

Lost memory and identity: Philosophical consideration of Korean built heritages

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Abstract— *The relationship between the history of a country and its cultural heritage can be the analogy of a memory of a person and his/her face. A person's unconscious daily process of checking the sameness and the change of the face converge on the confirmation of his/her identity. In addition, an actual existence of the physical shape of a visible face not just provides personal identification but also plays a crucial role in identifying other person's identity. While several studies discussed various components that comprise the face of a country, its cultural heritage would be one of the most upfront factors. In this study, among many cultural heritages, built heritage was chosen and considered as the most important factor based on philosophical rationales. Korea is one of the countries who suffered an enormous loss of its landmark built heritages through numerous wars with its neighbors. Thus, current Korean society has a fundamental problem in bridging the perception of cultural identity and a concrete feeling of such an identity. This paper introduces a variety of related cultural heritage studies and then, based on in-depth phenomenological background, introduces the current situations of Korean society in terms of its cultural identity in both internal and external views, and the relationship to its lost built heritages in this era of globalization. Finally, recent restoration project for built heritages in Korea including the 3D digital projects, the meaning and the revealed assignments are introduced in this context. In conclusion, this study contributes to the significant implication on the meaning and relationship between the built heritage and national identity in the particular and unique case in the Republic of Korea.*

Index Terms—Built heritage, Architectural heritage, Korea, Identity of country, Cultural heritage restoration, Philosophy, Phenomenology.

I. INTRODUCTION

*'Well! I've often seen a cat without a grin,' thought Alice;
'but a grin without a cat! It's the most curious thing I ever
saw in my life!'*

Lewis Carroll in Alice's Adventures in Wonderland (1865)

People observe and check their faces everyday either consciously or unconsciously. And the whole process of checking the sameness and the change of the face converge on the confirmation of their identities. The existence of the physical shape of a visible face provides not just personal

identification but also plays a crucial role in identifying the other persons' identities. When someone recalls another one, he or she almost instantly recalls that person's visage as a representative image. Then, what would be the face of a country, which emerges as an image when someone recalls that country?

The image of a country lies in the identity of a country; the former may be close to the surface manifestation of the latter. There are several components that comprise the image of a country such as political stableness, degree of democratization, economic growth, crime rate, public order, history and tradition, arts, education level, kindness, and landscape and weather (Kim, 1999). Among them, cultural aspect such as history, tradition, and art influences on the image of the other areas such as the economic or the political aspects. It was also found out that among selected four components for the image of the country; globalization including cultural aspects, modernization mainly focusing on economic growth, social welfare, and political stableness, the globalization aspect was the most influential component (Oh, et. al, 2003). Cassirer (1947, as cited in Park, 2006) explained that the distinct feature of human does not lie in metaphysical or physical nature but the work that he creates, which includes all kinds of language, myth, religion, artwork, or scholarship. Park (2006) emphasized that those cultural and historical products requires the collective human spirits. According to Park, the root of the work reflecting the human culture as collective concept in historical perspective lies in the problem of self-identity (2006, p. 91). It is because culture and history are the double helix coupled with the focus on the issue of identity (Park, 2006, p. 90).

Finally, cultural heritages have a huge impact on the cultural industry such as the novel, animation, movies, and game industry, which reinforces the image of the country cyclically. Therefore, in this study the cultural heritage was selected as the most influential component associating with the image of the country. In this context, the unique situation of Korea is introduced first and the related assignment will be discussed based on philosophical backgrounds.

II. SITUATION IN KOREA

Among so called three East Asian countries- Korea, China, and Japan- Korea has suffered enormous loss of historical materials including cultural heritages, which concludes the current situation lacking the diachronic Epistemological frame. Among several reasons for such a loss, the major wars with its neighboring countries are often pointed out as the major reason. Usually the invasion from Genghis Khan in 13th century, Japanese invasion in 16th century, the Japanese colonial period in early 20th century, and Korean War in 1950 are pointed out. Numerous cultural built heritages were destroyed and plundered through these wars. For example, Hwangnyongsa Temple established in A.D. 569 including 81 meter high 9 story pagoda was destroyed by Mongol invasion in AD 1238, the main Chosun dynasty palaces such as Gyeongbokgung Palace was destroyed by Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 and also by Imperial Japan in 20th century.

In addition, because Japanese analyzed the Korean history and concluded the characteristics of Korean culture and history during colonial period in early 20th century, Koreans lost an opportunity to analyze their history by themselves and establish the national identity as a modern state during such an important transitional period of modernization of the country; between 19th century pre-modern era and 20th century modern era. As a result, there are confusing diachronic frame of national identity and unsatisfactory synchronic frame in recognizing their face in the current Korean society. Along with the rapid modernization process in 20th century and the existence of North Korea, the solitary hostile state, the image of Korea has been distorted and became opaque.

There are many reports which point out the gap between the real status of the Republic of Korea and its image in the world. For example, Kim, Park, and Kim (2002) analyzed the image of a country as a brand; they found that Japanese brand has Aestheticism, American brand represents American dream, and French brand has French culture. In addition, several countries have the symbolic icon such as the maple of Canada, Kangaroo of Australia, or the imperial palace of Beijing for China. However, there is no apparent image or symbol of Korea, which leads many foreigners to perceive the country as one inseparable cultural identity in East Asia which is similar to its neighboring countries such as China or Japan (p. 169). However, although many scholars pointed out the current problematic situation of the image of Korea, there has been no study focusing on the missing linkage between the image or identity of Korea and the lost built heritages, both the landmark archaeological heritages and so called, daily life built heritages. In the following chapters, the importance of existence of such built heritages and the rationale are checked and discussed.

III. EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONSIDERATION OF REALITY OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

According to Cho (2012), the judgment that defines or configures a target object is the process to select the property of the object which belongs to that target object and attribute it to the object. Thus, the property is literally belonging to the object. In other words, the property cannot stand as an

individual object and cannot be a reality by itself. And so the property is always a universal form rather than a particular form. This gives a strong clue which we should consider thoroughly when discussing the reasons of the current opaque cultural identity or image of Korea. Husserl, father of Phenomenology, explained that consciousness is always the consciousness of something when he explained his „Intentionality“ concept. The definition of „something“ in his statement is not simple. Husserl defined it as „presentation“, and explained that there are two kinds of entities that are presented in human mind depending on the point of view; a real object and an intentional object (Choi, 2008). Any kind of objects are to be based on our experiences and may be discussed or judged to be existent or not (Husserl, 1976). Both entities keep their self-identities; the real object is something perceivable and which exists in the physical world, and the intentional object is something perceivable in people's mind. The concept of „intentionality“ is, therefore, embraces all the entities (and presentations) that the consciousness is oriented toward (Choi, 2008). As Cho (2012) argued, the proposition by Husserl means that in principle, the consciousness cannot exist without the actual entity. Conversely the entity cannot exist without the corresponding consciousness action (Cho, 2012).¹ This reminds us of Carr's explanation on a historian and a historical fact; the historian who does not have his/her facts is meaningless as much as the vice-versa (1961). Without the constant interaction between the two, neither can exist. This viewpoint can be supported by the concept of „counter-intentionality“ (counter-intentionality) suggested by Marion in 1998, which means the direction of intentionality does not just start from me to the object but also occurs in the opposite direction (Kim, 2010).

Let us talk about memory and (sensory) perception briefly because these concepts are closely associated to the history and the real entity including cultural heritages. People often regard the two as clearly separate concepts. This myth is based on three incorrect biases (Kim, 2013). First, perception is related to space and memory is to time. However, this is incorrect as space and time cannot be intrinsically separable. Second, perception is related to nowness and memory to the past. This is also false as perception is constantly changing and memory always intervenes and is already in nowness. Finally, sense of feeling is one-dimensional perception and memory is a two-dimensional perception. Again, this is incorrect as memory is often retroactive to sense of feeling (Kim, 2013). In conclusion, it is not easy to distinguish memory and perception clearly; in fact, both interlock each other. I agree to Kim's argument that the presentation perceived and memorized is a consequence, not a reason in causality. According to Schopenhauer (as cited in Kim, 2013), we should differentiate the reason in causality, which is the physical cause of the effect, and the reason of perception, which is the reason why a person gets to perceive

¹ In this argument, the author focused on the narrowed definition of the entity, the real object; however, it does not necessarily mean that he is excluding the other entity, the intentional object.

in a certain way. That is, a consequence determines a reason, not vice versa in terms of the presentation theory. For example, if you perceive that the impression about a certain temple from your past visit was beautiful, that temple is beautiful because you feel that way at this moment, not vice versa. Therefore, memory (and perception) is the internal sense, which is closely associated to and influenced by the presentation of the entities.

There lies in the gist of the identity issue in Korean society; absence of entities and sense of reality. I argue that the current Korean society is confined in idealism at least in discourse for the identity of the country. That is, there have been many studies in Korean study dealing with the idea, concept, or notion without the entity or reality by asking the metaphysical questions such as “What is the definition of something Korean?” or “What is the identity of beauty of Korean?” And of course there is no concrete answer where to start in order to establish the confused identity of Korea or how to improve the image of the country. The identity of the country is the topic that is to be realized by an inductive approach before a deductive approach. For example, we describe the color of apple as red and do same for the color of red tulip. This notion of red could be applicable for so many individual objects. As Cho (2012) asked, the intrinsic problem is “Are all redness the exact same color?” Therefore, there exists the constant gap between the property and its description. And when we focus on only the notion based on the description of the property, we cannot avoid converging on the universality of the property. The core problem of Korean study with regards to investigating the identity of Korean culture or Korean beauty lies in making vain attempts to grasp the universal concept, which can be applicable for majority of areas in Korean culture. As a result, the outcomes often touch unreal, ideal, and non-concrete identity of Korean culture, which is neither tangible nor comprehensible lucidly for both domestics and foreigners. In order to abandon such a continuous trial and error, we ought to change the concept that the ideas themselves can exist on its own without the actual reality.

The view point of this paper has something in common with the recent cultural heritage theory called, Framing theory by Waterton and Watson (2013). They classified the heritage theories into three categories, theories in heritage, theories of heritage, and theories for heritage. Among three categories, this study is closely related to theories of heritage and theories for heritage; theories of heritage is concerned with questioning the representation of meaning, especially hegemonic meanings, about a past that effectively validates a national present or re-inscribe it with essentialisms. On the other hand, theories for heritage is trying to overcome the limitation of representational theories which cannot provide the answer to the questions about the role played by the personal, the ordinary and the everyday, within spaces of heritage, whether they are physical, discursive or affective (Waterton and Watson, 2013, p. 6). The authors introduced Crouch’s perspective on heritage that stirs it back in with being human and living, so that it emerges from the feeling of being, becoming and belonging in the flows and complexities that characterize life (Waterton and Watson, 2013, p. 7). We should note that both categories of heritage theories

are based on „reality“ of heritage. For example, the authors explained, “.....there is much to be gained not only from looking beyond its things, but also beyond its representations and the discourses that use it, to encompass other relationships it might have with lived experience.” (2013, p. 13). The key point is that we do not have such embodied things to look beyond in Korea.

The subject is affected by the target or the object. Jin (2013) likened this proposition to walking in the street. For example, when we meet a hurdle in the street, we avoid it; not vice versa. Thus, in practice the target makes the subject instead of the subject making the target. However, in idealism the subject defines all the objects, which is in disregard of the real sense of reality. The act by a human does accumulate on top of each other. As Jin (2013) indicated, we may call this as the accumulation of sense. And the body gradually changes. Certain way or pattern that sense building is what a well-known Phenomenologist, Merleau-Ponty defined as the 'Corporeity (le schema corporel)'. For example, knowing how to ride a bicycle is having Corporeity of how to ride a bicycle. Cho (2013) explained that 1) the world structuralize and embodies the body- the development of a certain Corporeity and 2) then the structuralized body re-structuralizes the world. In addition, as Husserl explained (1976, as cited in Kim, 2010) such a sense of reality from the object is realized in the „horizon“ of the world, which surrounds the object as a background. This can be one of theory based rationales why it is important to begin the process of capturing the identity of Korean culture from the embodied cognition from the sense of reality. Among several tangible cultural heritage such as built heritage, clothing, or food, the built heritage is believed to be the most influential and fundamental object to the others. It is because the built heritage is the stage or space where the social activities could be realized with both tangible and intangible heritages. Avrami, Mason, and Torre (2000, as cited in Henderson, 2010) explained that the built heritage covers aesthetic, historic, social, spiritual and symbolic merits which are decided by people and communities. According to Munasinghe (2005, as cited in Henderson, 2010), the important reason for government engagement with (built) heritage is that it is a vehicle through which national and other identities can be expressed on domestic and international stages in pursuit of political ends. For example, in the case of Singapore, the Preservation of Monuments Board maintains that “the walls of each monument resound with pages of our history and the people behind them. They tell of struggles and sacrifices, sadness and joy. Understanding our nation’s journey through these historical buildings will help Singaporeans appreciate our shared national psyche” (Henderson, 2010, p. 50). In addition, built heritage is the most visible object for the members of a society. It stands as the backbone which creates a synergy effect with other tangible heritages such as the traditional clothing or the food, and other intangible heritages such as traditional dance or rituals. As a result, we could expect not just the expansion of social cognition about the identity of the country but also the systematic and establishment of balanced Korean study.

IV. ABSENCE OF PERCEPTION OF REALITY- FLOATING GHOST OF IDEA

The study on the identity of Korea began after some years after the end of Korean War (1950-1953). However, it was not until the Korean wave, so called Han-ryu, the boom of Korean popular culture emerged in late 1990's, that the full-scale researches on the image of Korea began. This is apparently late compared to its neighboring countries such as Japanology in 19th century or Sinology in 18th century. Unlike Japanology or Sinology, which has the balanced fields investigating the chronological approach in both tangible such as built heritages and intangible heritage such as the spirit or the ritual, most Korean studies have relatively focused on the intangible areas such as the spirit of Koreans, rituals, or dance. And there was the limited but valuable outcome from those studies². However, it is apparent that both internal and external society of Korea is lacking of the concrete identity or image of Korea as an independent cultural subject. A Korean resident does not have a clear answer on what is the concrete image of „Something Korean“ and thus this leads to the vague image of the country to the foreigners.

There are many studies pointing out this phenomenon. Kim, Park, and Kim (2002) analyzed the national images of three East Asian countries in the U. S. press. They found out that while the image of China and Japan is multifaceted and balanced between „traditional“ and „modern“ based on each country's unique beauty, the image of Korea is fragmentary, opaque, and fused with the negative image of North Korea. Study by Kim and Cho (2011) revealed the image of Korea by surveying the university students in Texas. The outcome was similar; the U. S. university students regarded the image of Korea as inseparable sub-culture to China or Japan and they even did not correctly recognize the current economic level of Korean modern society; rather often they mixed the image with that of North Korea, the most isolated despotic state in the world. The authors conclude the paper by suggesting the constant care on the foreign media such as drama or movie, textbooks, and the establishment of the appropriate institutes. However, it seems that those previous studies did not touch the core of the topic based on the philosophical considerations.

Meanwhile, in the comparative study between Chinese and Korean college student groups“ recognition of various fields on Korean culture, Korean university students showed a high recognition on Korean soap opera shows and movies, and on the other hand undervalued the sightseeing due to lack of the traditional cultural landmarks (Khang et al., 2007). The result implies that the Korean students themselves do not have a clear image of their cultural heritage sights, which they can introduce as the representative built heritages to the foreign visitors. The in-depth focus group interviews toward the resident foreign students in Korea by Korea Policy Institute (2010) show consistent results as well. The focus group

comprises 100 foreign college students from all five continents residing in Korea at least more than 5 months. To the question „what was the most impressive of Korean culture?“ the Korean soap opera particularly historical plays (15%) was the most frequent answer (p. 39). Especially the Asian and European students were interested in the historical play and the traditional liquor (p. 41). To the question „why do you think the image of Korea is undervalued?“ the top two components were the image of divided country (27%) and the lack of Tourist Site Attractiveness (20%) and the low foreign awareness followed (p. 42). To the question „what was the main reason making you choose to visit Korea?“ Asian students answered they were most significantly influenced by the image of a specific traditional building or sight and European students answered the traditional culture such as history and traditional food, and the rapid economic growth (p. 45). Finally, many foreign students pointed out the main reasons for the undervalued image of Korean culture or identity as followings: 1) lack of preservation of Korean cultural heritages (19%), 2) stagnant diffusion of Korean food (17%), and 3) the mixed image with North Korea (15%). Most importantly, several interviewees indicated their frustrating experience on the gap between the image of traditional built heritages and traditional life customs reflected in Korean popular soap operas and the reality of Korean society lacking the concrete images and temporary imitator traditional buildings, which made them disappointed and hesitate to revisit the country (p. 67 and 107).

V. BUILT HERITAGE PROJECTS IN REPUBLIC OF KOREA

As indicated in the previous section, the built heritages (mostly archeological heritages) at all levels are the upfront axe of the framework of the identity of Korea. It includes both the landmark built heritages and the traditional daily life heritages such as a traditional mineral spring, small Buddhist temples, traditional stand-up bars in small towns, or Hanok street³ in major cities. Recently, there are many built heritage restoration projects executed at the national and the local government levels in the Republic of Korea. As a major landmark heritage project, there are Gyeongbokgung Palace project, Hwangnyongsa Temple restoration project, and Miruksa Temple restoration project. Gyeongbokgung Palace is a royal palace located in northern Seoul. It was first constructed in 1395, later burned by Japanese invasion in 16th century and then reconstructed in 1867. In the early 20th century, much of the palace was destroyed by the Imperial Japan. Korean government started a 40-year restoration plan in 1989. As of 2012, roughly 40% of the original number of palace buildings still stand or are reconstructed. The project aims to 100% of restoration by year 2030.

² However, the outcome of those studies is also centered on the period of the latter part of Chosun dynasty, mostly from the late 16th century to the current, which does not cover the diachronic history of Korea.

³ Hanok street is the street of traditional Korean houses.



Fig. 1. Miniature of restored Gyeongbokgung Palace.

Hwangnyongsa Temple project started in 2006. This gigantic Buddhist temple was constructed in 584 and stayed until the invasion of Mongol Empire in 1238. The temple represents the history of Korea from the ancient times to the middle ages era because Buddhism was the main philosophy in all social fields including religion, politics, and daily life during hundreds of years. Korean government aims to rebuild the 9 story wooden pagoda by 2025 and complete the restoration of the entire temple by 2035. In the same context, another gigantic Buddhist temple Miruksa Temple which existed from 569 to around 16th century is being reconstructed.



Fig. 2. Restored image of Hwangnyongsa Temple.



Fig. 3. Restored image of Miruksa Temple.

On the other hand, recently, strict preservation policy is being enacted for the existing old Hanok streets and several reconstruction plans of Hanok streets are also being promoted⁴. Unlike the landmark symbolic built heritages, the social members or foreigners can experience a more sense of daily life by this type of heritages.

In addition, emergence of digital technology in the digital visualization opened the new possibility in experiencing the lost heritages or supporting the real heritage restoration projects. Sirbu (2010) explained the experience of 3D digital built heritage as singular in providing the means to explore architecture that is not physically available, and interaction with digital reconstructions open the possibility to test hypotheses about lost or ruined architecture and thus expand our understanding of architectural thinking of the past (p.82). Many digital heritage projects including 3D projects have been completed in Korea. A few examples are introduced. Korea Knowledge Portal (<http://www.knowledge.go.kr/>) is the website designed to promote the circulation of the digitalized national knowledge and information about both tangible and intangible heritages. The number of items is about one hundred fifty million since 1999. Local Culture Digital Encyclopedia (<http://www.grandculture.net/main/main.asp>) is where Korean local history and cultural information are collected and linked to GIS navigation information or tourism information for the public. Digitized 170 cultural heritage items from 2002 to 2009 and total 270,000 items offer the materials for creativity and originality in cultural contents business such as movies, soap operas, or textbooks. Korean Ugyo online (<http://www.ugyo.net/>) is introducing Korean Confucianism culture and related built heritages in detail by linking the digitized images and actual 3D photo of the Confucianism built heritages since 2001. The most major portal site in the Republic of Korea, Naver also gives a powerful service to view the actual contents of the existing major museums in Korea by so called „Museum View service“. By using this service, a visitor can see the 3D digitized cultural heritages by online (example link for Korean National Museum view).

⁴ <http://www.srbsm.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=6182>

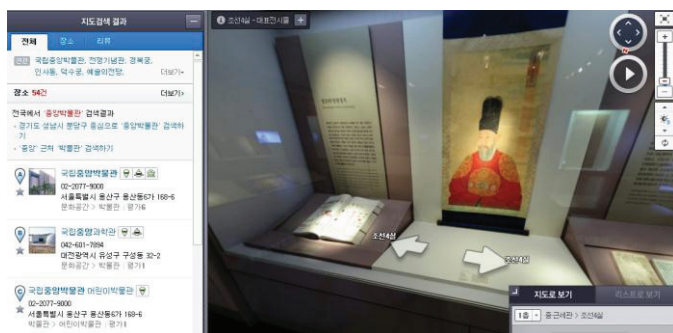


Fig. 4. Actual image of Museum view by Naver.

As an interesting project, Sejong city cooperating with Korean Cultural Heritage Administration plans to open the digital museum by 2016. This museum is going to be the first pure digital heritage museum without actual cultural heritages. This museum is to offer both tangible and intangible cultural assets; for example, a visitor may experience the virtual reality of lost landmark architectures. There are many one-time digital heritage events as well. Seokguram Grotto (AD 751) digital realization in 2009 would be a good case, which was exhibited digitally in the street of Seoul⁵.



Fig. 5. Digitally constructed Seokguram Grotto.

Finally, Digitization of 80,000 Tripitaka Koreana, Goryeo Printing Buddhist scriptures, was completed in 2000 by Korean National Commission for UNESCO (<http://i80000.or.kr/english/index.html>). Visitors experience the virtual tour of the cyber Haeinsa Temple buildings and read the actual Tripitaka slide one by one in this site.

VI. RELATED ISSUES AND FUTURE STUDY

As examined thoroughly in the previous sections, many restoration projects of the landmark built heritages are going on in Korea. We may regard this trend as an unconscious reaction to the missing link. However, it is also true that there have been few rigorous discourses based on a philosophical level of discussions or analysis. Accordingly, there are several issues such as the rushed restoration. Waterton and Watson (2013) described this level of view on cultural heritages as “Theories in heritage”, in which heritage was only briefly examined at a

conceptual level, before the discussion moved on to matters concerned with visitor management or profit margins (p. 3). And in this view the heritage is over-commodified and brings on charges of inauthenticity, trivial eclecticism and an overconcern with materiality, the dramatic and the visual (Waterton and Watson, 2013, p. 4). Smith (2006) also explained that it is value and meaning that is the real subject of heritage preservation and management processes, and as such all heritage is „intangible“ whether these values are symbolized by a physical site, place, landscape or other physical representation, or various forms of „intangible heritage“. She continues the meaning of heritage in this vein defining all heritage as intangible, the affect of heritage is getting important rather than the cultural „object“ or „event“ itself. I agree to this new viewpoint on heritage and this is closely associated with the construction of the identity of a particular cultural society through congeniality process of daily life. However, once again, as we have already discussed through Phenomenological analysis, this level of discourse can be meaningful only when the framework of cultural entity is embodied. Paradoxically speaking, the results of Korean study mainly focusing on „the affect“ without the reality of entity shows the example of the results of endeavor full of emptiness. It cannot be overemphasized that the rushed restoration or reconstruction of built heritages aiming for the quick profit must be prohibited. In fact, this issue has been brought up because of excessive competition among the local governments. Recently, Korean government plans to entrust the important cultural heritage restoration projects to Cultural Heritage Administration to prevent such an issue.

Finally, the topic should be cautiously approached to avoid any unprogressive attitude on the role of heritage. As Smith (2006) indicated, the origins of the dominant heritage discourse are linked to the development of 19th century nationalism and liberal modernity. Her indication on the authorized heritage discourse (AHD)⁶ is meaningful as a caution about the emphasis on the closed nationalism or the profit margins of heritage based on pariah capitalism. According to Smith (2006), material culture as heritage is assumed to provide a physical representation and reality to the ephemeral and slippery concept of „identity“. Smith cited Lowenthal, “Like history it fosters the feeling of belonging and continuity” (1985, p. 214), while its physicality gives these feelings on added sense of material reality. In her work “Uses of heritage” (2006), Smith casted an important question: How the links between identity and heritage are developed and maintained, however, it is an area that has not had much scrutiny in the heritage literature (p. 48). She argued that the researchers have regarded how this link is constructed and maintained is often assumed and unproblematic. This question is the reaction on the

⁶ The authorized heritage discourse (AHD) focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations „must“ care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their „education“, and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past (Smith, 2006, p. 29).

⁵ http://article.joins.com/news/article/article.asp?total_id=4289681&cloc=

superficial materialism of cultural heritage. In a similar vein, in 2000, Avrami, Mason, and Torre noted that “the conservation of material heritage plays an important role in modern society. The care and collection of heritage objects and places is a universal, cross-cultural phenomenon, part of every social group’s imperative to use things, as well as narratives and performances, to support their collective memory. Yet there is little research to support why cultural heritage is important to human and social development and why conservation is seemingly a vital function in civil society” (p. 10). By analyzing the situation of Korea with respect to the built heritage, this study may contribute to such discussions as a good case study on finding out the influence and meaning of the link.

Henderson explained, “the debate about what constitutes national identity and its appropriate commemorations in an era of globalisation and shifting populations and borders has resonance worldwide, as does the politicisation of heritage” (2010, p. 59). As much of the globalization literature proclaims, however erroneously, the end of the nation state, critical attention has begun to focus more assiduously on expressions of sub-national, and particularly „local“, constructions of identity and role of heritage (Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Berking, 2003). As the image of Japan has been changed according to time through 19th century Japonisme to criminal nation during World War II to the positive cultural modern country in the late 20th century, the image of country is not something fixed or unchangeable. Hall (1996) delineates identification as “a process never completed and logged in contingency” while not denying that identity has a past. It is always in the process of becoming rather than being. And it is constantly changing and transforming within the historical, social and cultural developments and practices such as globalization, modernity, post-colonization, and new innovations in technology. Further study should investigate whether the built heritage is the most upfront component for the image of cities and country by a survey and in-depth interview methodology. In addition, based on Hume’s theory on association and Husserl’s passive synthesis, an experimental cognitive study on what kind of cultural components are remembered and significant in determining the image of country or cultural group could be paired with the above study.

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