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Annexational Space in the Perceptions of Jeju Social Activists: A Case of Pro-Yemeni Refugee Movement

제주 사회 운동가들의 인식에 나타난 부속 공간의 정체성: 예멘 난민 옹호 운동을 사례로

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Annexational Space in the Perceptions of Jeju Social Activists: A Case of Pro-Yemeni Refugee Movement

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Abstract

This study investigates how the locality of an annexational space is reflected in the perceptions of social activists through the case of Jeju Island. Locality in this thesis refers to “the sum total of the various relationships that spaces as well as actors create across time, which is very fluid, multi-layered, political, and value-oriented (Moon, 2016).” Recently, increasing attention has been paid to the concept of locality in social science fields and humanities. In the field of geography, locality has been one of the key concepts following the spatial restructuring in the Western capitalist countries in the 1970s.

In previous studies, ‘annexation’ has been used to mean incorporation of one region to another region or a country. For example, Tanji (2006) used the concept of ‘annexation’ to refer to compulsory amalgamation of Okinawa to mainland Japan. In this thesis, the concept of annexation is expanded to imply the relations with the mainland from the local point of view. Therefore, I define an ‘annexational space’ as a space which experienced annexation to the mainland, where the locality featuring dichotomy between the mainland and the area, with complex toward the mainland and loneliness lying behind the pride in local social movement. The emergence and progress of the local refugee movement in Jeju Island enables examination of the locality of an annexational space. Therefore, this study aims to reveal the dynamics of pro-Yemeni refugee movement in Jeju Island.

This study aims to answer the following two research questions.
(1) How is locality of Jeju Island as an annexational space reflected in the perceptions of local social activists?
(2) What kinds of relationship with the mainland have formed the locality?

In summary, the results of this study are as follows. Firstly, locality of Jeju Island was investigated by analysis of the local interpretation of the Yemeni refugee issue. Perceptions of refugees and interpretation of the refugee issue in Jeju civil society was different from the mainland. The dichotomous way of thinking between Yug-ji (mainland) and Jeju Island made the difference. Once an independent kingdom annexed into the state in the mainland Korea, Jeju Islanders referred to all other parts of the country
as Yug-ji. In the perspective of the local activists, Yemeni refugee issue was an incident that revealed the mainland's perception of treating Jeju as its surroundings. Based on the dichotomy, Jeju Islanders showed complex toward mainland, being susceptible to ideas of mainlanders and being exclusive to mainlanders concurrently. They believed those who opposed the refugee acceptance were mainly from the mainland, and felt that Jeju residents who cared about this public opinion had become increasingly reluctant for accepting refugees. Activists were also sensitive to the public opinion and felt the need to respond.

Second, in the process of the emergence of local refugee movement, locality of Jeju Island as an annexational space was exposed. Community culture was found in the solid local activist network, which is based on strong regional identity as Jeju Islanders and personal acquaintances. They built coalitions to support other organizations, and solidarity beyond political factions for local issues was easier because of this character. Local activists were confident in their ability to quickly assemble and cope with the problems themselves. They found the spirit of resistance from the local history, from uprisings in the feudal age to 4·3 Uprising. However, there is loneliness as a remote island and envy toward the mainland behind the pride. It has always been treated as a periphery, including social movements. A yearning for the center arose with these experiences and as an isolated island, it requires mainland help when it encounters limitations. Instead of asking for help from the mainland, Jeju activists argued that Yemeni refuge issue is a national one. It also dealt with the issue separately by interacting with the mainland refugee network.

Implications of this research are as follows. First, this study investigated the locality of an annexational space through a specific case. It also contributed to the discussion of locality which has mainly investigated western capitalist societies by analyzing the case in Asia. Second, it discovered a close relationship between the locality and social movement. It is worth referring to the case of refugee movement in Jeju Island at a time when the localization of social movements is spreading.

**Keyword**: pro-refugee movement, asylum, annexational space, locality, Jeju Island, identity

**Student Number**: 2017-27950
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Research Background and Purpose

This study investigates how the locality of an annexational space is reflected in the perceptions of social activists through the case of Jeju Island. Locality in this thesis refers to “the sum total of the various relationships that spaces as well as actors create across time, which is very fluid, multi-layered, political, and value-oriented (Moon, 2016).” Recently, increasing attention has been paid to the concept of locality in social science fields and humanities. In the field of geography, locality has been one of the key concepts following the spatial restructuring in the Western capitalist countries in the 1970s.

In previous studies, ‘annexation’ has been used to mean incorporation of one region to another region or a country. For example, Tanji (2006) used the concept of ‘annexation’ to refer to compulsory amalgamation of Okinawa to mainland Japan. In this thesis, the concept of annexation is expanded to imply the relations with the mainland from the local point of view. Therefore, I define an ‘annexational space’ as a space which experienced annexation to the mainland, where the locality featuring dichotomy between the mainland and the area, with complex toward the mainland and loneliness lying behind the pride in local social movement. The emergence and progress of the local refugee movement in Jeju Island enables examination of the locality of an annexational space. Therefore, this study aims to reveal the dynamics of pro-Yemeni refugee movement in Jeju Island.

Research findings are drawn from a case study in Jeju Island. Recent emergence of refugee movement in Jeju Island exposed the locality as an annexational space. It had been an independent ancient kingdom. After annexation into Goryeo, the islanders suffered from duplicate exploitation from the central government for centuries. In 1948, after the 4.3 uprising against the election of South Korea, about 10% of the population of Jeju Island was massacred by the government. It can be seen as the most recent annexation to the modern nation-state. Tourism development projects have been carried out since the 1960s to make Jeju a world-class tourist destination. Today, after enactment of the Special Act on the Establishment
of Jeju Special Self-governing Province and the Construction of Free International City in 2002, Jeju island became the space where exceptional policies such as investment immigration and visa waiver program are implemented, being the center of various political agendas.

The most recent political issue concerning Jeju was Yemeni refugee influx. About 500 Yemenis arrived at Jeju in May 2018, where the visa waiver program\(^1\) applies, to seek asylum. After the arrival, concerns over security and public resentment toward waste of taxation for alleged refugees dominated the society, with demonstrations held against acceptance of the refugees. Citizens in mainland claimed that the government should keep the alleged refugees from reaching the mainland. The Ministry of Justice imposed departure restrictions on asylum seekers in Jeju Island. To deal with this issue, civic groups, religious groups, and some of the progressive parties gathered to organize ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights’ one month after the entry of the refugees. There was already a refugee rights network in the mainland, but a new refugee advocacy organization has emerged in the

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\(^1\) Visa waiver program, which was introduced in 2002 allows foreigners from 180 countries, excluding 11 countries that sponsor terrorism, to enter Jeju Island without a visa. It applies to only those who directly arrive in Jeju island, and movement to mainland is restricted.
This study aims to answer the following two research questions.

(3) How is locality of Jeju Island as an annexational space reflected in the perceptions of local social activists?

(4) What kinds of relationship with the mainland have formed the locality?

The first question focuses on the locality of Jeju, which is revealed through its refugee movement. The features of an annexational space, such as dichotomy between mainland and island, and the complex of local activists toward the mainland will be discussed. This question is important in that it demonstrates the concept of an annexational space through a specific case. The second question expands the concept of annexation to include the complex relationships with the mainland throughout the history. The common perception that the island has always been marginalized from the mainland has had a significant impact on the locality of an annexational space. It is important in that it highlights the position of the local population.
1.2. Research Subject and Methods

Qualitative research methods are mainly used in this study. Three types of research methods are used; Archival analysis, in-depth interviews, and participation observation.

Firstly, archives including books, newspaper articles, official publication of the government, data gained through information disclosure request, and homepages of the government and non-governmental organizations in Jeju Island were analyzed. At the initial stage of research, archival analysis was done to figure out the overall context of the region as well as the case and form plans for the study. Archival analysis complements the shortcomings of in-depth interviews by providing exact information. Although interviews provide detailed information, it is difficult to avoid subjective interpretation because interview data depends on individual memory, values and perspectives. More archival analysis was done after interviews to check credibility and arrange the events that occurred. Information which cannot be obtained by interviews and participation observation, such as specific historic data and legal provisions was gathered through publications and websites.

Secondly, in-depth interviews with Jeju local activists involved in ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights’ were conducted. Interview data were collected to get specific information on Jeju local refugee movement during four field site visits to Jeju from September 2018 to February 2019. Since there are limited materials on the social movement in Jeju island, interviews were necessary in order to get concrete data. In-depth interviews with 5 local activists (Table 1) in different fields involved in ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights’ were done individually, which took from one hour to two hours at an office or a cafe. More interviews were conducted at intervals since the situation had been constantly changing since the entry of asylum seekers. A few informal interviews were also conducted at refugee movement related sites.

Appointment with an activist was first made by contacting via email. Other activists were introduced by acquaintances and snowballing method was also used. The selection of research participants was conditional on participation in the pro-refugee movement in Jeju Island and more than 5 years of experience in Jeju local civil society or Jeju native to discuss the
specific context of Jeju Island. The executive board members and co-representatives were included in the list of the interviewees.

**Table 1 List of the Interviewees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview date</th>
<th>Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>February 2019 Jeju Native, Leader of a civic group in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>October, November 2018, February 2019 Jeju Native, Leader of a civic group in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>October 2018, February 2019 Jeju Native, Leader of a civic group in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>September, October 2018 More than 5 years of experience in local social movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>October 2018 Jeju Native, Leader of a civic group in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the principle of research ethics, the names of the participants in this thesis are noted as study participant A, B, etc. Interviews were semi-structured, and the questions included the history of Jeju island, features of the local social movement, relationship with the mainland, and government policies implemented in Jeju Island. Same questions were included to cross-check the data collected. With consent from the study participants, interviews were recorded to be transcribed and were later translated into English.

Lastly, participation observation method is used. Participation observation was conducted in order to figure out how activists interact and form networks. Firstly, I participated in events related to the refugee movement to understand refugee movements in mainland area. These events include the Report on the Status of the Treatment of Refugees on September 19, 2018, and Refugees Welcome event on October 20, 2018, both of which were held in Seoul. National Human Rights Commission of Korea, Refugee network and Korean Refugee Research Association co-hosted the former event where activists and researchers gathered to raise awareness of the real lives of refugees who are accepted in South Korea, where refugee
acceptance rate is only 2%. The latter event was a gathering in the public square, held by the major public interest lawyer and human rights groups. Secondly, the data of local refugee movement at an open forum were collected in November 2018 in Jeju Island. The forum was where Jeju local activists and refugee network activists from mainland gathered. Last participation observation took place at the scene of a tent rally in front of the provincial government building in February 2019.
1.3. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized as follows. In Chapter 2, previous discussions on the concept of locality and refugee movements are reviewed, and the theoretical framework of this study is presented. It consists of two sections. The first section critically reviews previous literature of locality and annexation and suggests the concept of an ‘annexational space’. The second section defines the term ‘pro-refugee movement’ in this thesis and provides the contributions and gap in previous literature on social movements.

Chapter 3 introduces the case of this thesis. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part describes the geography and history of Jeju Island, which is the case area of this study, and the reason why the area was selected. The second part provides a brief understanding of the pro-refugee movement in Korea and Yemeni refugee influx in Jeju Island.

Chapter 4 and 5 are the main chapters of this thesis, which provide answers to the research questions. Chapter 4 deals with the local interpretation of the Yemeni refugee issue. In this chapter, I argue that the locality significantly influenced by the relationship with the mainland made the understanding of Yemeni refugee issue different from the mainland. This chapter consists of three sections. The first section discusses about the perceptions of Jeju Islanders on Yemeni refugees. The second section is about the dichotomy between Yug-ji (mainland) and Jeju Island. Yemeni refugee issue was interpreted in different way in Jeju because of this dichotomy. The third section illustrates the complex of Jeju Islanders to mainland. They are known to be exclusive to mainlanders, prioritizing Jeju Islanders. However, at the same time, they care a lot about the views of mainlanders on Jeju Island.

Chapter 5 investigates locality exposed in the formation process of ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights’. Locality of an annexational space is reflected on the process of the emergence of local refugee movement. There are two parts in this chapter. In the first part, local social movement based on community culture and strong regional identity as ‘Jejudomin’ provided basis for the coalition built to cope with Yemeni refugee issues. Community movement evolved to build coalitions beyond political views and area of interest. The second part argues that there is loneliness and envy toward the mainland behind Jeju Islanders’ pride in the spirit of resistance. Although
local activists showed self-respect for competent activist network which has the ability to settle the issues properly, it has not been formed entirely voluntarily.

Chapter 6 summarizes the results of the study and suggests its implications.
Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. Locality of an Annexational Space

2.1.1. Previous Literature on Locality

In recent years, the concept of locality has come to the fore in a variety of academic fields. It has been considered particularly important in various social science fields, including geography, sociology, anthropology, urban studies, and political science. There are a variety of views on locality; some focus on locality as a social space with political and economic relations or a mechanism of power as a medium, others highlight cultural contexts, and others view locality as a theoretical framework (Pusan National University Korean Studies Institute, 2009). This thesis understands the concept of locality as sum of the relationships that spaces and actors form over time.

Locality was a key concept in the fields of geography and sociology in the 1980s and 1990s. For much of the twentieth century, many geographers viewed localities as “effectively natural phenomena derived from environmental differentiation across the Earth’s surface, universal human desires and needs for homes and meaningful places, and the friction of distance on human interaction (Clarke, 2013; 494)”. However, since the 1970s, it has begun to be argued that locality is produced, not naturally given. The study of locality began in order to explain the socio-economic spatial change resulting from social and economic restructuring in Western capitalist countries, and to propose practical alternatives to solve the problems that followed (Park, 2009; 109). Locality studies attempted to reveal that local economies were produced in relations with wider economic processes, such as national and global industrial restructuring (Urry, 1986).

In the early 1980s in the United Kingdom, active locality research was conducted with support from the government following the spatial restructuring. Theoretical research on locality can be largely divided into those that advocate the usefulness of the concept and those that criticize the concept of locality. Doreen Massey is one of the major scholars who provided bases of the so-called ‘locality debate (Duncan & Savage, 1989)’. According to Massey (1991), “Localities are not just about physical buildings, nor even about capital momentarily imprisoned; they are about the intersection of social activities and social relations and, crucially,
activities and relations which are necessarily, by definition, dynamic, changing.” In *Spatial Divisions of Labour* (1984), Massey illustrates the socio-economic changes in UK from this spatial perspective. The research contributed to the locality literature by examining how uneven development proceeds due to the capital circulation. She defines regional problems as problems resulting from regional differences due to uneven distribution of the changing conditions of production (Massey, 1979) and insisted on the need for with discussions below national level.

Philip Cooke is also a scholar who actively conducted research on locality, expressing the importance of the concept. He published a number of theoretical and empirical studies of locality (Cooke, 1986, 1989, 1990), understanding locality in relation to the labor market. The concept of ‘local dependence’ was suggested by Cox and Mair (1988) to describe the local politics in the United States. Local dependence refers to the dependence of diverse actors, such as businesses, politicians, and laborers on reproduction of particular social relationships within certain area (Cox and Mair, 1988). Subsequently, Cox and Mair (1991) made an attempt to come up with a methodology for locality studies. They stressed the need to break away from the dualism which equates local as concrete and conceptualize locality in terms of ‘hierarchical levels of abstraction’.

On the other hand, some scholars took a critical stance on the concept of locality (Cochrane, 1987; Duncan, 1986; Duncan and Savage, 1989; Smith, 1987). While acknowledging the need to explore socioeconomic structures and the associated spatial variation, Duncan and Savage (1989) raised questions about localities as social and political entities. The concept of locality is ambiguous and locality research has failed to explain the linkage between localities and social processes. They criticized the concepts presented in the main studies on the concept of locality, for example, they insisted that the concept of ‘local labor markets (Cooke, 1986)’ do not exist because labor markets are segmented in a particular place, and there is a high possibility that the spatial boundaries of labor markets are different.

Meanwhile, empirical studies using the concept of locality as well as theoretical studies have been actively carried out. Through case study of 7 localities in the United Kingdom focusing on the role of local labor markets, Cooke (1986) concluded that a new kind of restructuring is under way.
across industries, blue-collar workers are being replaced by service industries, and it is changing the traditional voting patterns that were based on class. Moreover, this behavior appears to be related to the outbreak of new social movements in local politics. Urry (1986) investigated the benefits and weaknesses of the concept of locality through a case study in Lancaster, stressing that localities are significant sociological entities. Page (1996) investigated central-local state relations in a specific locality by examining changes in housing production programs in Haringey during the 1980s. Empirical research in the United States was also conducted by Cox and Mair (1988), which examined the contemporary politics of local economic development in the United States, where localities were competing against each other. A recent study of Sandberg (2016) explored the different restructuring of localities in Gorlitz and Zgorzelec, two cities on the German-Polish border.

In Korea, interest in the concept of locality has increased in the past decade, with a number of studies on locality conducted in the humanities as well as in the social science field. The first issue of The Journal of Localitology was published in 2009 by Korean Studies Institute, Pusan National University with the aim of pioneering the humanities based on local and locality (Park, 2009a). Critical reviews of previous locality studies and discussion of methodologies for locality studies have been made (Kim, 2016; Koo, 2010; Moon, 2008; 2016; Park, 2009a). Although there have been a few articles that have approached locality from a spatial perspective (Lee, 2010; Park, 2009b; 2016), most studies focused on calling for the need to re-conceptualize and apply the concept of locality within humanities.

The concept of locality resulted in the shift of perception of space in social sciences. Massey criticized the traditional perspective of space in social science field as fixed and passive, making an attempt to change the perception of space itself as a kind of social process, which at the same time mediates and transforms social processes. Transformation of the perception of space has led to relational geography which understands space around social relations. In addition, locality studies challenged the dualisms between the local and global; abstract and concrete; center and periphery. It also raised questions to tendency in social sciences to regard modern nation-state as basic unit of research.

In spite of these contributions, there are some limitations in the
previous literature. The subjects of empirical research are mainly urban and regional structure changes related to labor, capital and economy. However, these factors are not the only factors that shape particular localities. Cultural and political factors are significant components of the locality. There was a lack of interest in these factors although there are some studies which attempted to link cultural and political dimensions with locality. For example, Massey emphasizes that locality is an issue to be investigated in relation to larger socio-structural issues, especially with socioeconomic and spatial changes influenced by capitalism, rather than identifying it with specific values (Kim, 2008). However, changes in locality are deeply related to the change in culture and consciousness (Kim, 2008). Thus, attempts to connect the cultural aspect to the locality discourse have taken place in recent years. These case studies were mainly interested in the locality reproduced in literature and language, with lack of interest in the locality manifested in the politics of the local civil society.

Moreover, there is a spatial bias in the study case area because locality research was initiated to account for changes in Western capitalist society. Although many researchers studying locality attempted to avoid the dichotomous way of thinking, most studies focused on explaining changes in Europe and the United States. There is a limit to not only explaining regions with different regional contexts, but also cases in developing countries where socio-economic backgrounds differ from those developed countries. To fill the gap of previous literature, this study suggests locality of an annexational space and looks at the locality of Jeju Island by examining its social movement.

2.1.2. Locality of an ‘Annexational Space’

According to Edwards (2011; 325), annexation is “the process of bringing land from one jurisdiction to another.” The term ‘annexation’ has been used in the previous literature to refer to incorporation of one city or region to other region or country (Fazal, 2016; Katchanovski, 2015; Tanji, 2006; Teper, 2016; Williams, 1980). In recent years, this concept has frequently emerged in studies that deal with research topics related to Russia’s annexation of Crimea (Biersack & O’lear, 2014; Grant, 2015; Katchanovski, 2015; Teper, 2016). Examining the situation before and after the annexation of Crimea, Katchanovski (2015) concluded that Crimea is likely to be a
conflict zone between Ukraine and Russia as well as between the West and Russia. Identity discourse used by Russia for framing the annexation of Crimea was analyzed by Teper (2016) to investigate the characteristics of identity politics in Russian leadership.

In the literature regarding islands, focusing on the relationships with mainland or other islands, the term ‘annex’ and ‘annexation’ has usually been used to mean forced amalgamation. A number of studies have discussed about annexation of Philippines to the United States (Baldoz & Ayala, 2013; Punzalan, 2006; Williams, 1980). In Asian context, Miyume Tanji used the term in her book *Myth, Protest, and Struggle in Okinawa* (2006), which investigated heterogeneous ‘community of protest’ in Okinawa civil society. She examined struggles of Okinawans after annexation to Japan, losing Ryukyuan sovereignty, as a historical background to the development of a unique identity of ‘Okinawan’. Okinawa, Japan is mentioned as a region where there are many similarities with Jeju Island. The similarities are as follows; It is also an island remote to the main territory; It has a unique culture that distinguishes it from the mainland; It has undergone exploitation by mainlanders, and there is a history of local residents massacred by mainlanders; Military bases were deployed during the Pacific War. Therefore, anti-base movement in Okinawa and social movements for peace have been active.

In public administration and law discipline, the concept of ‘Municipal Annexation’ has been used (Edwards, 2008; 2011; Edwards & Xiao, 2009; Gonzalez & Mehay, 1987; Salinas, 2015; Stahura & Marshall, 2012). It refers to the unification process of territory and population in an adjacent local unit by a municipality (Edwards, 2011). It has been one of the major strategies that municipal governments of the United States adopt to adjust the size of the city and deal with growth issues (Edwards, 2011; Gonzalez & Mehay, 1987). Along with migration and natural growth, municipal annexation has been shown to play a vital role in suburban population growth (Stahura & Marshall, 2012).

Existing discussions on annexation, until now, failed to illustrate complex dynamics between the spaces and how the relationship influenced the locality of a particular space in the process and after annexation. Previous studies of annexation have described annexation as amalgamation of areas that are separate from each other into a whole. For example, in
Myth, Protest, and Struggle in Okinawa (2006), annexation was used to merely refer to forced amalgamation of Ryukyu Kingdom to the mainland Japan. In addition, local and external dynamics, interactions, before and after the merger, were not considered important. The spaces that experienced annexation were different countries or in different administrative district in the past, but relations in terms of politics, economy, or culture existed. Moreover, although described as being united as one after annexation, there exist conflicts within the localities and annexation have a significant impact on the reconstruction of locality.

Meanwhile, there are a few studies that attempted to conceptualize certain spaces (Malheiro, 2000; Lee et al. 2017; Suwa, 2007). Suwa (2007) analyzed clan-based communities in Amami Islands, located in the southwestern part of Japan, to develop the concept of ‘space of shima’. The Japanese/Ryukyuan concept of Shima implies two different meanings; an island as a type of geographical feature and an island as a small social group with dense cultural interaction (Suwa, 2007). Deep attachment of the island residents to the Shima they live in characterize Amami Islands. Therefore, each shima is “a work of territorial imagination, an extension of personhood and a ‘cultural landscape’ (Suwa, 2007; 6)”. This paper further explored the interaction between the geographical and cultural entities of the islands, moving on from static islandness based on the concept of Shima. However, this concept is limited to a particular geographical feature of an island and is difficult to apply to a wide range of areas.

There was an attempt to conceptualize Jeju Island, the case area of the study, as an ‘exceptional space (Ong, 2006)’. Lee et al. (2017) defined Jeju Free International City as an ‘exceptional space’ and looked at how it was created and evolved in the local context of Jeju Island. Exceptional space refers to a space within which the state has specified distinct systems and rules within its territory (Lee et al., 2017). Ong (2006) argued that the logic of the neo-liberal exception enabled the operation of more flexible sovereign power that deviated from the existing logic of territory, resulting in the partitioning or expansion of the space of the nation-state, which she defined as a ‘zoning technology’ in the formation of space of exception. She also noted this spatial practice as a major mechanism for creating East Asian neo-liberalistic exceptions, which it attributed to the operation of centralized state power. Lee et al. (2017) analyzed the political dynamics of the region
surrounding exceptional space and the relationship between the center and the local. However, the study has its limitations in that it only considers political and economic aspects, failing to consider the cultural dimensions.

In this study, therefore, I suggest the concept of an ‘annexational space’ by expanding the meaning of annexation. I define an ‘annexational space’ as a space which experienced annexation to the mainland, where the locality features dichotomy between the mainland and the area, with complex toward the mainland and loneliness lying behind the pride in local social movement. Based on the community culture of a barren island, memories of exploitation and marginalization by the mainland have formed a solid local community. This community shares collective identity as islanders, and these islanders have a dichotomous way of thinking of the mainland and the island, showing ambivalent attitude of exclusion and envy toward the mainland.

The concept of ‘an annexational space’ implies the relations between the mainland and the island, each of which has been considered the center and the margin. For example, in the case of Jeju Island, relations between the mainland deepened as it became a subordinate state of the Korean Peninsula and eventually became an administrative region. Because historically it has always been treated as a less important periphery unlike the mainland, social activists in Jeju Island interpret the government policy and social issues based on the dichotomy between mainland and Jeju Island. Also, since there was no surrounding area and problems in Jeju has been marginalized, an independent and quick-acting social movement network was established on the basis of regional identity as Jeju Islanders.

Pro-Yemeni refugee movement which emerged after the influx of Yemeni asylum seekers to Jeju Island is a case which clearly exposes the locality of an annexational space. A month after it became a nationwide issue, local coalition to respond it was formed. Unlike mainland refugee activists' focus on xenophobia, Jeju activists saw the incident as revealing the mainland perspective of thinking Jeju Island as its surroundings. They expressed the position that visa waiver program was not introduced for the development of Jeju Island as is known, but that Jeju Island as a margin was in fact designated for the development of the entire nation. They also thought that the voices that abhor refugees belonged mainly to the mainland population, which showed exclusion of outsiders. However, at once, they
paid great attention to the opinions from the mainland, trying to calm the public opinion.
2.2. Previous Literature on Social Movements including Refugee Movements

2.1.1. Research on Social Movements
This section defines the term ‘pro-refugee movement’ and examines contributions and gap of existing discussions on social movements, including refugee movements. Diani (1992; 13) defined social movements as “networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities.” Refugee movement in this study is a kind of social movement for refugee rights, which includes refugee advocacy movement of the activists and refugees themselves.

Studies on social movements have been vigorously carried out in various social science fields, including sociology, politics, and administrative studies. Previous literature on social movement made both academic and policy contributions by investigating the cause, mobilization process, and strategies of social movement. However, there was a lack of empirical research due to the bias toward theoretical aspects. In addition, the influence of local context in social movements have not been fully taken into account. Especially in South Korea, where research on social movements have begun relatively recently after a candlelight vigil in 2008, most literature has dealt with the cases in the capital city of Seoul and national scale movements. Therefore, this section discusses the necessity of applying the concept of locality to take into account the local context in order to understand the characteristics of local social movements as well as the process of establishing strategies.

As modern civil society was established after the civil revolution, social movements have been important means of political communication. Until the 19th century, social movements in the Western context meant socialist movements by the working class seeking fundamental social transformation, but the term now encompasses heterogeneous collective actions such as the human rights movement, religious movement, and resistance movements related to particular issues (Faculty of the Department of Political Science, Seoul National University, 2010). Social movements have been in the spotlight in academia since the 1960s (Ritzer, 2007).
Development of theories to explain the motivations and dynamics of social movements has been the main subject of research over the discourse. To date, there has been three main approaches to social movements; classical theories, resource mobilization theory, political process theory, and new social movement theories.

It can be said that the study of collective action was initiated to understand and explain the collective behavior of a large number of individuals which does not fit into the ‘institutionalized behavior’ (Lim, 1999). Classical theories include Marxist theory, socio-psychological approach, and structural functionalism. These theories focused on exploring the causes of collective behavior. The scholars identified cognitive dissonance, deprivation, anxiety and alienation of atomized individuals who have not adapted properly to social change as the causes of collective action (Faculty of the Department of Political Science, Seoul National University, 2010). Representative scholars in this approach include Smelser, Gurr, Turner and Killian (1972). Social movements were considered ‘abnormal behaviors’ at the research because the scholars believed that expression of social discontent is already possible through institutionalized ways.

Resource mobilization theory contributed greatly to social movement discourse by changing the fundamental perception of social movements, opening a new scope of analysis on collective action. It views social movements as organized activities that constitute a normal part of social and political life. It has been the dominant theory in the United States since the 1970s (Buechler, 1995). This theory emphasized the mobilization of resources in the movement, arguing that mobilization of resources in the process is a pivotal factor in the success of the movement. Oberschall (1973), and Tilly (1978) used political sociology approach, while MacCarthy and Zald (1977) employed economic sociology approach (Perrow, 1979).

After the protests of 1968 in Europe, various forms of social movements have emerged in Western society, including anti-nuclear movement, peace movement, environmental movement, women's movement, gay rights movement and human rights movement. While North American academics have not identified these social movements as particularly different, Western European social movement researchers considered them 'new' social movements which are distinct from the conventional ones. Alain
Touraine (1971) was the first scholar to use the term ‘New Social Movement’. Castells, Habermas, and Melucci are the scholars who mainly contributed to this theory (Buechler, 1995).

New social movement is a new form of movement that differs from labor movement, the representative social movement of industrial society, in terms of its position, goals, organization and means of action. In the case of women's movement, it was a social movement that existed even before the 1960s, but is categorized as a "new" social movement according to the features of activism. New social movements put emphasis on pluralistic values and targets issues in various fields while the existing social movement was a material class struggle, aiming reform of existing system through the transforming ownership relations. New social movement theories aim to reveal the social and structural background of the emergence of the new social movements and their features.

Attempts to understand social movements in terms of space began in the 1980s. Not until relatively recently have geographers been interested in social movement as a subject of research compared to other disciplines in social sciences. Although some geographers started to pay attention to urban social movements in the 1980s after the publication of The City and the Grassroots by Castells (1983), most of the contributions of geographers to social movements were made since the 1990s. Human geographers, particularly political geographers have increasingly been interested in the spatiality of social movements. Routledge (1992) analyzed Baliapal movement in India to discover the link between social movements and place, suggesting the concept of 'terrain of resistance'. Miller made a pioneering work in his publication Geography and Social Movements (2000), discussing the meaning of space in social movements.

Research on social movements in geography has mainly focused on the strategies of urban social movements. There have been studies that analyze social movements in relation to the concept of scale\(^2\), one of the key concepts in geography. Since the 1990s, politics of scale, especially ‘scale jumping (Smith, 1996)’ as a strategy of social movements has been one of the main subjects of research. ‘Scale jumping’ refers to the ability of certain

\(^2\) Geographical scale originally referred to “the nested hierarchy of bounded spaces of differing size (Delaney & Leitner, 1997)” and was considered to be given. However, since the 1980s, the idea that scale is produced or constructed has been widely accepted.
social groups to change their levels of activity to pursue their goals (MacKinnon, 2011). McCarthy (2005) examined scaling up strategy of environmental activists in North America.

Geographers have also engaged with social movement research through applying network theory in order to analyze and understand the dynamics of social movements and how networks maneuver across various spatialities. Nicholls (2009) argued that networks produced in specific places and far distances have unique and complementary functions in a wide range of social movements. Uitermark & Nicholls (2012) highlighted the importance of local activist networks by comparing Occupy movements in Amsterdam and Los Angeles in 2011. In the meanwhile, some geographers made attempts to devise frameworks to analyze social movements in terms of space. A framework to conceptualize Brazilian agrarian reform was developed by Garmany (2008) using the theory of production of space.

It has not been long since interest in social movements has arisen in the field of geography in Korea. Dictatorship of military regime lasted for more than 20 years, and social movements became active after democratization in 1987. In addition, as the only divided nation-state in the world, it was heavily influenced by the Cold War and the view of people on social movements has long been negative. Jung (2006) critically reviewed resource mobilization theory, frame theory, and new social movement theories, which are the three representative approaches in the study of modern social movements and proposed investigation of the spatiality of social movements to overcome the limitations of these approaches. Some scholars started to use concept of ‘politics of scale’ to analyze social movements in Korea. Politics of scale in environmental justice movement through the case of electricity transmission tower conflicts in Miryang was investigated (Um, 2012). Chang (2013) investigated the solidarity and exclusion among social forces at international, national and local scales in the process of establishment of POSCO from the perspective of ‘politics of scale’. Spatial features of the Candlelight Protests in 2016 in South Korea in different spatial hierarchies were explored (Hwang & Park, 2018).

It has not been long since the refugee movement as a kind of social movement began to take place. Interest in refugee issues has been on the rise as the number of refugees around the world is continuously increasing. According to the UNHCR global report (2017), there are 25.4 million
refugees worldwide, which is more than double of the number a decade ago (11.4 million in 2007). In addition, recent strengthening of border control of the sovereign states has led to vigorous refugee activism around the world. There is not much literature that has studied the cases of the refugee movement, but research on the topic has been active in the recent decade.

Studies on refugee movements have mainly discussed about the formation and strategies of refugee movement. Erder (2016) argued that the lack of capacity and limitations of related state organizations and international organizations, including the UNHCR, have been revealed after the Syrian refugee crisis, calling for the need for new models and policies of the global scale. The movement that is presented as an example is Conference Peoples' Global Action for Migration, Development, and Human Rights (PGA). Civic groups from around the world gathered in Mexico City in 2010 for PGA. The United Nations added the agendas of 'civil society', 'human rights', and 'governance', which were brought up in PGA. As neoliberal and neoconservative government of John Howard exacerbated the environment for asylum seekers arriving at Australia by policies such as detention and off-shoring, active social movement action for asylum seekers in Australia has emerged (Tazreiter, 2010). In response to deteriorated circumstances, local groups advocating refugees and asylum seekers engaged in broader human rights movement and resulted in a global social movement on the issue. Koca (2016) analyzed “Refugees Welcome UK”, which is the most well-known refugee movement in the UK, using the new social movements theory. It proved that the movement shows the characteristics of new social movements, including movement goals, social base, mobilization tactics, group structure, and social positions.

Meanwhile, some studies have highlighted the agency of refugees themselves in the process of refugee activism. Bhimji (2016) explored how refugee activists obtained visibility within public spaces by spatial politics such as squatting strategy, by analyzing occupation movements of refugees in Germany. Through participating in the community theater project in Melbourne, Australia in 2010, asylum seekers in Australia could become political subjects (McNevin, 2010).

Despite the contributions of previous literature to the discussion on social movements, there are some limitations. First, previous studies have paid little attention on the relationship between locality and social
movement. Agnew (1997) noted that each social movement occurs in the background of the problems in a particular place, and criticized that existing social movement studies have overlooked this regional and cultural context. Second, as most of the theories regarding social movements have been developed in North America and European regions, application of these theories to other regions have limitations. Third, there was a lack of empirical case studies, while research on the social movement theories has been dominant. There exists a gap between theory and reality. This limit has been consistently pointed out by a number of scholars. There was a lack of local scale research on social movement. Despite the asymmetry between the central and local regions, there needs to be a cognitive transition that constantly reveals that various local actors have been making efforts and these have affected the changes in the society as a whole (Hwang & Park, 2018).

Therefore, this thesis aims to fill the gap by investigating how local social movement reflects particular kind of locality. Community and place contexts are critical factors that explain the diversity and differences of social movements (Jung, 2006). Some studies have found out that the local context may have an important effect on social movements. Investigating environmental movements in three different cities of Bristol, Glasgow and Verona, Diani & Rambaldo (2007) concluded that the different logics of collective action found may be caused by some features of the local political context. Örestig & Lindgren (2017) analyzed how the local context came into expression in the movement’s social media activities through the case of a locally rooted environmental campaign on the Swedish island of Gotland. Uitermark & Nicholls (2012) highlighted the importance of local activist networks by comparing Occupy movements in Amsterdam and Los Angeles in 2011. According to Jung (2018), the movement against the naval base establishment in Gangjeong Village, Jeju is a ‘localized social movement,’ which is deeply engaged with the community of struggle.
Chapter 3. Case Introduction

3.1. Geography and History of Jeju Island

This section introduces the case of Jeju Island and explains the reason why this case was selected for the thesis. Jeju island is the biggest island in Korea, which is located on the south of the Korean peninsula. It is known for its uniqueness compared to other regions in Korea which result from its geographical features and history. Some even refer to Jeju as a foreign country which uses Korean language, and the metaphor ‘foreign country in Korea’ – not only its natural landscape but cultural landscape – implies that Jeju island has distinct features compared to other areas in Korea. Some of the factors that affected this uniqueness are physical geography of an island and the location, which is at the intersection of Yellow Sea, East China Sea, and East Sea. It is located between Kyushu, which is the southern edge of mainland Japan, and eastern China. Jeju Island has therefore been strategically important in terms of politics, economy, and military to Korea, China, and Japan.

However, these factors are not enough to account for the cultural characteristics and civil society of Jeju. It is true that exchanges were not easy in the past due to the geographical nature of an island, but there existed exchanges with the inland. However, disconnects of exchanges by the state during the Joseon Dynasty had been around for more than 200 years, developing closed community culture of local residents. In addition, after being incorporated into Goryeo, the experience of dual exploitation of the central and local government made the people even more exclusive to outsiders and resistant to the government.

In 662, shortly after the fall of Baekje, Tamna-guk surrendered to Shilla, being a dependency that regularly paid tribute to the Unified Shilla Kingdom until 892. It was a separate country like Usan-guk, but it was under control of Shilla. After Goryeo unified the Later Three Kingdoms, the title of the king of Tamna changed to Seongju (Castellan) from 938, but envoys from Tamna were treated the same as envoys Song Dynasty of China (Jeju Homepage). To conciliate the royal family of Tamna, officials were dispatched to indirectly interfere in internal affairs. In 1105, Tamna-guk was

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3 a small country on present-day Ulleung Island
renamed as Tamna County to become a region under the jurisdiction of the central government in the mainland. However, Seongju continued to be hereditary and autonomy in certain parts was allowed. In the Yuan intervention period of Goryeo, Tamna was directly controlled by Yuan, but was eventually returned to Goryeo. Starting from the Joseon Dynasty, which strengthened centralization of power, administrative districts were reorganized as mok, gun, and hyun, which were the same with the mainland. In 1402, the name Seongju was no longer used. Jeju-mok, Jung Eui-hyun and Daejeong-hyeon under the jurisdiction of Jeolla Province were established Jeju Island was incorporated into the administrative area. However, even if it belonged to Jeolla Province, it was close to a special administrative region. Unlike ordinary governors, Jeju-mok governor held the same rank with the provincial governor.

Jeju Island was a self-governing country before it was incorporated into the sovereignty of Goryeo Dynasty in 1105. In Joseon Dynasty (1392 – 1910), the central government system was strengthened, and same policies were implemented across the country including Jeju island. However, due to its geographical location, it maintained a self-sufficiency system economically, and social and cultural characteristics were strongly maintained (Lee, 1987). In terms of politics, it was still isolated as a political periphery and functioned as a place of exile. Since it was difficult for the central government to control local officials in the island, Jeju residents suffered from the combination of exploitation from local officials and taxation from the central government.

State violence after 4·3 Uprising had tremendous influence in Jeju. Jeju was stigmatized as a ‘red island’ and used as a means of ideological politics by the central government, and the residents have constantly undergone ideological verification for decades. Local people have lost faith in outsiders, and have become reluctant to express political voices. In the recent decades, Jeju island has been functioning as a test bed to implement new policies, either in a positive or negative sense. The role of Jeju island as a policy laboratory in modern times could be identified by examining some of the policies implemented in Jeju and following protests.

In 2002, ‘Special Act on the Establishment of Jeju Special Self-governing Province and the Construction of International Free City (hereinafter referred to as ‘Jeju Special Act’)’ was legislated. Jeju Special
Self-governing Province was established, which known as the only high-level autonomous region in Korea. Jeju Province has autonomy in a variety of fields, such as security, labor and education, as well as some diplomatic powers. According to the JDC website (http://www.jdcenter.com/), the main business of JDC is as follows: Jeju Science Park, Global Education City, Myths and History Theme Park, Jeju Aerospace Museum, Healthcare Town, Jeju Public Rental Housing, and JDC Duty-free shop\(^4\).

The investment promotion zone is a system in which Jeju Special Self-governing Province provides tax reduction for domestic and foreign capital investing more than 5 million dollars to foster and attract investment in core industries. The amount reduced depends on the amount of money invested. This program is made on the basis of Article 162 of the Jeju Special Act. If designated as an investment promotion zone, various incentives will be provided. Developers can take advantage of this program.

Jeju Global Education City is one of the key projects of Jeju International Free City. It is a state-run planned city with education in English. Activist C described the city as a ‘representative test site’. There are about 2700 students, most of who moved from ‘Gangnam Sam-gu\(^5\)’, the three wealthiest districts of Seoul. There are town houses built for those immigrants. The combined cost of tuition and dormitory is over 50 million won per year. Students at the city get education targeting Ivy League universities or top universities in Korea. The government is promoting the city that it prevents the outflow of some 270 billion won a year. Those parents migrate to the city for education in the same environment as overseas, without having to send their children abroad alone. These international schools are for-profit schools run by corporations although they are public schools by law. It is becoming a special district for education.

Real estate investment immigration program was first implemented in Jeju island in 2010. The program allows foreigners who buy more than a certain amount of real estate to live in Korea (F-2 visa) and if they stay for more than five years, they are granted permanent residency (F-5 visa). According to Jeju Special Self-governing Province internet site, the conditions for granting permanent residency are as follows: ① when one

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\(^4\) Three JDC Duty-free shops are being operated including the Jeju International Airport. They surpassed 500 billion won in sales in 2017.

\(^5\) Gangnam-gu, Seocho-gu, Songpa-gu
obtains approval from Jeju Governor on the execution of development project under Article 147 of the Jeju Special Self-Government Act and purchases resort facilities within tourist complexes or tourist attractions designated under Article 52 of the Tourism Promotion Act when one purchases resort facilities (such as condominiums) with a value of more than US $500,000. Those who obtained permanent residency are given authority as of domestic people except for suffrage and right to hold a public office. Investment property was not limited at first. However, concerns about environmental damage due to reckless development projects and real estate prices began to arise. As a result, in 2015, Jeju provincial government announced three principles on investment (environmental protection, balance between investment sectors, and enhance future value), adding the restriction. The regions that real estate investment immigration program is applied have been expanded to four areas, including the Alpensia district in Pyeongchang, tourist complex in Yeosu, and Yeongjong district in Incheon.

Discussions on the introduction of for-profit hospitals began in 2002. For-profit hospitals are established with the capital of private investors. Under the current medical law, domestic hospitals can only set up non-profit institutions, but under the Jeju Special Act, foreign companies are allowed to set up hospitals on Jeju Island. There has been a heated debate over public health care and profitability on the introduction of for-profit hospitals. The medical community and civic groups claim that they will undermine the health insurance system and the public health service, while others claim economic benefits such as job creation and the increase of tourists will be huge. Park Geun-hye government approved the business plan of ‘Greenland International Hospital’ by Greenland Holdings Corporation in 2015. The corporation is a state-owned enterprise known as China’s greatest real estate developer. The hospital was completed in July 2017, but some civic groups and Jeju residents opposed the plan, which led to public discussion. The Public Opinion Research Committee announced on October 4 that it would not allow the hospital to be used as a for-profit hospital. However, Greenland International Hospital was approved on condition of foreign-only care in December 2018. Jeju Governor Won Hee-ryong said the decision was inevitable, and demonstrations are taking place that insist on revoking the approval.
3.2. Yemeni Refugee Influx in Jeju Island

Refugee issue emerged in Korea in the 1970s with the acceptance of Vietnamese refugees. In 1992, South Korea ratified the ‘Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Refugee Convention)’ and ‘Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (Refugee Protocol)’. Refugee system was officially introduced when it revised the Immigration Act in 1993 (National Assembly Research Service, 2018). Refugee status was granted for the first time in 2001. ‘the Act on the Status and Treatment of Refugees (Refugee Law)’ was legislated on February 10, 2012, and it was implemented on July 1, 2013. However, until now, refugees are not very visible in Korea, and refugee issue was not considered important before Yemeni asylum influx in 2018. South Korea was not a country that has actively implemented the agreement, only allowing the stay of refugees.

Meanwhile, refugee rights movement has taken place in South Korea during the last two decades. South Korea was the first country in Asia to enact a legislation on refugees, and it was amended as a result of the refugee rights movement. The first organization established in Korea for refugee support is ‘the Refugee pNan’, a Christian NGO aiding refugees. It was established in 1999. The three groups from the Refuge pNan include the Refugee Human Rights Center (NANCEN), EcoFemme, and Advocates for Public Interest Law (APIL), which are active refugee advocacy organizations (Choi, 2014). The movement to enact the refugee bill began in 2006. The Refuge pNan, the Korean branch of Amnesty International, researchers and activists of the Public Interest Human Rights Act Foundation formed a Network called the Refugee Policy Improvement Group and other related organizations began to join the group.

The network has continued to be the Korea Refugee Rights Network, which is currently at the center of refugee rights movement in South Korea. The introduction at the Facebook page provides general information on refugee rights activities in South Korea. A list of organizations participating in the network and the activities of Korean refugee activists are given.

This is the official Facebook page of the Korea Refugee Rights Network, a network for Korean refugee advocacy groups. The Refugee
Human Rights Network was established by Korean refugee-related organizations in 2006 as a foundation research and discussion session for the enactment of the new Refugee Act. It was called refugee network or refugee support network, but changed its name to refugee human rights network from 2018. The purpose of this network is to advocate the human rights of refugees in Korean society and to oppose all kinds of discrimination and hatred toward refugees. (...) The refugee network is actively engaged in activities to improve awareness of refugee protection system in Korea and refugees in Korean society. Since 2011, it has conducted a campaign to raise public awareness of refugees around the World Refugee Day (June 20). In addition to each organization's advocacy for refugee rights, the refugee network, which has planned and promoted different events every year such as flash mobs and booth events, celebrates World Refugee Day on June 20, 2015, holding the first Korea Refugee Film Festival to help more people approach refugee issue easily.

(Korea Refugee Rights Network Facebook page)

The procedures for the application and processing of refugee recognition under the current Refugee Act are as follows (Figure 2). From 1994 to 2018, refugee recognition rate of South Korea is only 4.1 percent, which is extremely low compared to other countries. The average refugee recognition rate among OECD members in 2017 was about 30.9% (National Assembly Research Service, 2018). Moreover, only 7.6 percent of asylum seekers has been granted humanitarian residence (Hankyoreh, 2018). G-1 visa is given for humanitarian residency, and this visa provides stay and work permit for three years for the refugee applicants. However, humanitarian residents are subject to restrictions on social security, basic living security, education guarantees, academic and qualification, and permission to enter the country for spouses. Moreover, the status given should be reviewed every year. The refugee network is continuing activities to improve the current system.
Table 2 Timeline after Yemeni Refugee Influx in Jeju Island

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 18, 2018</td>
<td>departure restrictions on Yemeni asylum seekers in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>527 Yemeni asylum seekers in Jeju Island applied for refugee status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 31</td>
<td>rally and press conference against refugee acceptance took place in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1</td>
<td>2018 the Korean Immigration Service barred Yemen from the list of visa waiver countries and announced departure restrictions on refugee applicants of all nationalities in Jeju Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 13 ~ July 13</td>
<td>More than 700,000 people signed an online petition calling for a revision of the law regarding acceptance of refugees on Blue House website⁶.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 22</td>
<td>Jeju governor Won Hee-ryong asked the central government for prompt review on Yemeni asylum seekers, stating that Jeju should not shoulder the burden alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 29</td>
<td>Refugee review process began</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30</td>
<td>Demonstration against and for the acceptance of Yemeni asylum seekers was held simultaneously in front of Gwanghwamun station exit 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Recognition of 7 asylum seekers as exception of the restriction (4 for the union with other family members, 3 for the medical treatment at the mainland hospital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 31</td>
<td>Press conference on the role of the press in improving human rights for refugees was held</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 14</td>
<td>23 were granted humanitarian stay permits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 17</td>
<td>339 were granted humanitarian stay permits, 34 were denied, decision over 85 was postponed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 14</td>
<td>Open forum for discussion on the present situation and tasks of Yemeni refugees in Jeju province was held</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 14</td>
<td>results of the remaining 85 were announced (2 were granted refugee status, 50 were granted humanitarian stay permits, 22 people were rejected, and 11 left the country completely)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶ If more than 200,000 people sign an online petition on Blue House website, the government should respond in 30 days.
Jeju Island is where the visa waiver program has been implemented to promote tourism. The program, which allows foreign tourists to visit Jeju for 30 days without visa, was introduced in 2002 to realize Jeju Free International City. The Jeju Special Entry Agreement is also in place for citizens of all countries who cannot enter South Korea without a visa. Those people can stay in Jeju for up to 30 days only if they entered Jeju directly by plane or ship. According to the Jeju Immigration and Foreign Affairs Bureau, 1055 foreigners applied for refugee status in Jeju by June 19, 2018, and 549 among them were Yemeni (Table 4, Table 5).

Table 3 Statistics of Annual Asylum Seekers in Jeju

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Refugee Applicant</th>
<th>By Nationality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>China 206, India 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>China 257, India 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>China 229, Yemen 42, India 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td>Yemen 549, China 353, India 96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jeju Immigration Service (2018.06.19.)

Table 4 Statistics of Annual Yemeni Inflow

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Visa Waiver Program</th>
<th>Refugee Applicant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>561</td>
<td>549</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jeju Immigration Service (2018.06.19.)

Asylum seekers who leave Yemen take three main routes of travel: neighboring Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Djibouti. Some of them moved to Malaysia, where Yemenis from the same Islamic country can stay for 90 days without a visa. Malaysia was preferred as the initial destination among the few countries that do not require visas to Yemenis due to the cultural and religious similarities. However, Malaysia is not a member of the Refugee
Convention, so they had to move to another country. They entered Jeju Island as AirAsia began a direct flight from Malaysia to Jeju in December 2017. After more than 500 Yemenis came to Jeju Island at a time to seek asylum, concerns over security spread throughout the country.

There has been a growing voice for the abolition or revision of the refugee act in a more conservative direction. People from mainland were afraid that the refugees would reach the ‘main’ territory. The media and the public paid keen attention to asylum seekers who entered Jeju Island. Several demonstrations were held against the acceptance of the Yemeni refugees in Jeju Island. The number of people who signed the online petition against accepting Yemeni refugees has surpassed 700,000. The Ministry of Justice excluded Yemen from the application of visa waiver program and imposed departure restriction on Jeju Yemeni refugees on June 1. Mainland citizens explicitly claimed that departure restriction should not be withdrawn, and refugees should stay in Jeju Island.

One month after the enforcement of departure restriction of the refugees in Jeju, 33 religious, social and political groups in Jeju organized ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Human Rights’. With the aid and support of the committee, 362 people were granted humanitarian residence by October, and the committee announced that it would continue to support the refugees. While opposition to accepting refugees is dominant in inland areas, a supportive organization was rapidly formed in Jeju island to take actions. It seemed like the civil society is a pivotal actor in this issue. Jeju Island is one of the regions where active anti-development movement has taken place in the country. Since this research aims to examine refugee movement in terms of locality, Jeju island was chosen to be the site for investigation.

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7 Jeju Immigration Service distributed a press release on September 14, 2018 that says “They are those who applied for refugee status after entering Korea to avoid civil war in their home country or forced conscription of Houthis rebels, and we decided not to grant refugee status because they do not fall under the five reasons of persecution of the Refugee Convention and Protocol (race, religion, nationality, membership of certain social groups, and political views). Considering the serious civil war situation in Yemen, unstable stay in the three countries they stopped, and the possibility of arrest, deportation could violate the freedom of their lives and bodies.”
Figure 2 Procedure of Refugee Recognition Application and Processing. Hi Korea (E-Government for Foreigners)
Chapter 4. Local Interpretation of the Yemeni Refugee Issue

4.1. Jeju Islanders’ Perceptions on Yemeni Refugees

This chapter investigates locality of an annexational space through Jeju Islanders’ interpretation of Yemeni refugee issue. About 500 Yemeni refugees arrived at Jeju island in May 2018, where the visa waiver program has been implemented since 2002. According to the interviews with activists, the reactions of Jeju residents varied when Yemeni refugees first came to Jeju Island. The influx of asylum seekers who are mainly young men was recognized as an influx of labor in the case of primary industry workers in Jeju Island. Some residents sympathized with the situation of the refugees who had been marginalized. It was the foreign community involving foreign teachers residing in Jeju that first began to provide aid to refugees. Religious circles, including Catholics and Buddhists, have also begun to join the move. Overall, however, residents in Jeju Island were either uninterested in the issue or were reluctant to comment on the refugees.

At first, those who welcomed Yemeni refugees saw them as young workforce. Jeju Island is an area where the primary industry accounts for a higher percentage in the local economy than other regions. Unlike the Korean Peninsula, Jeju Island, which belongs to subtropical climate, has an agricultural production structure centered on the production of tangerine. As of 2017, the primary industry accounted for 10.63 percent of Jeju's Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP), which is more than 5 times higher than the national average (KOSIS, 2018). Jeju Islanders could expect settlement of labor shortage at sites related to farming and fishing by employment of Yemeni refugees. Jeju local government exceptionally allowed these refugee applicants to get jobs for a certain period of time. More than 200 refugee applicants were given special job permits at a job briefing for Yemeni refugee applicants on June 14. Some of them were hired as crew members of the fishing boat, while the rest of them were employed in fishing farms and other aquaculture industries.

Some residents sympathized with the situation of the refugees who had to leave the country to avoid civil war. The memory of evacuation and persecution in local history has made some of the Jeju residents empathize with the situation of refugees. According to interviewee C, Jeju Islanders
have fled to nearby areas, especially during Japanese colonial rule and after 4·3 incident. Even during the Joseon Dynasty, Jeju residents often moved inland or to Japan due to difficulties in life in Jeju. As a result, the migration ban was promulgated due to a decrease in the population of Jeju. Jeju Island served as a destination for refugees from Jeolla province in the 19th century and as a refuge during the Korean War. During the colonial period, many Jeju residents left Jeju Island. Due to the frequent occurrence of natural disasters, poor agricultural production compared to inland, absence of modern industry, and the collapse of fishing industry due to the invasion of Japanese capital, many Jeju residents had no choice but to go out to find a way to live (Lee, 2002). Therefore, many families in Jeju have relatives, friends, and acquaintances who live in Japan. There are also countless Jeju Islanders who once moved to Japan and returned to Jeju during Japanese colonial rule. Jeju Island was devastated after 4·3 incident, and right after that came the Korean War. A procession of refugees rushed from inland to Jeju During the Korean War, and some people in the local community with such memories of the war agreed with the refugees' situation.

Individual support was provided from Jeju foreigner community, religious organizations, and residents nearby. At first, there was no refugee rights activist in Jeju Island. Naomi, a migrant support organization affiliated with the Catholic Church in Jeju, provided aid for the asylum seekers. While calls for the protection of women in the country against Yemeni Muslim men, relating their religion with misogyny, have been persuasive in the mainland, the voice was not that loud on Jeju Island. This has to do with both the religious and political characteristics of Jeju Island.

Jeju Islanders have relatively high religious openness. One of the notable religious characteristics of Jeju is that the influence of Christianity is much weaker than in other regions (Yoo, 2012). Another notable characteristic of the religion in Jeju is that the Catholic rate is higher than mainland, while the Protestant rate is lower. In addition, Jeju Island has a higher percentage of people who believe in shamanistic indigenous religions than other regions. People take part in diverse shamanistic rituals regardless of their religions. Jeju Buddhists and Catholics do not apply their religious values to the funeral of relatives or acquaintances, nor do they do so in routine rituals and ceremonies. In the case of Jeju Island, where exchange with the mainland was cut off during the Joseon Dynasty, the influx of
foreign religions was slow, which resulted in local residents relying more on indigenous religions and power of foreign religions being weaker than other regions. Although Jeju people have a separate religion, they perform many rituals such as exorcisms and rites along shamanistic beliefs. Many people take part in the rituals, accepting mythological thinking of indigenous religions centering around the Shimbang, which is the shaman of Jeju Island (Yoo, 2012). Therefore, even if they do not accept Yemeni Muslims, their disapproval of them appears to be less apparent on Jeju Island.

Not all of the Jeju residents, however, were amicable to the asylum seekers. Jeju population in general initially seemed to be watching over the refugee issue. One of the interviewees described the state of Jeju Islanders as ‘operation of indifference’, which originates from the tendency to be reluctant to make political opinions. Violence of the nation-state during and after 4·3 Uprising had a significant impact on this characteristic. It was not only individual communists who were targeted in the scorched earth operation at that time, but all those suspected communists, including people living in the villages in the middle mountainous area (Yang, 2006). Family members and relatives of those who were massacred were also killed if the relationship with the suspected communists were found out. Memory of the cruel massacre has deeply permeated Jeju communities, making it still difficult for residents to express their political opinions. They have tendency to avoid expressing political opinions because they are wary of the mainland and the central government. The features of the annexational space appears in this context.

Meanwhile, some of the Jeju residents were actually indifferent to Yemeni refugees.

*Jeju Island is an area with a large floating population and the number of migrants has soared in recent years. Many Jeju natives thought that refugee is just a kind of migrant. We cannot tell by appearances if he or she is a Yemeni refugee or a migrant worker. Moreover, the asylum seekers did not enter into their real lives and community.*

*(Interviewee C)*

The ‘migration craze’ to Jeju since 2000 is the result of governmental policies supporting the return to farming and home villages,
which has been pursued since the late 1990s (Yeum, 2019). Administrative authorities of Jeju Island have supported the settlement of immigrants by enacting ordinances related to settlers in 2014, setting up departments in charge of them, and forming a resettlement center and a council of settlers (Yeum, 2019). In addition to migrants from the mainland seeking to escape the dreary life in cities, frequent visits of outsiders such as foreign tourists, short-term migrants, as well as the migration due to the investment immigration system and global education city introduced in 2002 to create the Jeju Free International City, have not ceased until recently. More than 100,000 immigrants came to Jeju Island over the past decade, so refugees were perceived as one type of temporary migrants that would stay in the island for a while. Moreover, the ratio of asylum seekers is less than one in 10,000 people, so they were not that visible. Refugee was regarded as one type of the immigrants who would not be part of the local community. Jeju natives expected them to stay in Jeju Island for a while and then leave for the mainland. This can be seen as an example of exclusivity toward outsiders rather than an inclusive atmosphere.
4.2. Dichotomy between ‘Yug-ji (mainland)’ and Jeju Island

Jeju local activists participating in the pro-Yemeni refugee movement analyzed Yemeni refugee issue with a greater emphasis on the departure restriction from the government and visa waiver program than refugees themselves. Local activists interpreted departure restriction and visa waiver program through the dichotomy of Yug-ji and Jeju Island, showing the characteristics of an annexational space.

The interviewees referred to all other parts of the country as Yug-Ji. The dichotomous way of thinking, which calls all non-Jeju areas Yug-Ji, suggests that Jeju people themselves are distinct from other locals in the country. It was the dichotomy between mainland and Jeju Island that served as the basis for strong regional identity of Jeju Islanders. Through the interviews and participation observation, it could be learned that Jeju native activists distinguish people as Jejudomin (Jeju Islanders), Jeju immigrants, and Yug-ji (mainland) population. As there is no agreement on the definition of Jejudomin, the place of birth and period of residence are important in some cases, and sometimes all residents of Jeju Island are called Jejudomin.

Even if his family lived in Jeju for generations, the person who regards the nature of Jeju only as a means of moneymaking is a ‘Yug-ji Gut (Mainland Thing)’, and if he cares about Jeju as his life, he is a ‘Jeju-in (Jeju Islander)’ even if he started to live in Jeju Island yesterday.

(The New History of Jeju, 2006)

As shown in the quotation, it seemed that local activists classify Jejudomin and immigrants based on their perception of Jeju Island. In the interviews, immigrants were excluded from the category of Jejudomin. Local social activists participating in the pro-refugee movement were mostly opposing the development of Jeju Island, including the construction of the new airport, the construction of a military base and for-profit hospitals. Those who perceive Jeju as a space of development and opportunity, those who decided to go to Jeju due to the investment

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8 Yug-ji means land in Korean language.
immigration program and global education city, and those who support continuous development in Jeju, were not included in their category of Jejudomin. Although actually not all Jeju natives oppose to development and all immigrants were looking at Jeju from an outsider's perspective, the concept of Jejudomin was constructed this way in their perception.

This dichotomy appears not only in development issues but also in Yemeni refugee issue. Some of the interviewees said that some of those who expressed hatred toward Yemeni asylum seekers were immigrants, not Jejudomin in general. There are a number of terms that refer to the language used by native Jeju Islanders, with Jeju dialect and Jeju language most frequently used. In Jeju Island, most people chose the term Jeju language. Opinions vary as to whether Jeju language is actually a dialect of Korean or a separate language. The term implies that the native Jeju dialect is recognized as an independent language rather than a type of dialect.

Jeju Island activists approached the Yemeni refugee issue based on this dichotomy. When the news of Yemeni asylum seekers spread in the mainland area, Muslim abhorrence related to women's rights and stories related to safety, security and illegal migrants were mainly brought together. There were concerns about social costs and deprivation of opportunities. Some argued that considerable amount of taxes will be spent for refugees and that refugees would take up their jobs. There were voices claiming that Yemenis who came to Jeju Island are ‘fake refugees’ that applied for refugee status for economic reasons, on the grounds that more than half of the asylum seekers are men in their 20s.

However, the way social movement organizations in Jeju interpreted refugee issue was different from the mainland. The activists argued that this issue exposed the position of Jeju Island as a periphery. As public opinion against accepting refugees spread in mainland, the central government imposed a ban on Yemeni asylum seekers from leaving Jeju Island. According to activist B, a government official justified the responsibility of Jeju island residents for Yemeni refugee issues.

A government official of the Ministry of Justice said that Jeju Island is responsible for the issue of Yemeni refugees because it has benefited from the visa waiver program. This provided logical basis for departure restriction of refugees in Jeju. It implies the perspective
Withdrawal of departure restriction from the government was the most important task for local activists. Departure restriction was regarded as discrimination of the central government to prevent refugees from arriving mainland. Activists who are natives of Jeju island shared the feeling of being excluded and discriminated against by the national government and mainland citizens. Central government and mainland people were not treating islanders as the same citizens in the nation-state. Local government is denied authority by the central government involving refugee issues since Jeju immigration office under the Ministry of Justice has jurisdiction over refugee recognition procedure.

*Visa waiver program is applied to far fewer countries than before.*

(⋯) People from the countries in the disputed region are in a difficult situation to enter Jeju without visa, as the Foreign Ministry took action immediately after the Yemeni refugee influx. Refugees from India and China also increased this year, so we thought we should prepare for more refugees in Jeju Island, but now there are not many asylum seekers coming in.

(Interviewee B)

Interviewee B, anticipating the rush of refugees through the visa waiver program, said in an interview in October that this was also to be discussed, but with the possibility of refugee influx from elsewhere decreased and the rapid refugee review process ongoing, Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights will be downsized afterwards. In an open forum which took place in Jeju in November 2018 on Yemeni refugee issue, one of the executive board members of the committee said that they named the organization ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights’ because they were planning to advocate expected refugees that will come after Yemeni refugees. However, as the number of refugees entering the country using the visa waiver program decreased, the committee started to focus only on the issue of restricting the release of Yemeni refugees.
Since the committee has announced all the results of the refugee review process at the Immigration Service, all activities have been re-organized since then. Half of them have moved to mainland, and those who remain are those who are in the position of humanitarian stay who are seeking re-examination. There are about 80 people who were declared disapproval. Although there are people who have lower possibility to get humanitarian stay permits because of their criminal record or some other reasons, there is demand on legal aid because those people are willing to ask for re-examination. Support for job applications is also (over) because they got the permits to get a job. Some kinds of aid including medical aid continues.

(Interviewee C)

This dichotomous way of thinking was better demonstrated after refugees received humanitarian stay permits. It seemed that the refugee movement in Jeju island is not planning to continue its activities to support refugees after the completion of the refugee review process. After announcement of the refugee review results, refugee movement in Jeju Island became almost out of action. This is firstly because there are many other pending issues in the region, compared to a lack of human and economic resources in social movement. Unlike the usual refugee movement aimed at recognizing refugees, refugee movement in Jeju Island almost stopped when public opinion toward Jeju died down and asylum seekers were allowed to move to the mainland.

Mainlanders also argued that Jeju Island should take responsibility for the refugee issue, pointing out visa waiver program introduced for the tourism industry of the Jeju Special Self-Governing Province was the main reason for the influx of refugees. In fact, around June when the Yemeni refugee issue had spread nationwide, posts arguing that Jeju should solve the refugee problem itself since the region has benefited from the visa waiver program were posted on the bulletin board of Jeju Province official homepage (Jeju Official Homepage, 2019). The logic was that the entire public do not have to take responsibility for the refugees that Jeju Island brought in. Some claimed abolition of the Refugee Act and visa waiver program in Jeju.
The decision is made by the central government, and the provincial government implements the policy. The government has been talking about local autonomy and grassroots politics, but it is still not working in reality. Does Jeju Island have the authority to decide even though it is designated as Jeju special autonomous province? I would answer no to this question. Will the provincial assemblymen really think that they were elected by the Jeju residents? I can’t say yes for sure, especially in the case of politicians from the central party.

(Interviewee C)

Activists, however, said such claims are not real. The central government is a government from and for Yug-ji, while Jeju local government does not have authority over local issues. Region and people are not the only areas to which this dichotomy applies. Interviewee C contended that autonomy is unsubstantial. They recognized that in the case of South Korea, which is considered one of the East Asian developmental countries, the local still tend to be developed for the development of the country as a whole, and that the central government is using Jeju Island with the mainland prioritized. In other words, local autonomy exists and, in particular, Jeju Island is portrayed as having more autonomy transferred from the central government after being a self-governing province, but the reality is that it is just one of the ordinary local governments that deliver the will of the central government. These perceptions of the local activists illustrate dichotomous thinking between the central and local government and the complex on the mainland which is addressed in the next section.
4.3. Complex toward the Mainland

Based on the dichotomy between the mainland and Jeju Island, the Islanders had complex toward mainland. They were exclusive to mainlanders but at the same time were sensitive to mainland public opinion. Social activists shared the perception that the mainland has been prioritized over Jeju Island and that the island has been marginalized, and thought there was a need to keep an eye on the mainland opinions because the situation of Jeju could change in accordance with the mainland opinion.

Local activists who were involved in the refugee movement in Jeju Island interpreted the issue in a local perspective rather than humanitarian view, which is general in this type of social movement. Human rights aspects are also important, but because of the internal relations with the mainland that have been accumulated, local activists were focusing a little more on regional issues in understanding Yemeni refugee issues in Jeju Island. It seemed that the activists believed that people who are against refugee acceptance, and people expressing hatred for refugees, are mostly from mainland or immigrants of Jeju island. The combination of dichotomous thinking and complex on the mainland resulted in this perception.

At first when Yemeni asylum seekers arrived at Jeju, native population were very active in hiring the asylum seekers, and tried to employ almost all of them. However, as public opinion on refugees has deteriorated, those residents have become sensitive to the public opinion from the mainland. Islanders began to be reluctant to hire refugees in public. Jeju community avoided asylum seekers, and hoped that the refugees would not come to their residential areas. It seems that Jeju Islanders have found it more difficult to reject the idea of the center rather than being afraid of the refugees.

(Interviewee B)

According to the interviews, Jeju Islanders were mostly friendly or indifferent to Yemeni refugees, with few voices expressing opposition to Yemeni refugee acceptance. However, these people soon have become reluctant to accept refugees because they are sensitive to public opinion of
the mainland. As news of the arrival of some 500 Yemeni refugees on Jeju Island was reported through the media, calls began to emerge from the mainland to prevent refugees from reaching the mainland. Such public opinion from mainland has made Jeju people increasingly reluctant to accept refugees. Jeju Islanders originally did not have any repulsion to the Yemeni.

*Some of the islanders were a little bit suspicious of refugees, but there were louder voices coming from other regions. There were many complaint calls when the committee issued a joint statement. Those who called sounded like they were reading the same manuals, and shared a common story. When I asked if the person who called is a Jeju Islander, then there was no reply.*

(Interviewee C)

In June, rallies were held in Jeju Island against the acceptance of Yemeni refugees, who called for the abolition of the visa waiver program and deportation of refugees. Local activists thought that most of the participants in the rallies and people calling to complain about refugee advocacy are from the mainland. However, not all Jeju residents were favorable to refugees, and not all the mainlanders abhorred refugees. This interpretation is related to the exclusiveness of Jeju Islanders to mainlanders. All the study participants mentioned ‘Guen-dang culture’, which is known as a typical example of the living culture of Jeju island. ‘Guen-dang’ means relative in Jeju language. In fact, however, it includes blood relatives and in-laws, as well as neighbors in a broad sense. In Jeju Island, all of the local elders and friends of parents are called ‘Samchun (uncle)’, which indicates that the scope of distant relatives includes school ties and acquaintances. Guen-dang is a concept similar to a reliable friend, and Guen-dang culture is the tendency to prioritize Guen-dang and to exclude outsiders.

*There are also distinct characteristics of the community and the village unit. There are still many family villages based on blood ties.*

(Interviewee C)

Jeju Island still has a local community culture which is rare in other regions. Resident community in Jeju Island is so small and interrelated that
most of the people have acquaintances in common. When Jeju residents meet other Jeju residents, they first question the neighborhood they came from, and then question the school they graduated. The purpose of these questions is not to invade others’ privacy, but to check Guen-dang and avoid verbal blunders about a particular organization or person. Because community in Jeju Island is not large and share everything, there is always possibility of knowing someone in common.

Guen-dang serves as a resource for political solidarity, not just bloodline and marriage networks (Han & Yeum, 2006). During the election season, some even joke that ‘Guen-dang is the best among parties’, which implies the major influence of Guen-dang. In fact, 4 out of 8 elected governors until 2019 were independent. ‘Holiday politics’ is a kind of Guen-dang politics of government officials. As there is always a civil servant among the relatives, it plays an important role in the creation of public opinion.

Civic groups and government officials are largely responsible for creating public opinion in Jeju Island. The latter are much more powerful since there is at least one civil servant in one neighborhood. Government officials are leading the public opinion war on Seollal\(^9\) and Chuseok\(^10\). In the neighborhood meeting, civil servants do ‘holiday politics’. For example, if someone asks about local political issues, they deliver the government’s position, which is friendly to development.

(Interviewee C)

There are many different perspectives that explain the origin of this culture. The most popular agreements are the following two. Firstly, some scholars suggest that natural environment of Jeju Island made this culture. It was imperative to help and depend on each other to live in a struggle against the harsh nature. Some believe that this culture is an enhanced form of ‘Sunureum\(^11\)’, which is to provide labor for neighbors during the farming season or rough fishery. Natural environment of Jeju, a volcanic island, was

\(^9\) Korean New Year’s Day
\(^10\) Korean Thanksgiving Day
\(^11\) It means to provide a helping hand in Jeju language.
not suitable for farming with barren soil and frequent natural disasters such as typhoons. Community life on the basis of individual or family members was essential for survival in an island. In addition, people in Jeju had to survive on their own without exchanging with the mainland during Joseon Dynasty for more than 200 years. Its unique community culture based on village unit sharing was firmly established in this process (Hong & Yook, 2015).

Secondly, as interviewee B pointed out, this culture is known to result from the tragic history of the island, including 4·3 Uprising. Exploitation from the mainland government was not the only problem, with frequent invasion of the Japanese pirates.

*Because of the long history of invasion and exploitation from outside, Jeju residents share a feeling of rejection that people from mainland come to invade. So some act closed around outsiders, and people from mainland could feel that it is not easy to interact with them.*

*(Interviewee B)*

Thus, ties with acquaintances have become solid as their distrust of the strangers has been intensified. Jeju Islanders prioritized people from the local community, while being exclusive to people from other regions. In the modern times, 4·3 incident made a huge difference in the Jeju local community and the people. 4·3 was an incident that influenced Jeju Island so much that current Jeju Island and its locality cannot be explained without mentioning it. According to Article 2 of the “Special Act on Discovering the Truth of the Jeju 4·3 Incident and the Restoration of Honor of Victims”, “Jeju 4·3 Incident” is defined as “an incident in which the lives of inhabitants were sacrificed in the riot that arose on April 3, 1948, starting from March 1, 1947 and in the process of armed conflicts and suppression thereof that took place in Jeju-do and the suppression thereof until September 21, 1954.12”

On April 3, 1948, there was an uprising at Jeju against the establishment of a separate government in South Korea. The situation in Jeju was seen as a challenge to the legitimacy of the new government, not as just local issues. From 1947 to 1954, as many as 30,000 locals, which

12 “What is the Jeju April 3rd Uprising and Massacre?” Jeju 4·3 Peace Foundation
account for 10% of the population of Jeju then, were massacred by the nation-state and the U.S. military. The state violence during this time has greatly influenced the current characteristics of Jeju residents being wary of people from mainland. From the establishment of the government until the inauguration of the civilian government, the incident was recognized as an anti-state uprising led by the Southern Chosun Workers’ Party\textsuperscript{13} to establish a communist regime in South Korea (Hyun, 2012).

Jeju people experienced massacre during the 4·3 Uprising by forces from the mainland, which is represented by the North West Korean Youth Association\textsuperscript{14}. After the uprising, silence on the damage was forced by the central government, which defined 4·3 Uprising as a left-wing action (Hong, 2015). After the 4·3 Uprising, the local community was destroyed by the massacre, which led to a major change in the existing Jeju society. 4·3 Uprising is an event which is still ongoing in the lives of Jeju residents (Yang, 2006). Red Complex after 4·3 Uprising is deeply rooted in the memories of Jeju residents. The harsh suppression and the ‘commie’ logic used as the basis of it kept Jeju residents quiet.

Based on the memories of past experiences of Jeju Island, local activists argued that the island is being used in modern times as well for national development. According to the interviewees, Jeju Island has been a policy laboratory in modern times. Development was state-led, with local government and JDC as ‘real estate agents’. According to the interviewees, ‘Special Act on the Development of Jeju Island’ in 1991 was the first special act to make Jeju a test site. After that, ‘Special Act on the Establishment of Jeju Special Self-governing Province and the Construction of International Free City (hereinafter referred to as ‘Jeju Special Act’)’ in 2002 fostered the government-led development. Jeju Special Self-governing Province is known as a high-level autonomous region established under the legal basis of the ‘Jeju Special Act’ enacted in 2002.

\textit{Article 1 (Objective) The act aims to contribute to national development by promoting the existing regional, historical, and humanistic characteristics of Jeju Island, by establishing a special autonomous provincial government with high levels of autonomy.}

\textsuperscript{13} A communist party formed in 1946
\textsuperscript{14} right-wing youth group formed in Seoul in 1946
responsibility, creativity and diversity, and by creating International Free City through extensive mitigation of administrative regulations and application of international standards.

Article 2 (Definitions) In this act, "International Free City" means a regional unit to which deregulation and international standards are applied so as to ensure maximum international movement of people, goods and capital and convenience of corporate activities.

(Korea Ministry of Government Legislation\textsuperscript{15})

It is widely known that autonomy in a variety of fields, such as security, labor and education, as well as some diplomatic powers is granted to Jeju Island. It is given more autonomy than other regions by law. However, interviewee B contended that the main objective of the act is to contribute to national development. It still shows the face of the remaining developmental state, and regard regional autonomy as a means of national development. Visa waiver program, introduced to attract foreign tourists, is also one of the policies that the government promoted to realize Jeju Free International city. It can be applied to any region, and it was Jeju this time.

\textit{In fact, it's a kind of begging that the central government is in charge. But if there is a problem in the area, is it just a matter of the area?}

(Interviewee B)

Interviewers shared the thoughts that experimental policies were being implemented on Jeju Island for the development of the nation, believing that the central government is a government for the mainland, treating Jeju Island as a periphery. The roots of this dichotomy are very deep in history (Hong, 2015). Antipathy toward the mainland started when Tamna-guk had been annexed to be a region of Shilla, one of the countries in Korean peninsula. There existed an ancient kingdom named Tamna-guk, which means an island country in the remote sea, in Jeju Island. Countries from the Korean Peninsula have made several attempts to annex Jeju Island, resulting in the rule of different authorities throughout history.

After being a part of Goryeo, central government from mainland

\textsuperscript{15} http://www.law.go.kr/IsEflInfoP.do?lsiSeq=191144#
started to rule Jeju island. In 1105, officials were sent to Jeju from the central government. Dispatched government officials have forced men over the age of 15 to dedicate one Seom (about 80kg) of beans every year and forced local government officials to dedicate one horse each, and the indigenous rulers took over the land of Jeju Island residents by having close relationship with the authorities (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province Homepage, 2018). There is a record of the origin of ‘doldam (stone walls)’ in Dongmungam, which discloses the conditions of Jeju Island in the 13th century Goryeo (Shin, 2012). “Jeju Island had many orchid stones and dry land, so there was no rice paddy. Wheat, barley, beans, and millet are the grains that are produced. In the old days, there was no boundary of land, so the people who had no power seriously suffered because they were deprived of their land to authorities. After Kim Gu became a judge, he listened to the voice of the people and collected stones to place them in the fields, making the boundary clear and the people comfortable.”

Jeju Island was treated similarly in the following times. Jeju Island was a space of exile and exploitation of special regional products during Joseon Dynasty. Tribute was imposed by the central government and the islanders suffered from the burden (Shin, 2012). Natural disasters occurred frequently, but the designated amount of tribute did not consider the environment of the island. Distance from the capital of Hanyang and low accessibility as an island made Jeju a place of exile for central government officials and provided better conditions for corrupt local officials to exploit the people. In Gyonggukdaejeon16, it is stated that ‘One should not be deported to Jeju Island except for those who committed serious crime’. In order to avoid tribute and exploitation, some of the residents of Jeju started to migrate to inland regions. Then the government imposed a ban in the 17th century on the migration toward mainland to prevent a decrease in population of the island, and this ban lasted for more than 200 years. The cutoff of exchanges with the inland during this period is considered one of the main reasons why Jeju people developed closed and distinct community culture of their own. Complex toward the mainland based on the recognition that Jeju has been marginalized was formed throughout this history.

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16 The code of written law in Joseon Dynasty
Chapter 5. Refugee Movement in an Annexational Space

5.1. Emergence of Pro-Refugee Movement: Community to Coalition

This chapter explores the organization and activities of ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Human Rights’ to examine the features of an annexational space. On June 15, 2018, a small group of activists in Jeju Island gathered to discuss about the future measures on refugee issues in Jeju island. On June 26, the task force developed into a committee which includes more than 30 organizations from diverse fields in the civil society of Jeju Island.

On June 26, at 7 p.m., 33 religious, social groups and progressive parties in Jeju Island held a meeting at the Jeju headquarters of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions to form ‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Human Rights’. They said they have launched activities aimed at guaranteeing the human rights of refugees in Jeju Island and will focus on providing support and solidarity, especially for Yemeni asylum seekers who arrived at Jeju Island.

Jeju Committee for Refugee Human Rights called for Jeju provincial government to ‘Conduct a serious and responsible administration on the protection of refugees who entered Jeju in the 70th year of 4·3 Incident in search of peace and the integration of the civil society with refugees’.

(‘Jeju Committee for Refugee Human Rights’ Press Release, 2018.06.27)

This small task force was able to expand its networking scope to the whole social movement network in Jeju Island because Jeju already had a solid local activist network. The member of an NGO in Jeju Island was an alumnus of Jeju National University, who has been involved in social movement in Jeju since 1990s. He acted as a mediator between mainland refugee network and jeju local activist network. Since there was no refugee activist in Jeju and the civil society has no experience dealing with refugee
issues, information about refugees was transmitted from the refugee activist network in mainland. 33 civic groups, progressive parties and religious groups, including former director of refugee rights center, gathered to organize the committee.

The Migrant Pastoral Committee, which is an agency in the Catholic church was mostly in charge of accommodation and food aid, while other groups were in charge of vocational training and education of Korean language as well as culture of Jeju. Since most of the work on refugee applications requires legal experts, refugee network activists took charge of the application procedure. Jeju Committee and refugee network activists cooperated to hold some events such as workshops, press conference and an open forum. 362 people were granted humanitarian residence by October 2018, and in December the refugee review process was completed. The permission for humanitarian residence is a status given to those who do not meet the requirements for refugee status under the Refugee Act of Korea, but should not be deported because deportation poses a threat to their lives. Humanitarian residence for Yemeni refugees in Jeju island also means removal of departure restrictions. Thus, the organization and activities of the committee played a pivotal role in handling Yemeni refugee issues.

Solid local activist network in Jeju Island was based on strong regional identity and closeness. Social ties are the key components of the development and maintenance of the coalitions (Arnold, 2011). In contemporary politics, Jeju Island has been the stage of diverse political agendas and pilot projects. A small group of activists have been largely involved in the issues related to development, such as introduction of for-profit hospital and second airport construction. In the 1990s, student movement in Jeju Island was active. Jeju National University students led student movement as it was the only 4-year university in the region at that time.

There was intimacy in the first place. Social movements have made us more intimate. Jeju National University graduates are involved in almost every agenda: refugees, for-profit hospitals, and second airport construction. (...) We have different meetings in different organization offices, but the people attending the meetings do not
change much. Private relationships are also deep, with many married couples. We take care of each other’s family events, and many participate in wrap-up parties. About ninety percent of the civic groups are now in Jungang-ro, Jeju City, formerly known as Daehangno, where Jeju National University was located. Currently, the physical distance of organizations is very close, which is 15 to 20 minutes on foot.

(Interviewee C)

Social movement network can be either informal or formal (e.g. an organization). They consist of relationships and collective meanings which are not just based on shared interests but also shared experiences (Schlosberg, 1999). Bosco (2001) asserts that these relationships “bind social movements and activists strategically and contribute to sustain collective action”. Social movement networks, therefore, consist of a united group of people who share political beliefs, identities, and ambitions, which coalesce around their actions to resolve their inequalities. Compared with other societies, in Korean society, networks of private relationship are relatively highly formed and active, whereas networks of voluntary association is less active. However, local social movement network in Jeju Island is built on school ties and personal acquaintances. Participants of the mainstream student movement became local activists, so more than half of the activists now are those who joined the student movement together.

In fact, until 2010, there were few immigrant activists from local civic groups. There are now considerably more immigrants than in the past. (...) I think [the immigrant rate is] about 30%. The Green Party mainly consists of immigrants.

(Interviewee A)

Local activists shared the perception that Jeju had been exploited from the mainland throughout history, as a subject nation and as a periphery after annexation. The central government and affiliated organizations continue to experiment with policies for national development in Jeju island. The adverse effects of diverse neo-liberalistic policies implemented on Jeju Island following the legislation of the Jeju Special Act after the tourist
development have led to growing hostility toward the mainland and the central government in the recent decade. As local civil society of Jeju has been undergoing these circumstances, it has sought strategies to deal with them. Building coalitions was one of the key strategies that Jeju local social movement has used, and the names of the coalitions reflect strong regional identity as Jeju Islanders, with the word ‘Beom Do Min’, which means the whole Jeju Islanders. There are only one or two organizations in each field; environment, labor, and so on. The initiative is conducted by two or three organizations. There are about 50 organizations including the progressive parties, and twenty-five to thirty-five organizations band together on an agenda.

As there are so many regional issues, one or two organizations cannot do everything. So all the organizations in Jeju should pay attention, even if the degree of interest is different.

(Interviewee C)

After Jeju 4·3 Uprising, there was a period of stagnation in local social movement. Approximately 30,000 residents have lost their lives during the period. After this tragedy, the islanders were reluctant to express their political opinions. Social movements were impossible to take place for some time. Moreover, there were not many voices against government-led development across Korea, a developmental country under dictatorship. Social movement in Jeju island resumed in the 1980s when the democratic movement was active across the country. Struggle over local issues has become vigorous in the late 1980s, after Top-dong anti-reclamation movement occurred. Although there was a link with the mainland, local social movement was very independent. According to Interviewee A, there was much deviation from the military-oriented national level Korean social movement.

With local issues emerging, the process of establishing local residents as the main body of the movement was different from other regions. (...) The pro-democracy movement in the 1980s was also active in Jeju Island. As for regional issues, struggle against Songaksan Air Force Base was really active and successful. All of
the residents in the area rallied and succeeded in stopping the construction unexpectedly even though Roh Tae-woo administration was in power. There was also a movement against landfill in Top-dong. Residents were in solidarity with the female divers in Jeju, but failed to prevent the development plan itself.

(Interviewee A)

Jeju local social movement in the early 1980s was limited to a certain town or village (Cho, 1992). Top-dong anti-reclamation movement (Figure 4) was the first case in which residents and activists joined forces to stage a movement. In March 1988, there was a mass demonstration of 40 female divers on the compensation. Since this kind of collective action was exceptional at that time, college students and social organizations showed interest in the movement and began to take part in the sit-in. Problems surrounding reclamation of public stream areas gradually began to emerge, and on March 23, “Jeju University Joint Committee on Illegal Reclamation of Top-dong” was formed (Cho, 1992). The female divers also became aware of other issues besides compensation. Even though the result was not to cancel the reclamation license but to provide compensation through negotiation, the struggle resulted in a vigorous movement of residents in Jeju Island afterwards. At the time when government-led development was natural, it was an exceptional case of gaining compensation through struggle. The Committee, which was created during the campaign, played an important role in the next movement against Songaksan air force base construction.

In 1988, the movement against the construction of a military base near Songaksan Mountain in Moseulpo, Jeju Island took place. It was a representative local movement where not only villagers but also civic and social groups in Jeju Island and Jeju island residents in other neighborhoods fought hand in hand against the national policy (Cho & Moon, 2005). Moseulpo, Daejung where Songaksan is located, is a village which is known to be particularly uncompromising even in Jeju Island. A U.S. radar base was stationed in the area, so in 1980s and 1990s, anti-American forces movement was frequent.

The fight against the enactment of the Jeju Special Act on Jeju
Island under the policy of opening up in 1991 and neo-liberalism intensified. It was the second Hawaiian-style development to hand over Jeju Island to large-scale capital or power. There are some who are angry at this time. The fierce fighting laid the foundation for the human rights of the civil society. The student activists in the 1990s are now a leading force in the region.

(Interviewee A)

It was in early 1990s that the national government announced construction of naval base at Hwasun port. At first in 2002, the government tried to set up a naval base in the Hwasun area. It was pushed forward in 2005. If the naval base is established, then it means that the whole region will be a military base. The decision was retracted by vehement opposition from the residents. It was the Wimi port in Seogwipo that the government re-selected in September 2005. The residents rallied in front of the provincial government building. There were many people who were taken.

Then in 2007, the target site was changed to Gangjeong Village. The population of the village was about 1900, but in the village council with only 80 people gathered, the provincial governor announced the decision to host the naval base through a unanimous applause. He announced that Gangjeong Village was selected on the grounds that the majority of residents were in favor. The movement on this issue has been active since 2007, and it was considered as a local issue at the beginning. In 2007, under Roh Moo-hyun administration, local civil society made Jeju Committee Against Gangjeong Naval Base Construction.

Protesting against the air force base construction at Songaksan Mountain has led Jeju Islanders to success by building coalition across the whole local civil society. After the success, building coalitions was selected as a major strategy of the local social movement, based on solid local activist network. Because the local organizations lack human and financial resources, there are coalitions built on issues such as the Gangjeong Navy base. Some organizations just list their names in the committee to express solidarity. The organization that leads the movement changes depending on the issue. For example, there are many activists from Gangjeong Village in the organizing committee of the Jeju Queer Cultural Festival.
Figure 3 August 31, 2018 Press conference on the role of the press in improving human rights for refugees. (https://news.joins.com/article/22931387) Accessed March 8, 2019

Figure 4 November 14, 2018. Discussion on the Present Situation and Tasks of Yemeni Refugees in Jeju Province. Picture taken by the author
**Table 5 The List of ‘Beom Do Min’ Committees in the History of Jeju Social Movement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>‘Beom Do Min’ Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Jeju Countermeasures Committee against the Establishment of Military Base on Songaksan Mountain (송악산 군사기지 설치 거부반대 도민대책위원회)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Jeju Opposition Committee to the Special Act on Jeju Development (제주도개발특별법반대범도민회)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2007</td>
<td>Jeju Committee to hold back Jeju Military Base and Realize the Island of Peace (제주 군사기지 저지와 평화의 실현을 위한 범도민대책위원회)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2015</td>
<td>Committee for Reconciliation, Co-prosperity, and Protection of 4·3 (화해와 상생 4·3파기 범도민회)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2017</td>
<td>Jeju Committee against the 2nd Airport (제주2공항 반대 범도민행동)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2018</td>
<td>Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights (제주 난민 인권을 위한 범도민위원회)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2. Loneliness behind the Pride

5.2.1. Pride in the Spirit of Resistance
Local activists in Jeju Island had pride in the spirit of resistance and the ability of the local social movement to rally quickly to resolve refugee issues.

*Jeju Island* is good at getting together and doing things, regardless of political factions. (...) Close and distant relationships are clearly divided there (in Seoul).

(Interviewee A)

As various forms of social movement occur repeatedly, participants learn not only how to carry out their arguments but also how to negotiate with others of different interest (Cho & Moon, 2005). Interviewees thought that recent Yemeni refugee influx, incidents and controversy thereafter made capability of the social movement of Jeju island to solve the problem itself visible.

There has never been a large-scale relief work in the mainland after Syrian refugees came in. Mainland refugee movement is focused on legal issues with professional lawyers. (...) This time we raised funds for the refugees while there was no funding for refugees in the mainland.

(Interviewee B)

Interviewee A mentioned that major conservative press has referred to Jeju Island as ‘Opposition Republic’, a place dominated by ‘professional demonstrators’. He seemed to be proud of getting such comments, regarding it as the result of active local social movement to reflect the interests of the local people, rather than just accepting the unilateral policies of the central government. Another interviewee mentioned that interviewers from other regions were quite surprised at the fact that Jeju activists formed a group just a month after Yemeni refugee influx became a nationwide issue. There was a sense of pride in the capability of the local social movement to handle unexpected events.
Characteristic of Jeju Islanders is often referred to as uncompromising. It is described as much more progressive than other regions in terms of politics. As a result, Jeju Island has had a relatively large number of independent members of the provincial assembly elected in elections.

(Interviewee C)

Jeju Island civil society opposed most of the policies implemented by the national government. Rather than accepting all development policies as they are, they have carried out their demands through struggle. Thus, Jeju local activists describe themselves as uncompromising and progressive. Demonstrations against for-profit hospitals and second airport construction were taking place in front of the provincial government building all the time. There have been 10 years of struggle in Gangjeong Village against naval base construction. According to the activists, history of resistance has influenced social movement of Jeju Island today.

The land of Jeju Island is not fertile, but the central government has continued to demand special products. The residents have come to show resistance to the government in this context.

(Interviewee A)

Jeju has continued to suffer hardships due to the central government from mainland, therefore inheriting a spirit of resistance against it. Rebellions or uprisings in feudal society can also be regarded as a type of social movement at that time. Interviewees expressed that rebellious nature of the Jeju Islanders are found in the history. Even during the Goryeo Dynasty, there were frequent civil riots in Jeju.

During the Goryeo Dynasty, Jeju Island became a direct jurisdiction of Yuan. Mabangji and Oreum are known to have originated from Yuan. Jeju Islanders also have a record of having allied themselves with Sambyeolcho. Lee Jae-soo Uprising is one of the major events.

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17 Jeju Horse Ranch
18 a special force under the military rule (1170 – 1270) in Goryeo Dynasty
(...)

Bang Sung-chil rebellion was against the pillage of the central government. In Jeju Island, female divers fought against Japan in the Japanese colonial era.

(Interviewee B)

There are several incidents in common that activists picked as events representing Jeju's spirit of resistance. Ko Chang-moo, one of the intellectuals who survived the massacre after 4·3 incident, also mentioned the spirit of resistance as one of the major characteristics of Jeju residents in his article "Mt. Halla Accuses (1960)" which was published in Chosun Ilbo. He cited the incident of Bang Seong Chil Rebellion (1898), Lee Jae-Su Uprising (1901), anti-Japanese movement of female divers (1932), and 4·3 incident as historical examples.

Jeju is the place where Sambyeolcho staged resistance against Yüan during Goryeo Dynasty. When the military regime collapsed and the Goryeo Dynasty reconciled with Yüan to return to the capital of Gae-Seong, Sambyeolcho and Jeju residents resisted until the end. The people of Jeju recognized Sambyeolcho as the army of liberation because they have been plundered by the central government (Jeju Official Homepage, 2019). For more than 100 years after the struggle of Sambyeolcho, Jeju has been under jurisdiction of both Goryeo and Yüan, and has been politically influenced at the same time. Jeju islanders paid taxes twice to both countries, while suffering plunders from local government officials as well as the native forces who were engaged in the management of Jeju Island.

From the late 19th century to the early 20th century in Jeju, insurrections against the government, including Bang Seong Chil Rebellion (1898), and the Lee Jae-Su Uprising (1901) frequently took place. From September to November, 1862, ‘Jeju Uprising’ broke out. The purpose of the uprising was to correct and point out profit-seeking efforts through the abolition of taxation such as taxes on burnt field, the execution of the corrupt Jeju governor, and reform the monopolization of major industries by powerful local families in Jeju Island. In 1898, excessive collection of taxes caused another Uprising. Bang Seong-chil, one of the leaders of Kapo Uprising who moved to Jeju Island to avoid arrest led the rebellion (Shin, 2012). People in each village responded and gathered power to re-occupy Jeju Island, making the governor escape from Jeju. It has gone beyond
simply resistance against taxation to rebellion to construct an independent country, ousting the governor. Although ended in failure, it highly influenced the following Lee Jae-Soo Uprising (1901).

*People had a mass rally, in today's terms, in their time as they suffered from excessive taxation and the tyranny of Catholics. This kind of event have happened every time in Jeju Island.*

(Interviewee A)

Lee Jae-Soo Uprising (1901) is the case in which more than 300 people were killed in a civil war led by Lee Jae-Soo and Oh Dae-Hyun against the Catholic Church in 1901. At the end of the 19th century, the Catholic Church expanded its position on Jeju Island, joining forces with the corrupt officials. French priests started to manage taxes in the Catholic Church. The local government could not punish a Catholic for committing crime since France was willing to intervene in such cases. In addition, French priests asserted that the government was trying to oppress Catholics. Revolt throughout Jeju Island occurred and more than 500 Catholics were killed. The French fleet came to quell the uprising.

Jeju was the place where intense anti-Japanese movement during Japanese colonial era arose. As female divers in Jeju island experienced labor exploitation for a long time, a union of female divers was formed to protect their rights in the 1920s. However, the union was spoiled to collude with the Japanese. The divers Japanese officials started to buy seafood harvested by the divers at exorbitant prices. Arbitrary setting of seafood price continued which led to a joint struggle against the union, demanding actions such as price re-evaluation of seafood harvested. Then on January 7, 1932, about 300 female divers gathered in Hadori and marched to Sehwa-ri Market, chanting slogans. However, as promises through the negotiation were violated, the demonstrations have spread continuously. The anti-Japanese movement of female divers is one of the major anti-Japanese movements in Jeju island, with more than 17,000 female divers holding 238 rallies and demonstrations for 3 months in 1932. It was Korea's largest anti-Japanese movement in the 1930s.

4·3 Uprising was mentioned by the interviewees as a major event that shows its spirit of resistance.
The temperament and history of the island formed current Jeju society. One of the historical events is the 4·3 incident.

(Interviewee B)

After independence, which occurred during the Cold War era, the United States ruled Southern parts of Korea from 1945 to 1948. Complaints were growing over the U.S. military regime due to job, bad harvests and corruption scandals involving U.S. military officials. In 1947, a child was hit and injured by horse hoofs of the police at a ceremony marking Samiljeol. Police fired shots at the public protesting against the police, and the U.S. military government claimed the shooting was self-defense. There were leftists who opposed the general elections only in South Korea among Jeju residents, and the government equated citizens with those people, regarding them as a mob. Jeju residents staged a joint public-private general strike in protest. The conflict intensified when the U.S. military authorities dispatched additional police and North West Korean Youth Association in response. 4·3 Uprising began when the left-wing guerrillas, who were driven to Mt. Halla after the shooting, attacked a beach village at 2 a.m. on April 3, burned down 14 police stations and local offices, and killed several police officers (Hong, 2015). It is one of the events that best demonstrates the spirit of resistance among Jeju residents who rally to resist the government's unfair measures.

5.2.2. Loneliness and Envy behind the Pride

Jeju is always looking at the center of this nation-state, capital Seoul. Maybe it is because of the loneliness of being considered a periphery.

(Interviewee C)

Pride in the spirit of resistance and capability of local social movement is just one side of the local social movement. These parts are not entirely autonomous. Behind this spirit of resistance lie loneliness of a periphery and envy for mainland. This is where the ambivalent attitude toward the mainland as an annexational space is also manifested.
Geographically, it is an island, so it is isolated and closed. Despite the spirit of resistance, it is a place where hopes and dreams for mainland are quite strong. There is a deep longing for getting out of this island.

(Interviewee A)

There is such a saying, “Send the horse to Jeju Island and the person to Seoul.” A calf must be raised in Jeju Island, the home of horses, and a person must be sent to Seoul from an early age to study to make a successful career. People in Jeju actually wish to send their children to mainland to study. According to interviewee B, all those considered capable have been leaked to mainland, making the manpower pool in Jeju Island not large.

Originally, there were some exchanges between Jeju civil society and mainland civil society. For example, Jeju branch of a nationwide non-governmental organization was located. Women’s groups in Jeju island, such as Jeju Association for Women’s Rights, is included in Korean Women's Association United. After the pro-democracy movement in the 1980s, a large number of people gathered nationwide. As university students, they interacted through the National Council of Student Representatives. However, such organizations are united to solve national problems, and the problem that occurs on Jeju Island was not considered to be national, which is less important. Interviewee B mentioned the tendency to settle local issues within the local community.

While there are other aspects to consider in the Yemeni refugee influx, it is true that people in Jeju Island seem to have been trying to solve issues in the island on their own.

(Interviewee B)

Interviewers were very proud of the independent social movement, which inherited the spirit of resistance to solve social issues on its own. However, independence has been in part internalized by external circumstances. Because Jeju Island does not have neighboring regions, it could not get help, having to deal with the problems on its own. Especially after the 4.3 Uprising, Jeju Islanders could not get any help from outside,
trapped on an island surrounded by the sea. Even if solidarity with the mainland is established, national social movement centers around national issues, and issues in Jeju Island were always dismissed as local, which are to be resolved within the community.

Although local cities share similar contexts, Jeju Island activists are people who have grown up in the limited space. Among the other cities, for example, Busan has people from neighboring cities in Gyeongsangnam-do, but Jeju Island has no neighbors.

(Interviewee C)

As mentioned in the previous section, being a remote island from the mainland, with more than 200 years of ban on migration to other regions and continuous plundering from the central government, has dichotomy between the mainland and the island. The mainland is the center and Jeju Island has always been a periphery, being marginalized. Therefore, Jeju Islanders envy the mainland as center.

These characteristics are manifested in the social movement in Jeju Island. There were some limitations in local social movement regarding Yemeni refugee influx. There was no refugee activist in Jeju Island before Yemeni refugees came in, and activists who have experience in dealing with refugees said they would not be able to join refugee movement in Jeju Island. Local activists needed refugee activists and there was already a refugee activist network in mainland. Jeju social movement, proud of an independent solution, has not requested solidarity to the mainland. A sense of rejection seemed to be working because of the perception that it had been ignored and used by the mainland.

Instead, the local activists tried to rescale the issue as a national issue, making it a central issue, not a marginal one. The local activists referred to visa waiver program and Jeju Free International City as means of national development, which was not beneficial to Jeju Island as is known. After departure restriction of the Jeju Yemeni refugees, a member of one of the human rights organizations in Jeju released a statement condemning the government for sympathizing with the anti-immigrant sentiment and justifying burdening Jeju island with resolving refugee issue. Then the former chief of the ‘Refugee Human Rights Center’ contacted the activist to
gather to organize a task force concerning Yemeni refugee issues.

Solidarity with mainland areas is becoming more and more frequent, with activists from mainland coming to Jeju Island with an interest in pending issues in Jeju Island, rather than Jeju local activists going mainland for national movement. The naval base of Gangjeong was a successful example. The local activists related the issue to the nationwide issue of safety and peace in South Korea. In 2009, activists in conflict areas such as SeongHee Choi, came to Gangjeong and reported foreign media about the military base issue. As a result, in 2012, a number of activists came to Jeju and the issue became a nation-wide issue. In the process, the National Task Force has been formed and the Jeju Committee has been working together. Many national level organizations have joined forces around the People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy.

_There is a cooperative relationship, but we have not joined the refugee network. For information exchange purposes, we held workshops, discussion sessions, and communicated through SNS. There were difficulties with the existing methods of movement. I felt the need to approach this issue in a different way than the traditional way of movement. Refugee activists who cooperated with us are mainly from Seoul._

_(Interviewee C)_

The methods of dealing with refugees entering Jeju Island were similar. While making the Yemeni refugee issue a national level issue and cooperating with the mainland refugee activists, local activists on Jeju Island have not become part of the refugee network. This is because they focused on the ‘local’ refugee movement rather than the ‘refugee’ movement. After the completion of Yemeni refugee review process in December, Jeju Committee for Refugee Rights was playing a role of connecting refugees who entered Jeju to the mainland refugee network.
Chapter 6. Conclusion

This thesis looks at the locality of an annexational space reflected in the perceptions of local activists by analyzing the case of pro-Yemeni refugee movement in Jeju Island. After the influx of Yemeni refugees, there emerged a local refugee refugee movement, which was closely related to locality unlike the refugee movement in mainland. Originally an independent ancient kingdom, Jeju Island has been treated as a peripheral region as it was incorporated into Goryeo. Because of this historical background, relations with the mainland has been the major factor in the construction of locality as an annexational space. This locality has led to differences in the way refugee issues are interpreted as well as the process of the emergence of refugee movements.

This thesis contributes to both locality and social movement literature by suggesting the concept of ‘an annexational space’. An annexational space is a space annexed to the mainland, which features the locality constructed centering on relations with the mainland. The locality features dichotomous way of thinking between the mainland and the island, with complex toward the mainland. This thesis extends the meaning of the term ‘annexation’ which was merely used as unification to include the dynamics of annexation, suggesting the locality of an annexational space by linking the term with locality constructed by relations with the mainland.

In summary, the results of this study are as follows. Firstly, locality of Jeju Island was investigated by analysis of the local interpretation of the Yemeni refugee issue. Perceptions of refugees and interpretation of the refugee issue in Jeju civil society was different from the mainland. The dichotomous way of thinking between Yug-ji (mainland) and Jeju Island made the difference. Once an independent kingdom annexed into the state in the mainland Korea, Jeju Islanders referred to all other parts of the country as Yug-ji. In the perspective of the local activists, Yemeni refugee issue was an incident that revealed the mainland's perception of treating Jeju as its surroundings. Based on the dichotomy, Jeju Islanders showed complex toward mainland, being susceptible to ideas of mainlanders and being exclusive to mainlanders concurrently. They believed those who opposed the refugee acceptance were mainly from the mainland, and felt that Jeju residents who cared about this public opinion had become increasingly
reluctant for accepting refugees. Activists were also sensitive to the public opinion and felt the need to respond.

Second, in the process of the emergence of local refugee movement, locality of Jeju Island as an annexational space was exposed. Community culture was found in the solid local activist network, which is based on strong regional identity as Jeju Islanders and personal acquaintances. They built coalitions to support other organizations, and solidarity beyond political factions for local issues was easier because of this character. Local activists were confident in their ability to quickly assemble and cope with the problems themselves. They found the spirit of resistance from the local history, from uprisings in the feudal age to 4·3 Uprising. However, there is loneliness as a remote island and envy toward the mainland behind the pride. It has always been treated as a periphery, including social movements. A yearning for the center arose with these experiences and as an isolated island, it requires mainland help when it encounters limitations. Instead of asking for help from the mainland, Jeju activists argued that Yemeni refuge issue is a national one. It also dealt with the issue separately by interacting with the mainland refugee network.

Academic implication of this study is that it analyzed the locality of an island through a specific case. With the advent of relational geography, the theoretical discussion of locality has been active in the field of geography, and has developed over the past few decades in various social science fields. However, there was lack of empirical research applying the concept to specific cases. This study looked at the locality of the island that experienced forced annexation by analyzing the pro-refugee movement in Jeju Island around its relationship with the mainland. It also contributed to the discussion of locality which has been spatially biased by investigating the case in South Korea.

In addition, it revealed a close relationship between the locality and social movement. Social movement in modern society is becoming more and more vigorous, as it may be said to be the age of social movements. Therefore, increasing attention has been paid to social movement in diverse disciplines in recent decades. Interdisciplinary studies have contributed to social movement discussion by developing theories to explain mobilization, development process and strategies of social movements. However, previous literature on social movement has overlooked the influence of
locality in the dynamics of social movement. It is worth referring to the case of refugee movement in Jeju Island at a time when the localization of social movements is spreading.
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국문초록

제주 사회 운동가들의 인식에 나타난 부속 공간의 정체성:
예멘 난민 옹호 운동을 사례로

본 연구는 제주도의 난민 운동을 사례로 하여 부속공간(annexational space)의 정체성이 사회운동가들의 인식에서 어떻게 나타나는지 살펴본다. 본 논문에서 로컬리티(locality)는 “오랜 시간에 걸쳐 시간뿐만 아니라 공간이 만들어내는 다양한 관계의 총합으로, 매우 유동적이고 다층적이며 정치적이고 가치 지향적(문재원, 2016)”이다. 최근 사회과학과 인문학에서 로컬리티 개념에 대한 관심이 높아지고 있다. 지리학 분야에서 로컬리티는 1970년대 서구 자본주의 국가에서 나타난 공간 재편(spatial restructuring)을 설명하기 위해 등장한 개념으로 활발히 연구되어 왔다.


(1) 부속 공간으로서의 제주의 로컬리티가 난민 옹호 운동에 참여한 지역 사회 운동가들의 인식에 어떻게 반영되었는가?

(2) 본토와의 어떤 관계가 그 로컬리티를 형성하였는가?

본 연구의 결과는 다음과 같다. 첫째, 예멘 난민 문제에 대한 지역의 해석을 분석한 결과 제주도의 부속 공간으로서의 로컬리티가 드러났다. 제주 시민회의 난민과 이슈에 대한 해석은 내륙 지역과 달랐는데, ‘욕지(본토)’와 제주도의 이분법적 사고방식이 차이를 만들었다.
지역 운동가들의 입장에서 보면 예멘 난민 문제는 제주를 주변으로 취급하는 본토의 인식을 드러낸 사건이었다. 이러한 이론을 바탕으로 제주도민들은 본토인에 대한 생각에 민감하고 동시에 본토인에게 배타적인 등 본토에 대한 콤플렉스를 드러냈다. 그들은 난민 수용에 반대하는 사람들이 주로 내륙 출신이라고 믿었고, 이런 여론을 신경 쓰는 제주 주민들이 난민을 점차 거리게 되었다고 생각했다. 활동가들도 내륙의 여론에 민감해 이에 대응할 필요성을 느끼고 있었다.

둘째, 지역 난민 운동이 출현하는 과정에서도 부속 공간으로서의 로커리티가 중요한 역할을 했다. 지역 사회 운동 네트워크 속에서 강한 공동체 문화를 발견할 수 있었다. 그들은 다른 조직을 지원하기 위해 연합체를 만들었고, 강력한 지역 정체성 때문에 지역 문제를 해결하기 위한 정책을 넘어선 연대가 보다 용이했다. 지역 운동가들은 지역 현안에 대해 지역 공동체 내부에서 신속하게 대처할 수 있는 능력에 대해 자부심을 가지고 있었다. 그러나 이러한 자부심 뒤에는 외면 심으로의 외로움과 본토에 대한 선망이 있었다. 제주도는 항상 사회 운동을 포함한 모든 분야에서 주변부로 취급되어 왔기 때문에 중심부에 대한 선망을 내면화해 왔다. 따라서 제주 활동가들은 본토에 도움을 요청하기보다는 예멘 난민 이슈가 국가적인 문제라고 주장함으로써 연대의 필요성을 제기했다. 또 본토 난민 네트워크와 교류하였으나 이 문제를 지역 내에서 처리하고자 하였다.

이 연구의 함의는 다음과 같다. 첫째, 본 연구는 특정 사례를 통해 부속 공간의 로커리티를 살펴보았다. 또한 서구 자본주의 국가에 집중된 기존의 연구와 달리 아시아 지역을 사례로 로커리티에 대해 논의하였다. 둘째, 로커리티와 사회 운동 사이의 밀접한 관계를 발견했다. 사회운동의 로커리티가 확산되고 있는 상황에서 제주도의 난민 운동 운동의 사례를 참고할 만하다.

주요어 : 난민 운동, 난민, 부속 공간, 로커리티, 제주도, 정체성
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