

Our food fits our bodies: globalization and food nationalism in South Korea

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Abstract:

This article examines how people in South Korea cultivate and express nationalist sentiments and identity through their food choices. Along with the expanding globalization and free market, Korean consumers have increasingly encountered a transnational commodity market. Yet local agricultural products have been highly valued in the Korean society. Domestic food producers, merchants, and customers collaborate to classify local foods and other agricultural products as 'Ours' and describe local goods as superior to foreign goods in terms of taste, quality, and healthfulness. Local food has been valued higher than imported ones regardless the price might be more expensive than foreign products.

The preference and superiority of local food is practiced and promoted by the usage of terms in the food market. It is deeply rooted in the Korean language which reflects the traditional cultural values. The pragmatics of food provides the ground for narratives and discourses on food consumption, and further helps to build up the collective identity in a broader political context. Koreans echo the nationalist themes by explicitly linking their personal food experiences with broader political issues. The arguments and controversy over the beef imports from the US in 2008 present the collective actions based on issue of food safety and political autonomy. The promotion for globalization of Korean cuisine (Han-Sik) by the state power is another good example showing that Koreans try to present themselves by making food as one of the national symbols. Food is thus not only the issue of moral economy but the symbol of national identity.

Keywords: Food; Consumption; Nationalism; Moral economy; Globalization, Social Movements

身土不二 (신토불이)：全球化與南韓的食物國族主義

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摘要：

本文的寫作目的在於檢視南韓人民如何經由對食物的選擇，來實踐並表達其國族意識與認同。隨著全球化與自由市場貿易經濟的拓展，韓國消費者面臨了更多樣化、國際化的食物選擇。然而，韓國社會卻極為重視本土農產品。當地的食物生產者、銷售者以及消費者，共同將本土產的食物與農產品分類為「我們的」，並認為這些「我們的」食物與農產品比起國外進口的產品更加美味、品質更好、也更有益於健康。與強調理性選擇的經濟學消費理論不同的是，即使這些國產的食物與農產品價格更高，卻反而深受韓國消費者喜愛。

對於本土食物的提倡與偏好，不僅呈現在消費行為中，也透過市場中的語彙使用表達出來；這些語彙根植於日常生活中所使用的韓語裡，並反映出傳統文化中的價值觀。與食物相關的語彙及語言使用提供了關於食物的論述基礎，並進一步地協助建立起政治領域中的集體意識。韓國人將他們自身關於食物的經驗，與政治議題連結並反映出其國家意識與認同。作者認為 2008 年前後關於進口美國牛肉的爭論與抗爭，是奠基於食品安全與政治自主議題所產生的集體行動。近來以國家力量為主導的「韓食世界化」，也是反映出韓國人以食物作為國家認同與象徵的另一個例子。因此，食物不僅是關於道德經濟的議題，更是國家認同的象徵。

關鍵字：食物、消費、國族主義、道德經濟學、全球化、社會運動

Introduction

This paper examines how people in South Korea cultivate and express nationalist sentiments and identity through their food choices. Along with the expanding globalization and free market, Korean consumers have increasingly encountered a transnational commodity market. Yet local agricultural products have been highly valued in the Korean society. Domestic food producers, merchants, and customers collaborate to classify local foods and agricultural products as 'Ours' (우리) and describe local goods as superior to foreign goods in terms of taste, quality, and healthfulness. Local food has valued higher than imported ones even though the price might be much higher than foreign products.

In this paper, I will also discuss the blast of anti-US beef protests in 2008. The anti-US beef protests were one of the most striking events which were also the largest protest in contemporary Korean history. Food safety was one of the critical issues in these protests. My argument is that we won't fully understand why these protests happened unless we have examined the cultural/moral values of traditional Korean food and local agricultural products. I will examine how Koreans adopt certain cultural/moral values to construct discourse on food and agricultural products in their daily life. Furthermore, I will analyze how these values and discourse are constructed and used when Koreans confront Neo-liberal globalization. I will ask these questions:

- 1) Why local food is perceived better than those imported from foreign countries in South Korea? What kind of value about food is considered and identified as important in Korean society?
- 2) What is the value/ideology to connect body, food, land, and national identity expressed in the idea of “身土不二”(신토불이/ Shintoburi)? How does this concept reflect cultural and historical context in South Korea? How much does this concept be rooted in Korean society and hence promote the general idea to “buy local” to support domestic production? And why Korean people accept this concept in their daily consumption practice?
- 3) Why did the US beef imports lead to the largest anti-government protests in contemporary Korean history in 2008? What values were commonly held by protesters? Was the anti-American beef protest related to Anti-Americanism in South Korea?
- 4) How do Koreans confront globalization which is based on Neo-liberalism? Does the “身土不二” (신토불이/ Shintoburi) movement present discontent/discountenance with Neo-liberalism or does it represent more about the nationalistic identity?

Nationalism is important and responsible for many international encounters and conflicts in East Asia and also in other regions in the world. It is represented in various aspects, including political, historical, social, and cultural. In this paper, I adopt the concept from Gi-Wook Shin (2006: 8-11) that the formation of Korean nationalism is a product of social and historical construction, especially as the result of *contentious* politics, both within and without, in historically *embedded* and structurally *contingent* contexts.

I would argue that in South Korea case, however, we need to investigate deeper into cultural contexts which is less investigated. I hold the position that ***the contemporary formation of Korean nationalism is embedded in cultural values which are shaped in historical context***. I use food (including beef) as an example to investigate the cultural context of nationalism and also social movements related to it. I will look into the values/meanings of food in Korean cultural/social context. I believe that the “身土不二” (신토불이/ Shintoburi) movement that began in 1980 was a social movement based on traditional cultural values and thus has been widely accepted by Korean society and hence became the basic moral principle in consumption. This is a process to format national identity which is happening everyday in Korean society.

The candlelight vigils against US beef import in 2008 were one of the most tremendous events related to food issue in contemporary Korea. Despite various reasons which we have known that caused these candlelight vigils, in this paper I have several arguments that: 1) Korean cultural nationalism by food way is based on language and traditional cultural values; 2) beef has significant meaning in traditional Korean culture (韓牛/한우), thus it is one of the important symbols to present national/ethnic identity; 3) in the global era, agricultural products including beef and Korean food is important medium for Koreans to represent their national identity on a daily life basis; 4) the preference of local agricultural products is one way for Koreans to practice moral economy against neoliberal globalization. This is the construction and legacy of agricultural movements since 1980's.

The Korean Nationalism: Contending Views of the Origins of the Korean Nation

Scholars of nationalism often debate the relationships among nations, nationalism, and ethnicity. The dialogue focuses on whether the nation should be understood as something new, modern and “constructed” (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Giddens 1984; Hobsbawn 1990), or as a continuation of long-standing patterns of ethnicity, built on preexisting or “primordial” geographic or cultural foundations (Geertz 1963; Smith 1986, 1991). This dispute is over whether nationhood is a product of nationalist political mobilization of uniquely modern dimensions, or

the prior existence of ethnicity in fact explains much of modern nationality.

The issue is particularly complicated in the Korean context, where there exists substantial overlap between the levels of race, ethnicity, and nation. Koreans think that they are one race, one ethnicity, and one nation. Koreans have not historically differentiated between race and ethnicity. Instead, race has served as a marker that strengthened ethnic identity, which in turn was instrumental in defining the nation. The term 민족 (*minjok*) is commonly used for “nation,” but also refer to “ethnicity” or “race.” (Gi-Wook Shin 2006)

There are three major perspectives regarding Korean nationalism (Gi-Wook Shin 2006: 4-7). The first perspective argues that the Korean nation has been in existence since the dawn of historical time or at least since the Silla unification of the seventh century (An 1992). Modernists or constructionists, by contrast, regard the Korean nation as a modern product of nationalist ideology that was espoused at the end of the Choson dynasty. In this view, the Korean nation was a fundamentally modern construction that developed in conjunction with the emergence of the modern world system (Em 1999). A third group of scholars dispute both positions by attempting to address the uniqueness of the Korean experience. In particular, they refer to the remarkable stability of territorial boundaries and the endurance of the Korean bureaucratic state, and they attend to the potential these have as social and cultural bases for ethnic identity (Duncan 1998; Schmid 2002).

Gi-Wook Shin (2006) further argues that nationalism as a major force that has influenced Korea’s transition to the modern world. In the Korean context, the debates on the relationship between nationalism and modernity particularly focus on identifying particularistic and universalistic features of modernity that appeared in Korea. Contrary to earlier modernization theories, which assumed that societies develop along the line of Western modernity, it has been clear that in the East Asian context, nationalism, often in the form of developmentalism, became a major mobilizing force behind first Japanese, Taiwanese and then Korean modernization projects. While nationalism is shaped by modernism, it also shapes the forms and nature of modernity that a particular country takes.

My question is, then, that can we connect nationalism with the study of globalization/anti-globalization in South Korea? If nationalism is a major force to transit East Asian countries to modernity in the form of developmentalism, then, in which form/context can we link nationalism with Neo-liberal globalization, which was following developmentalism? Or, on the contrary, that in which form/context nationalism is used against Neo-liberal globalization?

Food and Foodways

Food plays the pervasive role in human life. Next to breathing, eating is perhaps the most essential of all human activities, and one with which much of social life is entwined (Mintz and Du Bois 2002:102). Food studies have illuminated broad societal process such as political-economic value-creation, symbolic value-creation, and the social construction of memory. Such studies have also provided an important arena for debating the relative merits of cultural and historical materialism vs. structuralist or symbolic explanations for human behavior (ibid.:99).

Food shifts are related to a variety of economic, political and social changes. Many researches show that the industrialization of food production and distribution has affected dietary patterns. Mintz conducted historical study of sugar production and consumption (1985). D. Miller explored the interplay between the requirements of capitalists and consumers in Trinidad's sweet drink industry (1997). Leitch's research shows the reaction to industrialized consumption patterns among adherents of Italy's "slow food" movement (2000). These are good examples from the perspective of industrialized production and consumption of food which relate to the process of political-economic value-creation.

Food is used in the process of symbolic value-creation. Food is often connected to rituals, symbols, and belief systems. Food is used to comment on the sacred and to reenact venerated stories; food binds people to their faiths through powerful links between food and memory. Sometimes the food itself is sacred through its association with supernatural beings and processes. Not only do ritual meals connect participants to invisible beings, but they also perform critical social functions. Eating in ritual contexts can reaffirm or transform relationships with visible others. Rituals and beliefs surrounding food can also powerfully reinforce religious and ethnic boundaries (Mintz and Du Bois 2002:107). Mintz and Du Bois ask two fundamental questions regarding eating and ritual: how human beliefs and rituals delineate what counts as food, and conversely, how humans use food in delineating what counts as ritual or proper belief (ibid.). The second question also relates to human agency and the social construction of memory.

Food is used in the creation and maintenance of social relationships and function in social allocation, in terms of ethnicity, race, nationality, class, and individuality and gender. Ethnicity is born of acknowledged difference and works through contrast. Hence an ethnic cuisine is associated with a geographically and/or historically defined eating community. Yet, ethnicity sometimes can be imagined and associated cuisines may be also imagined. Once imagined, such cuisines provide added concreteness to the idea of national or ethnic identity (Mintz and Du Bois 2002:109).

“Our” (우리) food is the best: Local vs. Global

Language plays an important role in food consumption and foodways in South Korea. Most Koreans believe that the BEST agricultural products in Korea is “Our” (우리) food. There is a slogan used in The **National Agricultural Cooperative Federation** (농협 or 농업협동조합) which can best interpret this idea: “우리몸엔 우리농산물이 좋습니다!” (Our agricultural products fit our body).

What does it mean that local agricultural products are better than imported foreign products? Korean people label local agricultural products as 'ours' (우리농산물) or 'national' (국산/국내산), and describe local goods as superior to foreign goods in terms of taste, quality, and healthfulness. Unlike the emphasis of the value of organic food and sustainable agriculture in Western societies, Koreans emphasize the value of local production. The value of local products not only appears in the local markets but also commonly seen in the commercial advertisements. In other words, Koreans identify 'national goods' as 'ours' and support the national identity by consumption behaviors in their daily life. Promulgation of Act Governing Food Sanitation also promotes the consumption of domestic products. Not only grocery stores but also restaurants are now legally required to indicate the country of origin of food being sold. The result was that many restaurants opted to use Korean products on their menu. Take beef as an example. Before the introduction of the law, only 46 percent of restaurants used Korean beef. Now that has risen to 75 percent. Of course, the figures may be exaggerated as mislabeling is rampant, but the number of restaurants using local beef has certainly increased¹.

“Tradition” is the other important theme in “our” food. Traditional “taste” which Koreans believe can only be found in local food is one of the major reasons that the local food is superior to imported ones. The revitalization of royal cuisine (궁중음식) is another good example. These ideas are deeply rooted in the Korean language which reflects the traditional cultural values. The pragmatics of traditional cultures provides the ground for narratives and discourses, and further helps to build up the collective identity in a broader political context. Koreans echo the nationalist themes by explicitly linking their traditional experiences with broader political issues.

Food is not only used as a medium of collective identity, but also seen as a tool for cultural unification. Lee Ae-ran(이애란), director of the North Korean Traditional Food and Culture Institute, believes that food has the power to not only unite individuals but also to create bonds across borders. “When South and North Korea reunify someday, the thing binding people from the South and North will be food,” Lee said. “The first step toward cultural unification could

¹ English news, Chosun Ilbo Sep. 15, 2009.

come as North Korean defectors teach South Koreans about their food and vice versa.”²

Koreans are eager to be seen by the world in their foodways. Why Korean Cuisine Still Lacks International Appeal is question often being asked in public discussion. Some argues that there is an urgent need for new menus and standardized recipes abroad to promote Korean cuisine:

Experts say that the keys to promoting Korean cuisine to the world is the standardization of recipes and names, and the development of a new, simple-yet-tasty menu that can satisfy the tastes of foreigners, like Japan's sushi. The study proposed the introduction of a certification system for overseas Korean restaurants and called for measures to *encourage them to use Korean-produced ingredients*. (Chosun Ilbo Mar. 20, 2010)

Not only trying to encourage restaurants in foreign countries to use Korean-produced ingredients, Korean government is also standardizing the names of Korean dishes to help foreign diners know what they are ordering. The Ministry for Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries said that it has come up with recommended spellings and descriptions for 124 Korean dishes in English, Japanese and Chinese. The ministry said the English names were proposed by the Culture Ministry, the Foreign Ministry, the Korea Foundation and the Korea Tourism Organization, and reviewed by linguists and food experts³.

The globalization of Korean cuisine (한식의 세계화) promoted by the state power is a good example that Koreans try to present themselves to the world by making traditional food as one of the national symbols. Yet even in restaurants in foreign counties, it is still important for Korean people in South Korea to promote Korean-produced ingredients. This is related to the popular idea of “身土不二”(Shintoburi, 신토불이) in South Korea.

身土不二 (Shintoburi, 신토불이): The concept and its usage

The framing commonly used in the food market is “身土不二”(Shintoburi), means that body and land cannot be separated:

² <http://joongangdaily.joins.com/article/view.asp?aid=2921715>

³ English news, Chosun Ilbo Nov.6, 2009.

신토불이(身土不二)는 ‘사람의 육체와 그 사람이 태어난 고장의 토양은 떼려야 뗄 수 없는 밀접한 관련이 있다’는 뜻으로, ‘한국인의 체질에는 한국에서 생산된 농작물이 맞다’는 말이다 (현의송 and 임형백 2009: 309).

Shintoburi means ‘human beings’ body cannot be separated with the land they were born.’ In other words, for Korean people’s body, only products which are produced in Korea can fit. (Translated by author)

The idea of “身土不二” (*Shintoburi*) is very popular in Korean society. It was first promoted by the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (농업협동조합중앙회, 農業協同組合中央會; ‘Nonghyeop’ here after). During 1980’s, South Korea had applied to join GATT. Since then, S. Korea first opened the market for tobacco and beef imports from the US, and gradually extended to import of 243 kinds of agricultural products till 1991. In 1989, Nonghyeop began the *Shintoburi* movements and started a nation-wide petition against imports of foreign agricultural products. This was basically a consumers’ movement promoting to “buy local.” This movement had successfully united the public together including consumers, producers (peasants), and activists. In 1991, in only 42days 13 million of people, about 31% of the total population, had signed the petition lead by Nonghyeop against rice import. The president was forced to make a special proclamation to promise that that rice import would be the minimum market access. *Shintoburi* movements have lasted successfully. Till December 2008, there are 509 supermarkets which belong to Nonghyeop and sells domestic agricultural products; in 2008, the sales of domestic agricultural products was 1407 hundred millions Korean won (현의송 and 임형백 2009: 310-313).

The idea of *Shintoburi* is not only successful in promoting domestic agricultural products but also very popular in other domains. It is also very common to use it in discourses on diet, medicine, and environmental issues (김창무 1995, 김윤세 1996, 조영희 1995, 이을호 1994, 최진호 1994, 차인준 2004, 이종호 2003). But most important among all, it becomes the major principle in Korean national identity. Koreans believe that they have the ability to produce the products of the best quality. Furthermore, many Korean people believe that they have to purchase domestic products to support their country; it is also because that they believe Korean products are the best.

Critique from native’s point of view

However, not every Korean agrees with the common idea that Korean products have the best quality:

그러나 우리 것이 무조건 좋다는 편파적 시각은 경계해야 한다. 자주 사용되는 말이 신토불이 (身土不二) 이다. 국어사전에 따르면 ‘신토불이’의 뜻은 ‘몸과땅은 둘이 아니고 하나’ 이다. 자신이 사는 땅에서 산출되는 농산물이라야 체질에 잘 맞는다는 의미이다. 국산품을 선전할 때 자주 쓰는 말이기도 하다. 하지만 이 말에는 우리 것이 제일 좋다는 말 외에 우리 것이 아니면 안 된다는 배타적인 의미도 있다. 이대로라면 우리 것은 무조건 과장하고 남의 것은 무조건 혹평해 버리기 쉽다.

우리의 서해어장은 중국, 북한과 맞닿아 있다. 그런데 이 어장에서 잡히는 중요한 우리 먹거리 중의 하나인 조기는 중국산과 한국산의 가격 차이가 엄청나다. 전문가들은 서해의 같은 어장에서 중국인 배로 잡은 조기와 한국인 배로 잡은 조기가 다를 리 없다고 지적한다. 조기가 한국 배와 중국 배를 구별해 잡힐 리도 없다. 한국인이 잡은 조기만이 최고라고 생각하는 것은 대단히 위험한 사고이다. (이종호 2003:11-12)

However, we have to be alerted that there is a biased idea which considers that our products are good unconditionally. The frequently used words are “*Shintoburi*”(身土不二). According to the Korean dictionary, *Shintoburi* means “body and land cannot be separated.” In other words, local agricultural products fit the bodies of who live on the same land. It is often used when promoting domestic products. However, it emphasizes the idea that our (Korean) products are the best thus it becomes exclusive of foreign goods. It turns out that our (Korean) products are unconditionally the best and others are unconditionally worse.

Our fishing area Yellow Sea is at the border with China and North Korea. It makes huge price difference of the fish we eat in terms of caught by China or us. In the same fishing area, fish caught by the boat of Koreans are not different. Experts have pointed out that the fish caught in the same fishing ground are not different neither by Korean boats or Chinese boats. It is very dangerous to think that fish caught by Koreans are the best. (translated by author)

This critique points out the bias of *Shintoburi*. It is deeply accepted by Koreans that Korean products, even fish caught by Koreans, are the best without any conditions. It is not wrong to support local/domestic products; it is a practice of moral economy, in my opinion. The dangerous part is that it will lead to exclusion of “others” and thus aggravate the segregation of “we” and “others.”

What's wrong with the US beef? Why Korean people were so angry about the US beef import? How could they motivate so many people participating?

These questions came up while I was watching TV and online news about massive public protests erupted over concerns about the risk of mad cow disease from US beef imports in South Korea. It was a hot summer in 2008. In the Seoul City Hall Plaza, these growing protests were held continuously on a weekly base from May till August. Hundreds of thousands of people gathered together in the streets, hand in hand, arm in arm, to protest against the decision by the government to lift the ban of the US beef import on April 18, 2008. President Lee Myung Bak's approval rating had dropped from 49% when he was just elected to 21% by mid-May, and it was just 100 days after he took office. The mass protests were getting results. Lee administration cancelled the announcement of sanitary conditions for US beef just one day before it was scheduled. President Lee held a special press conference to apologize to the public after the largest demonstration in modern Korean history of almost one million people on June 10, the 20th anniversary of the Democratic Resistance. The protests went on till the final one, the 100th gathering, on August 15 (Kim, Chang-Uk 2009).

Two years later in 2010, I went to Seoul to conduct my field research. While I tried to discuss with Korean friends about these massive protests in 2008, which are known as "Candlelight Vigils" (촛불집회) to Koreans, it seemed more exciting to them to talk about the huge cheering gatherings for World Cup happening in 2010, known as "Red Devils" or "Bulgeun Ahgma" (붉은 악마), at the same spot Seoul City Hall Plaza. The two events have different purposes, yet there is exactly the same theme flowing in the crowds: to show their supports and patriotism to their country. Even there is no longer candlelight vigil, the US beef import still remains a hot issue between the FTA negotiation between South Korea and the US governments.

Why beef becomes such an important issue to trigger the largest protest in modern Korean history? The same US beef import issue happens also in Taiwan and Japan, but it doesn't arouse such a big hurricane in these countries nearby South Korea. Surely it is too complicated to give a simple answer. Some researchers have illustrated several perspectives regarding this issue in South Korea. Not surprisingly, most researches mentioned the fear of Mad Cow Disease (Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy- BSE). Yet there were some other reasons to push through the huge protests. First, the combination of President Lee's early misguided policies and staffing decisions, along with a highly "wired" young generation, has quickly produced anti-Lee discourse before the protests (Han 2009:512). The protests were seen as a stern popular warning on the Lee administration's policy incompetence, one way vertical communication, and physical repression of dissent (Moon 2009: 124).

ICTs also played an important role spreading the fear and anti-Lee discourse in the anti-US beef protests. A popular TV documentary program aired by MBC “PD Diary” (PD 수첩) focused on mad cow disease and raised highly inflammatory speculation about the safety of US beef (Kim Chang-Uk 2009). Some other researchers focus on the role of internet. Kim Chang-Uk states that it was internet café members voluntarily and spontaneously proposed the first candlelight protest on May 2 (2009). Han argues that cyberspace created by NNITs (newly networked information technologies) such as the internet, instant messaging systems, and mobile phones empower and liberate young generations to perceive them capable of influencing political issues (2009).

However, I would argue that there is another reason other than these above. Beef has significant meaning in traditional Korean culture (韓牛/한우), thus it is one of the important symbols to present national/ethnic identity. There are only few terms in Korean addressed *han*(韓/한) in front, and these terms are most traditional and significant in Korean cultures. Beef is one of them. Beef is the symbol of abundance. Beef was very precious in the past and could be served only in important events, such birthday or New Year. Korean people also considered Korean beef is a very precious gift. One of the reasons is that Korean beef is very expensive; but the deeper reason behind is that Korean beef has significant meaning to Koreans from the traditional culture embedded in history as discussed above.

Conclusion

In this paper, I try to examine how people in South Korea cultivate and express nationalist sentiments and identity through their food choices. Koreans consider domestic agricultural products as 'ours' (우리) and describe local goods as superior to foreign goods in terms of taste, quality, and healthfulness. This is the legacy of a successful agricultural movements of *Shintoburi* (身土不二, 신토불이). It has been accepted by Korean society and extended to other domains in consumption.

I also argue that in South Korea case, however, we need to investigate deeper into cultural contexts which is less investigated. The contemporary formation of Korean nationalism is embedded in cultural values which are shaped in historical context. I use food (including beef) as an example to investigate the cultural context of nationalism and also social movements related to it. I believe that the “身土不二” (신토불이/ Shintoburi) movement that began in 1980 was a social movement based on traditional cultural values and thus has been widely accepted by Korean society and hence became the basic moral principle in consumption. This is a process to format national identity which is happening everyday in Korean society.

The candlelight vigils against US beef import in 2008 were one of the most tremendous events related to food issue in contemporary Korea. Despite various reasons which we have known that caused these candlelight vigils, in this paper I argue that Korean cultural nationalism in this event was based on language and traditional cultural values. Language usage (our, 우리) carries important cultural values and on the other hand strengthens the cultural and social ties among Korean society as a “we group” in order to distinguish from “others.” Beef has significant meaning in traditional Korean culture (韓牛/한우), thus it is one of the important symbols to present national/ethnic identity. In the global era, agricultural products including beef and Korean food is important medium for Koreans to represent their national identity on a daily life basis. The preference of local agricultural products is one way for Koreans to practice moral economy against neoliberal globalization.

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