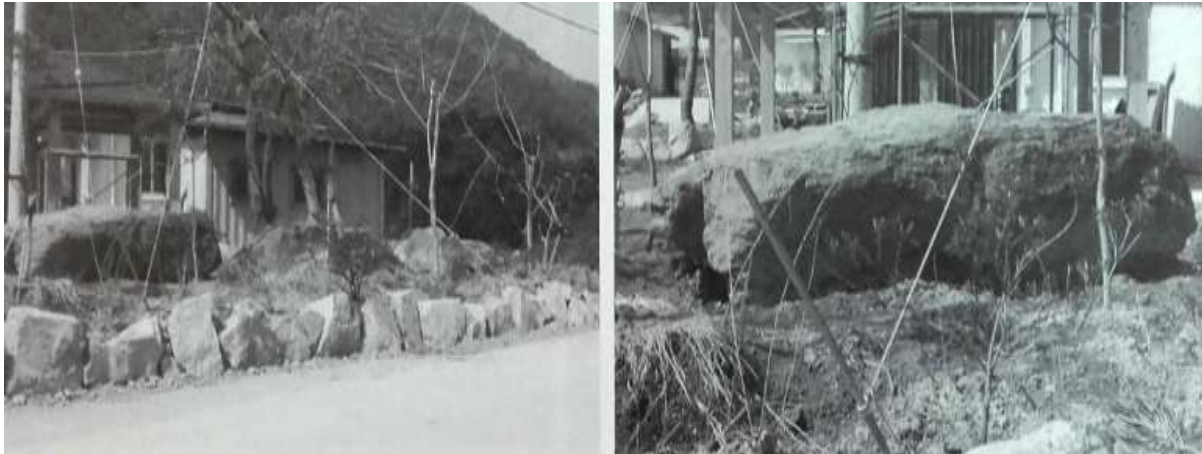
**Table 4.2** – Excavations of the dolmens in Gochang during the MDE (After Lee and Shin 2010)

As can be seen from table 4.2, three dolmens were excavated in 1965 but I was unable to track further information on this excavation.<sup>16</sup> This in itself may reveal the low value given to this excavation. As for the next excavation in 1983, twenty-two dolmens were excavated and then moved to and restored at the Wonkwang University Museum Garden (an institution based in the Honam region). Apart from the record that only two excavations were conducted during the time span of twenty-seven years, another ‘problematic’ issue is the number of dolmens which were (or were *not*) excavated during this period. The limited number of dolmens excavated and studied during this time period indicates lack of funding, expertise and national interest. The short-list of ‘what was done,’ arguably, can be interpreted as a direct result (or consequence) of the lack of pre-established valorisation of the dolmens as ‘heritage’ during the early years of the MDE as well as a direct consequence of PCH and CDH’s heritage interests at the time which did not give credit to dolmens.

<sup>15</sup> Data on the management of the dolmens in Gochang was retrieved from the CHA archives and also from the curator of the Gochang Dolmen Museum during fieldwork.

<sup>16</sup> During fieldwork, I visited the Gochang County, the Gochang Dolmen Museum as well as the National Museum of Korea to find further information on the 1965 excavation but I was told that they had no further information and that the excavation report was nowhere to be found.

Figures 4.2 and 4.3 show the state of two dolmens during the 1960s; despite the large sizes of the dolmens, they do not appear as dominant landscape elements due to the nearby housing and the uncontrolled surrounding vegetation. Nonetheless, the fact that they were not destroyed or removed indicates that they were not totally ignored by the local residents.



**Fig. 4.2** – Dolmens in Gochang during the MDE  
(Gochang Cultural Research Institute)



**Fig. 4.3** – A dolmen in Gochang during the MDE (Gochang Cultural Research Institute)

From the excavation records and old photographs, the dolmen site can be categorised as one that was considered ‘less interesting’ and ‘little invested in’ by both PCH and CDH. That the culture sector (CPA) was indifferent to this site during the MDE in many respects

confirms that it was not regarded as heritage of importance. This once again sheds light on the enormous influence the PCH and CDH governments had over the culture sector; how their lack of interest consequently meant lack of actions on heritage management. Referring back to discussions in the previous chapter, the CPA became a tool for PCH and CDH for their desired narrative constructions and furthermore their authorised dictatorial discourse (ADD). As explored, PCH proactively launched a culture sector with his assumption of power in 1961 and he exerted a great deal of influence as the ‘chairman’ – which CDH succeeded. This naturally meant that the interests and decision-making of PCH and then CDH predominantly governed the actions of the CPA. What we can learn here is that other sectors (i.e. Non-Government Organisations or academic institutions) had very little impact on the heritage decision and its management. This is where we can once again capture the fundamental difference between AHD and ADD: the dramatically differing power dynamic. It is, however, interesting how despite political (or dictatorial) indifference, most of the dolmens in Gochang managed to remain intact since the days of their construction. It is worth stressing that the majority of the dolmens were not destroyed by the local residents. Whether the local residents simply left the dolmens alone or had the intention to preserve them is unknown.

Regarding the impacts of the MDE’s territorial politics on the preservation of this site, as noted, Gochang’s location outside the selected areas for industrialisation meant that the majority of the dolmens remained untouched. The fact that this site was located in such a politically neglected region arguably assisted in the preservation of the dolmens. One can consider how if this site had been located in a region that was selected for rapid industrialisation (i.e. Ulsan), the dolmens may have consequently been dismantled, removed or even destroyed. PCH and CDH’s heritage and territorial interests and policies can be summarised to have had insignificant impacts on the preservation of the dolmens. As the Gochang region on the whole did not experience much change during this period, the majority of the dolmens also did not experience change in terms of removal or damage. PCH and CDH governed the path of research, funding and actions during the MDE and that dolmens and the Gochang region were outside their interests did indeed mean that they did not become recognised as ‘national heritage’ throughout this period.

### Promotion status during the MDE

As can be seen from table 4.3, there were a total of *four* newspaper articles published during the timeframe of twenty-seven years, according to the Naver News Article Library.

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1972.11.20	DongA Ilbo	Valuable nature sanctuary	p.6
1980.03.06	DongA Ilbo	Protect rural culture: Gochang's heritage documented by Lee Ki Hwa	p.6
1983.05.23	DongA Ilbo	Discovery of remains	p.11
1986.02.24	Gyeonghyang	Official re-examination of Jeonnam culture	p.7

**Table 4.3** –Newspaper articles found with the keyword search ‘Gochang Dolmens’ (source from Naver News Article Library)

It is evident from the small amount of press that this site was not considered mainstream news during the MDE. None of these articles were front-page covers, implying (or validating to a certain extent) again how ‘dolmens’ were not headline topics during the MDE. Here, we can return to Smith’s (2006) discussions on how the power relations control the way of talking about heritage. Commonly found in dictatorships is even tighter control of not only the way of talking about heritage but furthermore ‘how much’ or ‘how little’ became written about heritage. To appreciate what was written in these articles, one should notice that the title of the first article was *Valuable nature sanctuary (DongA Ilbo 1972.11.20)*. Interestingly, no mention of the dolmens can be found in this article; it rather reports on the existing nature sanctuaries around the country and the importance of protecting them. Why it was stored under the ‘Gochang Dolmens’ keyword search is unclear.

The second article, *Protect rural culture: Gochang’s heritage documented by Lee Ki Hwa*, covers the works of Lee in Gochang. The article starts by reporting Lee’s works recording Gochang’s rural areas as well as his works in documenting the castle in Gochang (*Gochangeubseong*). The writer quotes Lee about how it took him “three years to document *Gochangeubseong*.” The second half of the article reports on Lee’s documentation of the dolmens in Gochang; it started in 1974 and he managed to survey and record 300 dolmens. Lee is quoted again: “although I am poor, I feel tremendous value in doing something so

worthwhile” and “whether anybody recognises the works I do or not, I will continue to do what I do” (*DongA Ilbo* 1980.03.06). This article sheds light on the extent to which Gochang and its heritage was a ‘local’ matter more so than a national one.

The next article was in 1983 titled *Discovery of remains*. This article reports on how in the former months, a large number of dolmens in Gochang were discovered – with an added statement that Gochang is the region to record the largest number of dolmens in Korea. This article furthermore reports on the findings of a celadon kiln site from the Goryeo dynasty with iron pots near the dolmen site in Gochang (*DongA Ilbo* 1983.05.23). The last article, *Official re-examination of Jeonnam culture*, much like the first article, does not mention the dolmens in Gochang. It reports on what was discussed by academics during the Gwangju Museum Symposium. The symposium, organised by and held at the Gyeongju National Museum, reportedly, was dedicated to the examination of archaeological sites in the Honam region. This article provides a general overview of the event that was held as well as some information on the academics and their projects (*Gyeonghyang Press* 1986.02.24). The four articles expose how the dolmens in Gochang started to capture the interests of academics during the latter years of the MDE. However, they also expose to a considerable extent how dolmens were a ‘niche’ or ‘sub’ topic even in the academic sphere during this period.

From the quantity and contents of the articles, it is clear that the promotion of this site or dolmens on the whole was not a priority during the MDE. None of the articles contain a mention of PCH or CDH which arguably confirms how this site was not perceived as a political or national topic during the MDE. Regarding whether anything specific was continuously emphasised, there were not enough articles written to trace any emphasis. Both the number of articles written and the number of excavations conducted during the MDE shows how there was a lack of interest or investment to promote the dolmens in Gochang.

To what extent, then, did PCH and CDH’s heritage and territorial interests and policies impact on the promotion of this site? During the MDE, what was published to the nation can be said to have been carefully edited and fabricated by PCH and then later CDH. What PCH and CDH deemed to be important was emphasised by the quantity and contents of the newspapers and this can be seen later through case studies III, IV and V. That only four articles were published on the Gochang dolmens (two of which did not even mention the

dolmens in Gochang), very clearly indicates that they were not considered heritage of importance, meaning or value by PCH and CDH. Overall, PCH and CDH's lack of interest on the dolmens and the Gochang region can be shown to collectively have impacted the promotion of this site very little.

## **Discussions**

To sum up, this case reveals some of the impacts *lack* of political interest on both the heritage site and the wider region can have. The lack of political interest consequently meant lack of national effort to preserve, protect, or promote the dolmens. In terms of preservation, the impacts cannot be said to have been negative as the countless dolmens in Gochang were preserved, partly due to this neglect and due to local residence not interfering with them. The impacts on the promotion, however, were arguably more negative as dictatorial neglect meant that the dolmens were given very little acknowledgement and credited with very little educational or archaeological value during the MDE. This case can be used to learn 1) how, in some cases, the preservation of heritage can benefit from political/dictatorial neglect, and 2) the crucial importance of political interest and actions on the promotion and value of heritage sites. This case also shows how the politics of heritage and the politics of territory were interlinked and influential to the preservation of the dolmens. That the majority of the dolmens in Gochang managed to stay intact during a time of a country's rapid industrial development can be attributed to the fact that the dolmens were located in a politically neglected region. As argued, one can consider that if the dolmens were located in the Yongnam region, they may well have been removed or destroyed without much hesitation. This case can be closely linked to the theoretical discussions explored in chapter 2; how the dolmens were outside the heritage trend and contemporary narrative and therefore neglected (Harvey 2001), how the dictatorial government had enormous control over the little amount that was written about the dolmens (Smith 2006), and how the degree of dictatorial power indeed affected the 'degree of knowledge' or *lack* of knowledge on the dolmens (Foucault 1979). The extreme outcome that the dolmen site saw during the MDE due to lack of dictatorial interest can be used to examine the characteristics of ADD in the case of neglect.



## 4.2. Case Study II: The Suncheon Bay

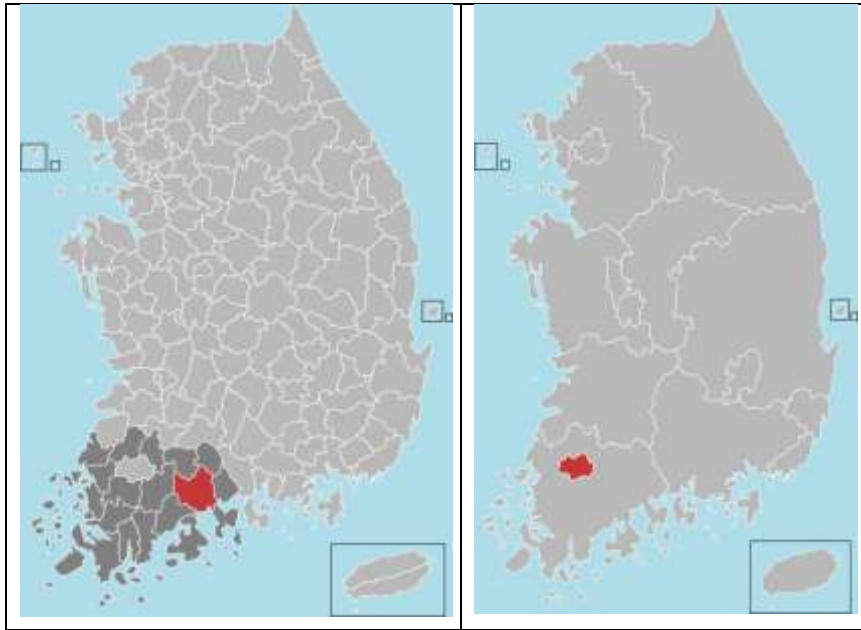
The Suncheon Bay is a wetland reserve and a rare surviving ecological swamp site. The value of ‘natural’ sites during the MDE was yet to be recognised or established as ‘heritage’ but since the 1990s, there has been a growing recognition of natural sites as valuable ‘heritage’ - making this an interesting case for reflecting on the impact ‘political neglect’ and then ‘national recognition’ can have on heritage perception, value and management.

### Site biography

The area is composed of a 3.5 km long stream, 5,490 acres of wide tideland and 570 acres of wide reed fields (suncheonbay.go.kr, accessed date: July 21, 2016).

- Location

The Suncheon Bay is situated 8km from the city centre of Suncheon. It is relevant to mention that Suncheon is located very close to the city of Gwangju (see fig 4.4). As discussed in chapter 4, Gwangju became one of the most – if not *the* most – spotlighted region from the beginning until the end of the CDH regime following the Gwangju Massacre in 1980. Noting that Suncheon is located close to Gwangju is important in the analysis of the management of this site during the CDH administration.



**Fig 4.4** –Left: Map of South Korea – Suncheon City shown in red; Right: Map of South Korea – Gwangju shown in red (right)

- Historical context

This site, according to geological and ecological studies conducted in 1996 by experts hired by the Suncheon city government, records a history of 8,000 years (Lee 2016). Geological research revealed that after the last glacial epoch, when sea levels rose by about 160 metres, the western landmass of Korea became inundated by the sea. The extensive sandbank that we see today is known to have developed over the course of thousands of years with the combination of brackish water, mud and sand deposited by the Dong-Cheon River into the bay ([suncheonbay.go.kr](http://suncheonbay.go.kr), accessed date: July 21, 2016). Although there were some efforts to protect and manage this area as an ‘ecological site’ during the CDH administration (details will be included in the ‘preservation status’ section), official academic studies of this site’s historical context only emerged in 1996, eight years after the MDE.

- Archaeological significance

The understanding of this site’s value as a rare wetland progressed after the conduction of official studies on its grounds in 1996. Evidently, the South Korean government took an interest in ‘natural sites’ during the 1990s. This can be seen through it signing up to the

Ramsar Convention (a convention on wetlands of international importance) on July 28, 1997.<sup>17</sup> The Suncheon Bay was officially designated as a Ramsar site on January 20, 2006.<sup>18</sup> Since being officially designated, the site has been credited with great value. For example, Kang in 2017 acknowledged the site as a “rare natural wetland preserve” as well as a “unique ecological system incomparable to other ecological systems in the earth” (Kang 2017:1). Kang further claims that this site has high preservation value from the aspect of natural ecological history especially since the wetlands around the bay remain Korea’s only mud flat with salt marshes (Kang 2017:1).

Another acclaimed value of this site is that it attracts rare species, namely birds of two hundred and thirty nine species. Among them, thousands of waterfowl such as the hooded crane, common crane, white-naped crane, spoonbill, Saunder’s gull, oxbird, whooper swan and Sheldrake have been recorded to spend the winter in the Suncheon Bay (Kang 2017:2). Numerous wetlands around the world have reportedly been damaged and/or destroyed due to irrigation, reclamation and pollution (Kang 2017; Lee 2016). The fact that this site survives today as a rare wetland and that it continues to attract rare species can be claimed as its core value.

It is clear that the formation of this site’s historical context and the establishment of its values first occurred eight years *after* the MDE. It is interesting to analyse whether PCH and CDH already had begun to recognise this value or whether they totally ignored it. A mixed answer can be given to this question. As for PCH, it seems that he and his government perceived this site as no different to any other site in the Honam region and this, arguably, was inevitable considering that the importance of tidal flats to the environment was not academically researched at all during the 1960s and 1970s (Jung 2000:14). CDH, however, had a greater involvement with this site. It can further be argued that he intentionally associated himself with this site with very specific political motives. In other words, the location of this site meant that it became relevant to the contemporary narrative. This is relevant due to Suncheon being located close to Gwangju. Details of CDH’s actions in regards to this site will be unravelled in the next section.

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<sup>17</sup> The Republic of Korea became the 101<sup>st</sup> member to join the Ramsar Convention. It became South Korea’s 22<sup>nd</sup> Ramsar Site under the name ‘Dongcheon Estuary in Suncheon.’ (<https://www.ramsar.org/>).

<sup>18</sup> Presently, South Korea has 22 designated Ramsar sites.

## Preservation status during the MDE

As this site and the Suncheon City as a whole was outside the PCH government's interests, the grounds of the Suncheon Bay saw very little change during the 1960s and 1970s. PCH is recorded to have visited Suncheon in 1962 after it became severely affected by a flood but this did not lead to any interests or actions to manage or preserve the site.<sup>19</sup> However, much like case study I, the preservation of this site arguably also benefited from being 'left alone' or 'politically neglected.' The advantage of being located in a politically neglected region was that the landscape did not become exposed to industrial development and pollution.

'What was done' to preserve or manage this site can be traced predominantly through what was written in the newspapers during the 1980s, with hardly any indication of actions taken during the 1960s and 1970s. For example, *Donga Ilbo* reports how on October 17, 1984, CDH himself attended the South Jeolla province's Eco-Marsh Convention. During his visit, CDH reportedly announced that his government was currently working on two marshes and hoped to find methods to develop a further five eco-marsh sites in the near future. CDH also allegedly announced that the aim was to improve the drinking water system for the people of Gwangju, Yecheon, Suncheon and Gwangyang through this project (*Donga Ilbo*, 1984.10.17). These are all cities and towns located in the southern areas of the Honam region. From CDH's visit to the site in 1984 and from his specific mention of 'Gwangju' in his speech, it seems he endeavoured to use the eco-marsh sites to gain political favour in the Honam region – to publicise that he had 'good intentions' for them. Once again, we can see how heritage (or in this case, an ecological 'site') was spotlighted as a 'trend' to complement the contemporary narrative (Harvey 2001).

According to the *Gyeonghyang* Press, CDH reportedly stated that developing these marshes was "urgent" (*Gyeonghyang* Press, 1984.10.17). When reading through these articles, it appears that the CDH government was very hands-on with this site – although 'developing' eco-marshes can be argued to be an act that goes against 'preserving' them. Interestingly, however, judging by a photograph of this site taken in 1992 (fig 4.5), the grounds were heavily littered and very much in a state of abandonment, suggesting that by then, protection

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<sup>19</sup> The curator of the Suncheon Bay informed me, during fieldwork, that PCH visited Suncheon in 1962. I was, however, unable to track official records of his visit.

and management of the site had not yet taken hold. It seems that CDH did not give long-term instructions to monitor or manage this site. His interests can be seen as a publicity stunt; arguably, he wished the nation to know that he had the best interests of the Honam people in mind but what is evident is that he was not willing to invest the time or money to consistently or persistently protect or preserve the grounds. In other words, he publicised his grand plans but did not actually give it further interest or continued care.



**Fig 4.5** – A photograph of the Suncheon Bay in 1992 (Lee 2016)

Kang states that due to littering and government indifference, the bay remained “abandoned for a long time” (2017:3). It was only in the late 1990s that civic groups and the city government began to recognise and thus emphasise the ecological and economic values of this site. Kang notes that this eventually led to “a more effective resident-government governance and cooperation with international societies that transformed the Suncheon Bay into a repository of marine ecology receiving both domestic and global recognition” (2017:4).

Overall, during the PCH regime, this site stood little changes of being perceived as valuable to PCH mainly for two reasons. The first is that ‘natural sites’ was yet to be recognised as ‘heritage.’ The second is that PCH’s heritage interests were ‘aesthetically impressive’ monuments. Consequently, there were no actions to preserve or protect this site during the PCH administration. CDH’s involvements were arguably more complex; he evidently made a choice to associate himself with this site but whether he actually perceived it to have ‘value’ is debatable. PCH and CDH’s territorial politics of industrially neglecting the Honam region, however, was crucial for the preservation of this site. As noted, the entire area of Suncheon and its surrounding cities did not become targeted for industrialisation during the MDE. One can consider that if this site was located in or near the Yongnam region, the pollution would have had a merciless effect on the wetland and the rare species that inhabit the grounds.

### Promotion status during the MDE

As can be seen from table 4.4, media coverage of this site was sparse during the 1960s and 1970s. The largest number of newspaper articles was 1984 when CDH visited the site. A total of 16 articles can be tracked. Compared to case study I which records a total of four newspaper articles, this site was given more attention. Also, differently to the Gochang Dolmen site, this site became associated with CDH. This meant that it – or more specifically, CDH’s involvement with this site – made front-page headlines. Three themes can be noted regarding what was communicated to the nation. The first is an emphasis on contamination (6 articles highlighted in yellow). The second is governmental involvements (4 articles highlighted in turquoise). The last is a focus on developing the site (2 articles highlighted in green).

Date of article	Name of Newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1969.08.02	Maeil Economy	Sobaek Mountains extraction	p.2
1973.01.22	Maeil Economy	Seashore region development	p.5
1973.04.24	Gyeonghyang Press	Grass eel hunt	p.6
1974.04.20	DongA Ilbo	Contamination of sea	p.7
1977.11.05	DongA Ilbo	Contamination of sea worsened	p.7
1978.06.13	DongA Ilbo	Death of fish in Suncheon Bay	p.7
1978.08.21	DongA Ilbo	Damages from typhoon	p.12
1984.06.25	DongA Ilbo	Hacheon River contamination	p.10
1984.10.17	DongA Ilbo	President Chun assessment of site	p.1
1984.10.17	Gyeonghyang Press	Development plans of the bay	p.1
1984.12.27	DongA Ilbo	Wrap-up news	p.10
1985.05.07	DongA Ilbo	Wrap up: National News	p.10
1985.12.12	Gyeonghyang Press	Prof. Choi Young Hee’s cross-country travels	p.9
1986.02.20	DongA Ilbo	Wrap-up news	p.10
1988.01.09	DongA Ilbo	Typhoon Selma	p.7
1988.07.27	DongA Ilbo	Compensation requested from Suncheon Bay	p.9

**Table 4.4** Newspaper articles with the keyword search ‘Suncheon Bay’ (source from Naver News Article Library)

The words ‘contamination’ and ‘damage’ were repeatedly used. For example, in the article titled *Contamination of Sea*, the writer complains that the sea continues to become contaminated due to a lack of national environmental policy (*DongA Ilbo*, 1977.11.05). The cause of the contamination was reportedly the construction of more pedestrian paths in

Suncheon. Two points can be taken from the articles from the 1970s. The first is the confirmation of ‘natural sites’ such as the Suncheon Bay, being outside the government’s interests during the 1960s and 1970s and the growing frustration towards the government’s lack of action. The second is an explicit concern with environmental degradation.

A change of tone, however, can be traced with the turn of the 1980s. CDH’s visit can be pinpointed as the pinnacle for this site in terms of promotion during the MDE. As reviewed in the previous section, in 1984, CDH himself assessed the site. His visit was reported by both the *DongA Ilbo* and *Gyeonghyang* national newspapers. Although such spotlight by CDH arguably made little difference to the site regarding its preservation or consistent protection, the fact that he visited meant that it suddenly became front-page headlines in two different newspapers. A few more articles about the site were released following CDH’s visit – reporting on similar issues such as contamination and damage. What is noteworthy is that despite such political spotlight in 1984, this site was soon found to be abandoned and heavily littered.

A question at this point is: did PCH and CDH’s heritage and territorial interests and policies affect the promotion of this site during the MDE? The newspaper articles from the period of PCH were generally negative with complaints and concerns regarding government indifference, suggesting that very little interest or funding was given to the site. As for CDH, his territorial scandal in Gwangju arguably was a significant factor behind his decision to associate himself with this site. Overall, it can be said that both PCH’s lack of interest and CDH’s (arguable) political motivations had an impact on what was presented in press to the nation.

## **Discussions**

To sum up, as regards to preservation, the site arguably benefitted from PCH and CDH’s territorial politics of leaving out the Honam region for industrialisation as it was able to avoid the most severe pollution: its survival as a wetland was dependent on the limited contamination of its surrounding landscape. Political neglect during a time of rapid industrialisation did indeed mean that the Suncheon Bay was preserved. Media coverage reveals a brief growth when CDH visited in 1984. Whether CDH’s spotlight helped ‘promote’

the site, however, is debatable. Overall, this case sheds light on a number of things. The first is the extent to which ‘natural sites’ were unprotected by the government during the MDE, especially as the country lacked a systematic environmental protection policy during this period. The second is the prominent impact CDH’s visit had; on this note, it can be argued that he used the site to reconstruct his image in the Honam region following his political scandal in Gwangju. Lastly, that the Suncheon Bay remains to survive as a rare wetland preserve today demonstrates the interlinked relationship between the politics of heritage and the politics of territory. Ironically, the political neglect of this region during the MDE contributed to the long-term preservation of this site. This case can also be seen in relation to the theoretical discussions in chapter 2. Its location of being near Gwangju during the CDH regime meant that the ecological site subsequently became a ‘trending topic’ in the media. CDH’s degree of power became vividly apparent through what was written in the media. A local ecological site was suddenly made into a nationally spotlighted site in need of protection. Smith’s (2006) observation that power relations control the way of seeing and talking about heritage can once again be examined through this case.



### 4.3. Case Study III: Mireuksa Temple site

The Mireuksa Temple site is a Buddhist monument known to have been built during the Baekje Kingdom (18 BC to 660 AD). Today, it is one of eight archaeological areas designated as UNESCO World Heritage under the communal title ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1477>, accessed date: July 16, 2016)<sup>20</sup>. As previously noted, Baekje was one of the Three Kingdoms of Korea: Goguryeo, Baekje and Silla. The former Baekje territories make up today’s Honam region.

#### Site biography

Collectively, the ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ represent the later period of the Baekje Kingdom. The surviving remains of the eight sites have been dated from 475 to 660 AD. This particular period is known to have been a time of considerable technological, religious (Buddhist), cultural and artistic exchanges between the ancient East Kingdoms in Korea, China and Japan ([whc.unesco.org/en/list/1477](https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1477), accessed date: July 16, 2016). Only a part of the west pagoda was found to be standing in 1910 (the year marking the beginning of the Japanese colonisation period in Korea). The Japanese placed a concrete around the pagoda to support it but this led to problems of its own such as signs of instability and decay. In 1999, the South Korean government decided to restore the temple. The entire structure consequently collapsed and it was only in 2018 (June) that the temple was fully restored (CHA 2009; NRICH and Iksan 2010; Woo 2018).

- Location

The Mireuksa Temple is located in the city of Iksan (fig 4.6) close to Gochang – both situated in the northern parts of the Honam region. Iksan was similar to Gochang during the MDE in that its landscape saw very little changes in terms of industrial development. What was different, however, was that unlike the Gochang Dolmen site, the Mireuksa Temple site was selected and favoured by both PCH and CDH.

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<sup>20</sup> The eight sites include the Gongsanseong fortress and royal tombs at Songsan-ri; Ungjin (present day Gongju); the Busosanseong Fortress and Gwanbuk-ri administrative buildings; the Jeongnimsa Temple, the royal tombs in Neungsan-ri and the Naseong city wall; Sabi (now Buyeo), the royal palace at Wanggung-ri; and the Mireuksa Temple in Iksan related to the secondary Sabi capital.



**Fig 4.6** – Map of South Korea – Iksan shown in red



**Fig. 4.7** – Distribution map of the eight sites forming the ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ (Source from the Mireuksa Temple site panel)

- Historical context

Details on the construction of this temple can be found in a historical record published in 1281 called *Samgukyusa* (also known as ‘The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms’). The *Samgukyusa* tells the history and legends of Korea’s founding right up to the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE (Cartwright 2016). This text is known to be a sequel of sort to the earlier *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) written in the 12<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>21</sup> These records are Korea’s oldest surviving chronicles (Cartwright 2016). According to a chapter in the *Samgukyusa* called *King Mu*, the Mireuksa temple was constructed during the Baekje Kingdom period. The record states that the 30<sup>th</sup> King of the Baekje Kingdom (King Mu) and his wife (Queen Seonhwa) saw a vision of *Mireuksamjon*<sup>22</sup> emerging from a large pond. Allegedly, at the time of their revelation, the king and queen were on their way to visit a Buddhist monk in Sajasa Temple<sup>23</sup> and in response to their vision, the king drained the nearby pond and ordered the construction of the Mireuksa Temple. Owing to the well-preserved and well-known ancient records such as the *Samgukyusa*, the Mireuksa Temple’s historical context did not have to be ‘discovered’ following the decline of the Baekje Kingdom.

- Archaeological significance

This temple is known to be the largest Buddhist temple built during the ancient Baekje Kingdom ([whc.unesco.org/en/list/1477/documents/](http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1477/documents/), accessed date: July 21, 2016). The two main features of this site are the stone pagoda<sup>24</sup> (*Mireuksaji Seoktap*) and the flagpole supports (*Mireuksaji Dangganji*). Careful and consistent documentation of the site can be traced as far back as 1901 (NRICK and Iksan 2010:8); demonstrating how it was valorised as ‘heritage’ much before the MDE. The 14.24 metre-high west stone pagoda (which became designated as National Treasure No.11 on December 20, 1962) is known as the oldest and largest Korean stone pagoda in existence. Its designation as ‘National Treasure in 1962 meant that it was protected and promoted on a national level by the PCH government.

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<sup>21</sup> The *Samguk sagi* is considered to cover the early history of Korea (Cartwright 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Also known as the ‘Three Sanskrit’

<sup>23</sup> Today known as ‘Mireuksan Mountain’

<sup>24</sup> A pagoda in a Buddhist temple is a place where sarira, i.e. the remains of the Buddhist are enshrined.

Being ‘aesthetically impressive’ as well as having been valorised as ‘heritage’ prior to the 1960s arguably meant that this temple was ‘obviously’ going to be selected by PCH in the early 1960s. In other words, it is highly likely that the temple’s aesthetic and story complimented the ‘heritage aesthetic’ and ‘heritage narrative’ that PCH was eager to promote and associate him with. Unlike the former two cases, this site fitted the heritage ‘trend’ and ‘narrative’ (Harvey 2001) that PCH favoured which ultimately meant that it became promoted to the nation as valuable national heritage. This temple was spotlighted even further by CDH during the 1980s, growing into the central heritage project at the time (details will be included in the next section). In 1962, the Mireuksa Temple site was protected under the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (*Munhwajae pohobôp*), which ensured that the site was overseen by the culture sector (CPA) and managed officially as a ‘State-designated cultural heritage’.<sup>25</sup>

Did, then, the pre-established valorisation of this temple as ‘heritage’ determine how it became perceived by PCH and then CDH? The answer would be: indeed so. Unlike the former two case studies, a great deal of academic studies had been conducted prior to the MDE which meant that by the early 1960s it was very clearly perceived and valued as ‘official heritage.’ More importantly, the temple’s aesthetic arguably appealed to PCH, who aimed to ‘restore’ the broken pride of South Korea by emphasising the ‘proud achievements’ of their ancestors and, by doing so, construct *his* own image as the nation’s patriotic leader. CDH expressed even more interest in this temple and the ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ on the whole. As well as the temple having desirable aesthetics for CDH’s narrative and image construction, arguably, there was more to his selection of this site; this argument will be unravelled in the next sections.

### **Preservation status during the MDE**

Before reviewing ‘what was done’ to preserve this temple during the MDE, it is beneficial to overview what was done prior to the MDE as such actions considerably determined ‘what had to be done’ later.

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<sup>25</sup> Source retrieved online: [http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file\\_id=243533](http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text.jsp?file_id=243533), accessed date: July, 12, 2018).

As noted, records of management and research on this site prior to the MDE can be traced as far back as 1901 when the architectural features of the temple were surveyed (NRICK and Iksan 2010:8). According to NRICK and Iksan (2010), the Japanese conducted research during this time to produce data useful for the invasion of Korea (in 1910) rather than purely for academic reasons – which meant that ‘research’ was conducted in a wide and vague manner. A notable year for the Mireuksa Temple site in terms of official management was 1910, after the Japanese invasion, which was also the year that the pagoda was distinguished as a separate field of valuable research (NRICK and Iksan 2010). As noted, only a part of the west pagoda was found to be still standing in 1910 (fig 4.8).



**Fig. 4.8** – A photograph of the Mireuksa temple in 1910 (Iksan Research Archives)

Furthermore, in 1910, records from the Iksan Research Archive<sup>26</sup> reveal that architects were sent to the site to investigate the structure of the temple. The west side of the temple started to collapse after 1910, followed by the collapse of the south side. From photographic records, this collapse was evidently serious (fig 4.9).

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<sup>26</sup> The Iksan Research Archive is located in Iksan; it is decided to research on the heritage around Iksan.



**Fig. 4.9** – The Mireuksa Temple before reconstruction (Iksan 2001:29)

Responding to this situation, the Japanese government supported the temple with concrete in 1914 (Iksan 2001:29). It was not known then that this concrete support would eventually (in the late 1990s) be the cause of the collapse of the entire temple. In 1952, a few propositions and hypotheses were made about the temple, but the studies during this time did not produce specific or validated data. To sum up, the concrete support placed by the Japanese in 1914 was arguably the biggest act of ‘what was done’ prior to the MDE.

Now to review ‘what was done’ during the MDE, as noted, this site became one of the first sites selected and prioritised by PCH in 1962 for restoration. The project to restore this temple was built upon expert knowledge from archaeologists, art historians, architects, and geographers (NRICH and Iksan 2010:8, vol.1). Actions pursued can be broken down into decades. As stated above, the most significant change took place in 1962 when it became protected by the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (*Munhwajae pohobôp*).<sup>27</sup> Next, in 1965, an excavation was conducted by the National Museum of Korea which aimed to gain a better understanding of the temple. The culture sector (CPA) also assessed the site. Additionally, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1965, the north side branch of the Mireuksa Temple reservoir became designated as the 150<sup>th</sup> protection area. In the following year (1966), it became confirmed that this temple is the oldest surviving temple of the Baekje Kingdom. This research moreover raised the possibility that the temple may have originally been nine-storeys high rather than six (which was what remained). In 1968, various other research projects were

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<sup>27</sup> This was made official in February 20, 1962

carried out to find out more about the temple (Iksan Research Archives). It is clear that the motivations during the 1960s were to protect, restore and to understand as much as possible about the temple.

The site continued to receive interest and investment from the government and the culture sector (CPA) during the 1970s. In 1971, further research was conducted on the structure of the temple. In 1972, the Iksan City government purchased 25,015 metres of land around the Mireuksa Temple in order to claim the grounds as ‘government property.’ This involved tearing down the surrounding buildings (Iksan 2001:181). Because the grounds of the Mireuksa Temple site were mainly private lands with residential houses surrounded by rice paddies that were cultivated, the government authorities were unable to immediately turn the site into official ‘government grounds’ and so from 1972 to 1993, a slow procedure was commenced to claim the land as government property. It took some time until all the private residents that lived within and around the Mireuksa Temple site were officially relocated and the archaeological remains were excavated and restored (Iksan 2001:181). Next in 1973, there was an excavation on site conducted by Wonkwang University Mahan Baekje Research Institute (NRICH and Iksan 2010:76, vol.1) and the temple was once again investigated compared to other ancient temples, and, official construction work for maintenance started with its status as a designated national heritage site (fig 4.10).



**Fig.4.10** – 1973 Excavation record (Iksan Research Archives)

This investigation continued to the next year (1974) with the Wonkwang University Mahan Baekje Research Institute operating both excavations of the east and the west pagodas as well as conducting further research into the scale of the site and other details. The 1974



excavation started in August 1974 and lasted until April 1976, with the aim of revealing the architectural foundations of the east pagoda and to compare this to the existing west pagoda. This excavation successfully revealed the foundational base as well as the four sides of the remains of the temple with the stair case. The staircase, which was found to be preserved in good condition, assisted in the establishment of the rest of the architectural features (NRICH and Iksan 2010:196).



**Fig.4.11** – 1974 Excavation record (Iksan Research Archives)

Next, in 1975, the Mahan Baekje Research Institute officially pursued research of this site and further maintenance work was planned and implemented. In 1978, under the auspices of the Wonkwang University Mahan Baekje Research Institute, further scholarly research was conducted focusing on the archaeological remains. A more thorough research was conducted in 1979 including studies of the stratigraphy of the site (NRICH and Iksan 2010). Overall, during the 1970s, significant decisions were made collaboratively by the Iksan City and the culture sector (CPA) to develop, protect and preserve the Mireuksa Temple site. From this listing of ‘what was done’ during the 1970s, evidently, the temple was consistently managed and in the interest-sphere of the CPA, Iksan County and academic institutions.

The most significant turning point for the site was arguably the 1980s when the CDH government started to prioritise the Baekje Historic Areas as a central heritage project. The excavation surveys underwent ‘five-year’ plans: the first five-year plan starting in 1980 and ending in 1984 (the middle sector investigated); the second five-year plan starting in 1985



and ending in 1989 (the outer grounds investigated); and the third five-year plan starting in 1990 and ending in 1994 (the south side area investigated). As such, the Mireuksa Temple site experienced upgraded systematic interest and investment during the CDH regime. To look more closely into what became implemented, between 1980 and 1994, the National Cultural Research Institute conducted research to understand the specialities of the Baekje remains and also with the aim of supporting the long-term preservation of the remains. Measurements of the Mireuksa temple were taken in greater detail which revealed the scale and characteristics of the temple.

On the whole, the 1980s was a concentrated research period for this site with multiple scholars examining the arrangements of the temple. In particular, between 1980 and 1984, extensive data was produced from the excavations which focused on the centre, east and west arrangements of the temple (NRICH and Iksan 2010:185). Furthermore, a continual stream of research and data was produced during the 1980s, including the ‘Mireuksa Temple Excavation Report I’ in 1989 (by the Cultural Research Institute), followed by the Mireuksa Temple Architectural Survey’ and other publications focusing on the structure and archaeological remains found on site (NRICH and Iksan 2010:185). Acts to develop and conserve the temple continued into the early 1990s with further research on the west pagoda and the east pagoda restoration (NRICH and Iksan 2010:9).



**Fig.4.12** – The nine-storey temple digital reconstruction in 1989 (left) (Iksan 2001:235); further digital reconstructions in 1989 (middle) (NRICH and Iksan 2010:60); and the reconstructed nine-storey temple in 1992 (Iksan 2001:27)

Although the Mireuksa Temple site was targeted for research and development from the beginning of and throughout the MDE, the Iksan area was excluded in the government's territorial politics. As noted, the government purchased some land around the site during the 1970s in order to present the entire area as a heritage site but otherwise, the Iksan area was similar to Gochang and Suncheon in that its landscape saw very little change through industrial development.

Both PCH and CDH's heritage interests and policies can be analysed to have had positive impacts on the preservation of this site. Being a monument having undergone significant intervention in 1914 by the Japanese, this temple was in need of expert assessment and care. Expert assessment and constant care were given from the beginning until the end of the MDE and arguably, this ensured the temple's pro-longed preservation. Unlike case study II, publicised plans for this site were actually put into action. Similarities between case study II and this site, however, were CDH's political motivations; by associating himself with sites in the Honam region, he perhaps endeavoured to 'make amends' with the Honam citizens post the Gwangju Massacre. It is thus a credible proposition that CDH expressed interest specifically in the South Jeolla Eco-Marsh sites and the Baekje Historic Areas to cover up his political scandal.

### **Promotion status during the MDE**

A total of 42 articles were released on the Mireuksa Temple site during the MDE and it is possible to see that it received a significantly larger amount of press than case studies I and II. This is a strong example of how the degree of political interest became reflected in the amount of promotion; the power relations governing the way of talking about heritage (Smith 2006). What was centrally emphasised can be categorised into four themes: 1) excavation and discoveries (16 articles highlighted in green); 2) the temple as 'national treasure' and 'Korea's treasure' (3 articles highlighted in yellow); 3) the 'Baekje' kingdom (3 articles highlighted in turquoise); and 4) development and conservation (4 articles highlighted in purple).

Date	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page. No within newspaper
1963.04.06	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure No. 11	p.7
1966.04.22	Gyeonghyang	Mireuksa Temple excavation	p.3

1966.05.04	DongA Ilbo	Discovery of Buddhist art remains	p.3
1973.11.27	DongA Ilbo	New assessment of Baekje culture	p.3
1974.08.09	Gyeonghyang	Re-discovery of pagoda	p.5
1974.08.22	Gyeonghyang	Clues on Baekje culture	p.5
1975.04.17	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure No.11	p.5
1975.05.19	Gyeonghyang	Debates on Mireuksa	p.5
1975.05.21	DongA Ilbo	Reports on excavation	p.5
1975.05.26	DongA Ilbo	Theories on the pagodas	p.5
1976.01.06	DongA Ilbo	Hope zone: Baekje excavation	p.7
1976.01.06	DongA Ilbo	The drive to discover more	p.7
1976.07.06	DongA Ilbo	Korea's image: Mireuksa	p.4
1977.08.17	DongA Ilbo	Conservation of finds	p.7
1977.08.29	DongA Ilbo	Photograph of Mireuksa	p.4
1977.10.17	DongA Ilbo	Architectural features	p.5
1979.08.24	Gyeonghyang	Development plans	p.2
1980.03.29	Maeil Economy	Plans towards 1988	p.7
1981.02.18	DongA Ilbo	Development for Baekje culture	p.10
1981.05.11	DongA Ilbo	5 Floor pagoda	p.6
1981.05.11	Gyeonghyang	Reflections on research	p.11
1981.11.30	Gyeonghyang	3 Pagoda temple	p.7
1981.12.03	DongA Ilbo	Discovery of new features	p.7
1985.11.05	Gyeonghyang	Mireuksa pagoda	p.11
1986.06.26	Gyeonghyang	Mysteries of the Mireuksa temple	p.9
1987.04.25	Gyeonghyang	Architectural features of Mireuksa	p.7
1987.07.29	Gyeonghyang	Replica of Mireuksa display	p.7
1987.07.31	Maeil Economy	Replica of Mireuksa	p.9
1987.08.04	Gyeonghyang	One-view of Mireuksa	p.10
1987.08.04	Gyeonghyang	Course development for Baekje	p.10
1987.08.11	DongA Ilbo	Display for pagodas	p.9
1987.08.13	Maeil Economy	Desire of the people gathered	p.9
1987.10.29	Gyeonghyang	Mireuksa and Seokguram	p.7
1988.02.12	Gyeonghyang	Mireuksa report	p.3
1988.05.09	DongA Ilbo	Mireuksa discoveries	p.13
1988.06.10	Gyeonghyang	Ground-breaking discoveries	p.9
1988.11.18	DongA Ilbo	9 storey reconstruction	p.13
1988.12.22	DongA Ilbo	Best example of Three Kingdom	p.8
1988.12.25	Hangyerye	More discoveries	p.7
1988.12.28	Gyeonghyang	Baekje Culture	p.2
1989.07.04	Maeil Economy	Structure of pagoda	p.12
1989.08.18	Gyeonghyang	East and west pagoda compared	p.15

**Table 4.5** Details of the newspaper articles for ‘Mireuksa Temple’ between 1961- 1988  
(source from Naver News Article Library)

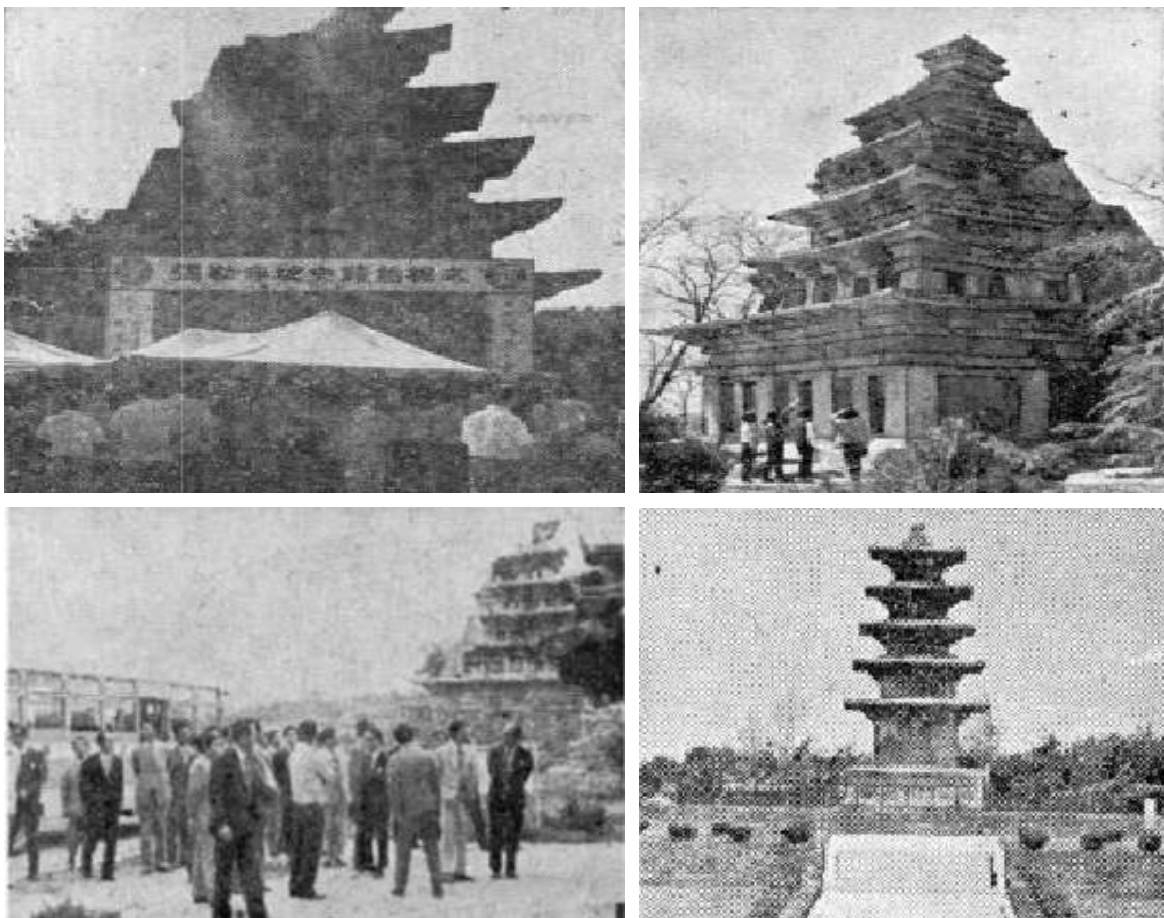
The highest concentration of newspaper articles published about the site was from the mid-1980s to the later 1980s which was when the CDH government expressed the most

interest in the site. From table 4.5, it is possible to capture from the titles of the articles that the emphasis was on the *importance* and *value* of the site as national heritage and the nation's heritage which again can be said to be very different to the tone and emphasis of the articles on the former two case study sites. Perhaps the intention and sought after purposes was to build up a sense of mystery and intricacy for this temple – furthermore enhancing the value of this site as 'national heritage.' As a substantial amount of articles were written, this section will provide a broad overview of the tones and motives found within each decade.

Looking first at the overall tone of what was published during the 1960s, the central theme and emphasis was on announcing this site officially as 'National Treasure No. 11.' An article was released in 1963 under the title *National Treasure No. 11* and this set the tone for the remaining decade (*DongA Ilbo*, 1963.04.06). This article proudly introduces the Mireuksa Temple claiming it as "our country's best surviving pagoda" but also reports that due to lack of preservation measures for a long time, it is currently facing risks of tumbling down. The writer includes that this pagoda is the "tallest found pagoda" (with the height being 143m), "the oldest surviving pagoda," and is "considered one of the most valuable treasures amongst the list of South Korea's national treasures which is worthy of investment and interest." The ending note of this article is that funding would be needed to carry out the restoration works but whether the funding will be granted was still pending. It is transparent that the purpose of this article was to 1) praise the achievements of the Baekje people who constructed this temple; 2) place value on the surviving remains; and 3) inform the nation that funding was needed to restore the temple.

For the 1970s, a reoccurring theme in terms of what was emphasised throughout the decade was 'new assessment,' 'discovery,' and also 'rediscovery,' which sheds light on how this decade conducted a significant amount of research on the temple structure and the site complex. The 1973 article titled *New Assessment of Baekje Culture* reports how there was a two-day symposium held by the Mahan Baekje Culture Institute and Wonkwang University in order to find out more about the details of the Mireuksa Temple (*DongA Ilbo*, 1973.11.27). The article written a year later (1974) entitled *Re-discovery of Pagoda* carries a similar tone, informing the readers about how research was conducted on the many pagodas in Korea; the writer comments how from studying the pagodas, the excellent architectural skills of our ancestors can be traced. It was also in 1974 that a reconstructed illustration of the Mireuksa

Temple was published. Another article written in 1974 was titled *Clues on the Baekje Kingdom* (Gyeonghyang Press, 1974.08.22). Again this article fits into the decade's theme and emphasis on 'research' and building up a sense of mystery and excitement to uncover more about the Baekje culture which again ties in with promoting the site and also enhancing its value as national heritage. Many more articles were written during the 1970s – mostly reporting on what kinds of projects were occurring, new discoveries and various proposed theories to explain the original structure of the temple.



**Fig 4.13** – Photographs of the Mireuksa Temple during the 1970s: Top left: 1974.08.22 (Gyeonghyang Press); top right: 1975.04.17 (DongA Ilbo); middle left: 1975.05.21 DongA Ilbo; middle right: 1975.05.26 DongA Ilbo

The 1980s was the decade seeing the largest number of articles about the site. As noted, the CDH government placed significant importance and emphasis on the Baekje Historic Areas and such interest was reflected in 'what' and 'how much' became published. To look at the article published in 1980 under the title *Plans towards 1988*, the writer reports on the

development plans which were announced including visions until 1988. Immediately, one is able to see how the status of this site in terms of priority changed with the change of the political regime. The fact that development plans were announced right from the beginning of CDH's administration discloses how this site, along with the other Baekje Historic Areas, was one which was considered 'nationally important.' The article published in the following year (1981) titled *Development Plans for Baekje Culture* reported that the culture sector had decided to end the Gyeongju Development Plans (which were plans made by the PCH) and move ahead with plans for the Baekje areas. This sentence can be highlighted as a bold political statement; it not only reveals a major shift in the main national heritage focus (from Gyeongju 'Silla' to 'Baekje') but also that the power had shifted from PCH to CDH. The fact that such nuances were depicted via heritage in some respects brings to the surface how heritage was indeed used (or abused) politically as a symbolic source and one that could be attached to specific ideological motives.

The media continued to add mystery and value to the temple throughout the 1980s with an article in 1986 entitled *Mysteries of Mireuksa Temple* which remarked that there was still a great deal that was yet to be understood about the Baekje period. The writer also comments that such mysteries and unknown aspects are due to the fact that when the Baekje Kingdom collapsed, the records were not treated with care. The ending note was that we have access to the *Samgukyusa* and can use this to reflect on as our valuable sources and for insight into the Baekje Kingdom. The number of articles decreased after the CDH regime— again revealing and suggesting how 'heritage spotlight' and 'heritage priorities' change and shift with the change of governmental regimes, and especially within political systems where one have the power to dominate decisions, including ideological messages.

Overall, it can be argued that PCH and CDH's heritage interests and policies had a significant impact on the promotion of this site. Evidently, PCH wished to nationally promote this temple and even more publically promote *his* interest in the preservation and promotion of this site (alongside the other selected cultural heritage sites). As for CDH, he expressed an even greater interest in this site and as a result, a substantial amount of newspapers were published about the site's excavation, conservation and new discoveries during the 1980s. It is interesting to note that such dictatorial spotlight on a site did not lead to any developments of its wider environment or region.

## Discussions

Overall, this case reveals the enormous extent of authority PCH and CDH had over the heritage sector. The fact that this site became selected by them meant that a great deal of research, funding and efforts were given it site during the MDE. PCH and then CDH directed and determined the direction of research (academia and the CPA), state funding (national expenditure) and also promotion on a national scale. Comparable to the former two cases, this case casts light on the impacts positive political interests can have on the preservation of a site. Regarding the impacts of the territorial politics on the preservation of this site during the MDE, CDH's negative relationship with the Honam region was arguably a significant factor in his prioritisation of this site. This case, therefore, can perhaps show how in some cases, a heritage site may be politically selected for its geographical region – furthermore bringing to the surface how both heritage and territories can be used to construct, reconstruct, enhance, or create a particular meaning or value in the present. It is interesting, however, that despite it being spotlighted as an important area in terms of heritage, the PCH or CDH governments made little effort to develop the surrounding area or to improve the transportation to get in and out of Iksan. This is an interesting contrast to the case of Gyeongju (discussed in chapter 6) as PCH utilised the Seoul-Busan Expressway to open easier transportation in and out of Gyeongju as his ambitions were to make the city into an international tourist attraction. This in some respects reveals how there were limitations for this site as it was located in an area less favoured politically.

Returning to the theoretical discussions, this case shows how the degree of power (possessed by PCH and then CDH) affected the degree of 'knowledge' (Foucault 1979) as well as the degree of awareness and value on the temple. The idea of governmentality can be closely explored through this case in terms of how authority became abused to control meaning and value. The outcomes from this case can be strongly contrasted to case study I; the two being at the opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of dictatorial neglect and select. The two cases, therefore, can be used to argue the need for 'ADD'; to demonstrate the extremely subjective outcomes of heritage management and use during dictatorial regimes.

## **Concluding remarks**

To sum up, this chapter has reviewed three case studies from the Honam region and examined how they were affected by the MDE's heritage policies and territorial politics. Firstly regarding PCH and CDH's pursuits of 'image-making' via heritage, both made it clear from the beginning of their regimes that they were interested in South Korea's cultural heritage and that they had plans to restore South Korea through an understanding of its proud past achievements. Both were also eager to publicise their interests and plans and to construct new narratives via heritage to not only 'reconstruct South Korea's broken pride' but also to (re)construct images as South Korea's nationalistic and patriotic leaders. In terms of whether the three sites from the Honam region became affected by such political endeavours, as for case studies I and II, the fact that they both were not pre-valorised as 'heritage' as well as not fitting into the preferred heritage-aesthetic that PCH and CDH were seeking meant that they were excluded from national efforts of preservation or promotion. Case study III, however, was selected by both PCH and CDH and became spotlighted for research and development. From these three cases, what is notable is that heritage management during the MDE were dependent largely on two criteria: 1) whether it was pre-valorised as heritage and 2) whether it had the specific aesthetic of being 'impressive' and able to glorify the strong past of Korea.

Regarding whether these three sites became affected by territorial politics during this period, the areas of all three cases were left undisturbed in terms of industrial development. Such neglect arguably had some benefits – especially so for case study II as the lack of industrial development meant that the landscape was able to avoid severe contamination. The lack of political interest in the region as a whole, however, did have its negative impacts, particularly as they became officially 'invisible' due to the lack of visitation and interest by PCH and CDH who governed the culture sector. A mixed picture is therefore evident in respect to the question of whether being located in the Honam region deprived these sites of preservation and promotion efforts. What is clear through these cases, however, is that politics (dictatorship) did indeed permeate the management and uses of these sites in one way or another. Moreover, through these cases, it is possible to understand how the politics of heritage and the politics of territory, directly and indirectly, affected the preservation and promotion of heritage sites (both positively and negatively).



The case studies each relate to theoretical discussions previously explored. As for case studies I and II, the fact that they were barely understood in terms of historical scope or archaeological significance meant that they were perceived to have little benefits in terms of national narrative constructions for the dictatorial government. In other words, as PCH and CDH endeavoured to reinforce well-known sites to quickly construct new national narratives suitable for their current circumstances, in turn, this subsequently meant that lesser-known sites inevitably became neglected. Here, we can return to the problem that was raised by Harvey (2001) regarding how heritage has always been a contemporary product and trend; the problem stemming from a lack of a longer historical scope. With the dictatorial government having little interest in seeking a longer and more comprehensive understanding of the past, sites that were lesser researched such as case studies I and II ended up being outside the political radar. Oppositely, case study III was a well known and more researched site which meant that the dictatorial governments were able to use its existing narrative to reinforce new national narratives. Foucault's discussions on 'power and knowledge' can be referred here as with PCH and CDH's power, they were able to exert and reinforce their version of 'knowledge' to the nation. As such, the case studies explored in this chapter can be closely linked to existing ideas. Such existing ideas, however, cannot fully explain the characteristics of heritage management and use during dictatorial regimes. 'ADD' aims to put the relationship between heritage and dictatorship into perspective and what these cases can initially do is to cast light on the extreme nature of dictatorial power as well as the extreme results that can consequently occur.

## Chapter 5 – The Yongnam region (Case Studies IV – VI)

This chapter focuses on the three case studies within the Yongnam region: 1) Tombs 155 and 98 in Gyeongju, 2) the Seokguram Grotto, and 3) Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs.

### 5.1. Case study IV: Tombs 155 and 98 in Gyeongju

Tombs 155 and 98 in Gyeongju are both funerary monuments that were built during the Silla dynasty (57 BC – 935 AD). Large tombs, resembling mounds, were built for the Silla kings, queens and those of noble birth (Sub 2011:129). Cartwright (2016) notes how presently there are more than 155 tombs scattered around Gyeongju. A few smaller tombs are known to have been eroded through time, but the majority remains intact. Among the numerous tombs, tombs 155 and 98 were selected for excavation and conservation by PCH in the early 1970s (reasons will be discussed in the ‘preservation status’ section). As tomb 155 was excavated before tomb 98, this case will be referred to as ‘tombs 155 and 98.’

#### Site biography

The tombs, on the whole, are a part of ‘The Gyeongju Historic Areas’ which comprises the well-preserved archaeological remains from the Silla Dynasty. The Gyeongju Historic Areas<sup>28</sup> collectively became registered as UNESCO World Heritage on December 20, 2000 (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/976>, accessed: June 20, 2016).

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<sup>28</sup> The five enlisted properties under ‘Gyeongju Historic Areas’ are: 1) Mount Namsan Belt, 2) Wolseong Belt, 3) Tumuli Park Belt, 4) Hwangnyongsa Belt, and the 5) Sanseong Fortress Belt.

- Location

Tombs 155 and 98 are located within the city of Gyeongju (fig 5.1). Although Gyeongju specifically was not included in the areas selected for rapid industrial development, as was the case for the nearby cities such as Ulsan, Pohang and Changwon, it became one of the most (if not, the most) politically spotlighted area by PCH in terms of heritage. With the preserved heritage in Gyeongju very much supporting PCH’s desired heritage aesthetic and narrative, the city itself became an important place culturally and politically especially during the 1970s.



**Fig 5.1** – Map of South Korea – Gyeongju shown in red

- Historical context

Tombs 155 and 98 (and the Gyeongju Historic Areas as a whole) broadly date back to the Silla Dynasty (57BC–AD935). Being an ancient kingdom which flourished for approximately a thousand years, the remnants from this period has long been the focus of a great deal of interest and scholarly speculation (Nahm 2007; Peterson and Margulies 2010). The Silla Kingdom reached its peak during the seventh and eighth centuries – “becoming one of the

three most prestigious cities in the world along with Kyoto, Japan and Chang'an, China" (Peterson and Margulies 2010:23). Particularly in the eighth century, the city of Gyeongju grew into a large metropolis with more than 180,000 households and a population of one million (Nahm 2007:32).

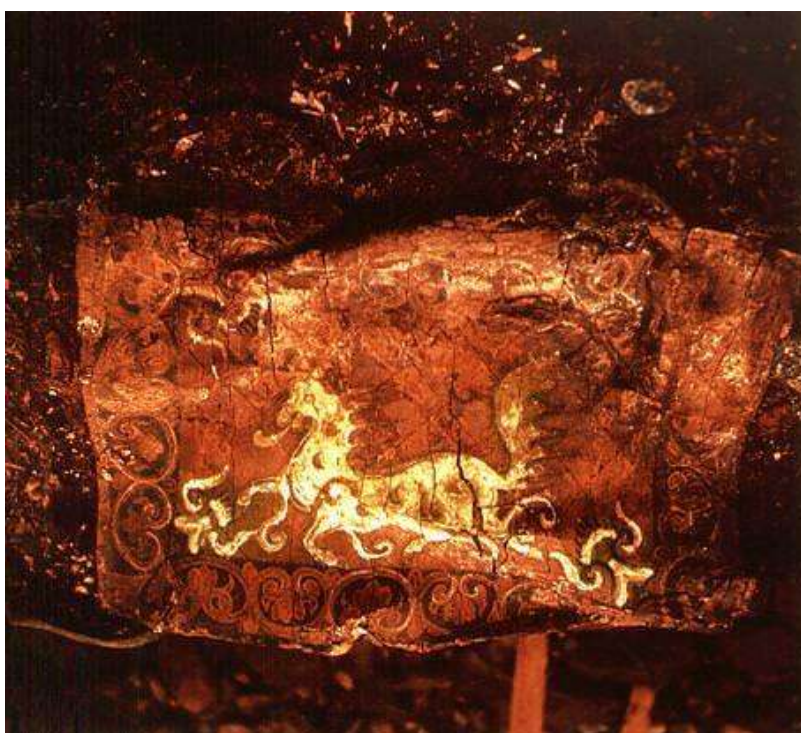
It is generally assumed that the character of the tombs as funerary monuments remained well-known since their formation. As the Silla kingdom had been based in Gyeongju and with extensive knowledge of the Silla monarchs and nobles through ancient records (i.e. *Samgukyusa*), the large mounds were not in any ways a mystery. Further information on the tombs (i.e. the likely construction date, who it may have been made for, etc.) became established after the excavations. For tomb 155, archaeological investigations point to it having been a tomb of a male judging from the styles of burial goods (i.e. sword) and the tomb structure. It has further been suggested that this tomb could have been for King Chizung who died in 513 (Kim 1984:40). As for tomb 98, which was a twin-tomb, excavations revealed that: 1) it was built at least 70 or 80 years before tomb 155, and 2) the south mound was the burial place of a male, probably a king, while the north mound contained the burial of a woman, interpreted to be his spouse (Kim 1984:40).

- Archaeological significance

The entire city of Gyeongju has been credited to have wide academic and public significance. Kim, for example, claims that Gyeongju is an "important vestige for historians" and an "important and precious tourism site for the public" (2008:27). Adding to this, the UNESCO nomination asserts that the sites and monuments in and around Gyeongju "bear outstanding testimony to the cultural achievements of the Silla people" and the overall complex "maintains a high degree of authenticity, as do the individual elements, which are largely archaeological sites and carvings" (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/976>, accessed: June 21, 2016). That the various components of the sites and monuments have been preserved *in situ* has also been claimed in the UNESCO nomination to have significant archaeological value as regards the understanding of the original form and layout of the ancient capital city.

Specifically regarding the tombs, Kim (1983:35) notes that the majority of the original mounds have been preserved either in full or in part. The outer mounds itself carry significant

archaeological value but being ancient tombs, particular interest has been focused on the grave goods. The tombs have been of archaeological interest since the 1920s, but Kim asserts that the biggest event in the archaeological investigations of the Silla Dynasty was the excavation of Tombs 155 and 98 from 1973 during the PCH regime (1983:35). Tomb 155 was named ‘Cheonmachong’ (meaning ‘Heavenly Horse’) after the excavation in 1973 to commemorate the discovery of the unique mudguards with painted heavenly horses (fig 5.2). It has been measured to be a mound with a diameter of 47 metres and a height of 12.7 metres. According to the Office of Preservation of Cultural Properties (1974), tomb 155 was the first Gyeongju tomb with a perfectly preserved mound to be excavated. As for Tomb 98, it has been named ‘The Great Tomb at Hwangnam.’ It is located east of Tomb 155 and is the largest tomb in Gyeongju. It has been described as a cocoon-shaped twin mounded tomb with measurements being 23 metres high, 120 metres long and the diameter of each mound being 50 metres (Kim 1983:41). The Office of the Preservation of Cultural Properties (1967) reported that the northern part of the south mound (king’s) had been cut away to bring the queen’s mound closer to it.



**Fig 5.2** – A painting of a winged horse on a birch bark saddle flap, tomb 55 (Cartwright 2016)

PCH expressed an enormous amount of interest in the tombs, reflected in how he dedicated the 1970s to their excavation and conservation (Choi 2012; Jeon 2015). PCH, with his ‘degree of power’ (Foucault 1979) was evidently able to spend a decade on an archaeological site he found interesting; justifying such decisions and costs with the reason that it was *for* the nation. It is highly likely that the ‘royal mounds’ and particularly ‘what could be buried in them’ intrigued him. Unlike case studies I and II, a great deal was formerly known about the tombs and the Silla kingdom which meant that its established narrative could be used immediately to construct PCH’s desired narrative. With his control over the heritage sector (CPA) as well as all other sectors, he was able to govern the direction of excavation and conservation; shedding light on the dictatorial discourse he was able to implement (ADD). It can be suggested that PCH endeavoured to ‘remind’ the Korean nation of their ‘strong past’ through the narrative of the powerful Silla monarchs and nobles and their exquisite grave goods. As for CDH, he shifted the focus from ‘Silla’ to ‘Baekje’ arguably with political motivations, and his association with this site was insignificant.

### **Preservation status during the MDE**

Prior to the MDE, tombs 155 and 98 were managed in the sense that the surrounding grass was cut and maintained which enabled the outer mound to retain its shape and housing or other kinds of development did not encroach on them. However, neither of the tombs were ‘excavated’ prior to the MDE (CHA 2011; Choi 2012).

During the 1960s, as noted, PCH expressed a great deal of interest in South Korea’s cultural heritage, and a few sites (i.e. the Mireuksa Temple site (case study III) and the Seokguram Grotto (case study V) were selected for restoration and promotion. In 1971, the culture sector (CPA), upon PCH’s orders, established an ‘Overall Comprehensive Development Project’ to repair the city of Gyeongju, with the motivation to make it into an international tourist attraction (Jeon 2015:187). The first step of this plan was to excavate a Silla tomb. In order to implement his plan, the PCH regime used revenue received on foreign currency to fund this project (Jeon 2015:194). Choi (2012:202) notes how PCH ‘personally’ hired and ordered archaeologists to excavate the largest tomb in Gyeongju (tomb 98) in 1971. That PCH was ‘personally’ able to hire archaeologists demonstrates the difference between Smith’s AHD and ADD; whereas Smith’s AHD argues that heritage becomes managed and

used upon consent and negotiations, PCH's case (ADD) shows that he did not need consent from other sectors in making decisions for what was promoted as a 'national project.' However, as an excavation on this scale had never before been carried out in South Korea, the opted route was to first excavate tomb 155, a comparably smaller tomb. From April 6 to December 4, 1973, the culture sector (CPA) started the excavation. PCH is known to have expressed great enthusiasm and interest in this excavation, revealed through his visit to the field on July 3, 1973. On this particular visit, PCH reportedly asked whether the 'golden crown' (fig 5.3) had been found (Choi 2012:202).



**Fig 5.3** The gold crown from tomb 155<sup>29</sup> (Copyright: Cartwright 2016 and The National Museum of Korea)

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<sup>29</sup> Further information on the gold crown: made in the 6<sup>th</sup> Century, CE; made of Gold and jade; height 32.5cm; Designated as National Treasure No. 188. The crown is composed of three parts which may have been intended to be worn all together. The three elements are a diadem, gold cap, and a wing-like appendage (Cartwright 2016, <https://www.ancient.eu/Cheonmachong/>, accessed August 20, 2018).



A few months later on August 23rd 1973, the much anticipated golden crown was found, alongside other grave goods (Choi 2012:202). The topic of the golden crown is important in the overall study of tomb 155 and also in the overall discussions of PCH's heritage policy and interests. The first 'Silla golden crown' was found by chance in 1921 when a policeman noticed children digging for glass beads in a pile of earth near a construction site in southern Gyeongju. The policeman, after closer inspection, saw pieces of gold in the ground and it soon became known that the site was a burial mound which had eroded over the centuries (Cartwright 2016).<sup>30</sup> This incident opened up the possibility that more golden crowns could be present in the unexcavated tombs.<sup>31</sup> Finding more 'golden crowns' became PCH's goal during the early 1970s (Choi 2012; Jeon 2015). This puts into perspective how PCH's goal became promoted as the nation's collective goal; showing once again how indeed, the 'degree of power' affected the 'degree of knowledge' or what was to be considered knowledge.



**Fig 5.4** The scene of the tomb 155 site being excavated in 1973  
(Source from news article Huh 2016)

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<sup>30</sup> Online article: <https://www.ancient.eu/article/957/the-gold-crowns-of-silla/>, accessed: August 8, 2018

<sup>31</sup> Some tombs are known to have been looted, but the items that were found are displayed today in the National Museum of Gyeongju (<https://inspireiris.blog/2018/05/28/five-historical-districts-of-gyeongju-city/>, accessed: August 20, 2018)



More information about the excavation of tomb 155 was revealed in a newspaper article on October 24, 2016.<sup>32</sup> This article reflects on the day when the golden crown was found and quotes the Research Assistant and Honorary Professor of Soongsil University at the time. It tells how PCH ordered for the golden crown to be brought over from Gyeongju immediately to the Blue House.<sup>33</sup> Allegedly, the excavation director at the time (Dr. Kim Junggi) was opposed to this order as the necessary procedures (i.e. paper work) had not yet been taken.

...when the news [of the golden crown] was given, the securities from the Blue House immediately reacted. “Hurry and excavate and bring it.” The whole Blue House was talking about it. The crown has just been found but the President requested to see it before any further surveys or photographs were taken. Of course Dr. Kim Junggi had received a great deal of favour from the president, but the Cheonmachong [tomb 155] excavation should really have been excavated according to theory and principle. That is why it is more important for the survey to take place before it goes to the Blue House (Choi, at the time of excavation in 1973).

Against Dr. Kim’s advice, the golden crown was taken to the Blue House on that very night. Such forceful actions by PCH can be used as an example to show how during dictatorships, other voices become blurred and irrelevant. The article notes how this was managed under the authority of Chief Jung Jae Hoon, who was the Administrative Officer of the Seoul office for South Korea’s Traditional Landscape Architecture at the time. The writer also mentions that Chief Jung (whom PCH handed the project over to) had no academic qualifications in Landscape Architecture but was ‘self-taught.’ This is an indicator of the extent to which the PCH regime operated under PCH’s terms and regulations. For such reasons, PCH has been criticised for manoeuvring the excavations “according to his own desires and interests rather than listening to expert archaeologists or prioritising the long-term preservation of the archaeological remains” (Choi 2012:208). Moreover, PCH’s actions and policies have led to the evaluation that his development and prioritisation of Gyeongju may have been a product of his “personal desires and pursuits” (Choi 2012:209). To return to Smith’s (2006) AHD, she examines how heritage management (under a democratic state) is

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<sup>32</sup> Kim, Tae Shik (2016.10.24) “Hurry and Excavate the Golden Crown, the President awaits” *Yonghap News*

<sup>33</sup> The Blue House is the executive office and official residence of the South Korean head of state, the President of the Republic of Korea. It is located in Seoul, the capital city.

negotiated and adjusted with various sectors. She also makes note of the importance of experts and professionals who have a significant amount of influence over heritage decisions and management. The fundamental reason behind this negotiation and adjustment arguably is to ensure that heritage does not become possessed by a single figure or group because it is for ‘everyone.’ That PCH did not negotiate or adjust to other opinions and that the management of heritage became ordered by PCH alone shows how PCH’s heritage policy was indeed *his* policy. It is transparent that PCH had a deep interest in the golden crown and there have even been various theories expressed - one proposing that PCH may have believed that he was a direct descendant of the Silla monarchs and therefore wished to see a relic of his ancestor (Choi 2012; Jeon 2015).

The chamber of tomb 155 was found to be wood-lined covered in a stone mound with layers of clay set between the stones to make the tomb waterproof when it was excavated in 1973 (Cartwright 2016). Cartwright further notes that the whole tomb was covered in an earth mound, leaving no access point; this meant that the tomb was not looted like many other Korean tombs of the Three Kingdom Period which had horizontal entrance passages. Half the tomb was excavated which meant that an inner view of the tomb was created. When the excavation of Tomb 155 was completed, PCH once again went to Gyeongju himself to see the interior of the tomb (fig 5.5).



**Fig 5.5** A photograph of Park Chung Hee looking into the interior of tomb 155 in 1973  
(*Yonghap* News, 2016.10.24)



**Fig 5.6** Tomb 155 Exterior (left) and interior (right)

Next was the excavation of tomb 98 (the largest tomb in Gyeongju and also the tomb which PCH initially ordered to be excavated). This project began on July 5, 1973 and it took a total of two years and four months to complete. PCH reportedly announced that he wished for the South Korean citizens to see the remnants of the Silla monarchy via the excavation of this tomb which he believed served a great educational purpose (CHA 2011:170). The fact that the next spotlighted national heritage project was another tomb in Gyeongju exposes how PCH's heritage interests were indeed narrow and Gyeongju-centric (more specifically, 'Silla' centric). This project was directed by the Institute of Cultural Properties (within the CPA) and records reveal that it took more than twelve months just to document and remove the 14,000 cubic metres of soil and stone mound covering to reach the bottom of the burial (fig 5.7) (Kim 1981:41).



**Fig 5.7** Left: The excavation of tomb 98 (CHA 2011:258);  
 Right: photographs from the excavation (CHA 2011:259). These photographs provide a sense of the scale of the operation including the number of people involved.

Being the largest tomb in Gyeongju and also a ‘twin-tomb’ (referring to a tomb which was made for a king and queen to be buried together), meant that the scale of this excavation in terms of funding and expertise (as well as the level of interest) was even greater than the excavation of tomb 155. Another golden crown was found within this tomb along with countless gold pieces (i.e. gold bracelets, rings, etc.) and jade objects. The PCH government is recorded to have spent 469 million Korean won on the region of Gyeongju alone (most of it on the tombs) and when the works were completed on September 7, 1977, PCH himself visited the site (Jeon 2015:198).

Overall, PCH’s heritage interest and policy most certainly had an impact on the preservation of the two tombs. The tombs - or more specifically what was *inside* the tombs - evidently captured PCH’s interests so much so that he dedicated a decade (the 1970s) to excavating and restoring them. PCH’s territorial politics also had an impact on the tombs but more so their promotion that the preservation (details will be included in the next section). As CDH opted to invest in different sites (primarily the Baekje Historic Areas), CDH’s heritage and territorial interests and policies had very little additional impacts on the preservation of the tombs.

## Promotion status during the MDE

Since the tombs were very much personally selected and prioritised by PCH during the 1970s, this guaranteed their promotion through national media. This once again reveals how dictatorial power controlled the way of seeing, talking about and also writing about heritage (ADD). PCH's intense interest in the excavation of the tombs can be seen in the large number of articles that were released during and after the excavations; but interestingly, there was no coverage of the work leading to the excavation. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 presents information on the newspaper articles written on tombs during the 1970s and 1980s respectively.

As can be seen from table 5.1, the 1970s released a significant number of articles on the two tombs. A total of 103 articles can be tracked, according to the Naver News Article Library archive. What was predominantly emphasised can be categorised into three themes: 1) the word 'tomb' in the titles (37 articles highlighted in yellow); 2) 'Silla' and 'a thousand years' (11 articles highlighted in green); and 3) conservation concerns (6 articles highlighted in turquoise). Evidently, the newspapers were focused on the technical excavation procedure and results.

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1974.10.02	DongA Ilbo	Tomb 155 Named 'Cheonmachong'	p.7
1974.10.03	Gyeonghyang	Cheonmachong, Tomb 155	p.5
1974.10.19	Gyeonghyang	Special exhibition for Silla	p.5
1974.10.22	DongA Ilbo	Discolouration of borderline	p.7
1974.10.22	Gyeonghyang	Fading of the original colours	p.7
1974.10.23	Gyeonghyang	Urgent needs for conservation	p.5
1974.10.23	DongA Ilbo	Official excavation project, Tomb 98	p.5
1974.10.24	Gyeonghyang	Respect for the remains	p.3
1974.10.25	DongA Ilbo	First reveal of Silla culture	p.5
1974.10.29	DongA Ilbo	Silla culture Tomb 98	p.6
1974.10.29	Maeil Economy	Golden crown excavated	p.7
1974.10.29	Gyeonghyang	Remains from Tomb 98	p.7
1974.11.05	Gyeonghyang	Burial finds from Tomb 98	p.7
1974.11.07	DongA Ilbo	Silver finds from excavation	p.7
1974.11.07	DongA Ilbo	More gold discovered	p.7
1974.11.09	DongA Ilbo	Tomb 98 – Gold bowls	p.7
1974.11.16	Gyeonghyang	Silla culture investigation	p.5
1974.11.20	DongA Ilbo	Disappointments from Tomb 98	p.5
1974.11.20	DongA Ilbo	Excavation scene of Tomb 98	p.5
1974.11.12	Gyeonghyang	Interview: Dr. Kim Junggi	p.5
1974.11.26	DongA Ilbo	New assessment for conservation	p.2
1974.12.21	Gyeonghyang	Silla Queen wore a golden crown	p.5

1975.02.03	Gyeonghyang	Documentation of tomb excavation	p.5
1975.02.03	DongA Ilbo	Report on Cheonmachong	p.5
1975.02.03	DongA Ilbo	1 Year until reveal of Tomb 155	p.5
1975.02.05	Gyeonghyang	Cheonmachong updates	p.5
1975.02.07	DongA Ilbo	Tomb 98 documentation	p.5
1975.02.08	Gyeonghyang	Release of Tomb 98 details	p.5
1975.02.19	Gyeonghyang	Prof. Kim speaks out	p.5
1975.02.26	Maeil Economy	Traditional cultural development	p.6
1975.02.26	Gyeonghyang	Cheonmachong educational site	p.5
1975.02.26	DongA Ilbo	Cheonmachong restoration	p.5
1975.02.26	DongA Ilbo	Cheonmachong projects	p.5
1975.03.27	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju National Museum	p.5
1975.04.11	Gyeonghyang	More experts needed	p.5
1975.06.13	DongA Ilbo	Inauguration of research institute	p.2
1975.07.03	Maeil Economy	President Park visits Gyeongju	p.1
1975.07.03	Gyeonghyang	President Park visits Gyeongju	p.1
1975.07.03	DongA Ilbo	President Park visits Gyeongju	p.1
1975.07.04	Gyeonghyang	Special features of Tomb 98	p.5
1975.07.21	DongA Ilbo	Excavation of grave goods	p.7
1975.09.17	Gyeonghyang	Tomb 98	p.5
1975.10.16	DongA Ilbo	Korea's 1000 years	p.7
1975.10.16	Gyeonghyang	Korea's art: Cheonmachong	p.7
1975.10.30	Gyeonghyang	Exhibition in Japan	p.2
1976.01.13	DongA Ilbo	Japanese press: Korean heritage	p.5
1976.01.14	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju Heritage	p.4
1976.01.16	Gyeonghyang	Golden crown of Tomb 155	p.5
1976.01.16	Gyeonghyang	Exhibition of grave goods	p.5
1976.02.05	Gyeonghyang	Tomb 98 – finish up	p.5
1976.02.18	DongA Ilbo	Korean art and heritage	p.5
1976.02.19	DongA Ilbo	Mysteries of 1000 years	p.4
1976.02.19	DongA Ilbo	Awaiting presentation: Tomb 155	p.4
1976.02.24	DongA Ilbo	A need to learn more	p.7
1976.06.01	Maeil Economy	President Park looks around tomb	p.5
1976.06.01	Gyeonghyang	President Park looks around tomb	p.1
1976.06.01	DongA Ilbo	The face of Korean heritage	p.1
1976.06.01	DongA Ilbo	Revealed for the first time: tombs	p.1
1976.06.01	Gyeonghyang	Tomb of Silla king revealed	p.5
1976.06.01	Gyeonghyang	Cheonmachong revealed	p.5
1976.06.01	DongA Ilbo	President Park looks at gold crown	p.1
1976.06.01	DongA Ilbo	Development of Gyeongju	p.7
1976.06.08	DongA Ilbo	Korean Art: 5000 years	p.5
1976.07.23	Gyeonghyang	Art of Tomb 155	p.1
1976.07.23	Gyeonghyang	Japan interested in Korean art	p.1
1976.07.23	Gyeonghyang	Golden crown of Tomb 155	p.1
1976.08.13	DongA Ilbo	The Golden crown	p.4
1977.01.07	DongA Ilbo	Reunited again	p.5
1977.01.21	Maeil Economy	Education adventure for middle school students in Seoul	p.8
1977.04.15	DongA Ilbo	Saemaul Movement comprehensive learning	p.2
1977.05.09	Gyeonghyang	KBS History Education (10.30)	p.8
1977.06.17	DongA Ilbo	Cultural Heritage excavation and conservation	p.2
1977.08.12	DongA Ilbo	DongA Post	p.6
1977.08.12	Maeil Economy	Pottery series from the 15th	p.7
1977.08.12	Gyeonghyang	Pottery series post	p.6
1977.08.24	DongA Ilbo	A thousand years: development project, Gyeongju	p.4
1977.09.30	Gyeonghyang	Southern sea of Korea outset	p.5



1977.10.24	DongA Ilbo	Unveiling of Silla's beginning: tomb excavation	p.4
1977.11.08	Gyeonghyang	Silla relics	p.4
1978.01.01	Gyeonghyang	Horses' folktale	p.5
1978.06.28	DongA Ilbo	Development of Baekje and Gaya	p.4
1978.07.08	DongA Ilbo	Five thousand years, tomb 155 golden crown	p.5
1978.07.08	DongA Ilbo	Cheonmachong golden crown	p.5
1978.08.18	DongA Ilbo	Travelling to the past with Prof. Kim	p.3
1978.11.09	Maeil Economy	New coins released tomorrow	p.7
1978.12.07	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure 8 and Treasure 34 designation	p.5
1978.12.07	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure Gyeongju Tomb 155, gold crown	p.5
1978.12.07	Gyeonghyang	34 Treasure designated, and 8 other National Treasures designated	p.7
1978.12.07	Gyeonghyang	National Treasure No. 188: Golden crown from Cheonmachong	p.7
1978.12.16	Gyeonghyang	A woman robber	p.3
1978.12.19	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage highlights	p.5
1979.01.23	Maeil Economy	U.S. city tour and Korean art 5, 1000 years	p.8
1979.02.16	DongA Ilbo	Korean art: exhibiting 1000 years	p.5
1979.02.19	DongA Ilbo	Five thousand years of art	p.4
1979.05.02	DongA Ilbo	Exhibiting Korea's 5000 years of art in the U.S.	p.7
1979.05.09	Gyeonghyang	Beauty of the golden crown	p.3
1979.06.05	Gyeonghyang	Spreading Korea's art	p.5
1979.06.25	Maeil Economy	Former Japanese president sees tomb 155	
1979.10.18	Maeil Economy	Cabinet members hosting	p.1
1979.10.19	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa roof – different to China's	p.2
1979.11.12	DongA Ilbo	U.S. – Korea commerce	p.3
1979.12.22	Gyeonghyang	Tomb 98 excavation	p.4
1979.12.22	Gyeonghyang	Daily record	p.4

**Table 5.1** Details of newspapers published on the tombs during the 1970s (source: Naver News Article Library)

To examine a few articles written during the 1970s, on August 3, 1974, the article titled *Cheonmachong, Tomb 155* reported that the excavation team managed to acquire further in-depth information about the tomb from excavating more grave goods (*Gyeonghyang* Press, 1974.10.03). A few days later, on August 19, the special exhibition for the Silla remains (displayed from December 22<sup>nd</sup> – December 25<sup>th</sup>) was announced (*Gyeonghyang* Press, 1974.10.19). Another article a few days later reported on the discolouration of the borders due to humidity (*DongA Ilbo*, 1974.10.22). The next article reported on the urgent need for thorough conservation, adding that the culture sector (CPA) were administering the tombs and were trying to adopt a scientific approach for systematic preservation (*Gyeonghyang* Press, 1974.10.23).

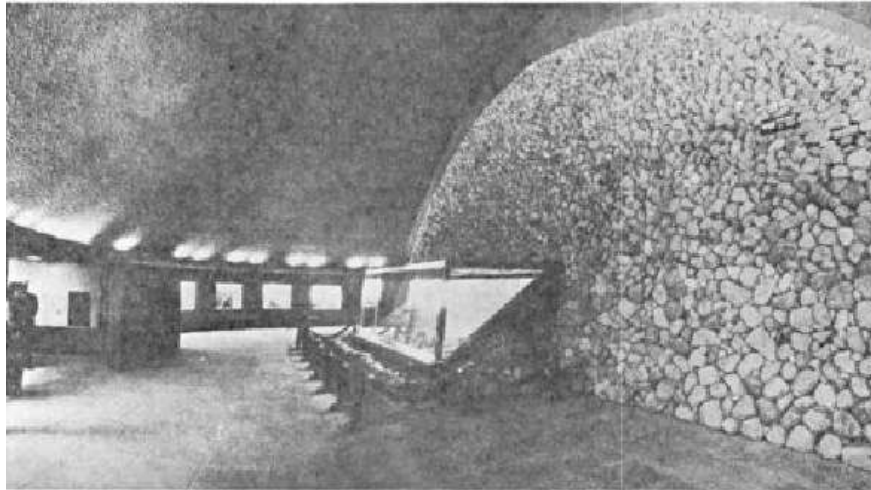
The excavation of tomb 98 also received a considerable amount of media coverage. The article published on August 23, 1974 stated how there were high hopes for the upcoming excavation project of tomb 98; adding that tomb 98 is the largest surviving tomb in Gyeongju

and it is expected that the grave goods found in this tomb will produce even more insights into the Silla culture (*DongA Ilbo*, 1974.10.23). This article also included how, from results up to that point, they were able to understand that tomb 98 was constructed at least seventy or eighty years prior to the construction of tomb 155. Two days later, *DongA Ilbo* reported that for the first time ever, on December 5, the National Museum of Korea (in Seoul) would reveal the contents from tomb 155 (*DongA Ilbo*, 1974.10.25). A considerable amount of articles were also centred on the golden crown. For example, there was an article entitled *Golden Crown Excavated* on August 29, 1974 detailing how the golden crown and other grave goods had been excavated, and how these provide invaluable clues about the Silla culture. The articles that made front-page headlines were when PCH visited the site. Three newspapers (*Maeil Economy*, *Gyeonghyang Press*, and *DongA Ilbo*) released front-page articles on PCH's visit. They all reported on PCH's visit to the Gyeongju Museum where he cut the inauguration tape. PCH reportedly spent over an hour looking around the display, visiting with his daughter Park Geun Hye. The *DongA Ilbo* article included a photograph of PCH and his daughter looking around the display (fig 5.8). A photograph of the interior of tomb 155 was also released on June 1, 1976 (fig5.9).



**Fig 5.8** – A photograph of PCH and his daughter Park Geun Hye looking at the display of the golden crown (*DongA Ilbo*, 1975.07.03)





**Fig 5.9** – Interior of tomb 155 revealed for the first time (*DongA Ilbo*, 1976.06.01)

As for the 1980s, a total of 85 articles were released. The thematic focus in terms of what was emphasised during the 1980s was arguably similar to the 1970s. The themes were 1) ‘National heritage’ and ‘Korea’s heritage’ (22 articles highlighted in yellow); 2) the educational value of the tombs (19 articles highlighted in turquoise); and 3) the tombs as a tourist attraction (6 articles highlighted in green). Standing out the most, however, are the articles mentioning North Korea. To look at one, an article entitled *North and South Korea ancient relics trade exhibition* (1981.11.17, *Maeil Economy*) reported that the cultural minister Lee Gwang Pyo (upon CDH’s orders) proposed that South and North Korea trade their ancient relics for temporary exhibitions in the Pyongyang Museum and the National Museum of Korea respectively. Further reported was that if North Korea agreed, then South Korea would send over relics found in the Gongju-Baekje excavations and the grave goods found from tomb 155 in exchange for North Korea’s recent archaeological discoveries. However, this proposal was not received well by the majority of scholars and citizens in South Korea (1981.11.17, *DongA Ilbo*). As can be seen, however, this topic was faded out in the next few years.

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1980.01.25	Gyeonghyang	National promotion of tomb 155	p.5
1980.12.18	Gyeonghyang	Dr. Jeon’s lecture	p.4
1981.03.04	Maeil Economy	Imports correspondence	p.12
1981.03.05	Maeil Economy	Daehan Tourism- popularity of tourism industry	p.12
1981.03.07	DongA Ilbo	Culture or tourism – Gyeongju developments	p.9

1981.04.03	DongA Ilbo	Credit to both countries	p.1
1981.04.24	Gyeonghyang	Inspection of heritage	p.1
1981.05.30	DongA Ilbo	Breathtaking Asian visit	p.2
1981.06.03	DongA Ilbo	5 minute interview	p.2
1981.10.12	DongA Ilbo	Three dimensional lighting - KBS	p.12
1981.10.20	DongA Ilbo	Silla funeral - KBS	p.12
1981.10.27	Gyeonghyang	Korea's tradition is complex	p.7
1981.11.17	Maeil Economy	North and South Korea ancient relics trade exhibition	p.1
1981.11.17	DongA Ilbo	Lee Moon Gong proposes the trading of exhibits	p.1
1981.11.17	Gyeonghyang	Trading relics for exhibition	p.1
1981.11.17	Maeil Economy	North and South Korea cultural relics exchange	p.2
1981.11.17	DongA Ilbo	Ancient relics trade exhibition	p.2
1981.11.17	Gyeonghyang	Ancient relics trade exhibition	p.2
1981.11.17	DongA Ilbo	North and South Korea: if we can trade relics	p.3
1981.11.17	Gyeonghyang	National reconciliation	p.3
1981.11.17	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju tomb 155 interior	p.3
1981.11.17	Maeil Economy	What we have and can show	p.3
1981.11.18	DongA Ilbo	National homogeneity	p.11
1981.11.28	DongA Ilbo	Interpreting Hyukuk the king	p.6
1982.03.05	DongA Ilbo	National fieldtrip destination ideas	p.7
1982.03.26	Gyeonghyang	Cheonmachong	p.11
1982.05.17	Gyeonghyang	Korea's cultural heritage through foreigner's eyes (11)	p.1 0
1982.05.19	Gyeonghyang	Korea's cultural heritage through foreigner's eyes (12)	p.10
1982.05.24	Gyeonghyang	Korea's cultural heritage through foreigner's eyes (13)	p.10
1982.06.21	Gyeonghyang	Baekje	p.6
1982.08.10	Maeil Economy	Independence Memorial	p.4
1982.09.08	Gyeonghyang	History: stories of the golden crown	p.8
1982.09.15	Gyeonghyang	History: famous names in Japan	p.8
1982.09.24	DongA Ilbo	A tourist attraction well worth a visit	p.11
1982.10.19	Gyeonghyang	North Asia cultural cooperation	p.2
1982.10.20	Maeil Economy	Cheonmachong	p.9
1982.11.11	Gyeonghyang	Tomb 155 relic: National Treasure	p.7
1982.11.11	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure designations	p.7
1982.11.13	Gyeonghyang	Archaeology and history of Korea	p.6
1982.11.26	Gyeonghyang	Theory mobilisation	p.2
1982.12.23	DongA Ilbo	Tomb and national territory	p.2
1983.01.07	Gyeonghyang	Big sale excavations of relics	p.7
1983.07.04	Gyeonghyang	Broadcasting: MBC TV	p.6
1983.08.02	Gyeonghyang	(Tokyo) Korea's relics exhibited in Tokyo	p.2
1983.09.30	DongA Ilbo	Interview: Taiwan tourism director	p.10
1984.05.30	Gyeonghyang	A word about clanship history	p.3
1984.06.19	DongA Ilbo	Correct organisation of historical events	p.3
1984.12.30	Gyeonghyang	Baekje culture seen through tombs	p.11
1985.03.28	DongA Ilbo	Tourists in Gyeongju	p.9
1985.03.29	Gyeonghyang	Charmed by Korea's culture	p.8
1985.05.03	Gyeonghyang	Developing Korea's roads	p.2
1985.07.11	Gyeonghyang	Three Kingdom Period to be further revealed	p.2
1985.10.07	DongA Ilbo	IMF Assembly opening	p.2
1985.10.14	Gyeonghyang	Scientific techniques and cultural heritage	p.7
1985.12.03	Gyeonghyang	Studies on past relics	p.7
1986.02.26	Gyeonghyang	We will investigate	p.9
1986.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Gaya crown, Silla crown's roots	p.11
1986.05.08	Gyeonghyang	Prof. Choi's adventures to Korea's past	p.9
1986.05.27	DongA Ilbo	Tomb 155 for teens	p.8
1986.05.28	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju Minye tourism	p.9
1986.07.02	Gyeonghyang	7500 relics	p.8
1986.07.25	Gyeonghyang	Re-awakening of Silla people	p.6

1986.07.25	DongA Ilbo	Finding of relics in soil	p.11
1986.07.26	Gyeonghyang	Looking after cultural heritage	p.2
1986.08.08	Maeil Economy	Silla's horse	p.9
1986.08.09	DongA Ilbo	New display at the National Museum of Korea	p.10
1986.11.14	Gyeonghyang	Finding treasures	p.10
1987.01.27	DongA Ilbo	Education for Asian teenagers	p.8
1987.11.17	DongA Ilbo	Japan's Amusan relics	p.7
1988.01.18	Gyeonghyang	Gaya relics, excavated	p.6
1988.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Silla, Baekje and Gaya relics research centre	p.6
1988.03.31	DongA Ilbo	Silla's tradition continued	p.8
1988.06.03	DongA Ilbo	Burial tombs across Korea	p.2
1988.06.03	Gyeonghyang	Key to ancient dynasties	p.5
1988.06.04	Hanggyre	Gold crown: Baekje relics	p.3
1988.06.30	DongA Ilbo	Songsarin relic excavation	p.8
1988.07.15	DongA Ilbo	Exhibition of tomb 155 for North Korean Uni students	p.3
1988.07.16	Hanggyre	Historical fiction	p.5
1988.07.16	DongA Ilbo	New fiction	p.14
1988.07.18	DongA Ilbo	Science project during summer break	p.12
1988.08.03	Maeil Economy	Today's book release	p.9
1988.08.15	Maeil Economy	Korea's past in Korea's current literature	p.9
1988.10.06	Maeil Economy	Lotte department store: Big clock and crown installed	p.13
1988.12.14	Maeil Economy	Heartfelt testimony of citizen against dictatorial power	p.12
1988.12.28	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju relics preservation: big works ahead	p.13

**Table 5.2** Details of newspapers published on the tombs during the 1980s (source: Naver News Article Library)

Overall, from the large number of articles released during the 1970s and 1980s, it is clear that PCH was eager to promote the tombs. Choi explains how PCH believed that the rich cultural remains from the Silla dynasty were “South Korea’s pride and a historical period worthy of commemoration and investment” (2012:207). Here, Foucault’s ideas on governmentality can be revisited; how power controls knowledge. PCH’s power can be seen to have had control over South Korea’s ‘heritage’ knowledge in terms of what became the country’s representative heritage and valuable heritage. Regarding whether PCH’s heritage interest and policy impacted on the promotion of the tombs, the answer would be: most definitely so. His interests in the tombs consequently meant that they were constantly mainstream national news during the mid to late 1970s. As for CDH, as noted, his heritage interests were elsewhere which meant that the spotlighted heritage shifted from the 1970s to the 1980s; showing once again how heritage in terms of political spotlight is prone to change according to the relevant ‘contemporary narrative’ (Harvey 2001).

As for the impacts of PCH’s territorial politics on the promotion of the tombs, PCH utilised the completion of the Seoul-Busan Expressway on July 7, 1970 to enable convenient access into Gyeongju – enabling Gyeongju to become the centrepiece in South Korea’s

historical tourist attractions (Jeon 2015:188). Jeon notes that this expressway became the literal foundation ground for the South Korean tourism industry (2015:188). Indeed, being located in a politically selected region as well as being a spotlighted city for its preserved heritage by a dictator for a full decade meant that Gyeongju grew to become the heart of South Korea's tourist attractions. The site became a popular destination for national school fieldtrips and for tourism in general. PCH's determination to make Gyeongju an international tourist attraction can be seen in the way in which he directly and indirectly utilised resources and plans to work towards his Gyeongju-plan.

## **Discussions**

Overall, PCH made it very publically clear that he was interested in restoring Gyeongju "for the nation." With his authority, he manoeuvred the CPA, the academics and archaeologists to implement his vision. His authorised dictatorial discourse (ADD) involved investing a substantial amount of time, funding and expertise on excavating, restoring and conserving the tombs (and the grave goods). It also involved bringing the crown to him on the day it was found. That PCH utilised the Seoul-Busan Expressway to make Gyeongju into an international tourist attraction reveals the extent to which the politics of heritage and the politics of territory became interlinked and influential to heritage management and use. This case, overall, sharply exposes the extent of power, authority and control PCH had over South Korea's managerial sectors. To return to the theoretical discussions, firstly, Foucault's ideas on power and knowledge is perhaps most vividly apparent in this case. PCH's actions seen through this case, arguably, show just how much power he exerted over the culture sector. The degree of PCH's power over the culture sector meant that he was able to hire non-specialists in a highly specialised field. His degree of power furthermore meant that his personal interests became the headline 'knowledge'. The combination of the Silla kingdom background, the mystery of what could be inside the tomb as well as the known fact that tombs were for the royals and nobles of the Silla kingdom collectively can be seen to have been in line with the narrative PCH was after. Here, we can refer to Harvey's ideas on how heritage is used and neglected based on contemporary needs and trends.

## 5.2. Case Study V: The Seokguram Grotto

The Seokguram Grotto is a Buddhist stone temple which was built during the Silla dynasty (Kim 2008:21). The grotto was designated as the 24<sup>th</sup> National Treasure of South Korea in 1962 by PCH. Furthermore, in 1995, this grotto and the Bulguksa Temple together became designated as UNESCO World Heritage (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/736>, accessed: July 21, 2016).

### Site biography

It is necessary to clarify that the UNESCO World Heritage designation took place before ‘The Gyeongju Historic Areas’ designation. This case will only review the Seokguram Grotto as more works (i.e. restoration, conservation, etc.) were done to the Seokguram Grotto during the MDE compared to the Bulguksa Temple.

- Location

The Seokguram Grotto is located on Tohamsan Mountain within the city of Gyeongju (same geographical location as case study IV). As previously noted, although the city of Gyeongju was not specifically targeted for rapid industrialisation during the MDE, it was spotlighted as the central heritage city during the PCH administration (1961 – 1979) and has remained an iconic heritage attraction ever since.

- Historical context

The Seokguram Grotto was built during the Silla dynasty in 751. More specifically, it was built by Kim Dae Seong<sup>34</sup> during the reign of King Gyeongdok (Kim 2008:21). To better understand the grotto’s historical context, it is beneficial to briefly review the arrival and spread of Buddhism in Korea. Buddhism was first introduced to the Goguryeo kingdom in 372 and shortly afterwards, in 384, an Indian monk from South China introduced Buddhism to the Baekje kingdom (Nahm 2007:21). It was first introduced to the Silla Kingdom by a

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<sup>34</sup> Kim Dae Seong (700-774) was the chief minister of Silla during the Unified Silla period. He is known to have built both the Bulguksa temple and the Seokguram Grotto in Gyeongju (Kim 2008)

Goguryeo monk in 527 but then it spread rapidly from then on. Silla's official adaptation of Buddhism can be pinpointed to the sixth century and with this, Buddhism became not only the religion of the masses but also the domineering religion for the kings and aristocrats of Silla during this time (Nahm 2007:21). With the rapid growth of Buddhism, numerous temples and pagodas were built. Records of the construction of the Seokguram Grotto and the Bulguksa Temple can be found in *Samgukyusa* which recites how Kim Dae Seong built Bulguksa for his parents in his current his life and the Seokguram Grotto for the parents of his former life. With surviving records such as the *Samgukyusa*, as well as the well-documented history of Buddhism, the grotto's historical context was never really lost in the sense that it did not have to be 'rediscovered' later on by historians or archaeologists; this is similar to case study III and IV.

- Archaeological significance

A great deal of value and significance has been ascribed to the Seokguram Grotto. For example, it has been praised as an "unsurpassable masterpiece of Silla culture reflecting the application of advanced scientific principles and precise mathematical and architectural concepts, not to mention great technical skills" (Kim 2008:21). Regarding the architectural design, the grotto is shaped by hundreds of different granite stones, with the dome of the rotunda being 6.84 to 6.58 metres in diameter. The basic layout includes an arched entrance leading into a rectangular antechamber and then a narrow corridor (which is lined with bas-relief) and then finally leads into the main rotunda. In the main chamber of the main rotunda is a seated Buddha statue (CHA2009; CHA 2011; Nahm 2007; Suh 2011). What is architecturally and mathematically impressive are the pieces that surround the Buddha statue:

... fifteen panels of bodhisattvas, arhats and ancient Indian gods in the rotunda – accompanied by ten statues in niches around the rotunda wall. In terms of practical design, the grotto was built around these statues in order to protect them from weathering and the construction plan also enabled natural ventilation – revealing the advanced architectural knowledge and insight of the Silla craftsmen. Moreover, the Silla architects used symmetry and apparently employed the concept of the golden rectangle (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/736>, accessed: July 21, 2016).



**Fig 5.10** - The Seokguram Grotto (CHA 2009:178)

As previously noted, when PCH came to power in 1961, he was eager to publicise to the nation that the restoration of South Korea's cultural heritage was an urgent matter. Evidently, the grotto was immediately considered and labelled 'national heritage' – seen through the designation of it as South Korea's 24<sup>th</sup> National Treasure in 1962. PCH's selection was arguably secured because the grotto was already valorised as 'heritage' prior to the MDE. Gaining 'National Treasure' status meant that the grotto was (and still is) under the care of the national government and the culture sector, protected by the official heritage law.

### **Preservation status during the MDE**

Similar to case study III, before reviewing 'what was done' to the grotto during the MDE, it is beneficial to briefly overview what was done prior to the MDE as the actions largely determined 'what had to be done' later.

As noted, Buddhism flourished in the Silla Kingdom from the sixth century onwards, which meant that the grotto was consistently used and managed by Silla monks. Kim (2008:21) explains that the Silla architect's "scientific and architectural genius was so profound that some unexplainable principles had protected the structure from natural deterioration by humidity." With the passing of time, however, inevitable damage and

erosions occurred in some areas. Notable early repair works mentioned in the culture sector's record include works conducted during the Joseon Dynasty in 1703 and in 1758 (CHA 2011). Despite this work, however, the problems caused by humidity remained unsolved.

The Seokguram Grotto since then was 'left alone' until it caught the attention of the Japanese in 1907. At this time, the grotto was found to have deteriorated considerably (CHA 2011:78). The Japanese attempted to reinforce the structure by first studying the grotto and then by applying cement to it in 1913, but this rather worsened the situation as the cement absorbed the humidity (Kim 2008:21). Responding to this, the Japanese completely dismantled the grotto (1913) and re-arranged the interior using concrete. This, however, had a drastic impact, affecting the temperature, moisture and wind resistance of the structure; resulting in the rapid deterioration of the grotto, since the build-up humidity and water leaks meant that the grotto was no longer able to 'breathe' (CHA 2009:178). In other words, the construction of a concrete dome between 1913 and 1915 led to more damage than restoration (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/736>, accessed: July 21, 2016). It is interesting that the Japanese documented the grotto (figs 5.11 and 5.12) (as well as a few other sites, i.e. the Mireuksa Temple site) and in general, made an effort to restore Korea's heritage, but their interventions often led to more problems.





**Fig 5.11** - The Seokguram Grotto in 1913, at the point of deterioration (CHA 2009:179)



**Fig 5.12-** The roof of the Seokguram Grotto during the Japanese colonial period, photograph taken in 1915 (CHA 2009:180)



**Fig 5.13** - The upper part of the Grotto in 1915 when the concrete-layer was laid for repair works (CHA 2009:181)



**Fig 5.14** - The Grotto before repair works in 1915 (CHA 2009:181)

The Japanese did not stop there but added drainage pipes in 1917 above the dome to channel rainwater away from the grotto. This did not stop the leaks from coming in and so another project to repair the site commenced from 1920 – 1923. Waterproof asphalt was applied to the surface of the concrete, which again only worsened the problem by leading to the formation of moss and mould, and so, in 1927, hot steam was used to clean the sculptures (CHA 2009:178).



**Fig 5.15** – Top left: The Seokguram grotto before Japanese intervention; Bottom left: The Seokguram Grotto during Japanese intervention when concrete was placed all around; Bottom right: The Seokguram Grotto in 1915 after the Japanese placed concrete all around the grotto (CHA 2011:77).

After the Japanese colonial period, the Rhee administration (which was the first government of the Republic of Korea) made some efforts to restore this grotto in 1947 and 1953. Unfortunately, by this point, the deterioration and damage were so severe that not much could be done as South Korea lacked expertise as well as appropriate funding to take the appropriate professional measures (CHA 2011:78).

With the launch of the new culture sector (CPA) along with PCH's enthusiasm for restoring 'South Korea's cultural heritage,' efforts to restore and preserve the Seokguram Grotto began again in the early 1960s. In 1961, PCH ordered the culture sector (CPA) to undertake large-scale repair work of the Seokguram Grotto (Kim 2009:21). The CPA aimed to complete the project by December 1963. The first step was to tackle the dismantlement of the Grotto created by the Japanese in 1913 and this project took until July 1964 to complete (CHA 2009:178). A total of 22 million Korean won was put forth for the restoration project (CHA 2011:78). A second concrete dome was placed over the existing dome during the 1960s and the plan was to create a 1.2m air space between them in order to control and adjust the airflow as well as to reduce the formation of mildew and prevent further climatic damage. As part of this project, a wooden antechamber was also added and the interior of the grotto was sealed off by a wall of glass to protect it from visitors and changes in temperature (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/736>, accessed: July 21, 2016). Such measures diminished the authenticity of the grotto, but they were deemed to be necessary in order to prevent further deterioration. In 1964, the CPA set out to produce yet another thorough management plan for long-term preservation and conservation of the Seokguram Grotto (CHA 2011:76).



**Fig 5.16** – The Seokguram Grotto in 1962 (CHA 2011:79)

The preservation project grew in scale during the 1970s. On December 13, 1976, the CPA, in collaboration with the Gyeongju City government, set out to restore the grotto's original

structure. The goal was to open the site to the public by January 1977. A total of 7,100 thousand Korean won was assigned to this project. Furthermore, from July 29, 1979, through to August 20, a total of 23,800 thousand Korean won was put forth towards this project so that visitors would be able to see inside the grotto. On September 9, 1979, PCH came to see the interior of the grotto for himself (CHA 2011:193). A similar pattern can be seen with case study IV; PCH selecting the site, investing in its restoration, promoting governmental actions and efforts via newspaper articles, and then promoting to the nation that he himself went to see it. The extent of ‘authorised discourse’ can once again be seen through this case; how the power relations had the authority to manage and use heritage as well as control the way it is talked about and seen (Smith 2006).

PCH’s heritage interest and policy arguably had enormous impacts on the preservation of the Seokguram Grotto. Similar to the previous case study, it is clear that PCH was determined to restore this grotto and to exhibit *his* interest in this grotto to the citizens. A few noteworthy points in regards to PCH’s direct associations with this site are that: 1) it became selected by his government in the early 1960s and this guaranteed the CPA’s protection, 2) large-scale restoration works were implemented as a result of dictatorial prioritisation, and 3) a substantial amount of state-funding went towards the restoration of the grotto. Although PCH’s prime interests heritage by the 1970s shifted to the tombs (case study IV) the fact that the grotto was selected already in the early 1960s by PCH secured thorough preservation efforts for it during the MDE. The impacts of PCH’s heritage policy (ADD) on this grotto’s preservation, therefore, can be seen to have been vast. With regards to the question of whether the grotto became affected by the MDE’s territorial politics, it should be pointed out that the preservation was targeted at the site specifically and was not part of a more comprehensive development of the area. The territorial policy, therefore, did not directly affect this site although much effort was put into its promotion as a tourist attraction, similarly to the previous case. As CDH decided to shift the main heritage project from ‘Silla’ to ‘Baekje’ his involvements with this grotto was insignificant. This case, again, reveals the enormous impact dictatorial spotlight can have on a site’s preservation through funding, expertise and interest on a national scale.



## Promotion status during the MDE

A total of 956 articles were released during the MDE on the Seokguram Grotto: 339 articles during the 1960s; 379 articles during the 1970s; and 238 articles during the 1980s. The large quantity of articles published on this grotto once again implies how dictatorial spotlight guaranteed not only the way this site became ‘seen’ and ‘talked about’ (Smith 2006), but also the extent to which its value to the nation was publicised and emphasised which can be seen as a distinct feature of ADD. It is transparently clear that both the PCH and CDH government prioritised the national promotion of it. Tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 provide details on the newspapers that were published on the grotto during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s respectively. To firstly overview what was mainly emphasised during the 1960s, four broad themes can be traced. The first is an emphasis on restoration, preservation and conservation (68 articles highlighted in yellow). The second is an emphasis on the Seokguram Grotto as a tourist attraction (63 articles highlighted in green). The third is an emphasis on the site’s national and international value (34 articles highlighted in purple). The last is focused on investigation and discovery (26 articles highlighted in turquoise).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1961.01.12	DongA Ilbo	National Science – culture sector	p.3
1961.01.12	Gyeonghyang	Suwon	p.3
1961.01.13	DongA Ilbo	Gibberish stories	p.1
1961.01.13	DongA Ilbo	(Vitality) National Science	p.3
1971.01.13	Gyeonghyang	Explanation of photographs	p.4
1961.01.04	DongA Ilbo	Gibberish stories	p.1
1961.01.18	DongA Ilbo	U.N – visiting the education science assembly	p.4
1961.01.18	DongA Ilbo	U.N – visiting the education science assembly	p.4
1961.01.23	DongA Ilbo	Thesis – out country’s tourist industry	p.4
1961.01.24	DongA Ilbo	Thesis – our country’s tourist industry homework	p.4
1961.02.02	DongA Ilbo	An extra day	p.1
1961.02.02	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram conservation key	p.3
1961.02.03	DongA Ilbo	An extra day	p.1
1961.02.06	DongA Ilbo	Tourism – construction works	p.3
1961.02.24	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa and Seokguram’s cable car	p.3
1961.02.25	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa and Seokguram’s cable car	p.3
1961.02.27	DongA Ilbo	Reality (7) Seokguram’s surface	p.1
1961.02.27	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram construction works	p.1
1961.02.28	DongA Ilbo	(Reality) (7) Seokguram’s face	p.1
1961.02.28	DongA Ilbo	Oh Baek Hwan – Seokguram Construction works	p.1
1961.04.09	Gyeonghyang	Over 60’s travel	p.3
1961.04.13	Gyeonghyang	PhD thesis on cultural heritage	p.4
1961.04.13	Gyeonghyang	Arts – new freedom needed	p.4
1961.04.16	DongA Ilbo	Enjoyable arts	p.3
1961.04.17	DongA Ilbo	Enjoyable arts	p.3

1961.05.20	Gyeonghyang	UNESCO – Asian sectors	p.4
1961.05.22	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram Grotto	p.4
1961.06.25	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa National Park plans	p.3
1961.06.26	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa National Park plans	p.3
1961.06.26	DongA Ilbo	Yeosu	p.4
1961.06.29	DongA Ilbo	Yeosu (18)	p.4
1961.07.21	Gyeonghyang	Confederation of North net deposits (5)	p.1
1961.07.21	DongA Ilbo	Dr. H.J's opinions on cultural heritage	p.4
1961.07.22	DongA Ilbo	UNESCP – cultural heritage preservation	p.4
1961.08.17	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram Grotto	p.4
1961.08.17	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram problems	p.4
1961.08.17	DongA Ilbo	Culture news	p.4
1961.08.18	DongA Ilbo	Culture news	p.4
1961.08.19	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram preservation - talks	p.4
1961.08.19	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram preservation?	p.4
1961.08.19	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.4
1961.08.20	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram conservation?	p.4
1961.09.02	Gyeonghyang	Cultural interpretation	p.4
1961.09.07	DongA Ilbo	Ballet	p.1
1961.09.08	DongA Ilbo	Lodging (10)	p.1
1961.09.13	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration, from the 20 <sup>th</sup> next year	p.2
1961.09.13	Gyeonghyang	Photo: Seokguram before restoration	p.2
1961.10.30	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.3
1961.10.21	Gyeonghyang	Cable cars for Bulguksa and Seokguram	p.3
1961.10.30	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration	p.4
1961.10.30	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram - revealing	p.4
1961.11.01	Gyeonghyang	From the break of dawn	p.3
1961.11.02	Gyeonghyang	National culture (heritage)	p.1
1961.11.02	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju cultural heritage	p.3
1961.11.02	DongA Ilbo	Silla culture - Seokguram	p.3
1961.11.02	DongA Ilbo	Restoring cultural heritage	p.4
1961.11.05	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju cultural heritage	p.3
1961.11.24	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju cultural heritage and gold	p.3
1961.11.24	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa national park	p.2
1961.12.07	DongA Ilbo	Silla tourist road (Seokguram)	p.2
1961.12.18	DongA Ilbo	Implementing	p.1
1962.01.26	DongA Ilbo	Special request to UNESCO	p.3
1962.02.26	DongA Ilbo	New works from the 5th	p.2
1962.03.14	Gyeonghyang	Notice	p.3
1962.03.16	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram Cable car launch ceremony	p.3
1962.03.17	Gyeonghyang	Works	p.1
1962.03.26	DongA Ilbo	Restoration	p.2
1962.04.01	Gyeonghyang	Rural economy reconstruction	p.3
1962.04.01	Gyeonghyang	Chairman Park Chung Hee – Silla's heritage	p.3
1962.04.07	DongA Ilbo	Note to the press	p.3
1962.04.15	DongA Ilbo	Tourists in Gyeongju	p.3
1962.04.12	DongA Ilbo	Funding issues	p.3
1962.04.24	DongA Ilbo	Is there a shrine or not?	p.3
1962.04.25	DongA Ilbo	Preserving a thousand years	p.3
1962.04.25	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram under restoration	p.3
1962.05.01	Gyeonghyang	Discovery of the head of Seokguram	p.3
1962.05.15	DongA Ilbo	Levelling out	p.4
1962.05.16	DongA Ilbo	Restoring cultural heritage	p.4
1962.05.16	DongA Ilbo	Ground constructions near Seokguram	p.4
1962.06.03	DongA Ilbo	Restoring the roads of Bulguksa and Seokguram	p.3
1962.06.06	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – finding its original form	p.3
1962.06.06	DongA Ilbo	Exterior of Seokguram Grotto	p.3

1962.08.01	DongA Ilbo	Survey	p.3
1962.08.28	DongA Ilbo	Interview	p.5
1962.09.28	DongA Ilbo	Discovery of another Seokguram	p.7
1962.09.28	Gyeonghyang	Discovery of a 2 <sup>nd</sup> Seokguram	p.7
1962.09.28	Gyeonghyang	Finding another Seokguram	p.7
1962.09.28	Gyeonghyang	We knew for a very long time	p.7
1962.09.28	DongA Ilbo	Seeing Gyeongju	p.7
1962.09.29	Gyeonghyang	Alone for 1,500 years - Seokguram	p.6
1962.09.29	Gyeonghyang	Fixed	p.7
1962.10.01	DongA Ilbo	National history – cultural heritage	p.2
1962.10.01	Gyeonghyang	Plans for the second Seokguram construction	p.7
1962.10.01	Gyeonghyang	Wooden ladder that leads to the second Seokguram	p.2
1962.10.01	Gyeonghyang	External features of Seokguram	p.7
1962.10.02	DongA Ilbo	Another historical facet	p.3
1962.10.03	DongA Ilbo	It's a bit early to get excited	p.3
1962.10.03	Gyeonghyang	Inside Seokguram - revealed	p.3
1962.10.03	DongA Ilbo	Internal features of Seokguram	p.3
1962.10.03	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.6
1962.10.03	Gyeonghyang	Restoring the road	p.7
1962.10.04	Gyeonghyang	New discoveries about the Seokguram Grotto	p.7
1962.10.06	DongA Ilbo	Value as National Treasure	p.7
1962.10.06	DongA Ilbo	Reports from the second Seokguram visit	p.7
1962.10.06	DongA Ilbo	Features of the Seokguram Grotto	p.7
1962.10.06	Gyeonghyang	National Treasure – Seokguram	p.7
1962.10.06	Gyeonghyang	Committee for South Korea's cultural heritage	p.3
1962.10.08	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.7
1962.10.08	DongA Ilbo	Investigating the second Seokguram	p.7
1962.10.08	Gyeonghyang	The Mecca of Buddhism culture	p.7
1962.10.08	Gyeonghyang	Visiting the treasure	p.6
1962.10.10	DongA Ilbo	Surveying cultural heritage	p.6
1962.10.12	DongA Ilbo	Development as a tourist site	p.7
1962.10.15	DongA Ilbo	Designating as national treasure	p.1
1962.10.16	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram – National Treasure	p.7
1962.10.18	Gyeonghyang	Mecca for Buddhism	p.3
1962.10.18	Gyeonghyang	Request for funding – National Treasure	p.6
1962.10.19	Gyeonghyang	Possibility for National Treasure designation	p.3
1962.10.30	Gyeonghyang	Nation's Treasure	p.5
1962.11.01	Gyeonghyang	Excavating new finds	p.7
1962.11.03	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.7
1962.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Protecting your heritage	p.3
1962.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Designating National Treasure	p.7
1962.11.14	Gyeonghyang	How to preserve cultural heritage	p.2
1962.11.14	Gyeonghyang	Restoring Seokguram – directions	p.7
1962.11.19	Gyeonghyang	Experimenting	p.3
1962.11.20	DongA Ilbo	Restoring National Treasure	p.7
1962.11.20	Gyeonghyang	National Treasure preservation	p.7
1962.11.23	Gyeonghyang	Designation of heritage	p.7
1962.11.24	Gyeonghyang	Consideration for preservation	p.3
1962.11.24	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.4
1962.12.04	DongA Ilbo	Korea's cultural heritage	p.6
1962.12.05	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram's authentic form revealed	p.4
1962.12.05	DongA Ilbo	Restoration works for Seokguram	p.4
1963.01.01	DongA Ilbo	National culture's place and direction	p.11
1963.01.03	DongA Ilbo	New Year's tourist destination	p.5
1963.01.28	DongA Ilbo	Korea's beauty	p.6
1963.02.01	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.6
1963.02.14	DongA Ilbo	Discovery	p.5



1963.02.20	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure - Seokguram	p.5
1963.02.21	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.5
1963.02.25	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.5
1963.03.11	DongA Ilbo	Ancient architecture	p.6
1963.03.18	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.7
1963.03.27	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram's new face	p.5
1963.03.28	Gyeonghyang	Road works	p.5
1963.04.05	DongA Ilbo	National fieldtrip	p.6
1963.04.18	Gyeonghyang	99 stairs	p.5
1963.04.20	DongA Ilbo	A week in Korea	p.5
1963.05.07	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration	p.7
1963.05.09	Gyeonghyang	A female student's request	p.7
1963.05.09	Gyeonghyang	Return of Prof. Hwang Soo Young	p.7
1963.05.11	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist cultural roads	p.5
1963.05.13	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.6
1963.05.25	DongA Ilbo	Weekly road works	p.7
1963.07.11	Gyeonghyang	A hundred days	p.5
1963.07.31	DongA Ilbo	A traveller's greeting	p.6
1963.08.02	DongA Ilbo	The differences in Korea	p.5
1963.08.08	DongA Ilbo	Ghost worship	p.5
1963.08.16	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – final decision	p.5
1963.08.17	Gyeonghyang	Coup d'etat	p.7
1963.09.09	Gyeonghyang	Summer's reflection	p.5
1963.10.18	DongA Ilbo	Survey	p.1
1963.10.18	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.4
1963.10.30	DongA Ilbo	Completing the dome	p.5
1963.11.06	Gyeonghyang	Debates on Seokguram	p.5
1963.11.13	DongA Ilbo	The stones of Seokguram	p.5
1963.11.29	Gyeonghyang	New discoveries	p.7
1963.11.30	DongA Ilbo	New finds	p.5
1963.12.16	DongA Ilbo	New book - introduction	p.6
1964.01.10	Gyeonghyang	Silla's early days "Seokguram"	p.7
1964.01.10	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram's interior	p.7
1964.02.06	Gyeonghyang	Introducing a new book	p.5
1964.02.13	Gyeonghyang	Lookalike	p.3
1964.02.13	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram's front view	p.5
1964.02.13	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – upper view	p.5
1964.03.17	Gyeonghyang	Critique	p.5
1964.03.27	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration	p.4
1964.03.27	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration	p.4
1964.04.15	DongA Ilbo	More discoveries of Silla	p.7
1964.04.30	DongA Ilbo	Restoration works	p.7
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1964.07.03	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration – playing up again	p.3
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1964.07.06	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.1
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1964.07.09	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram project	p.3
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1964.07.11	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram Construction works	p.5
1964.07.20	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – cleaning up	p.3
1964.08.01	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram - surveying	p.7
1964.08.03	DongA Ilbo	The cause of humidity in Seokguram	p.3
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1964.08.20	DongA Ilbo	This time....	p.3
1964.08.31	DongA Ilbo	It did not even last 2 months	p.3
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1964.09.21	Gyeonghyang	Request	p.1
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1964.12.05	DongA Ilbo	Korea’s character	p.5
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1965.02.27	DongA Ilbo	Entertainment series	p.8
1965.03.08	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.3
1965.03.08	Gyeonghyang	For 3 days	p.7
1965.03.24	Gyeonghyang	Tourism	p.3
1965.05.19	Gyeonghyang	Today’s Korea	p.4
1965.06.22	DongA Ilbo	Korea’s National Treasure	p.5
1965.07.22	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram construction works	p.2
1965.07.24	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram works	p.7
1965.07.24	DongA Ilbo	Problems in Seokguram	p.7
1965.07.29	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.5
1965.07.31	Gyeonghyang	Ancient architecture	p.5
1965.08.03	DongA Ilbo	Ancient works	p.6
1965.08.07	DongA Ilbo	Works	p.2
1965.08.20	DongA Ilbo	Ruined roads	p.3
1965.08.21	DongA Ilbo	There is no hope for a nation that does not value their cultural heritage	p.2
1965.08.26	DongA Ilbo	Ruined roads	p.5
1965.08.31	DongA Ilbo	Implementation	p.7

1965.09.16	Gyeonghyang	Architecture	p.2
1965.09.27	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.1
1965.10.20	DongA Ilbo	Trash bin	p.3
1965.10.20	Gyeonghyang	The road we know	p.5
1966.02.05	DongA Ilbo	The origin of Koreans and Japanese	p.5
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1966.03.24	DongA Ilbo	Cultural event	p.5
1966.04.09	Gyeonghyang	Newspaper plans	p.3
1966.04.13	Gyeonghyang	Something one just says	p.2
1966.05.11	DongA Ilbo	First attempt	p.3
1966.05.11	DongA Ilbo	Pass fee	p.3
1966.05.13	Maeil Economy	Providing convenient roads	p.3
1966.06.13	Gyeonghyang	After the assembly	p.1
1966.07.26	DongA Ilbo	Works	p.7
1966.07.27	Maeil Economy	Road works	p.2
1966.09.10	DongA Ilbo	Evaluation	p.7
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1966.09.17	DongA Ilbo	Flying to Daegu	p.7
1966.09.17	Gyeonghyang	Treasures	p.8
1966.10.06	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram time – 8pm	p.7
1966.10.06	DongA Ilbo	Fragmented news	p.8
1966.10.11	Gyeonghyang	Investing in road works	p.2
1966.10.13	DongA Ilbo	Heritage	p.4
1966.10.15	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram and candles	p.5
1966.10.18	DongA Ilbo	Problems raised	p.5
1966.10.19	Gyeonghyang	Gyeonghyang guide	p.8
1966.11.02	DongA Ilbo	Korea’s bird	p.6
1966.11.02	Gyeonghyang	News	p.6
1966.11.09	Gyeonghyang	Preservation	p.5
1966.11.10	DongA Ilbo	New park	p.3
1966.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – looking up	p.3
1966.11.25	Maeil Economy	Investing	p.2
1966.11.26	Gyeonghyang	Road works	p.3
1966.12.13	DongA Ilbo	Discovering Seokguram	p.7
1966.12.16	DongA Ilbo	The culture sector’s works in Seokguram	p.3
1967.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Developing cultural sites	p.5
1967.03.24	Maeil Economy	Aesthetics	p.2
1967.05.19	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram’s humidity	p.3
1967.05.19	DongA Ilbo	Humidity problems	p.3
1967.05.20	Gyeonghyang	A frightening problem	p.5
1967.05.20	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram works	p.6
1967.07.07	DongA Ilbo	News	p.3
1967.07.20	DongA Ilbo	National Assembly: Seokguram	p.5
1967.07.25	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram Preservation	p.3
1967.08.12	DongA Ilbo	News	p.6
1967.08.17	DongA Ilbo	Idolatry	p.5
1967.09.26	DongA Ilbo	Joseon’s art	p.5
1967.10.11	DongA Ilbo	Today’s DongA news 790	p.4
1967.11.22	Gyeonghyang	Mexico and Korea	p.8
1967.11.28	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa and Seokguram	p.6
1968.04.02	Maeil Economy	Urgent restoration for cultural heritage	p.2
1968.04.02	DongA Ilbo	A lot of problems: Cultural heritage	p.3
1968.04.11	DongA Ilbo	News	p.5
1968.04.13	Gyeonghyang	Two sides	p.5
1968.04.16	DongA Ilbo	Poet	p.5
1968.04.24	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration	p.5

1968.05.02	DongA Ilbo	Traditional arts	p.5
1968.06.22	Gyeonghyang	National protection of heritage	p.2
1968.07.22	Maeil Economy	Money (61)	p.2
1968.08.15	Gyeonghyang	Good news comes all of a sudden	p.1
1968.10.03	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram's epithet	p.5
1968.10.19	Gyeonghyang	The return of Hong Sung Ki	p.5
1968.11.18	Gyeonghyang	A woman's shoulder line	p.5
1968.12.18	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.3
1968.12.19	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram works	p.2
1968.12.16	DongA Ilbo	Losing its form	p.5
1968.12.27	DongA Ilbo	Babbling story	p.1
1969.01.14	DongA Ilbo	Expert's look	p.6
1969.03.08	Maeil Economy	My treasure	p.1
1969.04.07	DongA Ilbo	A student's feedback	p.7
1969.04.11	Gyeonghyang	Living in Korea	p.5
1969.05.08	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist cultural heritage	p.5
1969.05.10	Gyeonghyang	How it looked 1400 years ago	p.5
1969.05.20	DongA Ilbo	May's issue	p.5
1969.06.13	Gyeonghyang	President Park's words	p.2
1969.06.18	Gyeonghyang	Silla's culture found	p.4
1969.07.31	DongA Ilbo	Training	p.3
1969.08.09	Maeil Economy	News (8)	p.3
1969.08.03	DongA Ilbo	Cultural event	p.5
1969.09.10	Gyeonghyang	A sad dance	p.5
1969.10.13	DongA Ilbo	Cement issues	p.3
1969.10.29	Maeil Economy	Solving	p.3
1969.11.14	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa restoration	p.3
1969.11.15	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa restoration works	p.2
1969.12.09	DongA Ilbo	Cultural event	p.5
1969.12.18	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram entrance fee	p.7
1969.12.19	DongA Ilbo	News	p.2

**Table 5.3** Details of newspapers published on the Seokguram during the 1960s (source: Naver News Article Library)

The 1970s continued to release a large number of articles on the Seokguram Grotto. What was emphasised can be categorised into the following: 1) Seokguram as a tourist site (57 articles highlighted in purple); 2) the importance of preserving and restoring Seokguram (47 articles highlighted in green); 3) Seokguram as 'cultural heritage' and 'national heritage' (44 articles highlighted in yellow); 4) the educational value of the site (27 articles highlighted in blue); and 5) new discoveries (18 articles highlighted in turquoise).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1970.02.12	DongA Ilbo	Cultural heritage	p.5
1970.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Large scale works	p.5
1970.03.06	Gyeonghyang	22 Cultural heritage sites	p.5
1970.03.13	Gyeonghyang	Opening up internationally	p.7
1970.06.02	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.3
1970.06.22	Gyeonghyang	Korea's news	p.7

1970.06.18	DongA Ilbo	Tourism industry	p.3
1970.07.07	DongA Ilbo	Representative sites	p.5
1970.07.09	DongA Ilbo	Something to see in Korea	p.5
1970.07.20	DongA Ilbo	Cultural heritage- Gyeongju	p.5
1970.07.25	DongA Ilbo	Hard working Koreans	p.6
1970.07.31	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration survey	p.5
1970.08.13	Gyeonghyang	Culture 25	p.3
1970.08.22	Maeil Economy	Seokguram – national protection	p.7
1970.08.25	DongA Ilbo	Cultural heritage policy	p.5
1970.08.25	DongA Ilbo	National protection of Buddhist culture	p.5
1970.08.26	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram – nationally protected	p.5
1970.09.08	DongA Ilbo	Recording of visitors	p.4
1970.09.09	Gyeonghyang	Research: for restoration of Seokguram	p.7
1970.09.12	DongA Ilbo	Experts	p.5
1970.09.16	Gyeonghyang	Silla's cultural heritage	p.7
1970.09.16	Gyeonghyang	UK professor Herald	p.7
1970.09.17	DongA Ilbo	Protection and preserving cultural heritage	p.5
1970.09.18	Gyeonghyang	Scientific preservation	p.5
1970.09.19	Gyeonghyang	Urgent need of conservation	p.7
1970.09.19	DongA Ilbo	Expert's advice	p.7
1970.09.21	Gyeonghyang	Preserving cultural heritage	p.2
1970.09.21	Gyeonghyang	Preservation methods	p.6
1970.09.21	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram's scientific restoration	p.6
1970.09.21	DongA Ilbo	Further thoughts	p.7
1970.09.25	Gyeonghyang	Let's invest in heritage preservation	p.5
1970.09.25	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram humidity	p.5
1970.09.25	DongA Ilbo	The truth of Seokguram	p.5
1970.09.26	Gyeonghyang	Old house	p.7
1970.09.28	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.3
1970.10.07	Gyeonghyang	National fieldtrip	p.6
1970.10.10	Gyeonghyang	The coming together of Buddhists	p.5
1970.10.10	Maeil Economy	Leaders come together	p.7
1970.10.17	Gyeonghyang	Buddhist competition	p.5
1970.10.30	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration	p.7
1970.11.02	Gyeonghyang	Seoul storm	p.6
1970.11.04	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.3
1970.11.11	DongA Ilbo	Stone heritage	p.5
1970.11.11	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram's history	p.5
1970.11.16	Gyeonghyang	Unwanted outcome	p.5
1970.12.08	DongA Ilbo	This year's heritage	p.5
1970.12.12	DongA Ilbo	Cultural event	p.5
1970.12.23	DongA Ilbo	Truth or false? The Seokguram debate	p.5
1970.12.24	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram – no roof	p.5
1970.12.24	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram's restoration	p.5
1970.12.25	Gyeonghyang	Looking after cultural heritage	p.5
1971.01.23	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.7
1971.02.23	DongA Ilbo	Implementing	p.2
1971.03.13	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju tourism industry	p.7
1971.04.20	Gyeonghyang	27% of children	p.8
1971.04.20	DongA Ilbo	Children's theme park	p.8
1971.05.04	Gyeonghyang	Is that it?	p.5
1971.05.19	DongA Ilbo	Sketch: Cultural heritage	p.5
1971.06.05	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju – tourism industry confirmed	p.7
1971.06.14	DongA Ilbo	Thinking	p.8
1971.06.17	Maeil Economy	Developing	p.6
1971.07.03	Maeil Economy	Special plans	p.3
1971.07.13	DongA Ilbo	Excavations	p.5

1971.08.12	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram's contamination	p.7
1971.08.18	DongA Ilbo	Educational trip	p.5
1971.09.08	DongA Ilbo	7 days	p.5
1971.10.06	DongA Ilbo	National	p.3
1971.10.20	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju	p.5
1971.11.15	Maeil Economy	Luxury card	p.1
1971.12.04	Maeil Economy	Forever silent	p.6
1971.12.18	Maeil Economy	Buddhist teenagers	p.6
1972.01.08	Maeil Economy	Expanding Buddhist	p.6
1972.02.18	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram - film	p.8
1972.02.18	Gyeonghyang	16m – Seokguram restoration	p.8
1972.02.19	DongA Ilbo	Sketch: Korean stone	p.5
1972.03.10	Maeil Economy	Desk	p.1
1972.03.11	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju international tourism	p.7
1972.03.15	DongA Ilbo	University life	p.5
1972.04.10	Gyeonghyang	Going forth	p.1
1972.04.10	Maeil Economy	Ancient art	p.1
1972.04.10	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.1
1972.04.11	Maeil Economy	Entrance	p.2
1973.04.11	Maeil Economy	Expiry date	p.3
1972.04.11	Gyeonghyang	End note	p.4
1972.04.12	Gyeonghyang	Tourism	p.2
1972.04.12	Gyeonghyang	Red house, blue house, yellow house	p.4
1972.04.18	DongA Ilbo	News	p.2
1972.04.19	DongA Ilbo	President Park - orders	p.1
1972.04.20	DongA Ilbo	Survey	p.2
1972.04.20	DongA Ilbo	Opinions	p.2
1972.04.20	Maeil Economy	President Park - orders	p.2
1972.04.20	Gyeonghyang	Unexpected	p.2
1972.04.22	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.3
1972.04.28	Gyeonghyang	Tourism	p.6
1972.05.01	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration	p.5
1972.05.03	DongA Ilbo	Survey	p.5
1972.05.06	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju tourism course	p.2
1972.05.12	Maeil Economy	Changes	p.1
1972.05.12	Maeil Economy	Morning sunshine	p.6
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1972.05.13	Maeil Economy	Wonderful	p.6
1972.05.13	DongA Ilbo	NHK production	p.8
1972.05.17	Maeil Economy	1000 years	p.7
1972.05.20	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.1
1972.05.20	DongA Ilbo	New design	p.5
1972.05.23	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju's treasures	p.7
1972.06.02	Maeil Economy	Price	p.2
1972.06.02	DongA Ilbo	Prices	p.2
1972.06.03	DongA Ilbo	News	p.7
1972.06.06	DongA Ilbo	Information	p.6
1972.06.08	Gyeonghyang	Princes	p.6
1972.06.08	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.6
1972.06.08	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.6
1972.06.15	DongA Ilbo	Cultural event	p.5
1972.06.16	Gyeonghyang	Replicating Seokguram in Seoul	p.6
1972.06.16	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram in Seoul	p.6
1972.06.17	Maeil Economy	Revealing the Seokguram in Seoul (16 <sup>th</sup> )	p.6
1972.06.17	Maeil Economy	Replicating Seokguram	p.6
1972.06.19	DongA Ilbo	President Park - Gyeongju	p.1
1972.06.24	Maeil Economy	The role of religion	p.6



1972.07.20	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju	p.7
1972.07.24	DongA Ilbo	(Nuns) in one place	p.5
1972.07.26	DongA Ilbo	Revealing	p.2
1972.08.11	DongA Ilbo	Opening	p.7
1972.08.15	DongA Ilbo	Assembly	p.7
1972.09.08	Maeil Economy	Ganghwa history	p.6
1972.10.18	Gyeonghyang	Lecture	p.4
1972.11.03	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju - developing	p.2
1972.11.13	Gyeonghyang	Silla person's mind	p.4
1972.11.23	Maeil Economy	Reflecting on today	p.6
1972.12.06	DongA Ilbo	International standard	p.3
1972.12.14	DongA Ilbo	Damages discovered	p.7
1973.01.09	Gyeonghyang	We can see something	p.5
1973.01.09	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram – National Treasure No.24	p.5
1973.01.09	Gyeonghyang	Museum tour	p.7
1973.01.12	Maeil Economy	Enjoyable camping	p.6
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1973.02.05	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.1
1973.02.08	Gyeonghyang	Japanese cultural heritage	p.5
1973.02.08	Maeil Economy	Industry	p.5
1973.02.24	DongA Ilbo	Cultural events	p.5
1973.02.27	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage- scientific restoration	p.4
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1973.03.01	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration	p.5
1973.03.22	DongA Ilbo	Historical survey	p.4
1973.03.28	Gyeonghyang	Korean problems	p.5
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1973.04.06	DongA Ilbo	Restoring cultural heritage	p.3
1973.05.03	Maeil Economy	Seoul's look	p.7
1973.05.08	Gyeonghyang	Father's day	p.5
1973.05.14	Gyeonghyang	People's choice	p.4
1973.05.18	Maeil Economy	New notes	p.7
1973.05.22	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.3
1973.05.23	DongA Ilbo	Middle school education	p.3
1973.06.01	DongA Ilbo	New notes	p.4
1973.06.12	DongA Ilbo	National landscape	p.7
1973.06.13	Gyeonghyang	Traditional culture	p.4
1973.06.26	DongA Ilbo	Cool fridge - Gyeongju	p.6
1973.06.28	DongA Ilbo	Critique	p.5
1973.07.02	Gyeonghyang	Blossoming	p.3
1973.07.02	Gyeonghyang	Korea's rediscovery	p.5
1973.07.03	Maeil Economy	Bulguksa restoration – in four years	p.7
1973.07.04	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.1
1973.07.19	Gyeonghyang	Korea's national treasure	p.5
1973.08.02	DongA Ilbo	Roads	p.6
1973.08.06	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa	p.7
1973.08.16	DongA Ilbo	How much did children learn?	p.6
1973.08.31	DongA Ilbo	Cultural heritage	p.5
1973.09.06	Gyeonghyang	Korea's rediscovery national treasure	p.5
1973.09.06	Gyeonghyang	News	p.5
1973.09.13	Gyeonghyang	Korea's rediscovery	p.5
1973.09.13	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.5
1973.09.22	DongA Ilbo	Tourism industry	p.6
1973.09.26	DongA Ilbo	Tears and laughs	p.3
1973.10.03	DongA Ilbo	Plus Alpha	p.3
1973.11.07	Gyeonghyang	Scientific	p.5

1973.11.07	Gyeonghyang	Big city	p.6
1973.12.12	Gyeonghyang	Natural protection	p.2
974.01.21	Gyeonghyang	Korea's history	p.5
1974.02.04	DongA Ilbo	Korean folklore	p.2
1974.02.11	Gyeonghyang	Reflecting	p.2
1974.02.13	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa (Seokguram)	p.7
1974.03.09	Gyeonghyang	A thankful attitude	p.5
1974.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Prof Noh's camp	p.4
1974.03.23	Gyeonghyang	Prof. Noh's campus	p.4
1974.03.25	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju tourism	p.7
1974.04.02	Gyeonghyang	Restoring cultural heritage	p.5
1974.04.10	Gyeonghyang	President Park – Bulguksa and Seokguram	p.1
1974.04.11	Maeil Economy	Seokguram – research for restoration	p.1
1974.04.11	Maeil Economy	Scientific research for Seokguram preservation	p.1
1974.04.11	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram preservation	p.1
1974.04.11	DongA Ilbo	Photo: Park Chung Hee	p.1
1974.04.11	DongA Ilbo	President Park Chung Hee	p.1
1974.04.12	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage restoration	p.2
1974.05.14	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist archaeology	p.5
1974.05.14	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram - restoration	p.5
1974.05.15	Gyeonghyang	Dr. Lee Ki Young's studies on Korean Buddhism	p.5
1974.05.17	DongA Ilbo	Restoring cultural heritage	p.2
1974.05.21	Maeil Economy	Walking through cultural heritage	p.6
1974.05.24	Gyeonghyang	Korea's rediscovery	p.5
1974.05.28	DongA Ilbo	Heritage	p.5
1974.06.12	DongA Ilbo	Korea's contemporary sculptures	p.5
1974.06.27	Gyeonghyang	Female robber	p.1
1974.06.27	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram series	p.5
1974.07.03	Maeil Economy	This year's discovery	p.6
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1974.07.20	DongA Ilbo	Silla's Seokguram	p.4
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1974.08.28	Gyeonghyang	Buddhist outing	p.5
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1974.09.26	DongA Ilbo	Fieldtrip	p.6
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1974.10.23	DongA Ilbo	Lots of people in Seokguram	p.6
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1975.04.03	Gyeonghyang	Tour	p.6
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1975.05.20	Gyeonghyang	After seeing	p.5
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1975.07.12	DongA Ilbo	Tour	p.3
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1975.08.16	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.1
1975.08.29	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.3
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1975.09.13	Gyeonghyang	Administrative works	p.1
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1975.10.11	Gyeonghyang	Charles Buxton	p.3
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1975.11.04	DongA Ilbo	Tourist attraction	p.4
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1975.11.11	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.6
1975.12.12	DongA Ilbo	Art	p.5
1975.12.12	Gyeonghyang	Visiting – 365 days	p.7
1975.12.15	Gyeonghyang	Assembly	p.4
1975.12.16	DongA Ilbo	Interview: Kwon Yong Jin	p.5
1975.12.17	DongA Ilbo	Yoo Hong Ga	p.7
1975.12.22	DongA Ilbo	Elegant mood	p.5
1975.12.24	DongA Ilbo	Silla cultural heritage research institute	p.6
1975.12.27	Gyeonghyang	Everyone together	p.6
1976.01.07	Gyeonghyang	Reality	p.5
1976.02.05	DongA Ilbo	President Park's assessment	p.1
1976.02.10	DongA Ilbo	The face of Korea	p.4
1976.02.10	DongA Ilbo	Silla's art: Seokguram	p.4
1976.02.13	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.3
1976.02.13	DongA Ilbo	Stone grounds	p.4
1976.04.30	Gyeonghyang	Silla protection	p.6
1976.07.13	DongA Ilbo	Making another Seokguram	p.7
1976.07.13	DongA Ilbo	Replicating Seokguram	p.7
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1976.08.13	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju Bulguksa	p.5
1976.09.27	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – help	p.7
1976.10.02	Gyeonghyang	International tourism	p.3
1976.10.16	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.1
1976.10.22	Gyeonghyang	Relics restoration	p.7
1976.10.22	Maeil Economy	For restoration	p.7
1976.10.27	Gyeonghyang	Our cultural heritage	p.5
1976.10.29	Gyeonghyang	Eagerness to learn	p.7
1976.11.16	Gyeonghyang	Hanyang Medical University	p.4
1976.12.02	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram stories	p.7
1976.12.03	DongA Ilbo	News	p.1
1976.12.11	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram restoration update	p.7
1976.12.30	Gyeonghyang	Museum	p.5
1977.01.17	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram updated	p.7

1977.01.17	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram - reveal	p.7
1977.01.24	DongA Ilbo	Ganghwa – cultural heritage	p.5
1977.01.24	DongA Ilbo	The second Seokguram	p.5
1977.01.29	DongA Ilbo	Restoring	p.7
1977.01.31	Gyeonghyang	Direction	p.5
1977.02.09	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa	p.4
1977.02.12	Gyeonghyang	Dream and vision	p.4
1977.02.24	DongA Ilbo	Developing park	p.2
1977.02.25	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju Seokguram	p.5
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1977.03.19	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.3
1977.03.28	Gyeonghyang	Road and door	p.5
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1977.05.03	Gyeonghyang	For High school students	p.5
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1977.06.17	DongA Ilbo	What we choose to show	p.5
1977.07.01	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram – scientific preservation	p.5
1977.07.11	Gyeonghyang	KBS Entertainment history (10:30)	p.8
1977.07.23	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.3
1977.07.27	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.1
1977.08.22	DongA Ilbo	Concrete damaged	p.4
1977.09.06	Gyeonghyang	Culture	p.5
1977.09.21	Gyeonghyang	Ours	p.5
1977.09.28	Gyeonghyang	Towards development	p.1
1977.09.29	DongA Ilbo	Our old heritage	p.2
1977.10.07	Gyeonghyang	Silla cultural heritage	p.7
1977.10.15	Gyeonghyang	Nation's heritage	p.3
1977.10.27	Gyeonghyang	My home	p.6
1977.10.27	Gyeonghyang	National protection - Seokguram	p.6
1977.11.12	DongA Ilbo	Proud tourist attraction	p.4
1977.11.17	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage	p.5
1977.11.24	DongA Ilbo	Interview: saving it	p.8
1977.12.05	Gyeonghyang	Productive outcome	p.6
1977.12.13	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram plans	p.7
1977.12.13	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram works	p.7
1977.12.15	Maeil Economy	Goals towards the end of the year	p.7
1977.12.20	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.1
1978.01.16	Gyeonghyang	Replicating Seokguram	p.7
1978.01.19	DongA Ilbo	In Seoul	p.4
1978.02.08	Gyeonghyang	Children's museum in Gyeongju	p.6
1978.05.12	Gyeonghyang	Unified Silla - education	p.5
1978.05.26	Gyeonghyang	Tourism	p.4
1978.05.29	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju plans	p.7
1978.05.30	Gyeonghyang	Fieldtrip bus	p.7
1978.07.04	DongA Ilbo	Discoveries in Gyeongju	p.7
1978.08.05	Gyeonghyang	Deep awe	p.5
1978.09.25	Gyeonghyang	Museum	p.4
1978.11.09	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1978.11.09	Gyeonghyang	News	p.7
1978.11.09	DongA Ilbo	News	p.7

1978.11.28	Gyeonghyang	Touring Korea	p.2
1978.12.04	Gyeonghyang	Time	p.4
1978.12.15	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram survey	p.5
1978.12.25	DongA Ilbo	Tourist attraction	p.7
1979.01.11	DongA Ilbo	Silla's biggest discovery	p.7
1979.01.17	Gyeonghyang	UNESCO special	p.5
1979.03.06	DongA Ilbo	The biggest scale yet	p.8
1979.03.06	DongA Ilbo	3.1. Activity	p.3
1979.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Danger warning	p.5
1979.03.24	Gyeonghyang	A book is not a prize	p.4
1979.03.26	Gyeonghyang	Back to when	p.4
1979.04.13	Gyeonghyang	Photo: Lee Shin Suk	p.4
1979.04.14	Gyeonghyang	Korea's pride	p.4
1979.04.23	DongA Ilbo	Are we satisfied?	p.4
1979.05.26	Gyeonghyang	News	p.5
1979.05.26	DongA Ilbo	News	p.5
1979.06.26	Gyeonghyang	TV	p.5
1979.06.29	DongA Ilbo	Report	p.7
1979.07.24	DongA Ilbo	Scientific techniques	p.5
1979.07.24	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.5
1979.07.24	Gyeonghyang	National Treasure No.24	p.5
1979.07.24	Gyeonghyang	Sphinx and Seokguram	p.5
1979.07.25	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.1
1979.08.13	DongA Ilbo	Arts	p.4
1979.08.16	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.3
1979.09.04	DongA Ilbo	Campus information	p.4
1979.09.24	DongA Ilbo	Relics	p.4
1979.10.12	Gyeonghyang	Autumn	p.5
1979.10.23	Maeil Economy	The 7 <sup>th</sup> tourism content	p.7
1979.11.14	DongA Ilbo	Speculation	p.5
1979.11.28	Gyeonghyang	Tourism photo exhibition	p.7
1979.12.25	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.3

**Table 5.4** Details of newspapers published on the Seokguram Grotto during the 1970s (source: Naver News Article Library)

Despite the shift in focus from ‘Silla’ to ‘Baekje’ with the change of regimes from PCH to CDH, the Seokguram Grotto evidently managed to stay in the spotlight. In some respects, such consistent political investment and interest shows how this site was solidly considered national heritage rather than a short-term heritage trend. The themes in terms of what was emphasised can be categorised into 1) ‘Buddhist heritage’ (25 articles highlighted in blue); 2) Seokguram as a tourist attraction (21 articles highlighted in purple); 3) discoveries (20 articles highlighted in green); 4) ‘national heritage’ (18 articles highlighted in turquoise); and 5) preservation and restoration (10 articles highlighted in yellow).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1980.01.04	Maeil Economy	News	p.3
1980.01.19	Gyeonghyang	Literary works	p.5

1980.01.28	DongA Ilbo	Nobel prize - literature	p.5
1980.02.15	Gyeonghyang	Expressway – 11 years	p.2
1980.02.22	Gyeonghyang	Seoul cultural heritage	p.7
1980.02.26	Gyeonghyang	National folklore	p.5
1980.03.01	Gyeonghyang	Finding specialty	p.3
1980.03.15	Gyeonghyang	Finding specialty	p.3
1980.03.19	Gyeonghyang	Debates on Seokguram	p.7
1980.03.20	Gyeonghyang	No tools	p.6
1980.04.04	Maeil Economy	Tourism industry	p.7
1980.04.08	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure	p.5
1980.04.14	Gyeonghyang	Cultural film	p.5
1980.05.13	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage restoration	p.5
1980.05.17	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.5
1980.05.20	Gyeonghyang	File	p.1
1980.05.30	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage protection	p.2
1980.05.30	DongA Ilbo	News: cultural heritage	p.5
1980.06.10	DongA Ilbo	History	p.4
1980.08.04	DongA Ilbo	News	p.5
1980.10.28	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju and Me	p.4
1980.11.18	Gyeonghyang	National history competition	p.5
1980.11.18	DongA Ilbo	Sketch	p.5
1980.12.18	Gyeonghyang	Ancient relics	p.4
1980.12.29	DongA Ilbo	News	p.7
1981.01.14	Gyeonghyang	National thoughts and daily life	p.6
1981.01.14	DongA Ilbo	Stories	p.9
1981.01.19	Gyeonghyang	News	p.11
1981.01.20	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist activity	p.10
1981.01.29	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist	p.10
1981.02.02	Gyeonghyang	Korea's face	p.9
1981.02.06	DongA Ilbo	Hiking	p.11
1981.02.10	Gyeonghyang	Korea: face	p.9
1981.02.12	Gyeonghyang	Korea: history	p.9
1981.03.07	DongA Ilbo	Culture of tourism?	p.9
1981.03.13	DongA Ilbo	Silla culture KBS	p.12
1981.04.03	DongA Ilbo	News	p.1
1981.04.25	DongA Ilbo	Sketch	p.6
1981.05.08	Maeil Economy	News	p.12
1981.05.23	Gyeonghyang	Tradition	p.9
1981.06.03	DongA Ilbo	5 minute interview	p.2
1981.06.15	DongA Ilbo	KBS – Seokguram	p.12
1981.09.16	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration	p.7
1981.06.16	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration	p.7
1981.06.16	DongA Ilbo	TV – KBS 2	p.12
1981.06.22	DongA Ilbo	Hobby lesson	p.7
1981.06.30	Gyeonghyang	Korea: impressions	p.2
1981.07.31	DongA Ilbo	Babbling stories	p.1
1981.08.06	DongA Ilbo	News	p.1
1981.09.05	Gyeonghyang	The walls	p.7
1981.09.05	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa	p.7
1981.09.05	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa works	p.11
1981.09.11	Gyeonghyang	News	p.7
1981.09.26	DongA Ilbo	Tomorrow	p.1
1981.09.26	Gyeonghyang	Scent culture	p.7
1981.09.30	DongA Ilbo	Report	p.2
1981.10.02	DongA Ilbo	Cultural heritage: Korean art	p.6
1981.10.09	DongA Ilbo	Olympic: tourism	p.3

1981.10.09	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.11
1981.10.09	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram news	p.11
1981.10.09	DongA Ilbo	News	p.11
1981.10.10	DongA Ilbo	In front of money	p.6
1981.10.10	Gyeonghyang	Scent culture	p.7
1981.10.20	DongA Ilbo	Culture day	p.2
1981.10.27	Gyeonghyang	Korea's tradition	p.7
1981.10.30	Gyeonghyang	Interview: Buddhist expert	p.11
1981.10.31	Gyeonghyang	Information	p.7
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1981.11.24	Maeil Economy	Reading	p.4
1982.01.19	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – 5 year plan	p.6
1982.01.23	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist expert	p.11
1982.02.04	DongA Ilbo	News	p.2
1982.02.26	Gyeonghyang	Author	p.7
1982.03.01	Maeil Economy	Spring night	p.9
1982.03.05	DongA Ilbo	National fieldtrip	p.7
1982.04.05	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.11
1982.04.05	Gyeonghyang	Prof Hong's findings	p.11
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1982.04.22	DongA Ilbo	Gwanghwamun	p.3
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1982.05.24	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram and Bulguksa once again	p.9
1982.06.04	DongA Ilbo	Overall	p.6
1982.06.04	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa account	p.7
1982.06.18	DongA Ilbo	Korea's Buddhism on TV	p.6
1982.07.02	Gyeonghyang	Gathering of teenagers	p.10
1982.08.07	Gyeonghyang	Incorrect history	p.3
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1982.09.01	Gyeonghyang	History programme	p.8
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1982.12.06	DongA Ilbo	Hwang Soo Young talks	p.6
1982.12.11	Maeil Economy	Coming back	p.10
1983.01.08	DongA Ilbo	Chinese - tourism	p.7
1983.01.10	DongA Ilbo	Unclear tour sites	p.2
1983.01.14	DongA Ilbo	Treasure	p.6
1983.01.28	DongA Ilbo	A place worth visiting	p.11
1983.04.01	DongA Ilbo	Korea	p.9

1983.04.06	DongA Ilbo	Baekje Art research	p.6
1983.04.06	Gyeonghyang	Excavation	p.6
1983.04.06	DongA Ilbo	Discovery of Baekje	p.11
1983.04.06	Gyeonghyang	Discovery	p.11
1983.05.20	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.12
1983.05.23	DongA Ilbo	Opening	p.12
1983.05.27	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa	p.6
1983.06.25	Gyeonghyang	News	p.7
1983.06.27	Gyeonghyang	Lee Moon Gong - policy	p.7
1983.06.30	Gyeonghyang	MBC TV	p.10
1983.07.12	Gyeonghyang	301 MBC TV	p.10
1983.07.13	Gyeonghyang	Ancient Gyeongju	p.3
1983.07.18	Gyeonghyang	Buddha's face	p.7
1983.08.26	Gyeonghyang	News	p.7
1983.09.12	Maeil Economy	Tourism industry environment	p.11
1983.09.30	Maeil Economy	Ours	p.4
1983.09.30	DongA Ilbo	Interview: Taiwan tourism	p.10
1983.10.17	Gyeonghyang	Korea's art special	p.7
1983.10.18	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.1
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1983.12.20	Gyeonghyang	Art	p.10
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1984.01.04	DongA Ilbo	Winter traveler	p.9
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1984.04.27	Maeil Economy	Report	p.4
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1984.11.02	DongA Ilbo	Life information	p.7
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1984.11.23	Gyeonghyang	Teachers	p.7
1984.11.28	DongA ilbo	Opera culture	p.6
1984.12.07	Gyeonghyang	Photo: update	p.9
1985.03.12	DongA Ilbo	In photographs	p.10
1985.04.22	Gyeonghyang	Entertainment	p.12
1985.04.25	Gyeonghyang	Mountain	p.6
1985.05.04	Maeil Economy	Differences	p.8
1985.06.11	Maeil Economy	Spring - culture	p.9
1985.07.05	Gyeonghyang	Let's go there!	p.12
1985.07.09	Gyeonghyang	News	p.5
1985.10.12	DongA Ilbo	Update	p.2



1985.10.24	Gyeonghyang	Somewhere nice to live	p.12
1985.11.22	Gyeonghyang	Culture	p.9
1985.11.29	DongA Ilbo	Silla replication	p.5
1985.12.20	DongA Ilbo	The land	p.10
1985.12.20	Gyeonghyang	News	p.10
1986.01.14	Gyeonghyang	Buddhist art	p.10
1986.03.12	Maeil Economy	How did we succeed?	p.6
1986.04.18	DongA ilbo	21 <sup>st</sup> Century	p.3
1986.04.24	Gyeonghyang	Silla	p.9
1986.05.15	DongA Ilbo	Museum in Gyeongju	p.9
1986.05.23	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – national art	p.6
1986.06.18	DongA Ilbo	Political talk	p.3
1986.06.20	Gyeonghyang	Tourism commemoration	p.10
1986.06.28	DongA Ilbo	News	p.6
1986.07.08	Gyeonghyang	Koreans today	p.9
1986.07.23	Gyeonghyang	Update	p.9
1986.07.30	DongA Ilbo	News	p.7
1986.08.22	Gyeonghyang	Excavated Silla relics	p.6
1986.08.22	Gyeonghyang	Our heritage and tradition	p.7
1986.08.26	DongA Ilbo	News	p.10
1986.09.06	Maeil Economy	Hobby	p.11
1986.10.09	Gyeonghyang	86 Autumn	p.10
1986.11.11	DongA Ilbo	National history	p.10
1986.11.15	Gyeonghyang	We missed it	p.6
1986.11.24	Gyeonghyang	Interview	p.2
1986.11.28	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram restoration	p.6
1986.11.28	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram architecture	p.6
1986.11.28	DongA Ilbo	Life information	p.12
1986.12.11	DongA Ilbo	Culture bulletin	p.10
1987.01.26	Gyeonghyang	Silla	p.6
1987.01.30	Maeil Economy	20 year commemoration	p.9
1987.02.16	Maeil Economy	Dolmens and Seokguram	p.9
1987.02.28	Gyeonghyang	Ruins	p.13
1987.03.03	Gyeonghyang	Singing	p.11
1987.06.05	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju	p.9
1987.06.29	DongA Ilbo	Culture bulletin	p.6
1987.07.15	Maeil Economy	National stamp	p.9
1987.07.30	Gyeonghyang	Passing it onto our children	p.11
1987.08.04	Gyeonghyang	In one look	p.10
1987.08.13	Maeil Economy	Collection	p.9
1987.09.14	Gyeonghyang	Autumn nights	p.6
1987.10.20	Gyeonghyang	Physics scholar	p.6
1987.10.29	Gyeonghyang	Mireuksa and Seokguram	p.10
1987.11.11	Maeil Economy	In between	p.9
1987.11.30	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram	p.10
1987.11.30	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju Seokguram	p.10
1987.12.28	DongA Ilbo	Tour destination	p.6
1988.01.09	DongA Ilbo	TV documentary	p.8
1988.03.15	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa - surrounding	p.11
1988.03.22	Gyeonghyang	Silla and Baekje and Gaya	p.6
1988.06.06	Gyeonghyang	Buddhist poems	p.9
1988.07.02	DongA Ilbo	Korean	p.8
1988.07.15	DongA Ilbo	News	p.3
1988.07.16	DongA Ilbo	News	p.6
1988.08.16	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.19
1988.09.09	Maeil Economy	Town	p.13
1988.09.16	Gyeonghyang	Leisure	p.3

1988.09.23	Maeil Economy	Let's protect	p.20
1988.10.03	DongA Ilbo	Interview	p.2
1988.10.04	Hanggyre	Who protects?	p.7
1988.10.04	Hanggyre	Seokguram's true appearance	p.7
1988.11.05	DongA ilbo	Brothers	p.9
1988.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram exhibition	p.8
1988.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Replications	p.8
1988.11.24	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.12
1989.01.28	DongA Ilbo	Couple's tourist attraction	p.9

**Table 5.5** Details of newspapers published on the Seokguram Grotto during the 1980s (source: Naver News Article Library)

Evidently, the main emphasis all throughout the MDE was on 1) restoration and preservation, 2) national heritage, 3) tourism, and 4) educational value of the grotto. PCH's involvements were clearly publicised; to use an example, on April 1, 1962, the article titled *Chairman Park Chung Hee – Silla's Heritage*, reported how PCH was hard at work to protect and preserve Silla's heritage 'for the nation'. The word 'Chairman' was arguably used in order to emphasise the extent to which PCH was hands-on in the culture sector. Another striking article was published on April 25, 1962 entitled *Preserving a thousand years*. This article reported that PCH and the CPA were working hard to preserve 'a thousand years' for the nation to see and experience. Here, we can once again return to Smith's (2006) arguments on how the power relations control the way heritage becomes talked about and seen.

Regarding the impacts of PCH's territorial interests and politics on the grotto, being located in the same city as the previous case study meant that PCH similarly utilised the construction of the Seoul-Busan Expressway to enable convenient access into Gyeongju and the individual sites. In this regard, PCH's territorial interest and policy can be analysed to have had significant impacts on the grotto's promotion. Also, there were more specific construction works around the grotto in order to enable more convenient access as revealed in the article *Ground constructions near Seokguram (DongA Ilbo, 1962.05.16)*; showing how both large and small scale constructions works were done to open this site to the public as an official tourist attraction.



## **Discussions**

Overall, similar to case studies III and IV, this case also reveals the intense impacts ‘dictatorial spotlight’ or ‘dictatorial favour’ can have on a heritage site’s preservation, protection, and promotion. The grotto arguably benefitted enormously from PCH’s heritage and territorial interest and policy. Fitting into PCH’s desired heritage aesthetic and being located in a politically selected region meant that it was 1) able to receive restoration and conservation measures on a national scale, 2) promoted as ‘national heritage’ from the early years of the MDE, and 3) and people were provided with convenient access from the city and more specifically into the actual grotto through large and small scale construction works. PCH’s position as dictator meant that he was able to make decisions (as he pleased) and implement them through state-funding, academics, archaeologists, the media, etc. Through the continuous governmental (dictatorial) actions and investments on this site as well as the large quantity of newspaper articles that were released to emphasise the grotto’s value to the nation as ‘national heritage’, it is possible to see how dictatorial spotlight indeed rigorously controlled the way of seeing, talking about, and writing about heritage (Smith 2006).

### 5.3. Case Study VI: Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs

The Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyph is a rock panel covered in prehistoric artwork located on the lower part of a 30m tall cliff that faces north in the Metropolitan City of Ulsan. The whole frieze contains more than two hundred identifiable figures, including fourteen humans, a hundred and ninety three animals, five ships, six tools, and seventy eight unknown images (Fagan 2014). This site was selected as a case study because, although located in an area favoured by the territorial policy, the site itself was unknown until the middle of the MDE.

#### Site biography

In Ulsan, there are two rock art panels – the Cheonjeon-Ri Petroglyph<sup>35</sup> and the Daegok-ri Petroglyph. This case study specifically focuses on the Daegok-ri Petroglyphs as it unintentionally became severely affected by the construction of water dam built during the PCH administration. Both the Cheonjeon-Ri Petroglyphs and the Daegok-ri Petroglyphs were discovered in the early 1970s which meant that despite them being located in one of the most spotlighted areas during the PCH regime, no one knew about it for the first decade of the MDE. The Daegok-ri Petroglyphs is a particularly interesting case as even today, the biggest and unresolved problems stems from the water dam that was built back when no one knew about its existence.

- Location

The Daegok-ri Petroglyph is located in the Metropolitan City of Ulsan (fig 5.17). The exact location of this particular petroglyph site is on the steep cliffs of the riverside of the Daegokcheon stream, a branch of the Taehwa River that runs eastward and joins the East Sea at Ulsan. The city of Ulsan, as noted, was selected in 1962 by PCH to be made into an industrial city. Based on its geographical location near the coast, Ulsan soon became South Korea's industrial powerhouse. The PCH government invested significantly in the industrialisation of Ulsan, with PCH himself visiting to cut the inaugural tape in 1962 (Kim 2009).

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<sup>35</sup> The Cheonjeon-Ri Petroglyphs was discovered on December 24, 1970 by the Ulsan Research Team of Dongguk University Museum – a year before the Daegok-ri Petroglyphs were discovered.



**Fig 5.17** – Map of South Korea showing Ulsan in red

- Historical context

Broadly speaking, this site is associated with the end of the Neolithic (5,000 – 1,000 BC) and the early Bronze Age (1,000 – 300 BC). Fagan (2014) notes that without occupation deposits or paint residue for radiocarbon dating it is difficult to capture a more precise date. Since its discovery in 1971, there have been different views amongst researchers concerning when the rock art was started and completed. On the whole, scholars have come to the agreement that the Daegok-ri Petroglyphs were made from the late Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age (7,000 to 3,500 years ago) (Kim 2013:173). This has largely been based on results from analysis of animal bones discovered in Ulsan, as well as on research in the wider archaeological environment of the Ulsan area (Kim 2013:173).

Such studies and interpretations emerged post-1971 after the discovery of the rock panel on December 25, 1971. It is important to note that this site was unknown until 1971. Even

after its discovery, although it became a topic of interest in the academic realm, it took some time for it to become promoted on a national level as ‘official heritage.’ The Daegok-ri Petroglyph was designated as South Korea’s 285<sup>th</sup> National Treasure on June 23, 1995 (Fagan 2014).

- Archaeological significance

Ever since its discovery in 1971, the archaeological significance of this site has been studied and analysed by scholars. The drawings on the Petroglyph have been explained to depict the lives of the prehistoric people, making them important for our understanding of our origin and ancestry (Lee 2012:106). Moreover, the engravings on the rock panel have been claimed to hold navigational value and to represent historic evidence in the understanding of the prehistoric people and their lives who recorded “their scene and left their mark in history” (Lee 2012:106). The value of the petroglyph has been categorised into 1) artistic, 2) symbolic, and 3) geologic.

Regarding the artistic value, the representations on the rock have been divided into anthropomorphic (that describe the whole body or face of a human), zoomorphic (that express sea and land animals), tools (that show relations with hunting and fishing such as floats), and indeterminate (where it is hard to identify clearly their theme or shape) (Kim 2013:167). Kim argues that such engraving provides important information about hunting and distribution of large-size animals like whales (2013:167). As can be seen from fig 5.18, the panel contains a wide variety of artistic themes.



**Fig 5.18** Illustration of the Daegok-ri rock panel  
(Displayed in the Daegok-ri petroglyph site)

The symbolic value of this site has also been discussed. Lee notes that the symbolic significance and meaning behind the artwork continues to attract researchers (2012:106). Their various interpretations and suggestions include some who believe them to have religious meanings and others claiming that they capture the educational scene of teaching methods of hunting, along with theories about a formal ancestral ritual purpose. Lee, however, argues that the only conclusion we can factually draw upon at this point is that the drawings of whale hunting were done many thousands of years ago by the prehistoric people in Ulsan (2012:106).



**Fig 5.19** The scene of the whale hunt (Kim 2013:84)

Lastly, in terms of geological research value, the composition of the site has been analysed to have been mainly hornfelsed shale and the surface of the rock consists of weathering layers (average porosity 25%) that discriminated mineral and chemical composition against fresh rock (average porosity 0.4%). The lost area of major Petroglyphs was calculated to about 23.8% (Lee et. al 2012:153). Since the piece has survived for many thousand years, the site has been argued to hold a significant amount of archaeological research value (Kim 2013; Lee 2012; Lee et.al 2012).

On the whole, this Daegok-ri petroglyph site has been claimed as “prehistoric rock art that has deep significance as a treasure of the prehistoric period on the Korean peninsula as the embodiment of history and culture” (Kim 2013:30). Furthermore, it has been praised for depicting “the most ancient whaling scenes in the world, that are considered highly important not only as a first representation of whaling but also for understanding the prehistoric maritime culture in the Northern Pacific Area” (Lee 2013, quoted in Kim 2013:175). It has also been evaluated to reflect the unique maritime fishery culture of the North Pacific coasts and the first whale hunting relics of mankind.

Regarding whether the timing of the understanding of the historical context and archaeological significance determined how this site was perceived by the PCH and CDH, despite being located in the most politically selected city for industrialisation, the fact that this petroglyph was unknown and ‘hidden’ until 1971 meant that it was unable to be credited or managed properly prior to and during the early years of the MDE. Also, even after its discovery, it took some time to research the site which meant that efforts to preserve and promote it as ‘national heritage’ took additional time.

### **Preservation status during the MDE**

Although the construction of a water dam in Ulsan may seem like a separate matter to ‘what was done’ to preserve the Daegok-ri Petroglyph during the MDE, covering the content of it is crucial as it turned out to completely change the fate of the rock panel in both the medium and long terms.

In 1962, the PCH government constructed what they named ‘Sayeon Dam’ with the aim of supplying the citizens of Ulsan with drinking water. This project was completed in 1965. Since then, the Daegok-ri petroglyph has been and remains flooded for around eight months of every year – meaning that it is only possible to see the rock up-close for four months in one year (Fagan 2013). The rising and lowering of the water levels has ever since been a threatening issue to the preservation of the rock art.

To examine ‘what was done’ post the construction of the Sayeon dam, in 1968, Moon Myeong Dae (who was the Director of the Research Institute of Korean Art History at the time) conducted a three-year research project in Ulsan with the team at Dongguk University Museum.<sup>36</sup> The aims were primarily to survey what Buddhist remnants Ulsan holds. The Daegok-ri Petroglyph, in many respects, was discovered ‘by accident’ in 1971 by the Dongguk University Investigation Team. Fagan (2013) notes how a detailed study of all the engravings was made possible due to the major drought in 1970. The discovery of this rock panel attracted much attention from archaeologists in 1971 with its zoomorphic and andromorphic images that had not been seen in rock carvings previously (Kim 2015:56).<sup>37</sup> Extensive research began opening up new areas of research in the fields of archaeology and ancient art (Kim 2013:186).

It was not until 1974, however, that a complete drawing of the rock was able to be produced, due to the periodic flooding (Kim 2013:33). In the basin of the Daegok-cheon stream (which runs through Ulsan) numerous relics were found, including dinosaur footprints, wormholes, marks of waves, cross-bedding, and mud cracks (Kim 2013:52). Furthermore, in 1984, the first detailed studies of the engravings were completed and published. As a result of the long period of neglect (and also the flood situation from the dam), the rock engraving on the eastern side revealed signs of weathering.

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<sup>36</sup> The Dongguk University Museum was established on April 10, 1983 and since then, its aim has been to preserve the cultural heritage of Korea’s ancestors as well as to preserve the Korean Buddhist culture ([https://web.dongguk.ac.kr/english/main/sub\\_5\\_13.j](https://web.dongguk.ac.kr/english/main/sub_5_13.j), accessed: August 10, 2018).

<sup>37</sup> For example, whales and whaling which were believed to demonstrate the past subsistence economy and religious system (Kim 2015:56).

Due to the ‘late’ discovery of this site, overall, the Daegok-ri Petroglyph was unable to receive direct interest or investment by either PCH or CDH which furthermore meant that it was unable to become a central project of the CPA. In this regard, it can be evaluated that the heritage policy during the early years of the MDE was an indifferent matter to the preservation of this Petroglyph as it was unknown and hidden. It did, however, become an exciting discovery in the academic realm which meant that professionals gathered to discuss its preservation methods and plans. Despite such academic interests, the flooding due to the Sayeon Dam became an increasingly serious issue for the site.

### Promotion status during the MDE

A total of 10 articles can be tracked during the MDE, according to the Naver News Article Library. Compared to the previous two case studies (IV and V) a drastic difference in quantity can be seen. What this shows rather strongly is that the promotion of heritage, or the recognition of a site as heritage, was dependent on the dictatorial governments. Here, we can return to Foucault’s discussions on governmentality; how indeed, power affects knowledge or in this case, the knowledge that becomes (or does not become) articulated to the nation. Overall, there were 4 articles focusing on the rock art (highlighted in yellow) and 2 articles focused on preservation issues (highlighted in green).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1967.06.06	Maeil Economy	Following the fishing rod	p.3
1971.07.24	DongA Ilbo	Art remains	p.1
1973.10.03	Gyeonghyang	Ulsan’s Treasure losing its form?	p.7
1975.08.16	DongA Ilbo	Historic Bangudae	p.6
1976.07.02	Gyeonghyang	Ulsan’s summer attraction	p.4
1978.07.03	DongA Ilbo	Discolouration discovered	p.7
1979.06.18	DongA Ilbo	203 Ulsan	p.5
1984.10.01	DongA Ilbo	Report on Bangudae Petroglyphs	p.10
1986.05.29	Gyeonghyang	Korean history: Ulsan	p.9
1986.06.05	Gyeonghyang	Mysteries of Korean prehistory	p.9

**Table 5.6** –Details on the newspaper articles written about the Bangudae Petroglyphs during the MDE (source from Naver News Article Library)



To look further into what was written, after the discovery of the petroglyph in 1971, there was an article published under the title *Art remains* describing the Petroglyph as a rock covered in art work “like a gallery” (*DongA Ilbo*, 1971.07.24). As extensive research had not yet been conducted at this point, the early articles were vague in their description and details. Two years later in 1973, there was an article titled *Ulsan’s Treasure - losing its form?* This article can be summarised as a ‘complaint’ article: the writer reports on the Cheonjeon-Ri Petroglyph (National Treasure No. 147) and how despite signs of deterioration, due to a shortage of funds, there were no plans to preserve Ulsan’s heritage. A change in tone can be seen in the 1975 article which was entitled *Historic Bangudae*. This article reports on how the rock panel is starting to attract historians and archaeologists. In the following year (1976), the Bangudae site was reported as “Ulsan’s summer attraction” and although this article was not specifically dedicated to the petroglyph, the writer referred to the rock panels as a “marvellous attraction” (*Gyeonghyang Press*, 1976.07.02).

Towards the latter years of the 1970s, there was yet another change in tone – focusing more directly on the preservation of the petroglyph. In 1978, there was an article titled *Discolouration discovered* and it reported on how the rock art panel was being washed by the river and rain water. It further detailed how discolouration was starting to appear. In the next year (1979), a photograph of the Daegok-ri Petroglyph was published (fig 5.20).



**Fig 5.20** – Photograph of Daegok-ri Petroglyph published in *DongA Ilbo*, 1979.06.18

In 1984, a more comprehensive report was published on the Petroglyphs entitled *Report on Bangudae Petroglyphs*. This was a 140-page report pieced together by the Dongguk University Museum team on the findings from their research on the Bangudae Petroglyphs.

Since this report, the value of the Petroglyphs in Ulsan can be evaluated to have increased, as can be learnt from the 1986 (May, 29) article entitled *Korea's history: Ulsan*. This article reported on how Ulsan is a “place full of mystery” and how the place is full of historical tracings. Another article was published in the same year (*Gyeonghyang* Press, 1986.06.05) once again emphasising Ulsan as one of the “mysteries of Korea’s prehistory.” Details on the Daegok-ri Petroglyph were included with a photograph (fig 5.21).



**Fig 5.21** – Photograph of the Daegok-ri Petroglyph from *Gyeonghyang* Press, 1986.06.05

Did the promotion of the Daegok-ri petroglyph become affected by PCH and/or CDH’s heritage and territorial interest and policy? In the articles, no mention of PCH or CDH can be found – confirming that this site was not regarded as politically important during the MDE. Arguably, their lack of interest was reflected in the small amount of promotion it received in newspapers during the MDE. PCH, as noted, was interested in investing in Ulsan for rapid industrialisation. However, Ulsan’s industrial transformation did not influence the promotion of the Daegok-ri Petroglyph. What this suggests is that ‘Petroglyphs’ much like the dolmens did not fit the desired political connotations for the city during the MDE. This consequently meant that it did not become protected or promoted as national heritage.

## **Discussions**

Overall, the construction of the Sayeon Dam in 1962 can be underpinned as the act that had the most impact on this site both in terms of its preservation and promotion. Both PCH and CDH’s heritage interests were elsewhere from this rock art panel and this consequently meant

that its geographical location, in this case, did not provide any additional benefits for its preservation or promotion. Returning to the theoretical discussions, a few observations can be made through this case study. The first concerns Harvey's (2001) argument that heritage is used to complement contemporary narratives. This case shows the opposite outcome of what can happen when a site does not fit into the contemporary narratives. The results were: 1) slow progression in terms of national promotion and 2) limited amount of interest and funding on a national scale. The second concerns Smith's (2006) ideas on how some people (power holders) have *more weight* than others when it comes to heritage management and decisions. Although this site captured the interest of some academics and archaeologists, as it did not fit into the desired heritage aesthetic or narrative of PCH and/or CDH, it meant that the site could not receive funding, protection or promotion to the same extent as case studies III, IV and V. That this site was 'hidden' and 'unknown' for such a long time can be seen to be the governing reason behind how it was received by PCH and CDH (who controlled the culture sector).

### **Concluding remarks**

To conclude, this chapter has reviewed three detailed case studies from the Yongnam region and explored whether and, if so, to what extent these sites became affected by the MDE's heritage and territorial interests and policies. Much like the previous chapter, these cases also reveal mixed results. As for case studies IV and V, the two sites were spotlighted and selected by PCH as they complemented the specific heritage-aesthetic PCH was after. PCH evidently used these sites to construct his own image and also his desired national narrative. The fact that the two sites were pre-valorised as 'heritage' prior to the MDE arguably worked to PCH's advantage as this meant that he did not have to spend additional time educating the nation on the archaeological significance of the sites. PCH's utilisation of the Seoul-Busan Expressway to provide convenient access into Gyeongju show how being located in the Yongnam region (for case studies IV and V) had additional benefits. Case study VI, however, was much like case study I. From case studies I and VI, it is clear that regardless of which region (selected or neglected) the heritage was located, if it did not have valorisation as 'heritage' and if it did not suit the favoured heritage aesthetic PCH or CDH were looking for, it had little chances on gaining recognition on a national level. The outcomes shown from the case studies explored in this chapter furthermore demonstrates the impact dictatorial power

had over heritage management and use. Case studies IV and V in particular can be drastically contrasted to case studies I and II; being at the opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of political favour and neglect. What these results clearly show are, how indeed, heritage (and its fabricated narrative) became a trend to complement the contemporary political agendas. By explicitly focusing on the characteristics and consequences of heritage management during dictatorial regimes, 'ADD' aims to provide a comprehensive framework and analytical lens.

## Chapter 6 – Medium term and long term impacts

This chapter will summarise the discussions from the previous two chapters and then briefly examine whether PCH and CDH's actions had any long-term impacts on the preservation and promotion of the sites. In order to do so, the first part will analyse the overall medium-term impacts PCH and CDH had on the six sites and furthermore outline the characteristics of their authorised dictatorial discourse (ADD), as learnt through the case studies. The second part will examine whether efforts to preserve or promote each site continued, grew or declined post MDE (1988 onwards) and then address to what extent such growth or decline may be interpreted as extended impacts of the MDE's heritage and territorial policies.

### 6.1. Summary: medium-term impacts

Case study	Involvement with PCH and/or CDH	Preservation efforts	Promotion efforts
Gochang Dolmen	None	Minimum regional efforts	Very little
Suncheon Bay	CDH	Publicised efforts by the CDH government but very little actually implemented	Very little
Mireuksa Temple	PCH and CDH	Significant efforts by the PCH and CDH governments	A lot of effort
Tombs 155 and 98	PCH	Significant efforts by the PCH government	A lot of effort
Seokguram Grotto	PCH	Significant efforts by the PCH government	A lot of effort
Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs	None	Minimum efforts by both governments	Very little

**Table 6.1** Summary of the preservation and promotion efforts of each site during the MDE

PCH and CDH's heritage and territorial interests and policies evidently had varying impacts on each site's preservation and promotion during the MDE. In terms of preservation, as discussed, the outcomes were mixed. For case studies I and II, dictatorial neglect of the heritage sites and their wider regions proved to be beneficial (on the whole) as limited exposure to pollution meant that the heritage was preserved in many respects. Differently, for case studies III, IV and V, which were very much selected and favoured by PCH and/or CDH and in their cases, dictatorial favouritism ensured beneficial conservation and restoration measures. Case study VI is a special case in that both its preservation and promotion became

severely affected by the construction of a water dam, an outcome which was unintentional. Overall, regarding preservation, the outcomes varied with some sites experiencing immediate additional benefits from dictatorial favouritism and other sites experiencing unexpected benefits from being left alone.

In terms of promotion, however, the outcome was arguably either one or the other; the sites either became iconic national heritage sites or lesser-known regional heritage projects depending on whether the dictatorial regimes selected them for national promotion or not. Case studies III, IV and V were ‘spotlighted’ sites by PCH and/or CDH and consequently, they grew into South Korea’s iconic and representative heritage sites and were repeatedly glorified and romanticised in the press. As for case studies I, II and VI, they were ‘outside’ or ‘indifferent’ to the heritage aesthetic PCH and CDH wished to emphasise (and associate themselves with) and their little interest in these sites was reflected in the small amount of press they received during the MDE.

The case studies can provide an in-depth look into PCH and CDH’s authorised dictatorial discourse (ADD). PCH’s ADD can be summarised using the following six points: 1) he turned to ‘cultural heritage’ to construct a desired narrative and image; 2) he selected ‘aesthetically impressive’ and well-known sites for restoration and associated himself with them; 3) he decided which sites and historical periods were *worthy* of commemoration; 4) he ordered money (national expenditure) to be spent on what he deemed to be important and worthy of restoration; 5) he hired and fired people based not on their expertise but on their loyalty and obedience to him; and 6) he placed little importance in theory, principle or experts but rather operated under what *he* regarded to be right ‘for the nation.’

As for CDH, his usage of heritage as a political tool can be said to have been more complex than PCH’s. I have argued that his heritage selection (of sites around the Honam region) may have been a publicity stunt for desperate image reconstruction post the Gwangju Massacre. His mentioning of ‘Gwangju’ in his speech (case study II) and his prioritisation of ‘Baekje’ (case study III) over ‘Silla’ (or any other sites) can be used to support this argument. CDH’s ADD can be summarised using the following three points: 1) he (much like PCH) selected ‘aesthetically impressive’ and well-known sites and associated himself with them; 2) he expressed special interest in the Honam region sites arguably with political motivations;

and 3) he arguably and deliberately shifted the heritage focus from ‘Gyeongju Silla’ to the ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ in order to symbolise the shift of power from PCH to himself.

From examining how the six sites were preserved and promoted during the MDE, a few similarities between PCH and CDH can be found in regards to their heritage interests and policies. The first and the most obvious one is that they both decided to turn to ‘cultural heritage’ to construct a desired national narrative as well as to (re)construct their own images as the nation’s patriotic leaders. The second is that they both selected and emphasised the importance of *certain* sites, *certain* historic periods and *certain* historic figures; this is a common pattern in the examination of dictators around the world and their usage of *certain* parts of the past. The third is that ‘pre-valorised’ heritage sites stood a very high chance of being made ‘official heritage’ during the MDE, as can be seen through case studies III, IV and V. Arguably, both PCH and CDH endeavoured to *immediately* associate themselves with valorised sites rather than using the time to research and introduce lesser-known sites to the nation. This is plausible as both PCH and CDH came to power via a *coup d’etat* and was eager to *quickly* legitimise their illegal seizure of power. An additional similarity between PCH and CDH’s heritage policies was that their actions and efforts to preserve and promote were either fully present (case studies III, IV and V) or barely present (case studies I, II and VI). Returning to Smith’s AHD (2006), the core notion is that ‘the way of seeing’ and ‘the way of talking about’ heritage is controlled by professionals and experts. On the same lines as Mussolini, Franco and Castro’s examples (as explored in chapter 2), PCH and CDH’s cases can be used to expose how during dictatorial regimes, heritage (its language, discourse, and control) becomes manoeuvred by a dictator not based on experts or professionals, but rather according to the dictator’s own decisions, desires and circumstances.

## **6.2. Long-term impacts**

This section will review ‘what was done’ to each site post MDE. I note here that as the Naver News Article Library only stores newspaper articles written until the year 1999, the ‘promotion’ section will focus on the articles written during 1989 – 1999. It will also include other efforts made by the national and local governments to ‘promote’ the heritage sites.

- The Gochang Dolmen site

Efforts to preserve and promote the Gochang Dolmen site, on the whole, saw growth post MDE. Regarding preservation efforts, Lee and Shin (2010) note that in 1999, the Wonkwang University Research Institute for Mahan Baekje Culture set out to excavate sixteen dolmens<sup>38</sup> before the construction of the West Coast Highway. The aim was reportedly to examine the dolmens' substructures and their typological changes. This excavation revealed the diverse forms of dolmen burial chambers. Next, in 2002, the Wonkwang University Museum excavated Jungnim-ri dolmen No.2419 which was damaged due to a typhoon (Typhoon Lusa) that struck the site. The damaged dolmen was consequently rescued. In 2003, the Wonkwang University Museum further conducted a survey of the numbers and clusters of dolmens. As a result, the Jungnim-ri dolmens No.2419 and 2433 became designated as 'disaster dolmens' (a dolmen in danger of severe damage) and this survey furthermore revealed that 1,655 dolmens formed 2,015 clusters in Gochang. In 2005, the Wonkwang University Museum once again conducted a survey and made a distribution map; as a result, 1,327 dolmens were recorded.



**Fig. 6.1** – The dolmen site post-2008, after the residents had moved out (Gochang Cultural Research Institute)

As argued, being 'left alone' by the government did not affect the structure of the dolmens prior to and during the MDE. A change that took place, however, as part of World Heritage nomination, was to relocate the residents (Gochang Cultural Research Institute). The site was

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<sup>38</sup> In Jungnim-ri and Yeji-ri



officially designated as UNESCO World Heritage on December 2000 and from then on, a slow procedure commenced to relocate the residents and to remove the houses. By 2008 (eight years after World Heritage designation), all the houses were removed and the dolmens became presented as an ‘official’ heritage site (fig 6.1). With the residential houses removed, the dolmens became the stand-out features of the landscape. The most visually apparent points were the close proximity of the dolmens as well as the quantity of them. Fences to mark where the visitors are and are not permitted to walk were erected thereafter as a form of presentation and protection (fig 6.2).



**Fig. 6.2** – The Gochang Dolmen site today with fences and official sign-posts

As the majority of the dolmens managed to stand until now without fences or sign posts, the erection of fences and sign-posts were arguably not technically needed preservation measures. However, such actions can be argued to be helpful in preventing possible or potential future damage to the dolmens from everyday-activities; to protect the dolmens and to present them as ‘official heritage.’ What should be pointed out, however, is that apart from the 447 ‘UNESCO registered’ dolmens in Gochang, the remaining hundreds (even thousands) of dolmens scattered around the area have not been given much protection (fig 6.3).



**Fig. 6.3** –Dolmens outside the UNESCO-radius around Gochang today



**Fig. 6.4** – Left: a table-type dolmen in Gochang outside the registered site, right: photograph showing how it is possible for visitors to go inside the dolmen

Fig 6.4 is an example of a dolmen that is within Gochang but not within the radius of the World Heritage site. It is one of the most distinctive and representative table-type dolmens but the only management measure of it is a fence. Tourists are able to enter the dolmen and it is common to see visitors leaning on the dolmen to take photographs. This is possible because there are no security cameras or members of staff near this dolmen. The management of the dolmens in Gochang, therefore, can be categorised into two parts: the 447 protected and UNESCO designated dolmens, and the hundreds upon thousands of other ‘non-UNESCO’ dolmens distributed around Gochang. For the designated ‘site’ that gained UNESCO World Heritage status in December 2000, there has been and continues to be systematic management measures.

Efforts to promote the site in the press also grew during the decade post MDE, especially leading up to and after UNESCO World Heritage designation. Table 6.2 presents details of the newspaper articles that were published throughout 1989 – 1999. A total of 49 articles were released and as can be seen, the emphasis was placed on the dolmens as prehistoric monuments with 19 articles (highlighted in yellow), and the dolmen site as a tourist attraction with 13 articles (highlighted in green).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within article
1989.01.27	Gyeonghyang	Shaking dolmens	p.13
1992.03.10	Gyeonghyang	Dolmen museum in Gochang	p.10
1992.03.10	Gyeonghyang	The dolmens dispersed in Gochang	p.10
1994.07.01	Gyeonghyang	Re-discovery of cultural heritage: dolmens in Gochang	p.11
1994.07.01	Gyeonghyang	Dolmens in Jungnim-ri Gochang	p.11
1995.03.27	Hanggyre	Dolmens in the North Jeolla province: centre for education	p.21
1995.03.31	Hanggyre	Fragment news	p.16
1995.08.04	Hanggyre	Leisure news	p.16
1996.02.02	Hanggyre	Leisure news	p.16
1996.04.05	Hanggyre	Leisure news	p.16
1996.10.04	Hanggyre	Leisure news	p.17
1996.10.11	Hanggyre	Leisure news	p.16
1997.02.06	Gyeonghyang	Our country's land and pride: Gochang glory	p.32
1997.03.27	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.12
1997.05.01	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.12
1997.08.30	Gyeonghyang	Tracing cultural heritage: large dolmens	p.16
1997.12.17	Gyeonghyang	Winter pre-survey	p.30
1998.01.15	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.17
1998.03.18	DongA Ilbo	Bulletin	p.13
1997.07.22	Gyeonghyang	Forget about daily life for a moment	p.21
1998.07.23	DongA Ilbo	North Jeolla's mother	p.20
1998.08.04	DongA Ilbo	Gochang, Hwasun dolmens UNESCO	p.13
1998.08.07	Gyeonghyang	UNESCO candidate registration plans	p.14
1998.08.08	Maeil Economy	UNESCO World heritage designation application	p.17
1998.08.29	DongA Ilbo	Gochang, Hwasun dolmens world heritage registration	p.18
1998.09.12	DongA Ilbo	Sympathy	p.25
1998.10.10	DongA Ilbo	Information	p.2
1998.10.28	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.24
1998.11.04	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.28
1998.12.16	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.26
1999.02.24	DongA Ilbo	Preserving megalithic culture	p.17
1999.02.24	Gyeonghyang	Diverse culture	p.27
1999.02.24	Maeil Economy	Preserving megalithic culture	p.35
1999.02.25	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.21
1999.03.02	Hanggyre	Protecting dolmens law	p.17
1999.03.02	Maeil Economy	Interview: official protection of dolmens	p.35
1999.03.04	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju Silla relics, UNESCO registration processed	p.31
1999.03.04	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju, Namsan UNESCO registration	p.29

1999.03.05	Gyeonghyang	Namsan and other sites UNESCO registration	p.19
1999.04.07	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.26
1999.04.08	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.20
1999.04.08	Maeil Economy	Korea, Japan's megalithic culture	p.28
1999.04.21	Gyeonghyang	Report	p.26
1999.04.22	DongA Ilbo	South Jeolla's glory: Holiday note	p.40
1999.05.05	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.14
1999.05.17	Hanggyre	South Sea road	p.29
1999.11.04	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.23
1999.12.21	Hanggyre	Reporter's feedback	p.26
1999.12.31	Gyeonghyang	Discovery of dolmens in Ganghwa	p.25

**Table 6.2** – Details of newspapers published on the Gochang Dolmen site from 1989 – 1999  
(Source: Naver News Article Library)

Compared to ‘what’ and ‘how much’ was written about the dolmens during the MDE, a definite growth in the number and a change in the tone can be traced. Presently, the image of a dolmen (fig 6.5) represents the Gochang County.



**Fig 6.5** Gochang County logo (from the Gochang County website)

Overall, it is evident that actions to preserve and promote the site grew after the MDE. It is, however, interesting to note that even after the MDE, the interventions were conducted by academic institutions based in the Honam region (i.e. the Wonkwang University) as opposed to becoming a mainstream national project. This indicates that the significance of dolmens, especially during the decade post MDE, remained ‘regional’ more so than ‘national’. The registration and designation of the site as UNESCO World Heritage can be pinpointed to have been the biggest turning point both in terms of its preservation and promotion. However, that the site did not become a central concern of the culture sector following the MDE and that it took eight years after World Heritage designation to re-locate the residents can be argued as long term extended impacts of the political neglect during the MDE.



- The Suncheon Bay

Efforts to preserve and promote the Suncheon Bay also saw growth post MDE. As noted, despite CDH's public announcement to protect the grounds of the bay during the 1980s, the site was soon found to be abandoned and heavily littered. The year 1993 was a significant turning point for the site as some Suncheon locals decided to restore the river channel of the Dongcheon Stream downstream and collect litter (Kang 2017:2). A few noteworthy actions after the MDE are the following: in 1996 experts conducted the first ecological study on the bay and thus in 1998 the grounds became designated as the 'Third Mud Flat Wetland Conservation Area' by the Korean Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries. Following on in 1997, there was another litter collection. This was all initiated by the Suncheon City government, who responded to the efforts and desires of the Suncheon residents.



**Fig 6.6** - The Suncheon locals clearing out litter in the Suncheon Bay in 2000 (Lee 2016)

In 2002, the South Sea and the Suncheon Bay became connected and in 2003, the Suncheon Bay became designated as an official National Ecological site. In 2005, the Migratory Bird Protection and Environmental Diversity Protect contract system became activated. Furthermore, in 2003 (December), the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries declared the Suncheon Bay a 'Wetland Protection Area' and in January 2006, the site furthermore became registered as the first wetland of international importance under the

Ramsar Convention in Korea (Kim 2009:19).<sup>39</sup> This spurred civic groups and the city government to recognise and work on the clearing of this site – eventually leading to more effective governance and cooperation with international societies that transformed the site into a repository of marine ecology receiving both domestic and global recognition (Kang 2017:1).

Next, in 2008, the site became designated as a National Ecological Garden and in 2009, 282 sites around the bay were torn down. Following on in 2013, the site became exhibited as a National Ecological site and in 2014 a Research Institution opened dedicated to the Suncheon Bay. In 2015 the site became designated as the first official National Garden (Lee 2016). Kang remarks that this can be seen as an achievement and reflects the efforts made by the residents, related organisations and the Suncheon city government, who spent more than ten years working to preserve the ecological value of this site (2017:2). Monetary investment to manage the Suncheon Bay is also evident in more recent years (fig 6.7).

Item	Budget for Suncheon Bay over last 5 years					
	Year	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Suncheon Bay Management Budget	Total	4,425,859	4,986,416	3,257,620	4,177,794	6,751,895
	Nat'l cost	35,000			50,000	2,050,000
	Provincial cost	17,500	580,000	165,000		
	City cost	3,878,359	4,406,416	3,092,620	3,777,794	4,701,895
	Special accounting	495,000			350,000	

**Fig 6.7** – 2012 – 2016 Budget for Suncheon Bay Conservation Project (Currency: Korean won) (Kang 2017:6)

Jung notes, however, that as with most if not all natural heritage sites, this site is faced with conflict between a ‘development-oriented’ or ‘preservation-oriented’ protection (2000:54). Jung adds how development supporters assert that exploitation is necessary to prevent flooding and overflow, but preservation supporters urge that salt marshes and reeds keep the water quality clean and prevent autotrophication. Jung adds that with the site being a

<sup>39</sup> South Korea entered the RAMSAR Convention in July, 28, 1997. Currently, South Korea has 22 designated sites as wetlands of international importance.

unique wetland reserve which attracts rare species, in the long term, ‘preservation’ is indeed an issue that should be systematically considered. It must also be considered that attracting more people will inevitably and consequently change the atmosphere and living conditions for the rare species - making their home resemble a ‘zoo’ or an ‘exhibition’ more than a ‘tidal flat’ or ‘wetland’ (2000:54).

The fact that this area was left relatively undisturbed during the MDE was arguably a governing reason for the outstanding preservation of the grounds but with continuous development plans post MDE, the future of the site is open for debate. In the present day, the Suncheon City Council is making consistent efforts to preserve the grounds as well as to promote this site as a tourist attraction (Jung 2000). As part of their efforts, all the grounds are protected and surveyed via their CCTV cameras (fig 6.8). The landscape of Suncheon Bay and its surroundings was designed to suit the ecological grounds with the centre of the site made into an eco-villa.



**Fig 6.8** – The Suncheon Bay in the present day – security office with CCTV Cameras

In terms of promotion, efforts post MDE also saw substantial growth. With the South Korean government gaining an understanding of the concept and value of ‘natural heritage’ after the MDE, actions to promote the Suncheon Bay evidently emerged. A total of 100 articles can be tracked during 1989 – 1999, and as can be seen, a few points were particularly emphasised: 1) negative contamination news (9 articles highlighted in green); 2) the ‘development and protection’ news (17 articles highlighted in yellow); 3) news on the rare

hooded crane bird (21 articles highlighted in turquoise); and 4) news promoting the Suncheon Bay as a tourist attraction (11 articles highlighted in purple).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1989.03.15	Maeil Economy	South Korea Island – once again craze	p.15
1990.03.19	DongA Ilbo	Suncheon City – developmental disagreements	p.19
1991.03.01	Hanggyre	Pollution dispute adjustment committee constitution	p.8
1991.08.26	Gyeonghyang	Selfish groups	p.14
1992.07.12	Gyeonghyang	Creation home town (Taebaek Mountain)	p.9
1993.09.29	DongA Ilbo	A sea where fish cannot live	p.25
1995.04.14	Hanggyre	Eager sound of Boseong	p.16
1995.07.27	Hanggyre	60km of 'Black' Sea	p.1
1995.07.28	Gyeonghyang	Disturbances to the Gamak Bay	p.1
1995.09.21	DongA Ilbo	Theme holiday (4) Gwangju cultural walk	p.39
1996.04.24	Hanggyre	History through literature	p.14
1996.09.05	Hanggyre	Southern Sea Bay Development proposal	p.21
1996.09.05	Gyeonghyang	Seven bays – development plans	p.22
1996.10.04	Hanggyre	Disappearance of wetlands – seven eco marshes in the South Jeolla province	p.11
1996.10.04	Hanggyre	Wide eco marsh grounds	p.11
1996.10.04	Hanggyre	Crabs in the Suncheon Bay	p.11
1996.10.04	Hanggyre	Interview: Uni of Suncheon Biology student	p.11
1996.10.21	DongA Ilbo	Nature purification facility – wetland preservation	p.27
1996.10.31	Gyeonghyang	Suncheon City push ahead – Dongcheon Sea business	p.21
1996.11.18	Hanggyre	Experience, Life's moment	p.22
1996.11.19	DongA Ilbo	Suncheon Bay rare species group form	p.46
1996.11.25	Hanggyre	Let's protect Suncheon's rare species	p.23
1996.11.25	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay's hooded crane	p.23
1996.12.03	Hanggyre	To the warm southern land	p.1
1996.12.05	Hanggyre	Today's top news	p.1
1996.12.05	Hanggyre	Pure winter sea	p.11
1996.12.05	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay's grounds	p.11
1996.12.12	Hanggyre	South Jeolla province's sea taste	p.28
1997.01.28	DongA Ilbo	Winter guest – Hooded crane in the Suncheon Bay	p.47
1997.01.30	Hanggyre	South Jeolla province's Suncheon Bay – special sea food	p.13
1997.02.02	DongA Ilbo	Citizens gather to protect the Suncheon Bay	p.25
1997.02.03	Hanggyre	Saving the wetland – international cooperation	p.27
1997.02.11	Gyeonghyang	Rare specie – Hooded crane in the Suncheon Bay	p.21
1997.02.11	DongA Ilbo	Discovery of Black Hooded Cranes in the Suncheon Bay	p.45
1997.02.13	Gyeonghyang	Winter in the Suncheon Bay	p.33
1997.02.13	Gyeonghyang	Special sea food in the Suncheon Bay	p.33
1997.02.13	Gyeonghyang	The black hooded crane in the Suncheon Bay	p.38
1997.03.15	Hanggyre	Rare species in the Suncheon Bay – worthy of national protection	p.27
1997.05.16	Gyeonghyang	South Jeolla province Suncheon Bay – national investment for preservation	p.21



1997.11.05	Gyeonghyang	South Jeolla province Suncheon Bay – sound of Autumn	p.25
1997.11.05	Gyeonghyang	Holiday	p.25
1997.11.05	Gyeonghyang	Suncheon Bay – national protection of the ‘heaven for birds’	p.25
1997.11.05	Gyeonghyang	Son Joon Ho’s “Suncheon Bay is my art studio”	p.26
1997.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Hooded crane in the winter	p.1
1997.11.10	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay’s hooded crane	p.27
1997.11.27	Hanggyre	Beauty of the Suncheon Bay	p.13
1997.12.03	Gyeonghyang	Adventure mania Park Jong Gil	p.30
1997.12.24	Gyeonghyang	Sun set in the Suncheon Bay	p.25
1997.12.25	Hanggyre	Winter holiday	p.12
1997.12.25	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay’s danger of extinction	p.23
1998.01.07	DongA Ilbo	Folklore scholar Joo Gang Hyun’s work	p.10
1998.01.31	Hanggyre	EBS special – sound of existence	p.14
1998.02.16	Hanggyre	The one and only earth	p.15
1998.03.11	Gyeonghyang	A priceless holiday for 9,800 Korean won	p.21
1998.03.25	Gyeonghyang	An affordable holiday – discount coupon	p.21
1998.04.08	Gyeonghyang	“Triple” holiday - affordable	p.21
1998.04.22	Gyeonghyang	“Triple” affordable holiday	p.21
1998.04.27	Hanggyre	Protection of our rare wetland	p.19
1998.04.29	Gyeonghyang	Priceless holiday for 9,800 Korean won	p.21
1998.06.21	Hanggyre	Wetland 17	p.22
1998.11.11	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.28
1998.11.12	Hanggyre	Let’s travel together	p.20
1998.11.12	Hanggyre	Rare species in the Suncheon Bay	p.21
1998.11.16	Hanggyre	Black hooded cranes in the Suncheon Bay	p.22
1998.11.23	Hanggyre	Preservation - Development	p.15
1998.11.23	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay’s Hooded crane –international protection	p.15
1998.11.23	Hanggyre	International protection of the Hooded Cranes	p.15
1998.11.23	Hanggyre	Protection of rare species Symposium	p.15
1998.11.23	Hanggyre	Rare species scholar in Suncheon	p.15
1998.11.27	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay – An eco-marsh park opening	p.2
1998.12.02	Gyeonghyang	Discovery team at the Suncheon Bay in winter	p.27
1998.12.10	Hanggyre	Discovery team in winter	p.20
1998.12.17	Hanggyre	Winter birds - let’s go see them	p.20
1998.12.23	Maeil Economy	Let’s see rare species in winter in the Suncheon Bay	p.16
1998.12.31	Hanggyre	Eco-garden	p.20
1999.01.01	Hanggyre	Suncheon Bay – burning of the field of reeds	p.31
1999.01.12	Hanggyre	21 <sup>st</sup> century – Local to international through the support of the locals	p.3
1999.01.12	Hanggyre	Environment or development?	p.3
1999.01.12	Hanggyre	Preparing for the future – education in schools	p.4
1999.01.18	Hanggyre	Local to international	p.3
1999.01.19	Hanggyre	21 <sup>st</sup> century Suncheon Bay – participation of the locals	p.6
1999.01.26	DongA Ilbo	Black hooded cranes – emergency	p.23
1999.01.30	Gyeonghyang	Ganghwa and Suncheon wetlands survey for preservation	p.18
1999.01.30	DongA Ilbo	Taebaek Mountain – national gardens	p.30
1999.02.14	Hanggyre	Singing ducks	p.22
1999.03.05	Hanggyre	Holiday documentary	p.15
1999.04.16	Hanggyre	Wetland – damage dangers	p.25
1999.05.15	Hanggyre	Pushing ahead with Halla Mountain protection plans	p.13

1999.09.07	Hanggyre	Hanggyre 2	p.1
1999.09.07	DongA Ilbo	National recording of 82 species (discovery)	p.22
1999.09.07	Hanggyre	National record of 82 species	p.28
1999.09.07	Hanggyre	Amazing discoveries in the Suncheon Bay	p.28
1999.09.07	Maeil Economy	Suncheon Bay ark shell 80% compensation demand	p.36
1999.09.16	Maeil Economy	South Sea wetlands development	p.36
1999.10.09	Hanggyre	Danger of extinction of rare species	p.21
1999.10.09	DongA Ilbo	Rare birds all around the world	p.29
1999.10.13	Gyeonghyang	Lonely winds in the autumn	p.31
1999.11.11	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.23
1999.11.11	DongA Ilbo	Photography themed holiday plans	p.47
1999.12.08	Gyeonghyang	Winter guest	p.31

**Table 6.3** – Details of newspapers published on the Suncheon Bay from 1989 – 1999 (source: Naver News Article Library)

More recently, the Suncheon City has included the ‘Eco-Geo’ mark with the image of the hooded crane on their main website as well as postmarks around Suncheon as their central and representative image (fig 6.9).



**Fig 6.9** ‘Eco Geo’ Suncheon, from Suncheon City website

Overall, being located in the politically neglected region during the MDE meant that the Suncheon Bay was able to preserve itself in a time of a country’s rapid industrialisation. Lack of dictatorial interest in the Suncheon region as a whole meant that the grounds did not become destroyed or developed. The shift in terms of the value of ‘natural sites’ as ‘heritage’ in South Korea post MDE was arguably fundamental for the Suncheon Bay. The preservation and promotion of the site can be largely credited to the Suncheon locals who felt a need to clear out the littered grounds. The fact that the site was left abandoned for a long period of time and that the clearing out of the litter and preservation efforts were pursued locally in Suncheon can be seen as extended long-term impacts of the MDE’s indifference towards this site and also the Suncheon region as a whole.

- The Mireuksa Temple site

Efforts to preserve the Mireuksa Temple site were upgraded following the MDE. In 1996, when the overall excavation project was completed, the site was officially presented as a tourist attraction (Iksan 2001:185). Another significant management action occurred in the following year (1997) when the Mireuksaji National Museum, located to the southwest of site, was opened with the purpose of preserving and displaying more than 19,000 cultural heritage objects that were discovered during an excavation survey of the site conducted between 1980 and 1996 (Iksan 2001:185). Also in 1997, the Cultural Heritage Administration decided to create safety and restoration measures for the temple and by October 2001, six floors of the temple stood up to a total height being 14.24m.

A particularly significant year for the site was 1998 when the west stone pagoda's concrete support (implemented by the Japanese government in 1914) was removed. This resulted in the dismantlement of the entire temple structure. Therefore in 1999, a total maintenance plan for the site was devised. Despite these actions, however, the drainage system of the site was raised as a problem for the site. The North Jeolla Mireuksa Temple Exhibition Hall addressed this issue in the 2007 *Detailed Survey and Preservation Methods of the Mireuksa Temple* report with a proposition that there needed to be a more thorough method for long-term preservation (NRICH and Iksan 2010: 10, vol. IV). Therefore, the Iksan County requested a large-scale cooperative operation from the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH and Iksan 2010:8, vol.1).

Also in 2007, the Iksan Country started to plan a scholarly symposium with motivations to reconsider the values and meanings that the Mireuksa Temple holds historically. In the following year (2008), a more thorough management plan of the site was constructed (Choi 2009:7). Also importantly, in 2008, the foundational research for a step-by-step restoration project was launched, which produced the *Mireuksa Temple Scholarly Data on the Digital Context*, and the *Mireuksa Temple Architectural Investigation* as well as the *Mireuksa Temple Maintenance Survey and the interpretation of current problems* (NRICH and Iksan 2010:9, vol.1). In the following year (2009), the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage partnered up with the Architectural Cultural Research Institute in order to officially produce a research plan for a regular restorative project on the temple remains. There were three main

focuses in the 2009 project: 1) a research plan for the repair of the temple alongside the research of the foundational layers, 2) interpretative research involving the geophysical exploration of the Mireuksa Temple, and 3) a maintenance scheme for the environmental policy with a research of the economic impacts of the temple (NRICH and Iksan 2010:9, vol.1). It was also in 2009 that more than 1,100 reliquaries were found during the disassembly and repair of the stone pagoda at the Mireuksa Temple site. This ultimately led to UNESCO World Heritage registration in July 2015 (Iksan 2001:185). Today, the management of the Mireuska Temple, as part of the larger ‘Baekje Historic Areas’ unit, is divided between various sectors who hold different roles and responsibilities.



**Fig.6.10** - Restoration works in 2009 (CHA 2009:173)

A two-day international scholarly symposium was launched in the following year on May 27, 2010, named *The Baekje Buddhist Culture’s Mireuksa Temple* (NRICH and Iksan 2010:10, vol.1). Additional 3D scans of the Mireuksa Temple architectural excavations and the floor plan was also conducted in May 2010, with the survey of the surrounding landscape conducted during the May and June of that year. What is interesting is that despite consistent restoration works to preserve the temple since 1901, the temple was dismantled in 1998 after the removal of the cement placed by the Japanese in 1915. Since the temple collapsed, the opted alternative was to start restoration/reconstruction works. Fig 6.11 and 6.12 show the progression of the reconstruction.



**Fig.6.11** The rebuilding project in 2009 – laying down the first floor (CHA 2009:174)



**Fig.6.12** The stones of the Mireuksa Temple dispersed on the site

Recently, an article was released entitled *The Cement uncovered and the Baekje Temple revealed*.<sup>40</sup> In this article, Woo (2018) details how the restoration of the Mireuksa Temple has been completed after 20 years since the removal of the cement placed by the Japanese which led to its collapse. Woo further reminds the readers that the temple is South Korea's National Treasure (No.11) and that it remains South Korea's finest and largest Baekje temple. The restored temple was reported to have been mixed with original stones from the temple with new stones, compiled with the latest architectural techniques. Moreover, it was reported that despite theories that the temple was originally 9 storeys high, after much debate, it was finalised to restore the temple with 6 storeys.

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<sup>40</sup> Woo, W (2018) *The cement unraveled and the astonishing Baekje temple revealed*, DongA Ilbo (21.06.2018)

Efforts to promote the site saw a decrease compared to the MDE (table 6.4). A total of 65 articles can be found throughout 1989 – 1988. Evidently, reoccurring themes were ‘discovery and adventure’ (22 articles highlighted in yellow) and ‘restoration and survey’ (7 articles highlighted in green).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1989.07.01	Gyeonghyang	7 – 1 (century) man and woman discovered	p.14
1989.07.04	Maeil Economy	A discovery in Iksan	p.12
1989.07.04	Maeil Economy	A discovery near the Mireuksa pond	p.12
1990.01.11	Hanggyre	History adventure (Iksan region’s Baekje culture)	p.12
1990.04.15	DongA Ilbo	35 year old women (archaeology) – Jung Gye Ok conversation	p.7
1990.07.19	DongA Ilbo	Iksan palace 5 storeys	p.17
1990.11.19	DongA Ilbo	Jeonju Museum	p.12
1990.12.30	DongA Ilbo	Survey of each region	p.5
1991.01.15	Gyeonghyang	People of withstand ability	p.17
1991.04.09	DongA Ilbo	Baekje Buddhist temple inspection	p.13
1991.09.13	Maeil Economy	Restoring cultural heritage through digital methods	p.10
1991.09.13	Gyeonghyang	A nondrinker’s hiking	p.18
1991.11.24	Gyeonghyang	Lee Hwa Ryoung’s grandfather “crossing Mireuksa”	p.23
1992.05.09	Hanggyre	“The day Buddha came” programme	p.16
1992.07.10	Hanggyre	Iksan’s stone factory ‘employment impact’	p.12
1992.10.25	DongA Ilbo	Best drama	p.20
1993.01.22	DongA Ilbo	Chairperson (king) - story	p.14
1993.02.12	DongA Ilbo	One nation – tradition (culture) in one place	p.11
1993.02.12	Maeil Economy	One nation (Life’s breath) in one place	p.12
1993.03.24	DongA Ilbo	Baekje lion hunter confirmation	p.21
1993.05.29	DongA Ilbo	Channel top	p.14
1993.06.17	Maeil Economy	Atmospheric layer research fieldwork	p.18
1993.06.17	Maeil Economy	Mireuksa’s past fragrance	p.22
1993.06.18	DongA Ilbo	Fragment news	p.11
1993.09.03	Hanggyre	Following on from page 9	p.10
1993.11.30	DongA Ilbo	A nation’s hope – Mireuk-faith	p.14
1994.03.03	Gyeonghyang	Mireuksa heritage – bronze plates confirmation	p.9
1994.07.17	Hanggyre	Last month (on the 6 <sup>th</sup> ) Busan’s interest in Mireuksa	p.12
1995.05.03	Maeil Economy	Seeing Mireuksa and also enjoying the drive	p.46
1995.08.18	Gyeonghyang	North Chungcheong and Chungju	p.47
1995.09.22	Maeil Economy	Finding out more about the Mireuksa excavation	p.29
1995.09.27	DongA Ilbo	Bulletin	p.17
1995.10.04	Gyeonghyang	Buyeo culture fieldwork	p.29
1995.10.06	Hanggyre	Fragment news	p.16
1996.01.19	Hanggyre	Fragment news	p.16
1996.01.25	Gyeonghyang	Chungju heritage fieldwork	p.28
1996.02.23	DongA Ilbo	An architect’s survey	p.13
1996.05.19	DongA Ilbo	‘KamEunSa’ restoration	p.22
1996.06.12	Maeil Economy	Cultural sites to visit during break	p.29



1996.10.11	Hanggyre	Fragment news	p.16
1996.10.25	Hanggyre	Tradition, history, culture – reflection	p.16
1996.10.31	Hanggyre	A dead person’s pride	p.4
1996.12.20	Hanggyre	Note of daily life	p.14
1997.01.16	Gyeonghyang	Public bath – cultural heritage survey - programme	p.35
1997.02.20	Gyeonghyang	Wolak Mountain	p.30
1997.02.25	Hanggyre	Living culture – Iksan’s heritage	p.12
1997.04.05	Gyeonghyang	Seeking cultural heritage	p.14
1997.04.05	Gyeonghyang	National Treasure No. 11 and Mireuksaji scene	p.14
1997.05.30	Maeil Economy	Fieldtrip to Yoomyung Mountain in March	p.47
1997.08.07	Hanggyre	Let’s travel together	p.15
1997.08.23	Gyeonghyang	Seeking cultural heritage (32) Mireuksa reflection	p.16
1997.10.08	Hanggyre	Lee Chong Jae – “we need to restore Mireuksa”	p.5
1997.12.12	DongA Ilbo	Kim Dae Jung and Buddhist remains	p.6
1998.04.24	DongA Ilbo	Research institute for national heritage “Silla – Baekje, etc.”	p.19
1998.10.24	Gyeonghyang	Beautiful walk in the autumn	p.18
1999.01.30	Hanggyre	History special: Mireuksa was King Mu’s winning move	p.14
1999.01.30	DongA Ilbo	History special: Mireuksa was King Mu’s winning move	p.20
1999.06.17	Hanggyre	Let’s travel together	p.19
1999.07.30	DongA Ilbo	Shingyesa restoration	p.6
1999.08.17	Maeil Economy	Interest sale article	p.33
1999.10.18	Maeil Economy	Ki Hung Sung – Mireuksa Nine Storeys replica	p.31
1999.11.12	Maeil Economy	Cultural heritage – history adventure	p.32
1999.11.17	DongA Ilbo	Iksan Mireuksa restoration – Baekje tower	p.18
1999.11.17	Gyeonghyang	Tracing cultural heritage	p.30
1999.12.22	Gyeonghyang	No option	p.32

**Table 6.4** Details on the newspapers published on the Mireuksa Temple site from 1989 to 1999 (source: Naver News Article Library)

To sum up, clearly, there were continued efforts to preserve and restore the temple after the MDE as well as a consciousness to continue emphasising the value of the temple to the nation which can be seen as extended long-term impacts of PCH and CDH’s spotlight on the site.

- Tombs 155 and 98 in Gyeongju

Efforts to preserve and promote tombs 155 and 98 can be seen to have continued following the assassination of PCH and post MDE on the whole, despite CDH's shift in focus from 'Silla' to 'Baekje' in the 1980s. The continued interest in the tombs was arguably a result of PCH's intense prioritisation of their excavation during the 1970s. The grave goods excavated from the two tombs were removed to the National Museum of Gyeongju and the outer-mounds of the two tombs are closely monitored by the Gyeongju City government (CHA 2011). A particularly significant year for the tombs and the 'Gyeongju Historic Areas' as a whole was 2000 when it became designated as UNESCO World Heritage (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/976>, accessed September 1, 2018).

The UNESCO nomination published that conservation work of Gyeongju was conducted by Cultural Heritage Conservation Specialists who had passed the National Certification Exams in their individual fields of expertise (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/976>, accessed September 1, 2018). Other conservation measures include actions by the CHA and the Gyeongju City who continue to purchase the land surrounding the designated heritage areas in order to ensure that there are better protection and connectivity between the areas (CHA 2011). The CHA published that their prime responsibilities involve establishing and enforcing policies for protection and allocating financial resources for the conservation of the registered grounds (CHA 2011).

Efforts to promote the tombs continued after the MDE, reflected in the consistent press it received during the decade following the MDE (table 6.5). A total of 122 articles can be found with three broad categories regarding what was centrally communicated to the nation. The first is an emphasis on Korean culture, Korean roots and Korean heritage (18 articles highlighted in yellow). The second is an emphasis on the educational value of the tombs and Gyeongju as a whole (28 articles highlighted in green). The last is an emphasis on Gyeongju as the ultimate tourist attraction (23 articles highlighted in turquoise).



Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1989.05.11	DongA Ilbo	Hoojinoki tumulus – Korea related	p.8
1989.06.09	Gyeonghyang	Korean cultural roots - tumulus	p.13
1989.06.09	Gyeonghyang	Silla carriage	p.13
1989.06.16	Gyeonghyang	Cheonmachong	p.13
1989.07.28	Gyeonghyang	Korean cultural roots - tumulus	p.13
1989.07.28	Gyeonghyang	Cho Hyung Mi – tomb 155 gold crown	p.13
1989.08.29	Maeil Economy	Medium and small – Cultural society	p.12
1989.11.07	Hanggyre	Literary writer of the 80s	p.7
1990.01.01	Gyeonghyang	Wisdom of the Silla people	p.27
1990.01.03	DongA Ilbo	The Cheonmachong horse	p.9
1990.02.01	Maeil Economy	Regional cultural heritage research institute	p.19
1990.02.13	Hanggyre	Cultural literature	p.7
1990.03.16	DongA Ilbo	Re visiting Buddhist heritage	p.19
1990.06.02	Gyeonghyang	Lost pieces	p.17
1990.07.24	DongA Ilbo	Cultural park (Gaya)	p.23
1990.09.01	Gyeonghyang	Prof. Im's archaeology lecture	p.27
1990.09.24	DongA Ilbo	Silk road - Gyeongju	p.9
1990.10.27	Gyeonghyang	Prof. Im's archaeology lecture	p.27
1990.11.03	Hanggyre	Cultural information available by phone	p.8
1990.11.10	Gyeonghyang	Prof. Im's archaeology lecture	p.27
1991.01.14	DongA Ilbo	Cultural heritage - Cheonmachong	p.17
1991.01.04	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju – Hwangnam, Cheonmachong – National Treasure	p.17
1991.02.20	DongA Ilbo	Silla – Arab silk roads	p.10
1991.04.11	DongA Ilbo	A university student's tour around Gyeongju	p.23
1991.04.11	Gyeonghyang	Entertainment: my hometown	p.24
1991.04.11	DongA Ilbo	My hometown (MBC)	p.24
1991.04.12	Hanggyre	'Ruby' Japanese language	p.12
1991.07.13	DongA Ilbo	Silk roads	p.9
1991.07.13	DongA Ilbo	Golden relics found	p.9
1991.07.25	DongA Ilbo	King Kim Suro information	p.16
1992.07.23	DongA Ilbo	Cheonmachong tour	p.6
1992.07.23	Maeil Economy	(Kim Dal Hyun) North Korea's vice president looks around tomb 155	p.3
1992.07.16	DongA Ilbo	Greetings and contact (President Noh)	p.1
1992.04.08	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju – ultimate tourist attraction	p.11
1992.04.10	Hanggyre	Spring's festival	p.21
1992.03.17	DongA Ilbo	Gaya – quest to find out more	p.11
1992.07.18	DongA Ilbo	Sound art	p.31
1992.09.06	DongA Ilbo	Vice president's departure	p.2
1992.09.05	DongA Ilbo	Chinese revolution	p.2
1992.07.23	Gyeonghyang	If reunification was as easy striking a bell	p.2
1992.12.01	Gyeonghyang	After literature – history of excavating relics	p.11
1992.05.16	DongA Ilbo	Korea – mother of pearl ironware, questioning and ultimate harmony	p.20
1992.01.19	Hanggyre	Prime minister Miyajawa leaves Korea	p.2
1992.09.30	DongA Ilbo	Craftsmanship	p.12
1992.01.19	Hanggyre	Japanese Prime minister visits Gyeongju	p.2
1993.01.01	Gyeonghyang	Chicken – year of the chicken new morning	p.29
1993.02.17	DongA Ilbo	World deity	p.19
1993.06.28	DongA Ilbo	Household tombs	p.10
1993.07.08	Hanggyre	New cultural literature to be released	p.9
1993.07.08	DongA Ilbo	Sorrow can also be energy	p.15

1993.07.16	Gyeonghyang	Sorrow can also become energy	p.11
1993.09.02	DongA Ilbo	Tourist attraction for people with physical disability	p.17
1993.12.24	DongA Ilbo	Glory of Baekje	p.3
1994.03.12	Maeil Economy	Cheonmachong	p.11
1994.05.27	Hanggyre	Natural grounds	p.9
1994.07.13	Maeil Economy	Kim Jeong Il knows Korea's economy in detail	p.4
1994.08.03	Gyeonghyang	Survey trip	p.21
1994.08.06	Gyeonghyang	National heritage	p.17
1994.09.15	DongA Ilbo	Late night industry begin	p.28
1994.10.28	Maeil Economy	Tourist attractions in all corners	p.44
1994.12.20	Hanggyre	79 Gyeongju – World's top 10 tourist attraction registration	p.15
1995.01.13	Hanggyre	Egyptian tomb vs. tomb 155 in Gyeongju	p.11
1995.02.07	Hanggyre	Gyeongju National Museum relics	p.13
1995.03.30	DongA Ilbo	Spring flowers and Spring	p.40
1995.04.12	Hanggyre	The way to Cheonmachong	p.12
1995.04.19	Gyeonghyang	The way to Cheonmachong	p.12
1995.04.21	DongA Ilbo	The way to Cheonmachong	p.17
1995.05.16	DongA Ilbo	New translations of 'The way to Cheonmachong'	p.15
1995.08.04	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju tomb 155	p.15
1995.05.16	Gyeonghyang	A place to visit with your children - Gyeongju	p.14
1995.09.19	Maeil Economy	Revealing the Korean embassy	p.2
1995.10.22	DongA Ilbo	Literature on cultural heritage	p.6
1996.01.04	DongA Ilbo	Expressing the origins	p.25
1996.01.21	Gyeonghyang	Interview: Poet Kim Ji Ha	p.13
1996.01.25	DongA Ilbo	Cultural mountain walk	p.34
1996.02.26	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju National Museum	p.23
1996.03.29	DongA Ilbo	Fieldtrip for elderly people	p.37
1996.05.21	DongA Ilbo	If you really treasure Gyeongju...	p.37
1996.07.09	DongA Ilbo	To preserve our cultural heritage	p.39
1996.08.02	Hanggyre	Fragment news	p.17
1996.09.14	Hanggyre	Recreation	p.15
1996.10.02	Gyeonghyang	Excavation story	p.12
1996.12.14	Hanggyre	President Chun's critique of Korean adaptation of Shakespeare	p.12
1997.03.11	Hanggyre	Living cultural heritage – tomb 98	p.12
1997.03.20	DongA Ilbo	Spring festival	p.21
1997.05.28	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju – history adventure	p.31
1997.06.07	Gyeonghyang	Seeking cultural heritage	p.16
1997.07.05	Gyeonghyang	To the mountain, river and summer camp	p.20
1997.07.15	DongA Ilbo	Time machine	p.42
1997.09.22	DongA Ilbo	A dream established through effort	p.39
1997.09.23	Gyeonghyang	Excavation cultural heritage	p.19
1997.12.07	DongA Ilbo	Gwacheon museum	p.23
1997.12.17	Gyeonghyang	Seorak, Gyeongju – budget honeymoon	p.31
1998.01.09	DongA Ilbo	Silla crown replication	p.36
1998.01.20	Gyeonghyang	Restoring history: preserving the relics	p.15
1998.03.04	Gyeonghyang	Making memories	p.23
1998.03.13	Maeil Economy	Performances	p.33
1998.03.19	DongA Ilbo	Honeymoon – around Gyeongju	p.31
1998.03.26	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.15
1998.04.02	Gyeonghyang	The secrets of the golden crown	p.14
1998.04.02	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.15
1998.04.07	Hanggyre	Code of the golden crown	p.14

1998.04.17	DongA Ilbo	Inside Korea	p.38
1998.04.24	DongA Ilbo	The importance of managing Silla and Baekje heritage	p.19
1998.06.17	Gyeonghyang	Cultural heritage	p.22
1998.06.24	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongbok palace preservation	p.11
1998.07.07	DongA Ilbo	Korea's food - rice	p.31
1998.07.16	DongA Ilbo	Hanbok in Gyeongju	p.32
1998.07.16	DongA Ilbo	Three tourist attractions to enjoy	p.33
1998.08.05	DongA Ilbo	Information	p.2
1998.09.10	DongA Ilbo	Silla's thousand years	p.11
1998.12.17	DongA Ilbo	Making memories	p.36
1999.03.02	Hanggyre	Gyeongju city tourism	p.24
1999.03.05	Gyeonghyang	A new park construction in Seoul	p.21
1999.03.20	DongA Ilbo	Full course tourism	p.12
1999.06.05	Gyeonghyang	Five thousand year history of Korea	p.13
1999.07.30	DongA Ilbo	Restoration of cultural heritage	p.6
1999.09.04	Gyeonghyang	Leaking in tomb 155	p.15
1999.09.04	DongA Ilbo	Leaks in tomb 155	p.29
1999.09.22	Hanggyre	Annual reports	p.13
1999.11.10	DongA Ilbo	History in the ground	p.19
1999.11.17	Gyeonghyang	Silla and Baekje restoration – pride of Korea	p.7

**Table 6.5** Details on the newspapers published on tombs 155 and 98 from 1989 to 1999  
(source: Naver News Article Library)

Clearly, even after PCH's assassination, the South Korean government was eager to continue to promote the archaeological, educational and entertainment value of the tombs. The overall number of articles released on the two tombs from the 1970s and onwards sheds light on the significant amount of impact PCH had regarding the national promotion of these tombs in both the medium and long terms. PCH's territorial interests also had some long-term impacts on the promotion of the tombs. According to PCH's endeavours, the Seoul-Busan Expressway became utilised as convenient access into Gyeongju and later Gyeongju became bounded by the metropolitan city of Ulsan – connected to the nation-wide rail and highway networks – facilitating industrial and tourist traffic. Consequently, 'tourism' has become a major industry for Gyeongju (although it is not the only industry) with the city attracting approximately six million visiting tourists including 750,000 international tourists every year (source: <http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/>, accessed July 4, 2016). Overall, PCH's heritage and territorial policy arguably had significant long-term impacts on the preservation of the two tombs as well as on the preservation of Gyeongju on the whole. The fact that a substantial amount of dictatorial spotlight, funding, research and restoration was given to the tombs during the 1970s in many respects guaranteed their valorisation and value as national heritage in the long term.

- The Seokguram Grotto

The Seokguram Grotto, similar to tombs 155 and 98, also experienced continued efforts by the South Korean government to preserve and promote it after the MDE. As noted, the grotto along with the Bulguksa temple, was one of the earliest sites in South Korea to be designated as UNESCO World Heritage in 1995 (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/736>, accessed July 12, 2016). Since gaining World Heritage status, the culture sector has been responsible for establishing and enforcing policies for the protection of the property and buffer zone as well as allocating financial resources for necessary conservation. On a more local level, the Gyeongju city has and continues to be directly responsible for overseeing the conservation and management of the property, in collaboration with the Korean National Park Service which includes regular daily monitoring and in-depth professional monitoring conducted on a three-year basis (CHA 2011). Post MDE, conservation work is conducted by Cultural Heritage Conservation Specialists who have passed the National Certification Exams in their individual fields of expertise and the ventilation fan which posed a risk has been removed and properly managing and control the number of visitors into the grotto has been introduced (<https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/736>, accessed July 12, 2016).

Evidently, careful monitoring and consistent efforts to preserve the grotto continued after the MDE. Regarding whether these efforts can be considered long-term impacts of the MDE's heritage policies, arguably, if the PCH regime had not spotlighted this grotto in 1962 for restoration and long-term preservation, chances of this grotto surviving in the first place can be claimed to have been low. As examined, when the grotto became spotlighted in 1962, it was suffering severely from ventilation problems and so PCH's orders to the CPA to solve this and to find sustainable measures was arguably crucial for this survival of this grotto. That it became designated as South Korea's 24<sup>th</sup> National Treasure in 1962 and that its religious, archaeological, scientific and aesthetic value became repeatedly emphasised in the press during the PCH regime was indeed crucial for securing long term interest and investment on this site. In this regard, PCH's influences and impacts on the long-term preservation of the site cannot be denied.

In terms of promotion, as can be seen from table 6.6, the grotto stayed very much in the spotlight for the decade post MDE. It records the largest number of articles to be released out

of all six sites with 620 articles. Broadly speaking, the main emphasis was on: 1) promoting the grotto as a tourist attraction (76 articles highlighted in yellow); 2) informing the nation on UNESCO World Heritage registration and designation (67 articles highlighted in green); 3) adding excitement and mystery (78 articles highlighted in turquoise); and 4) protection and restoration of the grotto (30 articles highlighted in purple).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1989.01.23	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram lighting debate	p.9
1989.01.23	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram lighting debate	p.9
1989.01.28	DongA Ilbo	Couple's holiday – coincidental meeting	p.9
1989.01.31	DongA Ilbo	North Korea's literature and art	p.17
1989.02.13	DongA Ilbo	Korea's Buddhist culture	p.8
1989.03.03	Maeil Economy	Chuncheon – Daegu - breathable	p.14
1989.03.22	DongA Ilbo	Art relationships	p.8
1989.03.22	Maeil Economy	Lighting in the Seokguram Grotto	p.12
1989.03.23	Hanggyre	Seokguram	p.7
1989.03.27	Gyeonghyang	Photographer (Ahn Jang Hwan)'s Seokguram Grotto	p.4
1989.04.03	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram Hwang Soo Young	p.8
1989.04.04	DongA Ilbo	Seeking Buddhist culture	p.17
1989.04.11	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram – Hwang Soo Young	p.18
1989.04.12	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa – United king	p.9
1989.04.18	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram United King, 21st	p.8
1989.04.22	Hanggyre	Cultural programme for teenagers	p.12
1989.05.09	DongA Ilbo	Silla's relics	p.13
1989.07.27	Hanggyre	Lots of mistakes in art textbooks	p.7
1989.07.27	Gyeonghyang	Silla's grotto	p.8
1989.09.04	Gyeonghyang	Korea's Buddhist culture – Hwang Soo Young	p.8
1989.09.16	Gyeonghyang	Buddhist sculptures	p.4
1989.10.23	Gyeonghyang	The First Book design - winner	p.8
1989.10.26	Hanggyre	Kyobo bookshop book design	p.7
1989.10.26	Maeil Economy	Book design winner	p.12
1989.11.21	DongA Ilbo	Estimation of 25 years	p.17
1989.12.11	Maeil Economy	Art textbooks – full of mistakes	p.19
1989.12.23	Gyeonghyang	National Buddhist education for all students	p.8
1990.02.07	Gyeonghyang	Folklore relics travel	p.8
1990.03.15	DongA Ilbo	Interview: popular Korean tourist attractions	p.8
1990.03.16	DongA Ilbo	Buddhist attraction in the Spring	p.19
1990.04.14	Hanggyre	Japan and our heritage	p.7
1990.04.28	Maeil Economy	Buddha's birthday commemoration	p.12
1990.05.01	DongA Ilbo	Korea's Buddhist history: Seokguram	p.17
1990.05.02	Gyeonghyang	Buddha's footprint	p.1
1990.06.07	Hanggyre	'Art news' Seokguram-Pompeii wall paper special	p.9
1990.06.09	Gyeonghyang	Korea's tea culture	p.19
1990.07.06	Maeil Economy	Buddhist education for teachers	p.19
1990.07.18	Gyeonghyang	Church Bus – mini-van, death of three people	p.14
1990.08.19	Maeil Economy	Sculptor Kim Chang Hee's incredible work	p.11
1990.10.23	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram photography	p.8
1990.10.28	Hanggyre	People's culture – ancient relics	p.3
1990.11.11	DongA Ilbo	Korean's thoughts: Buddhist passion is too strong	p.5
1990.11.11	Hanggyre	Seoul drinking water 1 out of 19 places contaminated	p.13

1990.11.11	DongA Ilbo	Drinking water polluted	p.14
1990.11.12	Gyeonghyang	Pollution of drinking water	p.13
1991.02.07	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju – Yangdong Folk town	p.23
1991.02.20	DongA Ilbo	Silla – Arab – Silk roads	p.10
1991.02.21	Hanggyre	Studying the silk roads	p.9
1991.02.26	DongA Ilbo	The Korean people's wisdom	p.13
1991.04.03	DongA Ilbo	Critique of Asian Art	p.10
1991.04.11	Gyeonghyang	Entertainment tonight	p.24
1991.04.11	DongA Ilbo	“My wonderful hometown”	p.24
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1997.05.07	DongA Ilbo	Jongmyo – Seokguram – UNESCO World Heritage	p.26
1997.05.13	Gyeonghyang	Preserving cultural heritage	p.32
1997.05.17	Maeil Economy	Cultural Heritage series	p.25
1997.05.22	DongA Ilbo	Travel guide – Gyeongju drive course	p.22
1997.05.26	Maeil Economy	Samsung electronics	p.13
1997.05.26	Gyeonghyang	Ongoing endeavours	p.16
1997.05.27	Maeil Economy	Samsung electronics	p.9
1997.05.28	Maeil Economy	Silla discovery	p.46
1997.05.29	Hanggyre	Gyeongju fieldtrip	p.12
1997.05.31	Gyeonghyang	PC room laughter	p.26
1997.06.05	DongA Ilbo	Following Silla	p.21
1997.06.20	Maeil Economy	Daecheon - Gyeongju	p.26
1997.06.21	DongA Ilbo	Changdeok palace soon to be designated as UNESCO World Heritage	p.38
1997.06.28	Hanggyre	Study of Korean Buddhist art in Germany	p.15
1997.06.29	Gyeonghyang	Changdeok Palace – Suwon Fortress designated as UNESCO World Heritage	p.17
1997.06.29	DongA Ilbo	Changdeok Palace – Suwon Fortress designated as UNESCO World Heritage	p.25
1997.07.01	DongA Ilbo	Time machine	p.42
1997.07.05	Hanggyre	Dr. Hwang Soo Young's findings to be released soon	p.15
1997.07.09	Gyeonghyang	Summer school for students – to be held in Gyeongju	p.31
1997.07.09	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram	p.37
1997.07.11	DongA Ilbo	Danger of damage	p.26
1997.07.28	Gyeonghyang	World heritage around the country	p.21
1997.07.28	Maeil Economy	Buddhist cultural heritage – video footage	p.31
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1997.08.22	Hanggyre	UNESCO designation – Jongmyo and Seokguram	p.21
1997.08.23	Gyeonghyang	Tracing cultural heritage	p.16

1997.08.29	DongA Ilbo	Traditional hanbok	p.13
1997.09.01	Maeil Economy	World's cultural heritage series	p.35
1997.09.04	Hanggyre	Special Encore	p.21
1997.09.05	Hanggyre	World cultural heritage – from the 8th	p.21
1997.09.10	Gyeonghyang	Recommended trip	p.30
1997.09.12	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa architectural features	p.27
1997.09.23	DongA Ilbo	Essay on cultural heritage	p.8
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1997.10.08	Hanggyre	World Cultural heritage: Korean series	p.21
1997.10.14	Gyeonghyang	Photograph exhibition of world heritage	p.20
1997.10.15	Gyeonghyang	UNESCO designated heritage: photo exhibition	p.19
1997.10.15	DongA Ilbo	Our mother's country	p.33
1997.10.21	Gyeonghyang	Bulguksa to become the next Seokguram	p.21
1997.10.21	DongA Ilbo	Come to see Choongju	p.27
1997.10.23	Maeil Economy	Tourism – playing - shipping	p.47
1997.10.25	Gyeonghyang	My youth – my love - documentary	p.28
1997.10.26	DongA Ilbo	World heritage	p.5
1997.11.05	Gyeonghyang	Jongmyo and other heritage sites	p.17
1997.11.12	Gyeonghyang	Korea in Europe	p.5
1997.11.12	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram entrance – don't be fooled	p.31
1997.11.13	Hanggyre	Korean culture – symbolic	p.2
1997.11.13	Gyeonghyang	Symbol of Korea	p.22
1997.11.13	DongA Ilbo	This is our heritage	p.30
1997.11.18	DongA Ilbo	Recommended website	p.18
1997.11.18	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju - Namsan	p.19
1997.11.18	Gyeonghyang	To Seokguram	p.19
1997.11.19	Gyeonghyang	Traditional interpretation	p.19
1997.11.19	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram filmed - postcards	p.19
1997.11.20	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.14
1997.11.20	DongA Ilbo	Last Silla person Yoon Gyung Ryul	p.29
1997.11.21	Maeil Economy	Our cultural heritage Seokguram	p.30
1997.11.28	Hanggyre	The cultural heritage in front of us	p.15
1997.12.03	DongA Ilbo	Panorama shot	p.26
1997.12.03	DongA Ilbo	Tradition and Contemporary - meeting	p.26
1997.12.03	DongA Ilbo	Today's event – our cultural heritage	p.34
1997.12.04	Gyeonghyang	Changdeok palace and Suwon fortress designated as UNESCO World Heritage	p.22
1997.12.04	DongA Ilbo	There's so much to see in Korea	p.27
1997.12.04	Maeil Economy	Changdeok Palace and Suwon Fortress – confirmed as UNESCO World Heritage	p.31
1997.12.04	DongA Ilbo	Changdeok Palace and Suwon Fortress – confirmed as UNESCO World Heritage	p.37
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1997.12.17	Gyeonghyang	Travel to see	p.31
1997.12.26	Hanggyre	1997 – wind, run	p.11
1997.12.30	Gyeonghyang	Dream team culture	p.25
1997.12.31	Hanggyre	Let's go explore in the science centre!	p.12
1997.12.31	Maeil Economy	New determination	p.30
1998.01.05	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju Bulguksa surrounding view	p.16
1998.01.12	DongA Ilbo	Korea's Buddhist history – T.V channel 32	p.30
1998.01.14	Gyeonghyang	History day out	p.24
1998.01.14	Gyeonghyang	Daegu park	p.25
1998.01.15	DongA Ilbo	Winter holiday – travel ideas	p.27
1998.02.13	Hanggyre	Korea cultural heritage fieldtrip	p.17



1998.02.20	Gyeonghyang	Japanese ‘Siba Ryota’ book release	p.15
1998.02.23	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1998.02.25	Gyeonghyang	Tourism construction works	p.24
1998.03.04	Gyeonghyang	Making memories on your honeymoon	p.23
1998.03.05	Maeil Economy	Samsung Electronics Design award	p.12
1998.03.10	DongA Ilbo	Precious cultural heritage Seokguram – preservation plans	p.14
1998.03.12	Gyeonghyang	My art – by Choi Jong Tae	p.21
1998.03.13	Maeil Economy	1000 years – Let’s enjoy	p.34
1998.03.14	Gyeonghyang	Welcome – not as much as expected	p.14
1998.03.14	Hanggyre	Writer Kim Ha Ki’s literary works	p.18
1998.03.17	DongA Ilbo	History lessons in heritage site	p.29
1998.03.19	DongA Ilbo	Honeymoon to Gyeongju	p.31
1998.03.24	Hanggyre	The best of our heritage sites	p.12
1998.03.26	Hanggyre	Let’s travel together	p.15
1998.04.02	DongA Ilbo	Gyeongju Namsan – getting to know Gyeongju	p.31
1998.04.11	Hanggyre	Seokguram’s 1000 years	p.12
1998.04.13	Hanggyre	National best	p.25
1998.04.17	DongA Ilbo	National	p.38
1998.04.18	Gyeonghyang	The smile of a thousand years	p.11
1998.04.18	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram - smile	p.11
1998.04.21	Hanggyre	World heritage seen through a cartoon	p.12
1998.04.21	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram - cartoon	p.32
1998.04.24	Maeil Economy	Commemoration card for Buddha’s birthday	p.14
1998.05.07	Maeil Economy	Bulguksa-Seokguram insurance	p.1
1998.05.07	DongA Ilbo	Bulguksa- Seokguram insurance	p.6
1998.05.07	Gyeonghyang	Insuring Bulguksa and Seokguram	p.9
1998.05.23	Hanggyre	This month’s proposal	p.16
1998.05.28	Gyeonghyang	History tour	p.14
1998.05.29	Maeil Economy	‘Breezy’ travel	p.25
1998.06.03	Gyeonghyang	Nature lessons in the nature	p.25
1998.06.11	DongA Ilbo	‘Gyeongju World Heritage’ Homepage launch	p.25
1998.06.24	Gyeonghyang	Discovery	p.14
1998.06.24	Hanggyre	Seokguram construction works – November	p.19
1998.06.30	Maeil Economy	Somewhere near us	p.31
1998.07.02	Maeil Economy	Daegu city constructions	p.35
1998.07.09	DongA Ilbo	Recommended site	p.20
1998.07.14	Hanggyre	Korea’s Buddhist Art – scholar’s observations	p.14
1998.07.16	Gyeonghyang	Korea’s Buddhism – high and low	p.15
1998.07.16	Gyeonghyang	DJ – critique	p.15
1998.07.16	DongA Ilbo	A thousand years – cultural trip for the family	p.31
1998.07.16	DongA Ilbo	Our cultural heritage – enjoy three in one	p.33
1998.07.24	Hanggyre	Lecture on cultural heritage	p.20
1998.07.30	Gyeonghyang	UNESCO registration works	p.2
1998.08.01	DongA Ilbo	“The out layer can go!”	p.12
1998.08.03	Hanggyre	Internet holiday – “where to go?”	p.13
1998.08.05	DongA Ilbo	Commemoration centre for the ‘comfort women’	p.10
1998.08.07	Gyeonghyang	UNESCO world heritage designated sites	p.14
1998.08.08	Maeil Economy	UNESCO world heritage designated sites	p.17
1998.09.03	Gyeonghyang	Five of our country’s UNESCO sites	p.15
1998.09.08	Gyeonghyang	A thousand year legacy Silla Gyeongju	p.14
1998.09.08	Hanggyre	Korea’s UNESCO World heritage	p.14
1998.09.09	Gyeonghyang	Gyeongju’s land	p.21
1998.09.11	DongA Ilbo	Seorabol – ‘a thousand years’	p.13
1998.09.11	DongA Ilbo	4 civilisations – a thorough history survey	p.13
1998.09.12	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1998.09.26	Hanggyre	Something to talk about	p.12
1998.09.28	Maeil Economy	Internet space	p.53

1998.09.30	Gyeonghyang	Plenty to see	p.22
1998.10.30	Gyeonghyang	Artist Choi Jong Tae	p.15
1998.11.11	DongA Ilbo	Giving up the 'terrible' English information leaflet - Bulguksa	p.21
1998.11.12	Gyeonghyang	This month's documentary part 2	p.25
1998.11.16	Hanggyre	Discovering again	p.20
1998.11.24	Hanggyre	Silla relics –the scientific genius of the Silla technicians	p.15
1998.11.25	DongA Ilbo	Special documentary – silk roads	p.39
1998.11.25	Maeil Economy	Manchu - memories	p.48
1998.11.26	Gyeonghyang	Silla's scientific skills, secrets (Ham In Young)	p.15
1998.11.27	Maeil Economy	Science walk (14) pyramid and Seokguram's mysteries	p.14
1998.12.04	Gyeonghyang	Writer Sung Nak Joo's theory	p.19
1998.12.09	Gyeonghyang	Stories	p.28
1998.12.11	Hanggyre	Short	p.14
1998.12.23	Maeil Economy	Suwon Fortress – insurance secured	p.7
1998.12.23	DongA Ilbo	Designation of the Suwon fortress as UNESCO World Heritage	p.22
1998.12.23	Gyeonghyang	Burning away the pain	p.27
1998.12.31	DongA Ilbo	Let's take the kids	p.31
1999.01.01	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju travels	p.26
1999.01.01	DongA Ilbo	A great travel destination to go with the family	p.27
1999.01.12	Hanggyre	The perfect and sophisticated place	p.16
1999.01.30	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1999.02.09	DongA Ilbo	Culture- art: seeing 'those times'	p.11
1999.02.19	DongA Ilbo	Life information	p.17
1999.03.04	Maeil Economy	Gyeongju Namsan – UNESCO World Heritage registration	p.29
1999.03.17	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure 83 - insurance	p.14
1999.03.26	Maeil Economy	Tourists' package trip	p.36
1999.04.03	Hanggyre	Documentary - Gyeongju National Museum'	p.14
1999.04.03	DongA Ilbo	To improve technical skills	p.21
1999.04.07	Gyeonghyang	Reports	p.26
1999.04.08	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.20
1999.04.15	Hanggyre	The trash system ruining Gyeongju	p.6
1999.04.20	DongA Ilbo	The trash near Jongmyo	p.19
1999.04.27	Hanggyre	Short news	p.17
1999.04.27	Gyeonghyang	21 Korea's heritage and legacy (Lee Jong Ho)	p.18
1999.04.27	Hanggyre	Who built our beautiful old house?	p.19
1999.05.03	Maeil Economy	Ancient Korean Buddhist art - EBS	p.35
1999.05.09	Gyeonghyang	Scientist Lee Jong Jo's book	p.11
1999.05.12	Gyeonghyang	Touring around for 6-7 days	p.27
1999.05.14	Maeil Economy	Hanhwa Theme holiday	p.33
1999.05.17	Hanggyre	Tracing our cultural heritage	p.24
1999.05.19	Gyeonghyang	Themed trip	p.26
1999.05.19	Maeil Economy	KBS1 Encore – themed trip – tracing our cultural heritage	p.31
1999.05.25	Hanggyre	Lee Doo Ho's diary	p.23
1999.05.29	Maeil Economy	Seokguram – Kim Han Yong	p.26
1999.06.24	Gyeonghyang	Traditional scientists	p.9
1999.06.24	Gyeonghyang	Dr Nam Chun Woo's Seokguram interpretation	p.9
1999.06.29	DongA Ilbo	Japanese – architecture and pagoda -	p.15
1999.07.09	DongA Ilbo	Nature trip for the family	p.43
1999.07.14	DongA Ilbo	"Suwon-Gyeongju" UNESCO world heritage	p.13
1999.07.19	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1999.07.22	Gyeonghyang	Silla's thousand years – cultural re-interpretation	p.9
1999.07.22	Hanggyre	Let's travel together	p.19
1999.07.27	Gyeonghyang	In between art and history	p.19
1999.07.28	DongA Ilbo	Art history – responding to history	p.13
1999.08.03	DongA Ilbo	Danger of damage – world heritage	p.13

1999.08.11	DongA Ilbo	Writer Kim Ha Ki	p.14
1999.08.17	Gyeonghyang	Newly written national dictionary	p.19
1999.09.07	Gyeonghyang	Arrival schedule	p.22
1999.09.08	DongA Ilbo	Short	p.15
1999.09.09	Gyeonghyang	Kwon Hee Ro's writing	p.23
1999.10.02	DongA Ilbo	"Maximum Korea"	p.33
1999.10.05	Gyeonghyang	History trip to Gyeongju	p.19
1999.10.07	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram and Green tea	p.34
1999.10.13	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram and Green tea	p.13
1999.10.16	Hanggyre	History Special (Seokguram)	p.14
1999.10.16	DongA Ilbo	History Special (tonight 8pm)	p.16
1999.10.19	Gyeonghyang	Korea's important spotlight	p.18
1999.10.19	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram and Green tea	p.48
1999.10.22	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram and Green tea	p.11
1999.10.26	Hanggyre	Seokguram and Green tea	p.22
1999.10.28	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram and Green tea	p.38
1999.11.02	DongA Ilbo	Seoul City	p.27
1999.11.06	Dong A Ilbo	Seokguram	p.35
1999.11.09	Gyeonghyang	Aesthetics of Seokguram	p.18
1999.11.09	Hanggyre	Seokguram's 1200 year secrets	p.23
1999.11.10	DongA Ilbo	The 'second Seokguram' talks	p.19
1999.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram preservation	p.19
1999.11.06	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram - aesthetics	p.35
1999.11.09	Gyeonghyang	Seokguram – breaking stereotypes	p.18
1999.11.09	Hanggyre	Seokguram 1200 years secret	p.23
1999.11.10	DongA Ilbo	The second Seokguram talk – progressed information	p.19
1999.11.10	DongA Ilbo	Seokguram preservation	p.19
1999.11.16	Gyeonghyang	1200 years preservation of Silla's mystery - Seokguram	p.15
1999.11.16	Gyeonghyang	Interior of Seokguram	p.15
1999.11.16	Hanggyre	Opening the doors to the beauty	p.23

**Table 6.6** Details on the newspapers written on the Seokguram Grotto from 1989 to 1999  
(source: Naver News Article Library)

Without a doubt, the grotto managed to stay relevant after the MDE and till this day, it is an iconic tourist attraction in South Korea (CHA 2011). PCH's heritage policy can be summarised to have had enormous impacts on the continuation of such promotion efforts. This case, overall, is one that clearly reveals the profound lasting impacts dictatorial interest and favour can have on both the medium and long-term preservation and promotion of a heritage site.



- The Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs site

Efforts to preserve and promote this site post MDE can be seen to have grown, although the central problem is yet to be solved. The periodic flooding due to the Sayeon water dam continues to be an issue for both the preservation and promotion of the site; the flooding causing erosion and water damage of the rock-art motifs. Lee (2012:104) asserts that the damage from the water dam is “merciless” since being underwater for such a long time means that abrasion and wear on the rocks, as well as corrosion, have led to visible signs of cracks and damages. Responding to this, post MDE, a research institute called the Bangudae Petroglyphs Cultural Conservation Research Lab was opened specifically for research into and the preservation of the Bangudae Petroglyphs. Despite efforts to find preventative methods, however, plans were unable to be immediately implemented for financial reasons (Lee 2012:104).<sup>41</sup>

The most notable governmental act following the MDE regarding this petroglyph was in 1995 when it became designated as National Treasure No.285. It was acknowledged to have great academic value in revealing information about the lives of the prehistoric people as well as opening up prospective research fields in archaeology, anthropology, geography, oceanography and the arts (Kim 2013:52). On the basis that the site was ‘discovered’ in 1971, the fact that it became designated as National Treasure in 1995 reveals that it took a considerable amount of time (twenty-four years) for it to become nationally acknowledged. Despite its acknowledged importance, however, the ever-present issue of the periodic flooding remains unresolved while the CHA and the Ulsan Metropolitan City continue in an on-going debate concerning measures or possible solutions to prevent further deterioration. The CHA continues to urge the quick implementation of a preservation method such as lowering the water levels. This, however, means that the drinking water system will become affected. The city of Ulsan has objected, arguing that such measures will cause a serious water shortage for the Ulsan citizens.

The culture sector in 2014 published plans to build a transparent kinetic dam around the rock panel: a transparent structure with adjustable height according to the water level. The

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<sup>41</sup> Source from Hankook Ilbo article on 2011.11.21, entitled ‘The conflicting preservation practices of the Bangudae Petroglyphs’

announced plan was to build the structure around the Bangudae Panel and raise it only during the wet season. The structural safety of the dam is being tested and argued about, but the issue of accessibility to the site and the dam's effect on the landscape of the site are also causing some serious concerns. The construction of a polycarbonate "dam" was also put forth as an idea by the South Korean government to protect the rock faces. Despite this, the problem remains unresolved (source from Korea *Joongang* Daily Article January 17, 2014).

Another effort by the South Korean government to preserve the site after the MDE was to register the 'Daegokcheon Stream Petroglyphs' under the tentative list for UNESCO World Heritage. The submission was processed on January 11, 2010, by the CHA and the Ulsan Metropolitan City. On the UNESCO website today, concerning this site is the following:

...the Daegokcheon Stream area, where many prehistoric relics including Petroglyphs are distributed, has been very well preserved, and the beautiful scenery has served as a good venue for many people to enjoy nature and cultural activities. This is why systematic measures for preservation of the two Petroglyph sites are needed.

Regarding whether the preservation of this site became affected by the MDE's actions, the answer would be indeed so as the chief concern for the preservation today revolves around the Sayeon Dam which was constructed during the PCH regime. As noted, however, the construction of the water dam was a completely separate act in relation to this Petroglyphs, as it was only 'discovered' nine years after the construction. What this shows quite clearly is the severe indirect impact political decisions and actions can have on heritage preservation both in the medium and long terms. To summarise, efforts to preserve this site post MDE can be evaluated to have grown – mostly as a response to the damage caused by an indirect action during the MDE.

In terms of promotion, efforts also saw growth following the MDE – both by the South Korean government and also on a more local scale by the Metropolitan City of Ulsan. A total of 52 articles can be found and evidently, emphasis was centred on the site's archaeological value (29 articles highlighted in yellow) and the designation of it as National Treasure (7 articles highlighted in green).

Date of article	Name of newspaper	Title of article	Page no. within newspaper
1989.03.03	Gyeonghyang	Korea's cultural roots	p.13
1989.08.31	Hanggyre	National news in one place	p.7
1989.12.30	Hanggyre	Beijing rock art discovered – Bronze Age research data	p.7
1990.11.17	Gyeonghyang	Prof Im Hyo Jae's archaeology lecture	p.27
1990.11.24	Gyeonghyang	Prof Im Hyo Jae's archaeology lecture	p.27
1991.10.07	Hanggyre	Bronze Age rock art discovery - interpretation	p.13
1991.06.08	Gyeonghyang	North Jeolla's Bronze Age Petroglyphs discovered	p.23
1994.02.19	Hanggyre	Bangudae Petroglyphs	p.13
1994.03.24	Gyeonghyang	Bronze Age Petroglyphs discovered	p.22
1994.04.05	DongA Ilbo	Yongnam cultural heritage trip	p.14
1994.08.07	Hanggyre	Bronze Age Petroglyphs - interpretation	p.12
1994.11.11	Gyeonghyang	Regional (Ulsan's) heritage	p.34
1995.01.23	Gyeonghyang	Rock art – drawn 3,500 years ago	p.14
1995.03.04	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure Bangudae Petroglyphs – damages found	p.29
1995.03.10	DongA Ilbo	We need to find a way to prevent further damage of the Bangudae Petroglyphs	p.20
1995.06.25	Gyeonghyang	Ulsan's Bangudae Petroglyphs – National Treasure No. 285 designation	p.22
1995.06.25	DongA Ilbo	Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs – designation as National Treasure	p.25
1995.06.25	DongA Ilbo	National Treasure No. 285 – Ulsan Daegok-ri Petroglyphs	p.24
1996.07.02	Hanggyre	Prehistoric rock art – National Treasure designation	p.12
1995.11.22	Hanggyre	Our heritage – 18- Petroglyphs	p.14
1995.11.22	Hanggyre	Prehistoric 'zoo'	p.14
1995.11.22	Hanggyre	Shapes of prehistory	p.14
1996.11.11	Maeil Economy	12 whales' love story	p.27
1996.01.17	Hanggyre	12 whales' love story	p.12
1996.01.22	Gyeonghyang	Critique – Kim Tak Hwan	p.13
1996.02.06	Gyeonghyang	Ulsan University – Prof. Jo Hyung Dae's talk	p.27
1996.03.07	Gyeonghyang	Imagining out ancestor's thoughts	p.14
1996.03.08	Hanggyre	Warmth and abundance	p.24
1996.04.29	DongA Ilbo	Korea's prehistoric art	p.23
1996.05.14	Hanggyre	UnYang Bangudae	p.16
1997.02.21	Gyeonghyang	Our ancestors' drawings	p.16
1997.07.12	DongA Ilbo	Ulsan educational environment	p.12
1998.01.01	Gyeonghyang	National history	p.23
1998.02.01	Gyeonghyang	Bangudae Petroglyphs' in Ulsan	p.9
1998.02.02	DongA Ilbo	Our cultural heritage exhibition	p.15
1998.02.13	Hanggyre	Korean cultural heritage	p.17
1998.05.26	Hanggyre	Our cultural heritage – by Lee Tae Ho	p.16
1998.05.29	Gyeonghyang	Walking through Korea's prehistory	p.15
1998.05.29	Gyeonghyang	Bangudae Petroglyphs	p.15
1998.07.18	Maeil Economy	Special exhibition of our tigers	p.17
1998.09.02	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1998.11.19	Gyeonghyang	Mongol's Petroglyphs	p.22
1998.12.21	Maeil Economy	'Bangudae Petroglyphs' Ulsan's symbolic feature	p.29

1999.01.23	Gyeonghyang	Education – history special – KBS today 8:10	p.12
1999.01.23	DongA Ilbo	Prehistory seen through Petroglyphs – secrets of the whale hunt in prehistoric Ulsan	p.18
1999.01.30	Gyeonghyang	Hanwoo town – experiencing Silla	p.21
1999.03.05	Gyeonghyang	A female robber	p.2
1999.06.14	DongA Ilbo	In my hometown...	p.21
1999.07.12	DongA Ilbo	In my hometown	p.21
1999.07.12	DongA Ilbo	Dance festival - culture	p.39
1999.08.03	Hanggyre	Korea’s animal art - fish	p.21
1999.12.21	DongA Ilbo	Real life images in Ulsan Bangudae	

**Table 6.7** Details on the newspapers published on the Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs from 1989 to 1999 (source: Naver News Article Library)

On a more local level, the Metropolitan City of Ulsan government has made efforts to promote ‘their’ heritage. As explored, Ulsan became targeted by PCH during the early 1960s to become rapidly industrialised. For this reason, the overall image of Ulsan can be explained to have solidified as first and foremost an industrial and metropolitan city more so than for its history or heritage. Post MDE, there was motivations to reconstruct the image of Ulsan. For example, in 2009, the Ulsan Development Research Team conducted a survey on what the Ulsan citizen’s found to be their representative historical and cultural elements, and results from this survey revealed that 90 percent of the citizens expressed that they found the Bangudae Petroglyphs to be their representative heritage. This was followed by a development plan for the site to turn it into a more accessible tourist attraction of which 57.6 percent of the citizens voted ‘very supportive,’ 26.3 percent voted ‘slightly agree,’ and 12.1 percent voted ‘moderately agree’ (Lee 2012:106). Moreover, a report was conducted on how the citizens of Ulsan shed new light on the significant cultural and historical value of the site and furthermore expressed that they feel that it is their duty to pass on this cultural asset of Ulsan to the coming generations (Lee 2012:106). From such results, it can be shown that both the Metropolitan City of Ulsan and a considerable percentage of the citizens of Ulsan have a desire to be known and acknowledged beyond their ‘industrialised’ image.

Efforts and actions to promote this site after the MDE, on the whole, can be evaluated to have grown significantly. The fact that the site became discovered during the MDE without pre-valorisations as heritage indeed meant that despite its ‘impressive’ aesthetic and being located in a politically-selected region, it took a considerable amount of time for it to become nationally acknowledged. Indeed, this case demonstrates the extent to which heritage can become affected by indirect political decision-making and actions.

## **Concluding remarks**

To sum up, although differing in extent, it is evident that all six sites became affected both in the medium and long terms by the MDE's heritage and territorial policies. As can be learnt, the 'selected' and 'favoured' sites by PCH and CDH (case studies III, IV, and V) managed to stay in the interest sphere of the culture sector and academia which further meant that efforts to preserve and promote the sites continued or grew even further. In the present day, these three sites can be claimed to be iconic and representative heritage sites of South Korea; reflecting the enormous and extended impacts dictatorial spotlight can have on heritage. As for the sites that were considered 'less important' by PCH and/or CDH (case studies I, II and VI), arguably, these sites have predominantly remained in the interest sphere of their regional government and local citizens. Despite how actions and efforts to preserve and promote these sites grew post MDE, a combination of late recognition, insignificant interest, official protection, and general management measures prior to and during the MDE has arguably meant that these sites have had to 'catch up' with the other more recognised and formerly managed sites mostly in terms of national and international promotion.

It is interesting to note how during the MDE, PCH and CDH utilised certain heritage sites and certain regions to primarily promote their own image, and that after the MDE each local or regional government has made efforts to embed and utilise their heritage sites as part of their regional image. From this, one can argue that heritage and territories, whether during dictatorships or democracies, becomes used to promote a range of identities beneficial to the present. The fundamental difference between the two political systems can be argued to be 'who' the legitimate spokesperson for the past becomes. This is how and why the AHD and ADD essentially differ. The legitimate spokespersons for the past in the two political systems have enormously different power structures and this differing level of power, returning to Foucault's ideas on governmentality, evidently has differing levels on the 'knowledge' people receive about the past from the government. Overall, the six sites collectively reveal how ADD inevitably results in long-term impacts. They each, in their own way, show how dictatorial spotlight or dictatorial neglect (in both the heritage and its wider territory) can affect how the heritage becomes preserved and promoted in the long term.

## **Chapter 7 – Conclusions**

This chapter will make the final analysis by returning to the research objectives outlined in chapter 1, followed by a reflection on the concept of ‘soft and hard’ AHD. It will close by exploring how the concept of ADD can be applied in countries and cases beyond South Korea.

### **7.1. Final analysis**

The central objective of this thesis was to examine the extent to which the management of heritage and territories during South Korea’s MDE became an Authorised Dictatorial Discourse (ADD), and how such authority (decision-making and power) had medium and long-term impacts on the promotion and preservation of heritage based on the examples of six selected sites from the two regions. Further objectives were to 1) question how and to what extent PCH and CDH used heritage and territories to construct, reconstruct and promote a range of identities; 2) examine whether there can be any benefits from governmental indifference; and 3) question to what extent dictatorial authority can influence and solidify which heritage sites become ‘important’ to the country and conversely, which sites become neglected or forgotten.

Regarding the central objective, arguably, the management of heritage and territories during South Korea’s MDE clearly became an ADD. This can be supported by two main observations: the first is that certain heritage sites and territories became selected (case studies III, IV and V) or neglected (case studies I, II and VI) and that this was not based on expert advice and nor was there any expectation of accountability for the decisions, rather this was based on the (often personal) desires, decisions and circumstances of first PCH and then CDH. The second is that PCH and CDH exerted monolithic control over the management of South Korea’s land and heritage; affecting their meaning, value and development. In this respect, the case of South Korea’s MDE not only reveals how dictatorial discourse profoundly permeated how heritage was preserved, promoted, ‘spoken about’, and ‘written about’ (in newspapers), but further sheds light on the enormous extent to which political (dictatorial) decisions on ‘land’ deeply affected how heritage became managed and used.

To further address the more detailed research objectives, one specific aim was to examine how and to what extent PCH and CDH used ‘heritage’ and ‘territories’ to construct, reconstruct and promote a range of identities. Through the case studies, it is clear that heritage and territories were used by PCH and CDH but there were subtle differences in their political motivations. As for PCH, he arguably turned to certain heritage sites and territories to construct his image as the nation’s rightful leader and also to legitimise his illegal seizure of power. This, indeed, is a common pattern that can be seen in other cases of dictators around the world. By emphasising the ‘aesthetically impressive’ sites and personally selecting the ‘proud’ past of Korea, PCH evidently endeavoured to promote South Korea as a country that was once strong and racially homogenous. His careful selection of heritage sites also emphasised South Korea’s desperate need for military protection; constructing a highly fabricated narrative to support his military rise to power. As for territories, he selected and favoured the Yongnam region in order to go forth with his vision to modernise South Korea. The Yongnam region was arguably used by PCH to physically reconstruct South Korea and to construct his own image as once again, the nation’s much-needed leader. PCH further managed to intertwine his territorial policy to support his heritage policy (i.e. through utilising the Seoul-Busan Expressway). In summary, his usage of territories and land were very much catered to his personal circumstances.

As for CDH, his engineering of the Gwangju Massacre grew into such a controversial topic for him and his government that claiming political legitimacy was arguably even more challenging for him than PCH. I have argued that CDH used heritage as a means to compensate for his territorial scandal; his prioritisation of the ‘Baekje’ sites and his publicly announced interest in the Suncheon Bay can be seen as his attempts to reconstruct his image in the Honam region. In this regard, rather than using heritage and territories to construct his image as a historical legitimate leader like PCH, CDH arguably used heritage to reconstruct his image in response to his territorial scandal. CDH’s case, in this respect, shows how the politics of heritage and the politics of territory became deliberately intertwined with very particular motivations for image (re)construction.

An additional important point is that the ‘media’ was heavily used by both PCH and CDH as a political tool to promote very particular images and narratives. ‘How much’ was written

and ‘what’ became written about heritage during the MDE arguably significantly depended on whether PCH or CDH was interested or not in a site or its wider region. This is evident and reoccurring in all six case studies. It must be noted that the use of the media to manipulate and control the nation’s way of thinking is not exclusive to dictatorial regimes; indeed, it has been (and remains to be) used all around the world by all different types of political systems. However, given the nature of dictatorial regimes and in particular their rigorous control over all propaganda platforms, close observation of what was written in newspapers can be good indicators of what the *dictators* wanted the nation to read and think. Arguably, both PCH and CDH were eager for the nation to know that they were putting a lot of their time and energy (and government expenditure) into restoring *their* (the country’s collective) heritage in order so that the country could regain its pride and honour. Furthermore, it is most apparent from the case studies that PCH and then later CDH wholly determined which historical episodes, figures and sites were worthy of praise and acknowledgement. As such, a lot of their desired image and narrative constructions can be seen in the media that were published during their regimes.

Another aim of this dissertation was to investigate whether there can be beneficial impact from governmental indifference. The case studies have shown a mixed result in regards to this question. Case studies I and (especially) II can be used to argue how there can indeed be beneficial impact from being left alone politically as such neglect on both the heritage site and their wider regions resulted in better preservation for the heritage sites. However, in contrast, case studies V and VI expose the problems that can occur from governmental indifference – although in different ways. Case study V, for example, is a case that reveals how neglect prior to the MDE almost led to the destruction of the grotto; therefore being a case that further shows the vital importance of political interest and investment for a site. As for case study VI, the fact that the government did not know about this site until 1971 arguably had some detrimental effect for its preservation as this meant that the impact that the water dam would have on the heritage was not known. The case studies, overall, show a mixed picture of both benefits and disadvantages that can occur from governmental indifference. What is interesting from this mixed picture is that it sheds light on how in some cases, ‘political neglect’ can sometimes prove beneficial.



The final objective was to examine to what extent dictatorial authority can influence and solidify which heritage sites become important to the country and conversely, which sites become neglected or forgotten. The six sites each and collectively demonstrate the crucial importance of dictatorial propaganda on the awareness and value of a site in both the medium and long-terms. Evidently, the sites PCH and CDH were interested in were given national spotlight (case studies III, IV and V), whereas the ‘remaining’ sites stayed as niche or regional projects. Particularly, since PCH was the one who launched the heritage sector and sat as the ‘chairman,’ he was able to furnish the culture sector with the heritage sites *he* found to be impressive and important for *his* image. CDH took the same route.

Overall, PCH and CDH’s heritage policies can be used to cast further light on the characteristics of ADD. Their cases show how during dictatorial regimes, the dictator can: 1) completely determine which heritage sites become selected to undergo restoration and other forms of management (i.e. by controlling the culture sector); 2) entirely govern the direction of research (i.e. by controlling national scholarships and select members of different committees); 3) use national expenditure towards what *he* wishes to invest in; and 4) become the *only* legitimate spokesperson for the nation’s past. PCH and CDH did not need consent when it came to making decisions on South Korea’s heritage and territories and evidently, many of their decisions revolved around their personal circumstances and desires. The six case studies can moreover be used to illustrate the enormous extent to which the politics of heritage and the politics of territory became intertwined and influential to heritage management and used both in the medium and long-term. Indeed, a common pattern of heritage and territorial management during dictatorial regimes can be traced; both were authorised by the dictator without the need to look for consent and both used to construct a range of identities (primarily his own).

## 7.2. Soft and Hard AHD

I have argued that Smith's concept of AHD is based on, or limited to, democratic political systems. The proposition of 'soft and hard AHD' endeavours to bring to the surface that heritage discourse can 'soften' or 'harden' depending on the extent of (or absence of) accountability or regulation within a political system.

This thesis has focused on developing 'ADD' which can be categorised under 'hard AHD.' Broadly speaking, 'hard AHD' is applicable to authoritarian regimes; political systems whereby decision-making and power does not need consent and where the power, control and authority is not dispersed or rotated. In such regimes, it is common that a single figure (or a small group) becomes the *only* legitimate spokesperson for the past. To develop 'ADD,' the cases of Mussolini, Franco, Castro, PCH and CDH were used as an analytical lens. Each case reviewed reveals that 'heritage' (or specific parts from 'the past') became a personal and political tool for the dictator(s). With their position of power, they were able to exert an enormous amount of influence over the media, the path of national expenditure, direction of research, physical restoration, the interpretations and also the value and meaning of certain heritage sites. Overall, 'ADD' exposes the extent to which heritage management and use can 'harden' with no adjustments or negotiations between other sectors and the impacts such authority can have on both the medium and long-term.

The AHD, whether soft or hard, arguably involves (although varying in extent) a carefully controlled system where 'the past' is continuously negotiated to suit the values and meanings beneficial to the present. However, with Smith's model being fixed on the western democratic states where adjustments and negotiations are constantly made, it can be used as the conceptual base for soft AHD. It is here that the need for some revision becomes apparent as arguably 'soft' AHD is only applicable to democratic states where heritage becomes managed by professionals and experts and where decisions can be negotiated or adjusted through dialogues and interactions with other sectors. In other words, the AHD in democratic states can be said to be 'soft' or 'softer' in terms of accountability and regulations. This, however, are characteristics that are missing from the ADD.

To sum up, this thesis has addressed the complexities of the ‘heritage discourse.’ It has further examined how differing levels of political authority (on heritage and territories) can have varying and particular outcomes on how heritage becomes managed and used in both the medium and long-term. Being conscious of ‘soft and hard AHD’ and their varying impacts can provide a more comprehensive and more dimensional understanding of a country’s heritage management and use.

### **7.3. ADD: Beyond South Korea**

South Korea’s MDE was selected as this study’s main case study to examine some of the characteristics and consequences of ADD. This does not mean to say that the ADD was modelled after or explicitly for South Korea’s case. By using two cases from Europe (Italy and Spain), one from East Asia (South Korea) as well as a more contemporary case (Cuba), this dissertation has endeavoured to develop a better conceptual and theoretical understanding of heritage management during dictatorial regimes.

The applicability of ADD on a more global spectrum can be argued on the basis of two key points: 1) the distinctive and commonly reoccurring elements of heritage management and use by dictators, and 2) the international and timeless issue of securing and maintaining political legitimacy for dictators which very often governed the path and fate of heritage management and use. The two points are in many respects intertwined. To firstly look at some of the distinctive and commonly reoccurring elements of heritage management and use by dictators, as seen through the examples used, a similar pattern was that they dominated ‘heritage’ by going as far as changing, editing, correcting, and even destroying some parts when it did not correspond to the image or narrative they were looking for. They, with their extent of authority and power, were able to reinforce parts they favoured and also make physical as well as symbolic changes according to their vision. Something that is distinctive and reoccurring in the cases explored is that parts from the past that were deemed to be strong and impressive became reinforced. That a common pattern can be traced arguably puts ADD into perspective

Linked with the first point is the international and timeless issue of political legitimacy for dictators. The cases explored cover examples from different parts of the world as well as

different time periods. What is interesting is that political legitimacy both in terms of securing and maintaining became a priority for the dictators; they needed justification for their forceful actions and they collectively turned to specific parts from ‘the past’ to either reinforce existing narrative or construct new national narratives. The fact that the management and use of heritage so often became driven by the desperation to secure legitimacy and construct a suitable national narrative by numerous dictators is essential in understanding heritage management under dictatorships. The more recent case of Cuba’s heritage policy can be used to argue the applicability of this point. This issue of political legitimacy is also what distinguishes dictatorial regimes from monarchical systems – making ADD exclusively applicable to dictatorships rather than authoritarian regimes on the whole.

Overall, ADD can widen the appreciation for different heritage management practices – in this case, during dictatorships. It is important to point out that ADD is not independent from AHD; they share the same keywords and framework but the difference would be the element of ‘soft and hard.’ In other words, ADD points out that during dictatorships, it is common to see that what becomes heritage and valued as heritage is manipulated by and for the dictator and his government. There are limitations in both Smith’s (2006) AHD and ADD in understanding heritage management practises but what both strives to demonstrate is just how ‘political’ heritage management and use can be. They also cast light on the extent to which heritage management procedures can significantly vary depending on the political system.

## Appendix – Fieldwork (July – December 2016)

### Site visits

Site name	Location	Month of visit	Notes
Gochang Dolmen site	Gochang (Honam region)	August, 2016	I spent the majority of August in Gochang in order to find as much managerial data as possible on the Gochang Dolmen site.
Suncheon Bay	Suncheon (Honam region)	September, 2016	During September, I visited Suncheon and met with the Suncheon Bay curator who provided me with unpublished data and power-point presentations on the management of the bay.
Mireuksa Temple site	Iksan (Honam region)	October, 2016	During October, I collected data on the Mireuksa Temple site. I was able to learn a lot about the temple from the site panels as well as from the Mireuksa Temple Museum located right next to the site.
Tombs 155 and 98 in Gyeongju	Gyeongju (Yongnam region)	November, 2016	November was spent gathering data on the tomb site as well as the Seokguram Grotto.
Seokguram Grotto	Gyeongju (Yongnam region)	November, 2016	As the Seokguram Grotto remains to be a sacred religious site, I was unable to take my own photographs. Therefore, I had to find published photographs of the grotto.
Daegok-ri Bangudae Petroglyphs	Ulsan (Yongnam region)	December, 2016	I visited Ulsan during the last month of fieldwork to take photographs and also to visit the Ulsan Bangudae Petroglyph Museum.

### Visits to academic institutions

Institution	Location	Month of visit	Notes
Wonkwang University	Iksan (Honam region)	October, 2016	Met an administrative staff who provided me with excavation reports and photographs of the Mireuksa Temple site and the Gochang Dolmen site
Wonkwang University Institute for Mahan Baekje Culture	Iksan (Honam region)	October, 2016	This institution is a sub-section of Wonkwang University and since they conducted numerous excavations and surveys on both the Mireuksa Temple Site and also the Gochang Dolmen Site, I made a separate visit and asked the curator for data.
Kunsan University	Kunsan (Honam region)	October, 2016	Met with an administrative staff who provided me with the data on the 2009 survey of the Gochang Dolmen site

### Archive visit

Archive	Location	Month of visit	Notes
CHA archive	Daejeon	July, 2016 and December, 2016	The CHA, formerly the CPA, remains to be (since 1961) the heart of South Korea's heritage management. I made it a priority to visit their archives in order to learn about its formation, the central projects during and after the MDE, and also specific data on my six case study sites. I was able to visit a few times during the first and last month of fieldwork.

## Museum visits

Museum	Location	Month of visit	Notes
National Museum of Korea	Seoul	July, 2016	The National Museum of Korea conducted the first ever excavation of the dolmens in Gochang and so I visited the museum in hopes to track their records. Unfortunately, they did not have any data on the 1965 Gochang Dolmen excavations.
National Museum of Korean Contemporary History	Seoul	July, 2016	This museum is dedicated to South Korea's contemporary history and so I went to go see the displays – particularly focusing on the years 1910 – 1988.
Gochang Dolmen Museum	Gochang (Honam region)	August, 2016	This museum is located right next to the Gochang Dolmen site and so I met with the curator a few times to find data on the site's management history.
Wonkwang Univeristy Museum	Iksan (Honam region)	October, 2016	This museum holds data on the Mireuksa Temple conservation and excavations as well as survey reports on the Gochang Dolmen site. I was able to use their library.
Gyeongju National Museum	Gyeongju (Yongnam region)	November, 2016	This museum displays the majority of the grave goods that were excavated from tombs 155 and 98. I met with the curator and received some published documents.
Ulsan Bangudae Petroglyph Museum	Ulsan (Yongnam region)	December, 2016	This museum is dedicated to the Bangudae Petroglyphs and here I was able to receive both published and unpublished data on the Daegok-ri Petroglyph.

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