

Tourism and Identity Transformation in the Oeam Folk Village in Asan, Korea

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Abstract

This article reveals the process of identity formation and transformation of a rural Korean folk village following its tourism development. The commercialization of cultural heritage, whether inherited from the ancestors of its residents or borrowed from other rural villages, allows for the appearance of a unique local identity. The newly constructed local identity initiated by tourism, however, can undermine other kinds of preexisting identity of the village. In Oeam village, after the introduction of tourism, locality is replacing lineage or blood ties in the making of a new identity. The local identity shared by the villagers may also differ, depending on the degree of their involvement, socioeconomic interests in tourism, and their lineages. For example, some villagers, who did not belong to the dominant lineage, were not able to possess their own distinctive identity because of their low socioeconomic and political status in the village. Now, the emergence of noticeable local identity can be found among them in the village thanks to their active involvement in the tourism development. On the other hand, relatively wealthy villagers with high lineage status still show a strong attachment to traditional consanguineous identity. Therefore, much more complicated and competing identities can emerge in the village, depending on the extent of the villagers' participation in tourism.

Keywords: cultural heritage, tourism, local identity, Oeam Folk Village

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Introduction

In contemporary society, many people want to experience and learn new cultures directly through tourism. Cultural tourism or heritage tourism refers to visiting traditional cultural resources found in a specific community, region, population, or institution (McCain and Ray 2003, 713; MacDonald and Jolliffe 2003, 319). As people continuously reevaluate and recognize the value of cultural heritage carried over from one generation to another, local cultures are newly revalorized and reinterpreted (Chang and Yeoh 1999, 103). Of course, these local cultures may be represented very differently, depending on the places and people involved as well as the political and economic environments.

Korea is no exception to this trend, and tourism related to the nation's unique cultural heritage has slowly appeared. Many Koreans are making an effort to appreciate traditional cultures that have already disappeared or only partially remain. In Korea, most rural areas have been incorporated into cities due to urbanization and industrialization since the late twentieth century, and this process has accelerated the cultural extinction of traditional rural traits. Under these circumstances, rural traditional cultures, once regarded as backward or undesirable, are being reappraised for their richness. In this rapidly commoditizing society, people believe that the rural domain contains precious traditional culture and authentic lifestyles (Kneafsey 2001, 763). In short, people miss and feel nostalgic for the traditional cultures that have already disappeared or that are difficult to encounter in contemporary society.

It is quite natural that well-maintained folk villages, in which many tangible and intangible traditional cultural elements still exist, have become the focus of cultural tourism in Korea. Thus, understanding representations of cultural heritage in a folk village for tourists along with the concomitant changes in the identity of its inhabitants are very significant in exploring the meanings and effects of cultural tourism. Overcommoditization of the folk village may distort valuable cultural characteristics, and at the same time, the devel-

opment of tourism may contribute to the establishment of a new kind of identity among the villagers (Abram 1996, 198). In this context, we need to investigate the dynamic process of changes and the accompanying results of the commoditization of folk villages from the perspectives of the villages and villagers.

Theoretical Framework and the Research Site

Tourism and Identity

As many tourists visit rural villages to enjoy or learn about cultural heritage, many sociocultural effects, such as a creation of new identities, occur along with the economic opportunities. Frequently, once-weak identities may be strengthened due to the development of tourism. These kinds of identities are manifested in diverse forms, depending on the regional historical process and sociocultural conditions. First, by providing consumable tourist commodities to the tourists, local identities can be newly framed, affirmed, or communicated (MacDonald 1997; Cano and Mysyk 2004; Simpson 1993, 171). Tourism can help local villagers maintain pride and reinforce their cultural values. In addition, through accepting traditional culture, the villagers may strategically appropriate tourism as a political and economic instrument in the construction of their identity (Bianchi 2003, 20; Cheung 1999, 583; Cole 2007, 944, 956). Therefore, for some small and poor villages, the interest of tourists in their cultural heritage can play a vital role in the formation of the villagers' identity.

Moreover, some ethnic minorities in multiethnic societies may create or intensify their ethnic identities by marketing their cultural traits (Adams 1997; MacCannell 1984; Wood 1997). Especially for the indigenous people who have been viewed negatively by society, cultural tourism may produce a sense of dignity and confidence by revaluing and reinterpreting their culture and ethnicity (Grünewald 2002, 1011; Jamison 1999; Medina 2003, 365; Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000, 19). Occasionally, in the course of the commoditi-

zation of traditional culture, ethnic identities influenced by cultural tourism can come to include elements that were not intrinsic to the original culture. Despite these problems, the interest of tourists in the cultural heritage of ethnic minorities can bring new sociocultural, political, or economic opportunities.

Cultural tourism has been said to be a powerful force in the construction and maintenance of national identity, as it is closely related to national historical symbols (Hughes and Allen 2005; Palmer 1999, 316). Tourism can be used as a means of fostering positive national identity. Particularly, underdeveloped countries—and occasionally developed countries—with many multiethnic and multicultural problems may aggressively appropriate tourism to weaken negative images abroad (Green 2002; Lepp and Harris 2008, 531; Pretes 2003, 126).

Local Identity

Local identity is a shared cultural identity based on a sense of place and common characteristics and ideas distinct from other groups and regions. In short, local identity is based on the belief that the village is distinguished and distinguishable from other villages. It helps to protect a region's cultural heritage as well as promote cultural awareness, socioeconomic interests, and political power. Strong local identity in a village can be manifested by the villagers' active participation in local sociocultural practices and political affairs.

Theoretical debates on the meanings of local identity are quite rare. However, the nature of local identity can be examined by utilizing theoretical discussions on ethnic identity. Ethnic identity has been analyzed from the perspectives of primordialism, circumstantialism (or situationalism), instrumentalism, or constructionism (constructivism). Primordialism focuses on unchanged identity rooted in kinship as well as biological, psychological, and cultural heritage; and it is believed to be naturally, and not historically, related to human existence and consciousness. Circumstantialism explores the changing forms of identities caused by a group's desire as well as economic and political circumstances to manipulate resources in their interests.

Instrumentalism considers identities as a mechanism of social stratification. According to constructionism, identities may change over time as the forces that impinge on them change, but groups cannot manipulate identities as they wish. People may use their identities instrumentally in pursuit of their goals, but they do little to shape, reinforce, or transform those identities.

This current study on the local identity features of Oeam village applies these various theoretical perspectives on ethnic identity. Research results to date clearly show that cultural tourism can be used to establish new identities or strengthen already recognized identities. A more detailed examination of the causes and processes of the identity transformation, however, is needed to fully grasp the role of cultural tourism. With a more historical approach focusing on the development and changes of a specific society, we must carefully analyze the dynamic transformation process of the local identity.

Furthermore, the impact of tourism on villagers' identities have been somewhat understudied. Many researches presume that villagers share same identities regardless of their socioeconomic or cultural characteristics. However because the degree of participation and interest in tourism and its concomitant economic benefits varies for each person, we cannot assume that every villager understands their identity in a similar fashion. Different villagers may internalize in diverse ways the local identities that appear after the introduction of tourism. One can also hold a type of identity separate from local places (Vidal González 2008). Therefore, rather than focusing on the manifestation of identity in certain groups or regions, we should examine individual understandings of identity.

Research Site and Methodology

Oeam village belongs to Songak-myeon, Asan-si, Chungcheongnam-do province, Korea. It is located 7 km south of Asan. Administratively, Oeam village belongs to Oeam-ri, and Seolhwa-ri, which is not a folk village, is also administratively included in Oeam-ri. The total population of Oeam-ri was 260 in 2009. Oeam village is a consan-

guineous village dominated by the Yean Yi clan. The population of Oeam village showed a large-scale decrease during the 1960s and 1970s. Many Yean Yis left home for the education of their children, and some of them did not return to the village after finding jobs in the cities. The lack of employment in the village encouraged outmigration of Yean Yis at that time. The population of Oeam village has been decreasing continuously up to the present. At the time of this study in 2009, about 150 people in 48 households lived in the village. Among them, about one-third belonged to the Yean Yi clan.

The fieldwork reported here was carried out in 2009. To gather basic data such as population, number of participants in tourism, types of occupation, and important cultural and political organizations and activities, I examined census records and various kinds of documents owned by the village. Discourses and behaviors of the villagers in their everyday lives were carefully observed and recorded through interviews and participant observation. Informal and formal interviews were arranged with village leaders and many randomly selected members of the village. In particular, unstructured interviews with open-ended questions for the purpose of collecting unrestricted and diverse opinions facilitated the understanding of the villagers' ideas about tourism, lineage, and local identity.

Historical Development of the Oeam Folk Village

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the Oeam Folk Village became a consanguineous community completely controlled by the Yean Yi clan (Jeon 2006, 42). During these 150 years, they developed their own systematic clan organization. Under the status system of the Joseon dynasty, villagers whose surnames were other than Yean Yi (hereafter, non-Yean Yis) were servants who worked for Yean Yi families. After the agrarian reform following the Korean War, non-Yean Yis could hold ownership of farmland for the first time, signifying the emergence of somewhat egalitarian relationships among the villagers (Chungnam National University 2007, 13; Kim and Oh 1995, 66).

The Yean Yis lost the reputation of their distinguished lineage as many Yean Yis left the village to take advantage of the urbanization and industrialization that occurred in Korean society during the twentieth century. Like many other traditional consanguineous villages in Korea, Oeam village went through hardships caused by the loss of economic power, the decline in lineage members, and the weakening of lineage identity (Lee 2007, 7; Cho 1989, 411). The economic downturn experienced by clan members led to the shrinkage of the Yean Yi clan. Even though a small number of Yean Yis still reside in the village and several historic houses remain, it is no longer a kind of consanguineous village based on the concept of traditional lineage.

Ancestral rites and other ceremonies by the Yean Yi clan have considerably diminished due to the persistent economic difficulties among clan members. Subsequently, fewer Yean Yis are interested in the lineage. Moreover, the outmigration of the eldest grandson of the Yean Yi clan from the village facilitated the disintegration of the lineage activities and organization. Yean Yis possess about 70 percent of the village land and houses, and they are more concerned about their own individual property than about lineage matters. Owing to changes in the lineage organization of Yean Yis, their kinship system cannot play a decisive role in the local political structure.

Oeam village was designated as a folk village by Chungcheongnam-do province in 1978, and in 1982 it was renamed as a tourist folk village. Since Oeam's registration as a folk village, the reconstruction of houses has been strictly controlled. Currently, two houses in the village are designated as important folk heritage sites. Of the total six folk villages in Korea, Oeam village is the closest to Seoul, which may be very advantageous in attracting tourists from this heavily populated metropolitan area. It is no wonder that most villagers favored the proposal to become a folk village, expecting a sizable income from tourism. Financial support and other benefits from the local and central governments were also anticipated. Many villagers even tried to remodel their straw- or slate-roofed houses into tile-roofed ones at their own expenses to prepare for tourism.

Development of Tourism in the Village

The Oeam Association and the Oeam Society

Oeam village has slowly upgraded its facilities for tourism. In addition to remodeling houses, walls and streets have been newly improved. Moreover, village organizations developed many programs to vitalize the tourism business. In 2003, the inauguration of the Association for the Preservation of Oeam Folk Village (hereafter, the Oeam Association) paved the way for the promotion of tourism. In addition to preserving and developing traditional culture, it aims to protect the rights of inhabitants and raise their income. To advertise their village, the Oeam Association hosts an annual ritual for tutelary posts and a straw and plant festival. The ritual for tutelary posts is held on the 14th day of the first lunar month, to ask for a good harvest and peace. The straw and plant festival is held in the third week of October to showcase the local traditional culture.¹

The Oeam Association, utilizing funds from the government, has recently begun eight new programs, including gardening, building walls, changing straw roofs, performance of traditional marriage ceremonies, ironing cloth by beating, kneading chunks of rice cake with a mallet, and making grain syrup for tourists. Overall, projects associated with marriage ceremonies and traditional foods have been the focus. With the financial support from the government, the association purchases necessary materials and equipment and hires local villagers to help in the activities. Predominantly women rather than men are employed for the programs, and they are paid 40,000 won² per day.

The village was included in the Farm Stay Project supported by the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation in 2003 as well as in

1. In 2000, young adults in the village began the Solmoe Festival to celebrate Dano day, which falls on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month celebrating the transplantation of rice seedlings. Two years later, it became the straw and plant festival held in October.

2. Forty thousand won amounts to approximately US\$ 30.

the “Green Tourism Village in Rural Areas” program administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry in 2004. Both national projects were intended to allow urban dwellers to experience rural life and culture. To earn more income from tourism and invigorate rural community experience programs, the villagers gathered together and founded the Oeam Society for Green Tourism (hereafter, the Oeam Society) in 2004. The Oeam Society offers programs that allow visitors to experience rural traditional culture as well as lodging opportunities in the village, called the Farm Stay. Experience programs, such as making village guardian poles, traditional masks and paper, and bean curd as well as harvesting farm products, kneading rice cakes with a mallet, making grain syrup, and harvesting potatoes or sweet potatoes, have mainly targeted young students. The Farm Stay program can be found in 15 other villages in Asan area, but the Oeam village leads others in the number of visitors and profits. In 2008, 8,000 guests used the Farm Stay program and 20,000 visitors participated in the cultural experience programs.

Since the late 2000s, the village has also invited many performers of traditional music, dance, and plays, especially for weekend visitors. Due to limited human resources in the village, moreover, outside specialists are in charge of such programs as traditional farmers’ music and tea ceremony. These performances and programs have been welcomed by the many tourists who seek visually interesting experiences. The Oeam Society plans to gradually increase such cultural programs, but it has been difficult to invite appropriate groups that can perform high-level shows to the village. The Oeam Society tries to incorporate villagers’ suggestions so as to encourage their active participation. The Oeam Society allows any villager who proposes profitable programs to receive training from outside tourism organizations, and then lets the individual manage the programs that they generate. Accordingly, several programs suggested by villagers have materialized. For example, an older villager suggested in 2008 traditional Korean paper making; ten villagers now participate in a program that makes mirrors and pencil cases using traditional Korean paper.

Tourism and Local Traditional Culture

More tourists are visiting the village thanks to the festivals, the Farm Stay program, and the experiential programs that encourage the active participation of tourists. It appears that tourists prefer “imagined and desired” participatory experiences rather than simply observing the production of commodities (Green 2007, 205). Although the cultural programs do not yet guarantee a huge return, the Farm Stay program provides a fair income for the villagers. Currently, 13 households (12 straw-roofed houses and one tile-roofed house) are participating in the program. The rooms are generally fully booked on weekends.

Nevertheless, most villagers still do not benefit sufficiently from tourism because economic opportunities are not evenly distributed among villagers. More remunerative cultural programs are shared among only about 20 villagers. Accordingly, the majority of villagers still do not care much about tourism development in the village. They argue that more villagers would be willing to participate actively in the programs if their income from tourism business were to rise substantially. The villagers complain that many events and programs financially supported by the local and central governments do not create enough jobs for the whole village and that they have to sell their labor to receive wages from the tourism sector. Some of them even argue that instead of funding the programs, the money might as well be directly distributed evenly among villagers.

Despite the aforementioned limitations of tourism programs and complaints from the villagers, the expansion of the festivals and cultural programs nonetheless has led to changes in local behaviors regarding the commoditization of their cultural heritage. The villagers voluntarily help one another in preserving the physical appearance of the traditional folk village. As more tourists are interested in staying overnight in traditional Korean houses, many villagers who want to join the Farm Stay program readily remodel or repair their houses to satisfy the needs of visitors. Even though such houses are quite inconvenient to live in, villagers have rebuilt traditional kitchens in their houses and hidden modern boilers from the sight of tourists. Further-

more, many houses are being rebuilt with wood.

Oeam villagers can successfully develop tourism through diverse programs that revitalize their traditional way of life as well as replicate cultural elements from other rural villages. Although the authenticity of traditional culture has been emphasized as fundamental to the promotion of tourism (Taylor 2001), the village has also developed special folk events or ceremonies that can be easily found in other folk villages (Onyang Cultural Center 2000, 201). At the same time, several traditional cultural elements have vanished since Oaem's designation as a folk village (Chungnam National University 2007, 177).

Conception of Tourism among Villagers

The interest in tourism has increased over time and now the majority of the villagers are in favor of tourism in the village. Of the 21 household heads surveyed in the village, 14 considered tourism as positive, and only two had a negative attitude. Even villagers with negative opinions toward tourism acknowledged the substantial contribution of tourism to the village development. The difference in opinions may depend on the individual's economic interests, level of participation in tourism, and their membership in the lineage.

Many villagers favoring the business of tourism highlight increasing economic opportunities and improvement in the public image of the village. Relatively poor villagers welcome the new types of income-generating activities related to tourism. Historically, people in the village have relied on subsistence agricultural production. But the outmigration of many affluent Yean Yi families has resulted in a tremendous reduction in landholdings in and around the village. Due to the small landholdings, income from agricultural production is not sufficient to maintain the livelihood of the village. Only four households own more than 4,000 *pyeong*,³ and most households cultivate land ranging

3. One *pyeong* corresponds to approximately 3.3 m².

between 600 and 1,000 *pyeong*. Although the total amount of farmland in the village is 2.97 km², most of the land is not-so-productive marginal land. Since the designation as a folk village, moreover, the villagers are not allowed to grow more profitable cash crops by using diverse facilities and greenhouses. Subsequently, an increased income from the agricultural sector cannot be expected. One villager complained that he had to pay a fine of one million won after constructing a warehouse for his agricultural machinery. Unsurprisingly, farmers have expressed their discontentment with the current conditions.

For landless villagers and smallholders who cannot survive on agricultural production alone, however, the events and programs sponsored by the Oeam Association, the Oeam Society, and the local and central governments are valuable sources of income. Of course, mainly manual labor is available for these villagers, but the wage for the work is higher than that from agricultural production. The daily wage is 80,000 won for men and 40,000 won for women, whereas in the agricultural sector, it is 60,000 won and 30,000 won, respectively. The actual wage can vary according to the intensity and duration of the labor. Nevertheless, these villagers prefer to work in the tourism sector because it is less strenuous. Table 1 shows that landless villagers and smallholders tend to take a positive view of tourism.

When employed in the tourism sector, he or she is able to work for about 200 days per year. Presently, ten men and 15 women are employed continuously, and several other villagers work occasionally

Table 1. Opinions on Tourism according to the Size of Land Holding

Land size (<i>pyeong</i>)	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Total
0	5	1	0	6
1 - 1,000	5	0	1	6
1,001 - 2,000	2	1	1	4
2,001 - 3,000	1	1	0	2
3,001 - 4,000	0	0	0	0
≥ 4,001	1	2	0	3
Total	14	5	2	21

or whenever possible. Tourism has furnished women with jobs, which has in turn widened women's participation in village matters. For instance, women contribute to the success of the festivals and other important events or programs by preparing and selling food for the visitors. For many senior villagers who are not physically strong enough to continue the burdensome agricultural cultivation, working for tourism in the village offers opportunities to earn an income. One old man who cleans a house registered in the Farm Stay program is happy to be paid 35,000 won per day for ten days a month by the owner of the house, who does not live in the village. In short, the introduction of tourism may play a valuable role in decreasing extreme poverty in the village as a whole. The villagers agree that their economic condition has improved. The increasing number of tourists also has meant the development of more convenient public transportation systems for the villagers as well. The villagers are satisfied, for the most part, with the facilities and good environment introduced through tourism.

However, a small number of villagers view tourism negatively and point out the problems of unequal income distribution, low quality of work, improper behaviors of tourists, and frequent and unexpected invasion of privacy in the village. Most of the income-generating activities related with tourism are low-paying manual work, and even these limited opportunities have not increased as rapidly as wished. Furthermore, only a few villagers directly involved in tourism can earn a stable income to consistently contribute to their household economy. The majority of villagers who are not deeply connected with tourism cannot obtain much monetary benefit. In the case of cultural experience programs, after administration and operation costs and personnel expenses are deducted, only about 20 percent of the total earnings are evenly distributed among all the households in the village. This amounts to a very small amount of money per household; every household receives less than one million won per year from the village. The villagers demand the freedom to engage in commercial activities for tourists in the village to earn a more consistent income, but the government currently forbids this. In short, despite

diverse sources of income in the village from tourism, results fall short of villagers' expectations. More prosperous households also criticize the existence of many uncomfortable regulations that restrict their property rights. They add that the commercial value of their lands and houses is reduced in the market because of excessive local and central government control.

Senior villagers worry about increasing conflicts among villagers since the development of tourism in the village. According to the elders, some of the villagers prioritize maximizing profits over maintaining harmonious relationships among neighbors. Moreover, agricultural activities are disrupted by tourism. Fruits and vegetables in the fields are destroyed by tourists from time to time. During the busy farming season, it is very dangerous to drive tractors on the narrow streets because of the many tourists. And some self-conscious young women express discomfort for having to work in the fields while tourists watch them.

Opinions on tourism are also clearly divided by lineage in this village. Compared to non-Yean Yis, who overwhelmingly welcome the tourism, many Yean Yis have negative views or remain neutral. Several Yean Yis complain that they cannot obtain any substantial benefits, even though tourism was mostly activated to optimize the cultural heritage of the Yean Yi clan. For instance, tourists generally want to see old historical tile-roofed houses of Yean Yis rather than straw-roofed houses. Nevertheless, most employment opportunities created by local festivals and programs for tourists require simple manual labor, in which relatively poor non-Yean Yis are willing to participate. Moreover, the lucrative Farm Stay program is only available in straw-thatched houses, which are mostly the residences of non-Yean Yis. Of course, some Yean Yis are involved in wage work provided by tourism in the village, but Yean Yis who are still mindful of the landlord-tenant relationship that existed in the past are less eager to work alongside non-Yean Yis in the tourism sector. Table 2 clearly shows that Yean Yis remain divided in their opinions on tourism, whereas non-Yean Yis almost unanimously approve the development of tourism in the village.

Table 2. Opinions on Tourism in the Village according to Lineage

Lineage	Good	Neither good nor bad	Bad	Total
Yean Yis	4	4	2	10
Non-Yean Yis	10	1	0	11
Total	14	5	2	21

Transformation of Identity: From Lineage to Locality

Local Changes and Identity

Tourism development in Oeam village has brought many changes in local-level politics and culture, and the recent implementation of many programs and events designed for tourists has expedited these changes. The local ideology and value system have also undergone profound transformation, which is most evident in the intensification of local identity. The impact of tourism in the village and its effects on the development of local identity can be summarized as follows:

First, the promotion of tourism will eventually improve the public image of the village and the villagers, which can be used to strengthen the sense of *belongingness* and unity among villagers. Oeam village has become well known throughout the country, thanks to the many publications and media reports. In addition, filming movies and TV dramas in the village could increase Oeam village's popularity among people interested in Korean traditional culture. The villagers feel that their efforts are rewarded when they witness an increasing number of tourists. Older tourists appreciate the conservation of Korean traditional culture, which allows them to indulge in reminiscing their younger days while visiting the village. Villagers are also happy to meet people coming from various places who appreciate the clean environment and the magnificent scenic beauty of the once quiet village. The positive and favorable responses from tourists have helped to boost the villagers' pride and self-esteem.

Second, the growth of contact with outsiders has reinforced the internal bonds among the villagers. To receive tourists and negotiate with government officials, villagers need to cooperate with one another, as the small number of village leaders cannot deal with all the necessary work. To develop and maintain a clean and beautiful folk village, the villagers are eager to get together to discuss problems concerning tourism. They used to hold an official general meeting every January; nowadays, meetings take place more frequently to exchange opinions on all matters related to tourism. General meetings are called at least every other month and are well attended; meetings called by the Oeam Association and the Oeam Society are the best attended. In these meetings, even the villagers who previously hesitated to speak in public now frequently present their own views.

In this process, the active participation and leadership of non-Yean Yis in village matters is noteworthy. Non-Yean Yis, who had a lower status and were ruled by the noble class of the Yean Yi clan, were not allowed to participate alongside members of the Yean Yi clan until the early twentieth century. But today, more non-Yean Yis take charge of crucial administrative tasks related to tourism, express their opinions freely, and maximize their economic and political gains. The current head of the village, who is also president of the Oeam Society, is a non-Yean Yi. Even the Oeam Association, which was previously controlled only by the Yean Yi clan, now includes active non-Yean Yi members; of the eleven board members, five are non-Yean Yis.

Of course, some older Yean Yis have not entirely relinquished the master-servant relationship between Yean Yis and non-Yean Yis, despite the fact that a considerable number of non-Yean Yis are descendants of in-migrants from other areas during the twentieth century. Some Yean Yis believe that non-Yean Yis who are still poor and less educated, with limited knowledge of the traditional cultural heritage, should not be treated as equal to the proud Yean Yi clan. Nevertheless, the rigid relationship between Yean Yis and non-Yean Yis has been alleviated over the last several decades. Most Yean Yis agree that they have to be on good terms with the non-Yean Yis for the develop-

ment of the village. One Yean Yi noted, "We can take great pride in our cultural heritage inherited from our ancestors, but that does not justify the superiority of our lineage." On the other hand, one non-Yean Yi stated, "Yean Yis can enjoy their status simply because of the achievements of their ancestors. We do not experience any discrimination now, but we have to be careful not to offend Yean Yis." The out-migration of Yean Yis and in-migration of non-Yean Yis, who have moved in so as to take advantage of the economic benefits triggered by tourism, have especially lessened the social rigidity. Since the majority of inhabitants are non-Yean Yis, Yean Yis cannot win in the popular vote if the views in the general meetings are divided by lineage. Therefore, Yean Yis are not able to ignore the opinions of non-Yean Yis, who participate more actively in tourism.

Third, utilizing cultural heritage for tourism has played a role in revitalizing the confidence of Yean Yis in cultural terms. Troubled by decreasing membership and deteriorating economic conditions, the Yean Yi clan lost many privileges and rights in the village. But the commercialization of tangible and intangible cultural heritage possessed by the Yean Yi clan has enabled them to resurrect their commitment to the village. One Yean Yi said, "I feel reassured by memorizing the long and remarkable history of our lineage for the village." Yean Yis are especially proud of themselves when they play a leading role in the rituals in front of many tourists. Yean Yis believe that the efforts to preserve their cultural heritage despite economic difficulties have borne fruit in the end and that they can make a major contribution to local tourism.

Emergence of Local Identity

Tourism in Oeam village has transformed the local political and economic structure while having had positive effects on improving or revitalizing existing sociocultural relationships. The desire to preserve local culture for the success of tourism helps the villagers develop a sense of belonging, as evidenced by their active participation in tourism programs. At the same time, consanguineous identity within

the Yean Yi clan has been sharply weakened because of their decreasing population, economic hardships, and the decline in their lineage organization. This phenomenon has been accelerated by the increase of non-Yean Yis and their active participation in the local economic and political structure. In place of this traditional sociocultural relationship, frequent interactions between Yean Yis and non-Yean Yis for the development of tourism are paving the way for the establishment of a distinct local identity. In short, locality is replacing blood ties in the making of a new identity. Many income-generating activities initiated by tourism have allowed once-isolated non-Yean Yis to become full members in the village. Subsequently, non-Yean Yis have expressed stronger local identity.

Local identity, which can be detected in all the villagers, is selectively formed and strengthened according to individual interests. Individuality rather than collectivity is noticeable in the practice of local identity, whose meanings and characteristics differ according to the political, economic, and cultural circumstances of the villagers. The existence of the various degrees of local identity results from heterogeneous patterns of participation in tourism activities and different benefits acquired from tourism development (Cheung 1999, 585; Ritchie and Inkari 2006, 29). More specifically, the formation and reinforcement of local identity is strongly influenced by the individual's occupation, degree of participation in tourism, length of residence, lineage and blood ties, age, and gender.

Compared with people working outside the village and large landholders who are preoccupied with agricultural work, smallholders and landless agricultural laborers delighted by income-generating activities from tourism tend to rapidly strengthen their local identity. In particular, active participants in profitable tourism projects favor the emergence of identity based on locality. Thus, less affluent non-Yean Yis without sufficient agricultural land to subsist seize the opportunity to become integral members of the village through their active involvement in tourism.

Competing Identities in the Village

Despite the emergence of a new local identity, different types of identities continue to coexist among the Yean Yis and other villagers. Yean Yis keep very complicated and somewhat ambivalent identities depending on their economic class and position in the lineage structure. Relatively wealthy Yean Yis with high lineage status still show a strong attachment to traditional consanguineous identity, emphasizing the value of cultural heritage inherited from their own ancestors. They endeavor to display the cultural and political achievements of their ancestors in the local events and programs provided to attract tourists. For example, due to the persistent demand by influential Yean Yis, the Oeam Association organized a rite to commemorate the permanent ancestral tablet of Yi Gan, the most prominent figure in the lineage of Yean Yis. About 20 villagers participate in this tutelary post ritual. Young adults and women help by preparing food and other goods. Every year, the participants erect new posts for the ritual, and various accompanying events have been continuously added to entertain the tourists. Many non-Yean Yis, however, were not eager to hold the ritual because only a few tourists are interested in participating in it.

Less affluent Yean Yis with low lineage status have shaped positive views towards tourism. Some of them find the lineage structure less essential in their contemporary everyday lives and readily accept local identity. They are more open to tourism considering its many benefits, such as economic profits, good reputation for the village among the tourists and neighboring villagers, and the opportunity to introduce their traditional local culture to the tourists. At the same time, there exist many Yean Yis who show fluctuating identities in the village and do not seem deeply interested in either the tourism or the lineage.

Non-Yean Yis were not publicly proud of living in the village until the late twentieth century because many of them were descendants of servants in the village. Instead of constructing a local identity, therefore, they were eager to leave the village if possible. But socioeconomic opportunities provided by the tourism have enabled them to foster

local identity distinct from other rural villages. Of course, the strength of their local identity has been closely related to their participation and interest in the local tourism. Nowadays, non-Yean Yis maintain stronger solidarity among themselves in village matters than Yean Yis. In an effort to promote their village, they even incorporate into the tourism program cultural elements practiced in other villages. In response, Yean Yis have criticized the excessive commercialization of culture unrelated to their own customs and also indistinguishable from those found in many Korean rural villages. In fact, some visitors have mentioned that many activities performed in the village can also be found in other rural villages in Korea and that there are few attractions to feel the real value of the folk village. Nevertheless, non-Yean Yi leaders engaged in the tourism sector intentionally do not highlight the lineage of Yean Yis in their promotion of the tourism business. Obviously, Yean Yis deeply involved in the lineage organization do not like the behaviors and attitudes of non-Yean Yis in this respect.

Conclusion

The development of tourism in a village where traditional culture still exists can lead to many changes, both expected and unexpected, which can accelerate the transformation of local views and value systems. In the initial stages of tourism development, when the revenue from tourism is not sufficient to satisfy the expectations of the majority of villagers, the impact of tourism on the local sociocultural structure may be somewhat limited. With the growth of tourism and concomitant sources of income, however, more villagers participate in the tourism sector, which may result in critical sociocultural changes. If the village economy becomes increasingly geared toward tourism as a main source of revenue, the effects of tourism for the local economic and sociocultural sectors cannot be ignored.

Along with socioeconomic opportunities, tourism in a rural village can help the villagers construct a new type of identity and cultural pride. Changes in the village introduced by tourism can play a role in

transforming existing identity and developing new identity based on socioeconomic and cultural interactions between tourists and villagers. Tourism can allow the appearance of a local identity while undermining other kinds of identity already present in the village. The local identity shared by villagers may differ, depending on their degree of involvement and socioeconomic interests in tourism, as direct and indirect benefits and opportunities derived from tourism cannot be uniform among the villagers. However, the intensification of tourism can strengthen the sense of place and belonging among villagers, which can contribute to reinforcing villagers' own unique local identity.

In Oeam village, where the traditional organization of the dominant Yean Yi clan has been seriously weakened due to economic hardships of its members since the late twentieth century, tourism has triggered the active participation and leadership of non-Yean Yis in village matters. The growth of tourism and continuous financial support from local and central governments has intensified the transformation of the behaviors and ideology of villagers. In this village, where traditional consanguineous identity has been weakened owing to the deteriorating economic conditions of Yean Yis and their decrease in numbers, the invigoration of tourism has evoked a local identity among some villagers. Especially non-Yean Yis, who were ruled by Yean Yis in prior master-servant relationships, have welcomed the development of tourism. Subsequently, non-Yean Yis have maintained a stronger local identity compared to Yean Yis in the village. Other than lineage, the representation of local identity among the villagers is apparently diverse, depending on their occupations and degree of participation in tourism. Consequently, the nature of local identity as understood and practiced by the villagers is not homogeneous due to their various socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds as well as the unequal opportunities and benefits gained from tourism.

In conclusion, economic gains earned from tourism have permitted the existence of complicated and diverse identities in the village. Some Yean Yis prefer to maintain consanguineous identity underlying their cultural heritage. Other Yean Yis and the majority of non-Yean

Yis have tried to shape the tourism for their welfare and benefits, which is an important aspect of situationalism or instrumentalism. Conversely, the villagers' identities have been influenced, redefined, and reconstructed by the ideologies of the tourists visiting the village. In this sense, constructivist approach is more useful for the analysis of identities in the Oeam village. The nature of identities in the village will depend on the economic success of the local tourism and the degree of participation of Yean Yis in the tourism sector in the future.

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