

# Islands in Korean Movies: On the Mobility/Immobility of Isolation<sup>1</sup>

**INSEOP SHIN** Professor, Academy of Mobility Humanities, Konkuk University<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

Developments in mobility have brought about a phase in which people across the planet are able to partake in movement. Inhabitants of islands are no exception. The purpose of this study is to explore ways to analyze the problem of (im)mobility depicted in cinema through the example of the film *My Dream Class* (2018) that represents the common sentiment that Koreans have about islands in the twenty-first century. With a focus on illuminating issues for the understanding of the island “here and now,” this study will bring forth how our perception of islands is important to the cultural discourse in Korea.

**Keywords:** Islands, Immobility, Korean Movies, Isolation, *My Dream Class*, the growth narrative, Samsung Dream Class

## Introduction

Since the 2000s, films have been made continuously in Korea that deal with “anti-civilization” on islands, representing typical isolated areas.<sup>3</sup> One feature of these films is that the image of the island is used as a metaphor of isolation, a condition that can stimulate the violence of anti-civilization.<sup>4</sup> In these films, the “island” is an isolated and closed space that is depicted as a place of fear. *Silmido* (2003) is one such island-related film depicting brutality, though its message is somewhat different. The film is based on the true story of the “Silmido Incident,”

an incident that occurred during the military regime in South Korea in which a group of special agents who were on an uninhabited island died during their training for the infiltration of North Korea. As the first movie to attract 10 million viewers in Korea, *Silmido* is characterized firstly by its criticism of the violence of the military regime; and secondly by its reinforcement of the “national identity of the people”<sup>5</sup> by underlining the ideological issues around the division of the Korean Peninsula.

The same is true for novels. Sun-won Hwang’s novel *Woman Diver* (1956), which is set at a chaotic period on Cheju (Jeju) Island during Korea’s independence from Japanese rule,<sup>6</sup> portrays the confined space of the islanders through the perspective of a writer from the mainland. This novel is a story of unresolved love between a female diver and a man who came to Cheju Island from the mainland. What is unusual about the novel is that the woman views the act of moving from the island to the mainland as being taboo. In the end, the woman murders her family for fear of the strange land and refuses to travel to the mainland with her lover. The woman’s excessive sense of isolation is derived from none other than the outsider’s gaze of the island. This is a representation of the island community through the lens of the modern nation-state and the eyes of the outsider,<sup>7</sup> where the violence of anti-civilization against the isolated island is repeated.

Meanwhile, Yeong-mok Son’s *Geoje Island* (2016) is a novel about the conflict that arises from a prison camp that was built in 1950 on Kōje (Geoje 거제도) Island to the south of Korea during the Korean War. The novel depicts an island village where the indigenous people, refugees from the war, and North Korean prisoners of war live exposed to uncivilized violence.<sup>8</sup> As the immobility of the prison camp symbolizes, the novel *Geoje Island* corresponds to the films discussed above in that the island’s isolation is a place of the violence of anti-civilization.

However, as John Urry argues,<sup>9</sup> developments in mobility have brought about a phase in which people of the whole world partake in movement. The reason for the movement varies depending on the subject and the destination. As Peter Adey points out, although our society has grown and prospered through the agency of the sea voyage, maritime mobility has been overlooked within studies of mobility until contemporary times, when the privileged journeys of cruise ships and private yachts are favored.<sup>10</sup> This is true in the case of mobilities in Korea as well. Recently, in Korea, island travel has recently been spotlighted as a form of leisure mobility. As people are attracted to the island as a place for leisure<sup>11</sup> and as Cheju Island in particular becomes a tourist destination frequented by Chinese tourists,<sup>12</sup> the traditional view of the island in Korea is changing. The perception of the island as a place for leisure is different in nature from how the island has been negatively remembered in the past. In this change, how is an island being

represented now? And can the newly represented island remove itself from its representation in the past?

This paper starts with the question of what kind of contemplation is needed for the islands of Korea, after they have gone through a history of brutal violence and ideology, to break away from the seclusion of immobility and move toward an era of mobility. To this day, a total of the 3,339 islands registered in Korea<sup>13</sup> have been alienated from the mainland as backward regions, naturally leading to a negative perception of islands.<sup>14</sup> This is partially caused by the delay in the modernizing of their infrastructure due to the disconnect of the islands from the mainland<sup>15</sup> and partially due to the imaginary sense of “isolation.”

There is a possibility that this asymmetrical perception of islands in Korea will lead to discussions similar to Derek Walcott’s conceptualization of the issue of colonial identity and hybridity in the Caribbean Sea.<sup>16</sup> Globally, dreaming of moving from an island to the mainland has many factors inherent in each situation, including the question of survival as people try to move to higher ground due to the impacts of climate change in lowland islands.<sup>17</sup>

However, as the narratives of exile on Cheju Island suggest, in Korea the island has been recognized as a colony within its own territory or a periphery of the mainland. In these exile narratives, being trapped on the island is asymmetrical suppression. The relationship between the island and the mainland has an irony in that, on the one hand, there is the desire of people to go out to the mainland and, on the other, the conservation of the island’s resources and ecosystems is possible.

As will be discussed later, in the case of Cheju Island, it has been transformed from a place of exile in the past to an area that has been gentrified with country houses for people living on the mainland. As the island is used as a resource for leisure, the culture of the island can change when people and capital come in. As Jonathan Pugh points out about the islands of the world, there also operates here a dichotomy of the views on land and sea, island and mainland. Regarding this, Pugh, underlining the “spatial turn,” suggests the term “metamorphosis” of the island movement as thinking about archipelagos.<sup>18</sup>

Islanders are using mobility as a means of livelihood, navigating the sea, and visiting other islands and the mainland. However, it is also true that most remote islands in Korea face difficulties due to these characteristics of mobility. In Korea, islands other than Cheju Island are characterized by isolation and narrowness.<sup>19</sup> Except for islands connected to land, the primary means of transportation between islands and the mainland is by ship, which often causes inconvenience such as a disruption of traffic due to weather conditions. For economic reasons, public amenity facilities in underpopulated areas are likely to be insufficient, and for the same reason, educational facilities tend to be lacking. In other words, “If there are

only elementary and junior high schools on the island, students naturally go to high schools on the mainland, and after completing education, most of them do not return to the island, but go out to urban areas in search of work.”

Meanwhile, with the rapid growth of the international tourism market in this era of globalism, the island regions of Korea are spurring on the development of marine tourism under the initiative of the central and local governments.<sup>20</sup> From having been remote areas of underdevelopment, islands are now being discovered as natural tourism resources. Humanistic thinking is required for the “contemporary” perception of an island in the twenty-first century; shifted from a place of uncivilized seclusion to that of a tourist destination. When considering mobility concerning the island in the present context, we first need to look at the conflict that arises between the idea of the island viewed from the perspective of an outsider and the inherent nature of the island. To this end, this study will look at an example in which the already fixed dichotomous way of thinking, which acts as a veil to conceal the intrinsic nature of the island, is mobilized as a means of corporate politics.

The purpose of this paper is to explore ways to analyze the problem of immobility depicted in contemporary Korean cinema. This will support a consideration of how our perception of islands is important to cultural discourse in Korea. This study focuses on illuminating issues for the understanding of the island “here and now” and thus contribute to their practical analysis.

The independent film *My Dream Class* (2018) represents common sentiments that Koreans have about islands in the twenty-first century. To be sure, it is not easy to articulate this sentiment of people under the influence of complex factors such as generation, class, regionality, and gender. People living in urban areas may view islands as leisure destinations or perhaps as uncomfortably remote places. Also, people’s perception of large islands such as Cheju Island and that of small islands like Ullungdo (Ulleungdo) may be different.

Nevertheless, there are common elements. The perception of an island as a place for modern leisure is based on the premise of returning “home.” In other words, island mobility as leisure is possible only when conditions of instability such as the immobility of isolation and seclusion are completely excluded. However, alongside the image of the island as a place of leisure, its image of isolation is passed down as a collective view for the Korean people. This is maintained by various subcultures of entertainment.

*My Dream Class* is an outstanding piece of cinema that veers away from the binary approach to the island as either a place for leisure or as one of fear and isolation. In other words, the film delivers a warm message that when an island’s educational infrastructure is replenished, its seclusion can be relieved, creating

an environment that everyone can live in. This paper does not try to take issue with this contention itself. Perhaps it would be appropriate to fully appreciate the effort to narrow the difference between the emotions of islanders and those of mainlanders, that is, the effort not to ostracize the island. *My Dream Class* does not hold the image of the island as a place of savage violence or ideology, but neither does it characterize it as an object of leisure. This benign harmoniousness is often seen as a “reasonable” approach to the island at the present moment. Nevertheless, some productive issues are raised due to the high level of completion of the film. I would like to point out that the reclusiveness of islands, so widely internalized in Korean people, is still unconsciously expressed in this film.

## Asymmetrical Relationships

When preparing this paper, I realized that I had but a vague idea of island life as a person living on the peninsula. The children’s song “Island Baby”<sup>21</sup> from my childhood had become the basis of my emotional perception of the island.<sup>22</sup> It is a song that has a melancholy rhythm, as it captures the wistful solitude of a baby left alone and the loneliness felt from a lack of care. Here, a nostalgia composed of a serene sense of immobility is conveyed to Korean children about the island. The rhyme can be found with a positive interpretation in fourth-grade textbooks of elementary schools.<sup>23</sup> Here are the lyrics for “Island Baby.”

As mother leaves to pick oysters in the island’s shade,  
The baby remains alone, watching over the house.  
With head over arms, he falls into sleep,  
To the sound of the lullaby sung by the waves.

The baby is fast asleep, but mother hurries back.  
She runs down the sandy path, holding upon her head  
A basket not yet filled with oysters.  
Her heart is aflutter from the cries of the seagulls.

Some researchers read “lyricism”<sup>24</sup> in this nursery rhyme, but it is no more than an arbitrary and privileged gaze of a person living on the mainland. As one may know after listening to this song,<sup>25</sup> it is a plaintive melody that conveys a darker story of a baby that is left alone at home. Godfrey Baldacchino points out “The insider/outsider distinction does not work all that well when it comes to islands, where hybridity is the norm.”<sup>26</sup> Above all, would island-dwellers tolerate the solitude, nostalgia, and sense of tranquility that colors the urban perspective of islands? This can be replaced by the relationship between the “people” who are observing and the “islanders” who are being observed. In other words, the

gaze and the object of that gaze are always asymmetrical in relation to human relationships.<sup>27</sup> Despite being looked upon, they are bodies locked in the physical realm of the island, and as such, they can only be visible through the filter that is the “island.”

What elementary school students imagined when they sang “Island Baby” was most likely the loneliness of alienation or exclusion itself, which could be violence in the name of lyricism. How does this power structure of the false gaze manifest in *My Dream Class*? As an example of the analysis, this paper first explores why *My Dream Class* is an island-based growth narrative. How does the film portray the island, and what message does the island embody? These questions capture the complex stance contained in this film. By posing these questions, our view of the island can be expanded into multiple layers in twenty-first century Korean culture.

## The Film *My Dream Class* and “Samsung Dream Class”

In order to determine what kind of movie *My Dream Class* is, I will briefly introduce its story first. A male and a female college student, who do not know each other, travel by boat to a remote island with poor educational facilities. The film *My Dream Class* was produced based on the “Samsung Dream Class,” a social contribution education program of Samsung Electronics. *My Dream Class* was directed by Bae Jong,<sup>28</sup> and starred Byun Yo-han and Gong Seung-yeon. It is a story featuring a university student who goes to a remote island as a new English instructor of the Samsung Dream Class program. The plot shows the instructor’s development while pursuing dreams together with middle school students who are “neglected on the island” (the Samsung Dream Class is a program aimed at helping children who live in remote areas or those who lack in education due to some insufficiency).<sup>29</sup>

During their stay, they teach English and mathematics to students on the island who do not have much opportunity for education, and inspire dreams and hopes in them. There is a Korean man, who has lost his wife and raised a child in the city, who has moved to the island to live as a fisherman after marrying a Southeast Asian woman; Sanggu, his son, cannot confide in his stepmother who speaks English as her mother tongue, which causes her distress.

A college student, who has come to this remote island to teach English, brings Sanggu, who has not been attending school but instead is working as a fisherman, to attend the school, and helps him to communicate with his stepmother in English. The film has a happy ending in that the English teacher not only helps a student to study, but also helps a family to live a happy life. In this plot, we notice that at least two aspects are different from the image of the island with which

we are familiar. One is why so-called “multicultural families,” which are defined here as the marriage of Korean men and foreign women, move to an island, and the second is why Samsung supports people who live under hardship, including lack of access to education.

The independent film is intended to publicize the performance of the “Samsung Dream Class” campaign,<sup>30</sup> which began in 2011 and sent college tutors to areas where the youths were marginalized from education. However, that is not to say that it is just another blatant and crude piece of corporate propaganda. Rather, the film unfolds an impressive story in a very sophisticated way: a timid young college student, who is worried about his future career given the current situation of Korea, goes to an island in spite of his seasickness. Overcoming difficulties, he eventually helps the growth of the students on the island. It has a narrative structure like a “dream,” the result of which the conflict between the problem student and his mother is also resolved.

In the process, Jeong Seok (played by Gong Seung-yeon) fosters her dreams together with the children as an educator. As the director mentions, the desire to help the “underprivileged” is shared by both Samsung Electronics and the filmmakers. “Byeolliseom Island,” which is the setting of the film, is an hour and a half away by boat from Kangwŏndo (Gangwon-do). This, however, is not the real name of the island and the film was actually shot on Cheju Island.

## Isolation of the Island

The director Bae Jong said in an interview, “I wanted to say a word of warm consolation to the teenagers and youth of their 20s who had to give up their dreams.”<sup>31</sup> He intended to give a message of healing. So, what kind of place is the island village in this movie?

The film begins with a monologue from the main character, capturing the silhouette of the island in the background: “Within an hour and a half by boat from Kangnŭng (Gangneung), lies one of the few volcanic islands of Korea. There was a brave man who volunteered to enter the island without knowing what was there.” The phrase “without knowing what was there” is an exaggeration of the fear of the island. It is hard to imagine that an island just an hour and a half away from the mainland could be characterized as a remote place in this day and age.

Subconscious expressions like these stem from inherited perceptions of the islands, which will be discussed later in this paper. According to this line, the purpose of going to a place that requires such bravery is summarized in the sentence: “A Dream Class instructor is the best part-time job that is satisfactory in both job requirements and remuneration.”<sup>32</sup>

The first scene begins with the monologue, “Now I’m entering the dark tunnel of a graduate and a job seeker, which is scarier than ghosts and more savage than zombies. For Korean youths in the 2000s, graduating from college signaled a start to a fierce competition for jobs, the beginning of a greater challenge. The main character, university student Han Gi-tak (played by Byun Yo-han), goes aboard a ship to work as a part-time after-school teacher on a remote island in order to build “qualifications” for employment. Here, the “dark tunnel” is an image that the protagonist has about his future, and it coincides with his journey to the island. It is also an expression of the state in which one has not yet overcome the tunnel of growth.

This first symbolic scene shows that the island is thematically connected to the implications of difficulty and hardship. Going to an island for work, whether part-time or full-time, is not a leisurely trip. Rather, it is commonly perceived by urban dwellers as a regressive move. Moreover, it is noteworthy that he perceives that entering the island is for “survival.”<sup>33</sup>

The reason why an island is considered a rough place is not simply because of the inconvenience caused by the immobility created by isolation and separation. There was a large share of this in the image of the isolated desert island represented by *Robinson Crusoe* and in the savage image of indigenous people on islands.<sup>34</sup> In Korea, Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* was translated by Seok-Hoon Lee and serialized 12 times in the *Boys Chosun Ilbo* in 1939. The translator added a sentence that was not in the English original: “I think it’s a vile thing to buy and sell a human being as a ‘slave,’ even though the person is black.” On the whole, however, the translation embraced the imperialist premise of killing or subjugating indigenous people.<sup>35</sup> Ostracizing the island as a place of savagery not only exists in the logic of imperialism. Taking a step further back from the internalization of Orientalism, the historical reputation of islands as a place of exile in Korea played a large role in the marginalization of such islands throughout history.<sup>36</sup>

The same goes for not only barbarity, Orientalism, and historical alienation, but also for media with narratives of escape from islands, the “islands of fantasy” often featured in stories of treasure islands, the pirate island, and those found in games. The images propagated in relation to islands are something from which life has been removed. The imagined island is represented as the Other by mainland dwellers. *Lord of the Flies* (1954) by William Gerald Golding also represents the island as an irrational place ruled by the fear of isolation.<sup>37</sup>

In other words, the isolation of the island consists of a fear of heterogeneity in history, ideology, and culture. This multi-layered consciousness is passed on as a cultural imprint or memory, sometimes forming the basis of discrimination and alienation. The film repeatedly presents scenes in which the young man, having



entered the island, is extremely vigilant out of fear. This would be ridiculous without there being a premise that there is something horrible on the island. Ironically, although it is an exaggerated scene once again, the vice principal of Byeolli Junior High School comes out to the pier to meet him and asks sincerely, “You must have had a hard time travelling by boat?” In the background, innocent islanders greet them with applause as the ship docks and the two step on land. It is not a hostile place. What’s more, Jeon Seok, a female college student who is a math lecturer stuns the vice principal by cheerfully saying “What a fantastic place! Do pirates appear here?” It may be a joke, but it is an over-substitution of suspense focused on the island.

## The Narrative of Growth and the Aims of the Corporation

As there has not been a suitable island in Korea to so far represent the leisurely openness conjured by Cebu or Hawai’i, Koreans are not used to the image of an island as a pleasant paradise resort. In Korea, Cheju Island attracts some visitors as one of the few beach destinations. Otherwise, the sea of Cheju Island is commonly known as the workplace of *haenyeo* (women divers) where the folk discourse of their joys and sorrows plays out.<sup>38</sup> This does not mean to say that it is positive to perceive the island as a paradise where nature can be exploited for multinational capital. As an ecosystem, it is ideal when humans, nature, and resources are in a state of harmony. However, the problem is that the island does not exist as an ecosystem that is an object.

Byeolli Junior High School had just six students. The vice principal is delighted to receive the opportunity for private tutoring. “As people are increasingly leaving for the land,” he equivocates, “please motivate the children so that they can at least dream.” As mentioned earlier, the general sentiment of Koreans would be as follows: coming out of the island toward the mainland is an escape, going from the mainland to the island is a retrogression. In the movie *My Dream Class*, this sentiment is revealed in a line by Sanggu, who is a fisherman and a student: “In the end, the teacher will leave, and we will be left behind to be abandoned like an island.” This is a common idea in countries such as Korea and Japan, where the population is concentrated in metropolitan areas.

In the film, the after-school English teacher Han Gi-tak applies an anti-sea-sickness patch onto his ears. Close-up shots capture the patch still in place even during class. For the moment, the road to the island is arduous. It is still a scary place, so he cannot yet take off the medicine. This is a kind of “dark tunnel,” and the film reproduces the hackneyed narrative of growth and gaining hope and courage after overcoming hardship.

However, the fact that the island is a junction at which despair becomes hope is an indication that the island is becoming romanticized. In this sense, the question is how removed must this romanticized narrative of an island be from the centralist ideology of “returning to rural life—coming home in glory” in order for it to be free. This is because there is a question as to whether one can be content even in poverty. He goes to the island to work as a part-time tutor due to financial hardship. If he matures there and returns to land to become a valuable human resource in society, the island is ultimately abandoned. This pattern only repeats the existing narrative of escape from the island.

This 35-minute independent film made by Samsung Electronics delivers a message for social contribution. The managerial scrutiny of a conglomerate on a remote island embodies the support of education and aid to the underprivileged in this narrative of growth. The corporation aims to be at the forefront of using sophisticated media to overcome social inequalities. A relief from the outdated public service advertisements, this film allows us to view a remote island from a different perspective.

In this new perception, economic discomfort stemming from the residents’ immobility is eliminated, and only pure emotional exchange remains on the island. This helps to remove the negative image of the island, and it will surely contribute to the transformation of the corporate image. The island also shows scenes of the pain and conflict endured by a beautiful foreign woman (Sanggu’s stepmother), who has migrated to Korea through marriage and fishes for a living, and how these conflicts are resolved by Samsung.

Through social contribution projects, Samsung has developed a corporate strategy to improve the image of the company<sup>39</sup> and fulfil its corporate social responsibility goals by solving social problems.<sup>40</sup> Here, the concept of communication in multicultural families and services that provide educational opportunities to underprivileged areas on remote islands is a very suitable theme for Samsung’s social contribution program.

However, as pointed out earlier, we need to pay attention to the fact that the island is deprived of its own function in order to contribute to the renewal of the corporate image. From a progressive perspective, Samsung exploits social contributions as a means of avoiding uncomfortable truths<sup>41</sup>—such as frequent leukemia cases in its workplace, labor exploitation, or denial of the existence of the labor union in the company. This conflicting perspective complicates the perspective of this independent film.

Sanggu’s mother died when he was two years old. The stepmother, who was the second wife to Sanggu’s father, is unable to communicate in Korean, because Sanggu’s father prevents her from learning the language. One night, the

protagonist young man happens to see Sanggu's mother praying. As she prays, she has difficulty with articulation: "Thank you for the wonderful family. Loving husband and sweet son. But sometimes I am lonely. How can I reach their hearts?"

The growth narrative has three elements: "First, in the process of growth and establishment of self-identity of the inexperienced protagonist, an internal reflection that recognizes the new world takes place. It shows the physical and mental growth through the young first-person narrator. It has an open structure in which the protagonist develops criticism of the established social order, and then internalizes it or develops it in a positive or negative direction."<sup>42</sup>

The key to this film is in the way Sanggu, who had once despised the English tutor Han Gi-tak and his immigrant stepmother, matures. As a jobseeker whose future is uncertain, Han Gi-tak still lacks maturity himself in the sense that his motivation for going to the island is very weak. Surprisingly, the formation of his self-identity was through Sanggu. Sanggu's stepmother is an immigrant who met Sanggu's father while studying abroad. This reflects the multiculturalism that is spreading in Korea. Sanggu does not talk to her. He was unable to speak his mind not because she was a stepmother but because of the language barrier.

The passionate college student and teacher wishes to bring Sanggu to school, saving him from life as a fisherman, and even tries to interact with Sanggu's family by going fishing himself. The plot of the film revolves around the growth of the youth through ordeal, the students who grow together with him, and the humble fishermen who rejoice together. Han Gi-tak, who was an immature young man when he first came to the island, grows into a strong individual capable of persuading Sanggu's father to send his son to school. Sanggu opens his heart to Han Gi-tak and learns English. When his stepmother comes to class with a snack, he tells his friends, "She my mother." The film reaches a climax when the children tearfully point out the grammatical errors, as the vice principal listens just outside the classroom sobbing silently.

## Conclusion

It is clear why the growth narrative in *My Dream Class* had to be set on an island. As a place where one overcomes difficulties, the immobility of the island lies in parallel with the narrative of escape from the island. It makes use of the image of the island as a place that is not only difficult to escape but also to enter. The social contribution project undertaken by the Samsung Dream Class aimed to achieve educational results (growth) by overcoming difficulties. The media often exploits the fragmentary images of the island in a predatory manner. In some

cases, they transfigure the people who live on it and even turns the island into an uninhabited place.

After the reconciliation between mother and son, Sanggu's father and mother lean on each other's shoulders at the beach at sunset in affirmation that her prayer has been fulfilled. The growth narrative turns rapidly into a family melodrama. It is for this reason that the film is lacking "an open structure in which the protagonist develops criticism of the established social order, and then internalizes it or develops it in a positive or negative direction." The decisive clue to this was in the line by Sanggu when the teacher eventually leaves, "We who remain will be discarded like an island." In response, Han Gi-tak had to leave the island without replying. At the very least, the true narrative of the island's growth could have been completed if he had left a message of regret or a promise for the future upon leaving.

The movie *My Dream Class* also appeals to a kind of lyricism of a place where the sea is beautiful and life is simpler. Unlike the "Island Baby," people express the lyricism of the sea in this film. But the kind of lyricism here is the lyricism of urban people. As the director remarked, the film shines a warm spotlight upon the underprivileged, but it does not go beyond how someone defines others. It is also worth noting that the film mobilized the island to change a corporate image, by engaging in solving social problems through the huge capital capacity of Samsung. The plot in which a savior is inserted to solve a problem but then withdraws afterwards logically does not deviate from the dichotomous relationship between the strong and the weak. Also, it is worth considering whether this is but a way to buy the trust of the islanders over the outsider's management of marine resources.

In recent years, islands have at times become the subject of border conflict over maritime resources. By becoming an issue of conflict, islands are caught in the whirlpool of establishing new international orders. The island is a multi-tiered setting with such ideological and abstract aspects as well as recreational, economic, and political aspects. In such discourses, the more pertinent question is often overlooked: an island is an ecosystem in which nature and humans live in harmony.

As long as we focus on the island as a place where someone comes to and departs from, our imagination of the island is bound to be a very limited one. In that sense, Byeolliseom Island in *My Dream Class* is a place where a young man from the outside world comes and goes, and at the same time a place where investment in the project comes and goes.

## Notes

1. This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2018S1A6A3A03043497). The early version of the article was presented at the conference at Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines.
2. Postal Address: 1102, New Millennium Hall, Konkuk University, 120 Neungdong-Ro, Gwangjin-Gu, Seoul 05029, Korea, Email Address: seoha@konkuk.ac.kr.
3. These films include *Hyeol-eui-noo (Blood Rain)* in 2005, *Paradise Murdered* in 2007, *Bedevilled* in 2010, and, although the genre is different, *Mapado* in 2005. Jung Junghoon, “Han’guk yŏnghwa esŏ ‘sŏm’ ira nŭn chinghu,” *K’ŏnt’ench’ŭ munhwa* 8 (2016): 25.
4. Jung, “Han’guk yŏnghwa esŏ ‘sŏm’ ira nŭn chinghu,” 2016, 27.
5. Seo In-Sook, “Yŏnghwa *Silmido* ŭi ideologi wa riŏllit’i e taehan pip’an-chŏk koch’al,” *Han’guk k’ont’ench’ŭ hakhoe nonmunji* 8.7 (2008): 162.
6. Following independence from Japanese rule in 1945, the people of Cheju Island suffered from violence committed by state power during the 4.3 Cheju Democratic Revolution (the Cheju Uprising), which took place from March 1, 1948 to September 21, 1954, resulting in an official death toll of 12,243. This still remains in the memory of people today (Lew Seung-Mu, “Cheju 4.3 sagŏn ŭi kujo-chŏk maengnak kwa yŏksa mit sahoe ŭi pogwŏn ŭi kwaje,” *Sahoe sasang kwa munhwa* 22.3 (2019): 55–78).
7. Hong Gi-Don, “Kŭndae chŏk minjok kukka wa t’aja ŭi sisŏn ŭro chaehyŏn toen Cheju kongdongch’e ŭi myŏnmo—1950~60 nyŏndae palp’yo toen yukchi ch’ulsin chakka tŭl ŭi 4-3 sosŏl ŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Uri munhak yŏn’gu* 59 (2018): 421–453.
8. Kŏje Island is a place where prison camps were established during the Korean War and where intense left–right conflict between prisoners occurred. It is remembered as a scar of national division engraved on an isolated island (Byun Hwayeong, “Kŏje-do’ ŭi chŏnjaeng p’oro e taehan kiŏk kwa hŭnjŏk—Son Yŏng-mok ŭi *Kŏje-do* rŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Han’guk munhak nonch’ong* 77 (2017): 337–362).
9. John Urry, *Mobility*, Polity Press: Cambridge, 2007.
10. Peter Adey, *Mobility* (Second edition). London and New York: Routledge, 2017, 239.
11. Ko Ho-Seok, “Haeyang kwangwangaek ŭi ch’ehŏm-chŏk kyŏnghŏm i yŏga hwaldong ch’amga tonggi, morip, manjokcho mit chŏnhwan ūido wa ŭi kucho-chŏk kwangye punsŏk—Kyŏngsangnam-do chuyo 3 kae sŏm kwangwangji rŭl chungsim ŭro,” *Tongbuk-a kwangwang yŏn’gu* 7.4 (2011): 230.
12. Zhou Shantai and Oh Ick-Keun, “Pang-Han Chungguk-in kaebyŏl kwangwanggaek ŭi Han’guk nae sŏnho kwangwang chawŏn punp’o,” *Kwangwanghak yŏn’gu* 42.6 (2018): 142.
13. It is estimated that there are 463 inhabited islands and 2,876 uninhabited islands, but it is impossible to give an accurate number, because the government departments have varying statistical standards for islands (Kim Nong-Oh, “Uri nara tosŏ ŭi haeyang saengt’ae kwangwang chŏngch’aek mit hwalsŏnghwa pangan yŏn’gu,” Doctoral Dissertation: Jeonbuk University: 2020: 1.
14. Kim Joon, “Tosŏ chŏngch’aek ŭi sŏngch’al kwa chisok kanŭng han sŏm mandŭlgi rŭl wihan shiron,” *Kyŏngnam palchŏn* 121 (2012): 14–23.
15. Parents in the island regions do not think highly of the educational environment in the island areas. As a result, most of them desire to send their children to a larger city for elementary, middle, and high school education if they can afford it (Park Bun-Hee and Baek Hee-Sook, “Tosŏ chiyŏk adong tŭl ŭi hakkyo kyoyuk,” *Adong kyoyuk* 13.2 (2004): 53.
16. Lee Mi-ae, “K’aribŭ hae yŏngŏ-kwŏn t’al-sikmin munhangnon,” *Translatin* 15 (2011): 101–112.
17. Ilan Kelman, Robert Stojanov, Shabana Khan, Oscar Alvarez Gila, Barbora Duží, and Dmytro Vikhrov, “Viewpoint paper. Islander mobilities: any change from climate change?” *International Journal of Global Warming* 8.4 (2015): 587–589.

18. Jonathan Pugh, "Island Movements: Thinking with the Archipelago," *Island Studies Journal* 8.1 (2013): 11.
19. Park Sung-Hyun and Lee Tae-Gyeom, "Tosō chiyōk kyoyuk ūi hyōnhwang kwa chedo-chōk kaesōn pangan," *Han'guk tosō yōn'gu* 31.4 (2019): 113.
20. Kim Nong-Oh, "Uri nara," 2020, 2.
21. Written by Han In-Hyeon and composed by Lee Heung-Ryeol (1946).
22. In the 1970s, when I was in elementary school, virtually all children throughout the nation simultaneously received this kind of emotional education through the national textbook.
23. The insertion of this positive interpretation overemphasizes the character of a children's song that is supposed to purify the hearts of children.
24. Kim Sang-kyu, "Sidaepyōl tongyo-ro salp'yō pon sahoe kyōngche-chōk hamūi," *Kyōngche kyoyuk yōn'gu* 25.1 (2018): 49.
25. Listen to the song played with translated English lyrics (accessed April 1, [https://search.daum.net/search?w=tot&DA=YZR&t\\_\\_nil\\_searchbox=btn&sug=&sugo=&q=%EC%84%AC%EC%A7%91%EC%95%84%EA%B8%B0+%EC%98%81%EC%96%B4](https://search.daum.net/search?w=tot&DA=YZR&t__nil_searchbox=btn&sug=&sugo=&q=%EC%84%AC%EC%A7%91%EC%95%84%EA%B8%B0+%EC%98%81%EC%96%B4)).
26. Godfrey Baldacchino, "Studying Islands: On Whose Terms? Some Epistemological and Methodological Challenges to the Pursuit of Island Studies," *Island Studies Journal* 3.1 (2008): 37.
27. Lee Hyejin, "Kwahak, mom kurigo yokmang: Choji Hōbōt'ū Welchū T'umyōng ingan," *Oeguk munhak yōn'gu* 73 (2019): 221. Mimi Sheller, "Introduction: The Triple Crisis," in *Mobility Justice*, Ed. Mimi Sheller (London: Verso, 2018), 1–19.
28. Bae Jong was born in 1969 and graduated from the Visual Design Department at Hongik University. His major films include *Welcome to Dongmakgol* (2005) and *Fabricated City* (2017). Major prizes he received include the Silver Lion Award (Fast Food category) at the 2002 Cannes Lions International Advertising Festival, Best Director & Screenplay Award at the 2005 Korean Film Awards (*Welcome to Dongmakgol*), and the Audience Choice Award for Most Popular Film at the 2005 Blue Dragon Film Awards (*Welcome to Dongmakgol*).
29. "Meeting the Director Bae Jong of *My Dream Class* that Hit Over 100 Million Views", *Samsung Newsroom*, Dec. 9, 2018: "Samsung Dream Class is a social contribution program that Samsung has been carrying out since 2012 to contribute to social integration by reducing conflicts caused by polarization in education. It provides opportunities for middle school students in poor educational environments to learn English and mathematics, and scholarships are provided to these students when they enter college and rejoin the program as instructors for middle school students. As of December 2018, the cumulative number of students who participated in the program was around 73,000 middle school students and around 20,000 university students. This year, more than 6,200 middle school students and 1,550 college students are participating in the program. 185 weekday and weekend classrooms are in operation in 38 cities nationwide. In addition, 12 vacation camps (winter and summer) were opened, with around 3,300 participants of middle school students and 1,150 of university students." (<https://news.samsung.com/kr/1%EC%96%B5-%EB%B7%B0-%EB%8F%8C%ED%8C%8C%ED%95%9C-%EB%B3%84%EB%A6%AC%EC%84%ACmy-dream-class-%EA%B0%90%EB%8F%85-%EB%B0%B0%EC%A2%85%EC%9D%84-%EB%A7%8C%EB%82%98%EB%8B%A4>).
30. See the website <https://www.dreamclass.org/index.do>.
31. *Samsung Newsroom*, Dec. 9, 2018.
32. Bae Jong (Director), *My Dream Class*, 2018.
33. Historically, islands have been ignored by the government in Korea, even giving birth to the proverb, "Send people to Seoul; send horses to Cheju Island." In contrast to the desire to move up the social ladder by moving to the capital, there is a historical trauma related to the desire to escape islands and settle on the mainland. In 1485, during King Sōngjong's reign, a ban was imposed on the residents of Cheju Island to prevent entry to

- the mainland. This resulted in a severance from the mainland. The measure was taken because tens of thousands of people fled the island due to the tyranny and exploitation of the central government against the residents of Cheju Island (Cho Sung Youn, “Cheju-do haeyang munhwa chōnt’ong ūi tanjöl kwa kyesüng,” *T’amna munhwa* 42 (2013): 82–85).
34. The intruders only highlight the one-sided fear of the indigenous people and are not aware of the meaning of their intrusion.
  35. Sim Misam, “Yi Sök-hun ūi *Robinson p’yoryugi* palgul kwa sogae,” *Kūndae söji* 20 (2019): 496–498.
  36. The exile of sinners to islands such as Cheju Island, Kanghwa Island, and Chindo Island is an example of the use or abuse of immobility by law enforcement agencies. Places most frequently used for expulsion in the Chosŏn Dynasty were the island regions of Chejudo, Kōjedo, Chindo, and Hūksando (Jang Sun-Young, “Chosŏn sidae yuhyōng kwa chōldo chōngbae ūi ch’ui,” *Chibangsa wa chibang munhwa* 4.2 (2001): 188). The small island in the setting of *Papillon* also spread the image of confinement and escape throughout the world.
  37. Lee Sun-Hyeong, “Isōng kwa munmyōng, ihang taerip ūi panpok *P’ari taewang*,” *Yōn’gūk p’yōngnon* 69 (2013): 69. Kim Young Don, “Cheju haenyō chosa yōn’gu—t’ük’i minsokhak-chōk ch’ükmyōn esō,” *Minjok munhwa yōn’gu* 24 (1991): 27–92.
  38. Kim Young Don, “Cheju haenyō,” 1991, 27–92.
  39. Shin Ji Sook, “Sahoe konghōn hwaldong ūl t’onghan Samsōng ūi sahoe-chōk ch’aegim hwaldong e taehan sajōk koch’al,” *Kyōngyōngsa yōn’gu* 24.2 (2009): 9–43.
  40. Jung Heung-jun, Kim Joo-hee, No Se-ri, Song Min-su, Jung Young-hoon, *Ch’aegim e kwanhan yōn’gu—chisok kanūng han koyong kwangye motel e taehan hamūi*, Sejong: Han’guk nodong yōn’guwōn, 2018, 82.
  41. Lee Jeonghwan, “Samsōng ūi monnan chit, Samsōng chisok kanūng pogosō e nūn ōpta,” *Midiō onūl* 2014.01.13 (<http://www.mediatoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=114249>).
  42. Lee Pyeongjeon, “Pip’an-chōk munhae kyoyuk ūl wihan sōngjang sosōl ūi munhwa chōngch’ihak-chōk ikki yōn’gu,” *Ō mullon chip* 78 (2019): 422.

## References

- Adey, Peter. *Mobility* (Second edition). London and New York: Routledge. 2017.
- Baldacchino, Godfrey. “Studying Islands: On Whose Terms? Some Epistemological and Methodological Challenges to the Pursuit of Island Studies,” *Island Studies Journal* 3.1 (2008): 37–56.
- Byun, Hwayeong 변화영. “Kōje-do’ ūi chōnjaeng p’oro e taehan kiōk kwa hūnjōk—Son Yōng-mok ūi *Kōje-do rūl chungsim ūro* (‘거제도’의 전쟁포로에 대한 기억과 흔적—손영목의 <거제도>를 중심으로 Memories and Traces of the Prisoners of War on Kōje Island—Focused on Son Yōng-mok’s *Kōje-do*.)” *Han’guk munhak nonch’ong* (한국문학논총 The Korean Literary Association) 77 (2017): 337–362.
- Cho, Sung Youn 조성윤. “Cheju-do haeyang munhwa chōnt’ong ūi tanjöl kwa kyesüng (제주도 해양문화 전통의 단절과 계승 Severance and Succession of Tradition in a Cheju Maritime Culture)” *T’amna munhwa* (탐라문화 Tamna Culture) 42 (2013): 82–85.
- Hong, Gi-Dong 홍기동. “Kūndae chōk minjok kukka wa t’aja ūi sisōn ūro chaehyōn toen Cheju kongdongch’e ūi myōnmo—1950~60 nyōndae palp’yo toen yukchi ch’ulsin chakka tūl ūi 4·3 sosōl ūl chungsim ūro—(근대적 민족국가와 타자(他者)의 시선으로 재현된 제주 공동체의 면모—1950~60년대 발표된 육지 출신 작가들의 4·3소설을 중심으로 The modern nation state and aspects of the Cheju community represented from the perspective of the Other: Focusing on 4.3 novels published in the 1950s–1960s by writers from the mainland),” *Uri munhak yōn’gu* (우리문학연구 Studies of Korean Literature) 59 (2018): 421–453.
- “Island Baby”. accessed April 1: [https://search.daum.net/search?w=tot&DA=YZR&t\\_nil\\_searchbox=btn&sug=&sugo=&q=%EC%84%AC%EC%A7%91%EC%95%84%EA%B8%B0+%EC%98%81%EC%96%B4](https://search.daum.net/search?w=tot&DA=YZR&t_nil_searchbox=btn&sug=&sugo=&q=%EC%84%AC%EC%A7%91%EC%95%84%EA%B8%B0+%EC%98%81%EC%96%B4).

- Jang, Sun-Young 장선영. “Chosŏn sidae yuhyŏng kwa chŏldo chŏngbae ūi ch’ui (조선시대 流刑와 絶島定配의 推移 The change of exile and exile to islands during the Chosŏn Dynasty).” *Chibangsa wa chibang munhwa* (지방사와 지방문화 Journal of Local History and Culture) 4-2 (2001): 188.
- Jung, Heung-jun 정홍준, Kim Joo-hee 김주희, No Se-ri 노세리, Song Min-su 송민수, Jung Young-hoon 정영훈. *Ch’aegim e kwanhan yŏn’gu—chisok kanŭng han koyong kwangye motel e taehan hamŭi* (책임에 관한 연구—지속가능한 고용관계 모델에 대한 함의 A study on responsibility-implications for the sustainable employment relationship model). Sejong: Han’guk nodong yŏn’guwŏn (한국노동연구원 Korea Labor Institute), 2018.
- Jung, Jung-hoon 정정호. “Han’guk yŏnghwa esŏ ‘sŏm’ ira nŭn chinghu—munhwa hwa toen yamansŏng kwa Han’guk-chŏk kŭndaehwa ūi imyŏn (한국영화에서 ‘섬’이라는 징후 -문화화된 야만성과 한국적 근대화의 이면 Indicators of ‘islands’ in Korean cinema—the reverse of civilized savagery and Korean modernization).” *K’ŏnt’ench’ŭ munhwa* (컨텐츠문화 Content Culture) 8 (2016): 25.
- Kelman, Ilan, Robert Stojanov, Shabana Khan, Oscar Alvarez Gila, Barbora Duží, and Dmytro Vikhrov. “Viewpoint paper. Islander mobilities: any change from climate change?,” *International Journal of Global Warming*, 8-4 (2015): 587-589.
- Kim, Joon 김준. “Tosŏ chŏngch’aek ūi sŏngch’al kwa chisok kanŭng han sŏm mandŭlgi rŭl wihan shiron (도서정책의 성찰과 지속가능한 섬 만들기를 위한 시론 Proposal for reflection on island policy and sustainable island creation).” *Kyŏngnam palchŏn* (경남발전 Gyeongnam Development) 121 (2012): 14-23.
- Kim, Nong-Oh 김농오. “Uri nara tosŏ ūi haeyang saengt’ae kwangwang chŏngch’aek mit hwalsŏnghwa pangan yŏn’gu (우리나라 도서의 해양생태관광 정책 및 활성화 방안 연구 A Study on Coastal & Marine Ecotourism Policies and Activations Plan of Island in Korea).” PhD thesis (Jeonbuk University 전북대학교), 2020.
- Kim, Sang-kyu 김상규. “Sidaepyŏl tongyo-ro salp’yŏ pon sahoe kyŏngche-chŏk hamŭi (시대별 동요로 살펴본 사회경제적 함의 Socio-economic implications as seen in historical children’s songs).” *Kyŏngche kyoyuk yŏn’gu* (경제교육연구 Economic Education Research) 2.1 (2018): 31-64.
- Kim, Young Don 김영돈. “Cheju haenyŏ chosa yŏn’gu—t’ŭk’i minsokhak-chŏk ch’ŭkmyŏn esŏ (제주해녀 조사연구—특히 민속학적 측면에서—A study on women divers on Cheju Island—especially in terms of folklore).” *Minjok munhwa yŏn’gu* (민족문화연구 Ethnic Culture Research) 24 (1991): 27-92.
- Ko, Ho-Seok 고호석. “Haeyang kwangwangaek ūi ch’ehŏm-chŏk kyŏnghŏm i yŏga hwaldong ch’amga tonggi, morip, manjokcho mit chŏnhwan ūido wa ūi kucho-chŏk kwangye punsŏk—Kyŏngsangnam-do chuyo 3 kae sŏm kwangwangji rŭl chungsim ūro (해양관광객의 체험적 경험이 여가활동 참가동기, 물입, 만족도 및 전환의도와 의 구조적 관계 분석—경상남도 주요 3개 섬 관광지를 중심으로—Analysis of the structural relationship between the direct experience of marine tourists with the motivation for participation in leisure activities, commitment, satisfaction, and switching of intentions—Focusing on the three main islands in South Kyŏngsang Province).” *Tongbuk-a kwangwang yŏn’gu* (동북아관광연구 Northeast Asia Tourism Research) 7.4 (2011): 229-248.
- Lee, Hyejin 이혜진. “Kwahak, mom kurigo yokmang: Choji Hŏbŏt’ŭ Welchŭ *T’umyŏng ingan* (과학, 몸 그리고 욕망: 조지 허버트 웰치의 <투명 인간> Science, body, and desire: George Herbert Wells’ *The Invisible Man*).” *Oeguk munhak yŏn’gu* (외국문학연구 Foreign Literature Studies) 73 (2019): 217-237.
- Lee, Jeonghwan 이정환. “Samsŏng ūi monnan chit, Samsŏng chisok kanŭng pogosŏ e nŭn ŏpta (삼성의 못난 짓, 삼성 지속가능 보고서에는 없다 The Samsung Sustainability Report doesn’t include their bad stuff).” *Midiŏ onŭl* (미디어오늘 Media Today) 2014.01.13. (<http://www.mediatoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=114249>).



- Lee, Mi-ae 이미애. “K’aribū hae yǒngō-kwōn t’al-sikmin munhangnon (카리브 해 영어권 탈식민 문학론 English-speaking postcolonial literature in the Caribbean)” *Translatin* 15 (2011): 101–112.
- Lee, Pyeongjeon 이평진. “Pip’an-chōk munhae kyoyuk ūl wihan sǒngjang sosōl ūi munhwa chōngch’ihak-chōk ikki yōn’gu (비판적 문해교육을 위한 ‘성장소설’의 문화정치학적 읽기 연구 A cultural and political reading of bildungsroman for critical literacy education).” *Ō mullon chip* (어문론집 The Journal of Language & Literature) 78 (2019): 419–441.
- Lew, Seung-Mu 유승무. “Cheju 4.3 sagōn ūi kujo-chōk maengnak kwa yōksa mit sahoe ūi pogwōn ūi kwaje (제주 4.3 사건의 구조적 맥락과 역사 및 사회의 복원의 과제 The structural context of the Cheju 4.3 incident and the task of restoring history and society).” *Sahoe sasang kwa munhwa* (사회사상과 문화 Social thought and culture) 22–3 (2019): 55–78.
- Lee, Sun-Hyeong 이선형. “Isōng kwa munmyōng, ihang taerip ūi panpok P’ari taewang (이성과 문명, 이항 대립의 반복 <파리대왕> Reason and civilization, the repetition of a binary confrontation *Lord of the Flies*).” *Yōn’gūk p’yōngnon* (연극평론 Theater criticism) 69 (2013): 68–72.
- “Meeting the Director Bae Jong of *My Dream Class* that Hit Over 100 Million Views”, *Samsung Newsroom*, Dec. 9, 2018, accessed April 1 <https://news.samsung.com/kr/1%EC%96%B5-%EB%B7%B0-%EB%8F%8C%ED%8C%8C%ED%95%9C-%EB%B3%84%EB%A6%AC%EC%84%ACmy-dream-class-%EA%B0%90%EB%8F%85-%EB%B0%B0%EC%A2%85%EC%9D%84-%EB%A7%8C%EB%82%98%EB%8B%A4>.
- Park, Bun-Hee 박분희 and Baek Hee-Sook 백희숙. “Tosō chiyōk adong tūl ūi hakkyo kyoyuk (도서지역 아동들의 학교교육 Island region children’s school education),” *Adong kyoyuk* (아동교육 Child Education) 13.2 (2004): 43–55.
- Park, Sung-Hyun 박성현 and Lee Tae-Gyeom 이태겸. “Tosō chiyōk kyoyuk ūi hyōnhwang kwa chedo-chōk kaesōn pangan: Chōlla namdo rŭl saye ro (도서지역 교육의 현황과 제도적 개선방안—전라남도를 사례로— The current status of education in the islands and a systemic improvement plan: A case study of South Chōlla Province), *Han’guk tosō yōn’gu* (한국도서연구 The Journal of Korean Islands) 31.4 (2019): 109–129.
- Pugh, Jonathan. “Island Movements: Thinking with the Archipelago,” *Island Studies Journal* 8–1 (2013): 9–24.
- Samsung dreamclass website. <https://www.dreamclass.org/index.do>.
- Seo, In-Sook 서인숙. “Yōnghwa *Silmido* ūi ideollogi wa riōllit’i e taehan pip’an-chōk koch’al (영화 [실미도]의 이데올로기와 리얼리티에 대한 비판적 고찰 A critical consideration of the ideology and reality of the film *Silmido*).” *Han’guk k’ont’ench’ū hakhoe nonmunji* (한국콘텐츠학회논문지 Korea Contents Association Journal) 8.7 (2008): 161–173.
- Sheller, Mimi. “The Triple Crisis” in *Mobility Justice*. Ed. Mimi Sheller, London: Verso, 1–19, 2018.
- Shin, Ji Sook 신지숙. “Sahoe konghōn hwaldong ūl t’onghan Samsōng ūi sahoe-chōk ch’aegim hwaldong e taehan sajōk koch’al (사회공헌활동을 통한 삼성의 사회적 책임 활동에 대한 사적 고찰 Historical perspectives on corporate social responsibility activities of Samsung through corporate philanthropies),” *Kyōngyōngsa yōn’gu* (경영사연구 The Review of Business History (경영사학)) 50 (2009): 9–43.
- Sim, Misam 심미삼. “Yi Sōk-hun ūi *Robinson p’yoryugi* palgul kwa sogae (이석훈의 「로빈슨漂流記」, 발굴과 소개 Yi Sōk-hun’s *Robinson Crusoe*, excavation and introduction).” *Kūndae sōji* (근대서지 Modern Bibliography) 20 (2019): 496–498.
- Urry, John. *Mobility*. Polity Press: Cambridge, 2007.
- Zhou, Shantai 주산태 and Oh, Ick-Keun 오익근, “Pang-Han Chungguk-in kaeyōl kwangwanggaek ūi Han’guk nae sōnho kwangwang chawōn punp’o (방한 중국인 개별관광객의 한국 내 선호 관광자원 분포 Geographic distribution of preferred tourism resources by inbound Chinese individual tourists to Korea).” *Kwangwanghak yōn’gu* (관광학연구 Tourism Studies) 42–6 (2018): 127–145.