

Jeju haenyo spreading through Asia

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Abstract

bakkat muljil conducted by the Jeju haenyo has a lot of implications as they expanded the activities to Asian countries and propagated their unique cultures. Until the early period of the Jeju haenyo starting the bakkat muljil, there had been no similar people who tried to harvest the marine product from the bottom of the sea in mainland Korea, some parts and islands in Japan, China and Russia with the naked body without any special tools as Jeju haenyo did. Not until the Jeju haenyo went there and started the diving job there did they live in those places and learned the skill. The efficient operation system (jamsugye system), adoption of “no harvesting period” system and the profit sharing through joint work of Jeju haenyo have been adopted. Jeju haenyo has especially propagated the knowledge on how to cope offshore. The effectively used it to their advantages, changed the local economy as well as accumulated their individual wealth through the job and expanded the new living scope to the sea. They also made a critical influence on the positive female participation in the job market.

Keywords : Jeju haenyeo spreading through Asia, Korea, Japan, China, Russia, Job market

1. Introduction

There is a community focusing on the women group who has a separate social organization based on haenyo ("women diver") and their sea focused community culture in Jeju. There is an argument that there have been haenyo since third century BC. However, what is important is not when their job started but what role they played in the community.

Haenyo in Jeju means all women who dive into the offshore water as deep as 5m ~ 10m to harvest marine food products. Without special diving tools or catching tools, they take the abalone or conch and seaweeds such as agar or sea mustard to make a livelihood. Their fishing technique is classified as a naked diving technique, which is the primitive type of fishing. The diving technique is not artificially transferred through generations but naturally formed by the children who developed the technique by playing in the sea and forming the diving technology through their folk knowledge. Children often played in the sea along with the adults and relatives in the neighborhood thus naturally started to dive. It is rare that they intentionally go to the seas in order to specifically learn the diving techniques. The competition between sisters or peers also affected the diving techniques. The women living in the island showed a special natural power in surviving in a difficult environment. They learned how to dive in their childhood and adapted their body to the sea life. Their social and cultural peculiarities show the image of their communities. The haenyo in Jeju achieved their special spotlight for their peculiarity.

The term haenyo in Jeju has been recognized as the women who have been born in the difficult natural environment and historical history of Jeju and have lived in strong will to survive. In Korea's traditional Confucian culture, the participation of women in social life was generally passive but it was different for haenyo in Jeju.

Historically, the women in Jeju started to challenge the men's scope earlier than those wom-

en in living other areas. In the Joseon dynasty, there were "women guardian (Yeoejong) in Jeju to take charge of the protecting the security of the local area and there were also women called "Pojangk" who took charge of the job occurring in the sea and beach on behalf of men.

For understanding the life of haenyo in Jeju, it is important to first know the geo-ecological environment of Jeju Island. Jeju-do (Jeju Island) is located 140km off the main land of Korea. As it is an island, it was difficult to maintain self sufficiency. People living there had to obtain sufficient marine products which the sea provides. When there was no diving apparatus as now, the diving period could not last more than 5 minutes. If the job of catching the marine product started, they had to take rest on board of the ship or beach to recover their energy before getting to the sea again. In this process, the marine product catching tools such as "bitchang" and the sea glass called "nun" were developed.

As the haenyo job started before weather forecasting was conducted, they had to read the weather from their feeling. The proper diving time was understood as time went by and it was made as a rule. None can match the haenyo ("sea women") or jamnyo ("diving women") in term of knowledge on the territorial shape and sea ecology of the offshore. Their job was not only their daily life but also their life job for their livelihood. It was very understandable that when a haenyo died in an area, it is equivalent to the disappearance of a local cultural museum.'

The haenyo have made a big contribution to the construction of infrastructure in Jeju as they had done the diving job for the individuals, communities and nation for a long period of time, especially in the period of modern Jeju history. In addition, they showed large influence in the survival movement and independence movement during the Japanese imperial period. They especially made a big contribution to the household and national economy with the income from the marine products they took from sea.

2. Evaluation on the haenyo

The economy in Jeju still remained at the primitive industrial stage until 1950s. At that time, there was still the culture of "respect the men and ignore the women" in Jeju and due to economic difficulty, women did not get the opportunity of studying in school. Especially for the women who were born in the beach villages, it was critical to learn how to dive and become a haenyo.

The classification of the job was not clear at that time. It was only in 1953 when the status of fishing people was given to the haenyo in Jeju. At that time, the disputed bill containing the amended industrial act contained the guarantee of fishing rights for the haenyo. At that time, as

the legal system prepared in the Japanese rule period was adopted as it was and the proper status was not given to the haenyo, the right of the haenyo was target for exploitation as they had to be subject to the other fishers in terms of fishing rights.

Though they got the proper fishing rights and were evaluated as their critical workers in the marine industry in 1970s, they also underwent a lot of rapid changes. The haenyo in Jeju suffered reduced numbers after 1970s and a change in working environment due to the local development and aging phenomenon. The number of haenyo reduced from 26,000 in the mid-1960s to 4,574 in the end of 2012, which was 17.6% of that in 1960s. Most of the current remaining haenyo (81.6%) are 60 years or older, showing the rapid aging phenomenon.

		1962	1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Number of people		26,248	14,143	7,804	6,470	5,886	5,789	5,545	4,995
Age group (%)	less than 30 years old		31.3	9.8	4.2	0.6	0.1(3)		
	30~49 years old		54.9	60.7	44.8	33.4	22.1 (1,282)	12.9 (781)	2.5 (125)
	50~59 years old		9.2	21.7	36.6	66	77.8	87.1	97.5
	60 years old or older		4.6	8.1	14.4		(4,504)	(4,827)	(4,870)

Though the haenyo contributed to the development of the fishing arm, took charge of the household economy and contributed to the local economy while risking their own life in the marine environment, the social evaluation on their contribution was not good enough. Until 1960s and 1970s, there had not been any clothes changing room or shower facilities for them as well as marine product processing facilities nor any medical benefits to treat diving related diseases such as caisson disease.

People started to gain interest in the haenyo in 1980s. The Jeju local government started to construct facilities for the haenyo such as clothes changing facilities and developed village fishing farms in cooperation of the local fishing associ-

ation and fishing villages as well as local administrative offices. With the subsequent enhancement in the welfare of the haenyo, benefits to the haenyo were made including the modernization of the clothes changing facility, and medical support.

Thus, the haenyo has emerged as the cultural item symbolizing the Jeju island and in 2006 a museum of the haenyo opened. In 2009, relations for the preservation of the culture and tradition of Jeju haenyo was established.

3. Diving at other areas (bakkat muljil)

(1) Implication and background

How can we define the Jeju haenyo's job in the mainland of Korea and other foreign countries? Kim Young-dong who studies the Jeju haenyo for a long period of time told that the Jeju haenyo who go to other areas than Jeju for the diving work is called "baekkeotmuljil naganda", "baekkeotmuljil ganda" or "muljil naganda". He added that the baekkeotmuljil here means "bakkat muljil" or the diving work doing in the other area than Jeju Island. Jwa hyebyeong defined "chulga" as the haenyo going to other area other than their native land for diving work for catching marine products such as in the mainland of Korea or other foreign countries for earning money'. She also calls that job, "chulga muljil." In addition, the Jeju local government and the Federation of Korean Cultural Center defined that term as the "going to diving work at the place other than Jeju" and added that the haenyo in Jeju went to other places such as Japan and Russia for the diving job and called it "chulga muljil" in the same as the "yukji muljil".

These definitions tell us that the haenyo in their home land Jeju left the Jeju for main land of Korean and foreign countries for the diving job to earn money. The Jeju haenyo conducted the bakkat mulji until the 1970s in the mainland of Korea and Japan.

There are two views on the background on why Jeju haenyo had to go out to perform the bakkat muljil. One is that it was performed to make more money while the other is that the marine products in Jeju were absolutely insufficient. These views show the situation of the Jeju economy from the late 19th century to the early 20th century when the bakkat mulji was actively performed. But if we look more closely, we can find out that there are a lot of complicated local environment and periodical events concerned with it.

There are not many records on the bakkat muljin conducted by Jeju haenyo except for simple figures.

Here, we can get some information from the literature. The novel is a type of literature which has the form of storytelling along the passage of time and has the characters, events and backgrounds. The modern literature after the disappearance of the ancient epic is the novel. The reading of the novel on the haenyo may show us a way to observe the lifestyle and culture of the haenyo at that period. The truths told by the literature can be classified into those concerned with certain facts, the historical facts which disclose the fact happened at the specific time and place and the philosophical truths which show the conceptual, and general implications. In addition, the truth in the literature is accepted from the impression. The truth disclosed in the novel can be said as "accumulation of the contextual implication in the novel", and "interactive meaning of life and the world" and "what is to be specified through the subject recognition of the authors and readers" and others.

If we infer that the haenyo are going out for their job even far to Russia, their going out was not just for earning money but also for their mind of freeing themselves from the isolated environment of island.

In the book "Last Teuri" authored by Hyun Giyoung, there is a "sacred life" which shows the modern history of Jeju and Korea from the perspective of Gangani who was born in the sea village Umukgae. In the text, there are some items under the term of haenyo.

"She could not get married with her mother and her young siblings left alone. So, before getting married, she had to make money for the household economy. But as the time was the Japanese imperial period, there was the organization exploiting the labor of haenyo. So, she could not make enough money for the family. So, she started to go to the mainland of Korea for better income. As the yukji muljin was very popular among the virgin haenyo at that time, some virgin haenyo told their mother that they would not get married if they were not allowed of Yukji muljil. As it would be difficult to go out-

side if they had children, they want to get yukjin muljil to make money and also take a look at the landscape of the mainland before they got married and had children. She wanted to get aboard a big ferry emitting a lot of smoke and get in the train having a big sound, have a meal at the inn located in Haeundae, take a look at the Japanese diving women who were said to be diving with their breast exposed to the sky, also liked to go to Vladivostok to take a look to the Russian women who were said to have strong red hair. But, the curiosity lasted short lived but the life at the other land was difficulty. Many people other than haenyo went to other area to make money..... Gannani went to the other places for 2 years. In the first year and second year, she went to Tsushima and Jumunjin, respectively. But she could not get accustomed to the sea. More than that, the temperature of that sea was so cold. So cool was the sea water that once getting out of the sea water, she felt so cold, her body shuddered. In that case, even when she got near the burning fire, she could feel warmed. Even when the spark was down on her bare skin, she could not feel hot. So, she got a lot of burns on the top of her feet."

Even when she did not go for sea job due to the bad weather, she helped the landlord's farm to do the farming job. With this kind of strenuous labor, she earned money and bought back the land which her father sold. As it could not be done by even a man, she was praised by village people a lot.

"...The land farming is not enough to earn money for tax. So, we had to do the diving job at sea to earn the money. So, Gannai broke the taboo which prohibits the women in high class family from doing the muljil (diving) job just two months after getting married. Her mother in law broke her bowl as she was angry about Gannani's breaking the taboo. So, Gannani went out the island along with a haenyo club to go to the mainland of Korea and stayed along the coast ranging from Ulsan to Guryongpo. She got on

the wooden boat for the diving job. But as the seawater did not grow enough, the harvest was not good enough" ("Sacred life" authored by Hyun Gi-young)

It also explains where there were many chulga muljil or diving jobs at outside of the Jeju island

"In addition to the offering of the material to the government, now it is required to offering of people to the government. The 19 or 20 year old men are mobilized to the military and those in the age above it are mobilized to the mining workers or worker at the war site. I was worried about my husband though I did not care about my brother who was a seafarer. As my husband was 24 years old, he was subject to the mobilization to the military. ... At this time, Gannai made a trick. She collected the volunteer for diving job to the other area and made her husband as a leader. As my husband could speak Japanese, he was cut out for that job. Along with 9 other women, Gannai and her husband got aboard a ferry and left the island after asking her mother in law taking care of her baby of 2 months old. (Source: "Sacred life" authored by Hyun Gi-young.)

Gu So-eun, a novelist wrote in her novel called "Black sand" after the covering topic of the novel for five years; "Even before the official Japanese rule over Korea, the Japanese fishermen attacked the Jeju and threatened the life of people in Jeju. After overtaking Korea, the Japanese fisherman often enter the Jeju Island and took precious marine product and depleted almost all marine products in Jeju. So, devoid of good marine resources, the people in Jeju had to go outside to catch abalone and conch and make money by group of three or four. It was unavoidable for Jeju haenyo as they had to take responsibility for the livelihood of their families. Though they went to other places than Jeju, their labor was not fully compensated. Though they prepared for the fund for chulga, they had to repay the interest and principal of the loan and the bad cycle

went on. Jeju haenyo also had to buy the license for chulga from the Haenyo Association which was the exploitive Cooperation made by Japanese fishers for their own profit if they wanted to go chulga. The time has changed to a period when a person who was born and raised in Jeju had to pay a fee to make a diving job. Now even they had to pay the chulga fee if they left their family and went to other place. It was so sad. In addition, there were continuing conflicts with the local people and the local merchants. As the haenyo could sell their marine products through the local merchants and they were poor at understanding the concept of profit, they were exploited by the local merchants who made a lot of profit by paying low wages to the haenyo and selling them in high price to the customers. Even though they knew that fact, they did not have other options. They only knew to go down to cooler and deeper sea and longer diving for getting more money. They just thought that they would earn money if they do that."

The bakkat muljil started like that and it expanded to Japan with the start of the ferry boat of Kimigayomaru.

"In the summer when she was 19 years old, Guweol boarded the ferry "Kimigayomaru" and went to Japan for chulga muljil. It was a few days before King Sunjong died at the age of 53. The skill of muljil of Guweol was so superb that her harvest was more than that caught by her grandmother and better in quality. She was a good haenyo from birth. Instead of having to pay high interest, Guweol's mother borrowed the fee for two people from other people and took Guweol to Japan. To get on the ferry, they had to go to Sehwa Port, Jeju from Udo using a small fishing board and wait a full day to get on the Kimigayomaru. The Kimigayomaru visited Sanji Port (current Jeju port) and make a tour around the Jeju Island to visit eleven small ports to get the passengers aboard the ferry. It took two days for it to arrive at Osaka from Jeju (from "Black Sand" authored by Gu So-eun).

① Situation in Korea

The ocean was a place for a big opportunity for Jeju haenyo. They went to any place where the sea is as they had difficulty in making livelihood merely in the Jeju sea. They went to places as far away as Japan, China and Vladivostok, Russia as well as to the sea of mainland of Korea.

The official first chulga muljil was started in Gyeongsannamdo in 1895. Subsequently, they were active in chulga muljil and the range got wider. They went to not only Tokyo and Osaka, Japan but also Qingdao and Dalian, China and Vladivostok, Russia.

"Chronicles of Jejudo" published in 1937 shows that there were 2801 haenyo in Chulga muljil along the coast of Korea, such as 1,650 in Gyeongsannamdo, 473 in Gyeongsangbukdo, 408 in Jeollanamdo, 110 in Chungcheongnamdo, 54 in Gangwondo, 50 in Hwanghaedo, 32 in Hamgyeongnamdo, 19 in Jeollabukdo and 5 in Hamgyeongnamdo, showing that the most haenyo doing Chulga in Gyeongsangnamdo area.

For the process of bakkat muljil conducted by Jeju haenyo, Jung Gwang-jung summed up as follows by referring to the prior literature conducted in 1930s (Masuda: 1976) and 1960s (Izumi: 1966).

Chulga starts in February of every year. The haenyo start their job in Gyeongsangnamdo and Jeollanamdo first and go upward to the north and finished the fishing in late August before coming back to Jeju for fall harvesting in the agricultural farms. The method of chulga is to use the sail board of 5 tons in Gyeongnam, Gyeongbuk, Jeonnam, Jeonbuk and Tsushima. The group of 12 - 15 persons of haenyo get in a boat and the predominant and competent age group is the age of 17 to 30. In addition, 1 boat leader, 1 or 2 oar man are aboard the boat. The oars are rolled by them and the haenyo. The food is prepared on the board. When they work at the job site, they are supplied with drinking

water, food and fuel from the local area. In addition, if they go to the northern areas such as Hwanghaedo, Gangwondo and Hamgyeongdo, they chartered a motor boat. At the destination, they rent a room or build a makeshift camp in the beach for simple life during the harvesting of marine products and they save most of their revenues (Masuda, 1976: 81-82, Jeju Udang Library; 1995.81).

They (Jeju haenyo) made a group of 20 or 30 and started to sail on a sail board every February with one or two oar men to the coast of Jellonamdo and went upward to the north along the coast. In late September, they arrived at Cheongjin and finished the harvest before their return to Jejudo aboard the motor boat. In the late 1930, some of the haenyo went straight to the place where good harvests were known, dove there and then came back to Jeju aboard the motor boat. In addition, the haenyo who went to Japan used the Osaka route. Most of them were under employment agreement with Japanese fishing businessmen. The haenyo going to the mainland of Korea stayed inside the boat temporarily or constructed a makeshift camp on the beach for a long stay and cooked rice for food. They took the most of their revenues (ranging from 150 yen to 300 yen) to their home (Izumi, 1966, 117, translated by Hong Seong-muk, 1999: 185-186).

The bakkat muljil for Jeju haenyo was conducted in a way that they left Jeju for the mainland of Korea or Japan every February and then returned to Jeju in August or September when the outdoor diving work is almost finished. They often used the sail board or motor boat for bakkat muljil. During the initial period of Japanese rule or up to 1920s, they usually used the sail board and after that period, they also used the motor boats because from 1912, there were nine runs a month on the Jeju to Mokpo route, five runs a month between Jeju and Busan, two runs a month in the route of Osaka, Busan and Jeju, and three runs in a month in the route of Osaka, Mokpo and Jeju..

Although there were a lot of motor boats for Jeju haenyo, they preferred the sail boats in the initial stage to save the fee, preferably a sail boat which only they could board and use for a certain period of time. As shown in the data above, the sail board can go straight to the destination for bakkat muljil and depending on the local situation, they could use the sail boats as accommodation and dining. On the other hand, for the bakkat muljil in Japan, the Jeju haenyo used the motor ferry on the route of Osaka, Busan and Jeju for the destination of Osaka as the ferry named Kimigayomaru started the business for the route of Osaka and Jeju.

The bakkat mulgi inside Korea become different, In previous period, the haenyo crossed the sea channel for the seaweed work. It was also confirmed that the disputed islet of Dokdo was also actually kept by Korean as Jeju haenyo stayed there for the diving work. The first resident living in Dokdo and has the first resident registration certificate of Dokdo also was a Jeju haenyo. Compared to previous period, the current haenyo cross the channel for the work of harvesting sea shells. In addition, there are the Jeju haenyo who went to West Sea of mainland to avoid the "no harvesting period for Jeju coast" which the Jeju local government established for protection of over harvesting the marine products in Jeju coast.

② Jeju haenyo going to Asia

Why Jeju haenyo went to even China and Russia can be found from the historical background. To avoid the exploitation and mobilization by the Japanese colonial government, some Jeju haenyo went to Cheongjin, a northern part of Korea. A lot of haenyo who did not come back to Korea after the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule were confirmed to have gone to China and Russia.

Kim Sun-deok, who visited Jeju in 2011 (the age of 89 at that time) lived in Changchun City, Jilin Province, China. He was born in Seongsanpo, Jeju in 1923. As often the case at that time for girls born in Jeju, she played around her

mother who was the haenyo and learnt the diving work with a lot of praise of other people and became a haenyo at her age of 17. As the rumor was rampant that the Japanese colonial government may mobilize the young people including the girls for the industrial labor and military soldier, she enlisted her name as the list of haenyo for Cheongjin. When she was 20 years old, she married a man from Shandong, China, continued the diving work and in 1967 moved to China. While raising children through a restaurant business, she continued her diving job if there was any time. Jin Hyang-ran, her daughter remembered her mother. She was born in Cheongjin, Hambuk in 1947 as the oldest daughter of a family of one brother and five sisters. Starting dance when she was fifteen years old, she graduated from Pyeong Music Dance college (Pyeong Arts University, or former Choi Seung-hee dance School). After moving to Changchun, China in 1967, she became a dance actor in Jilin Dance Troupe and studied dance in the department of dance choreography of Beijing Dance College. In 1984, she was promoted to the level of Class 1 choreographer which is a first class professor and eventually became president of Jilin Song and Dance Arts School in 2000.

Jin Hyang-ran talked about her mother when she made the cultural exchange with Korea and arranged her visit to Jeju. In fact, Grandmother Kim was deleted from the family register saying that she was taken to South East asian countries and then disappeared and had to make a living as a nationality of North Korea. When she visited Jeju, her passport was issued from Chinese Government. Through such turbulent life, grandmother Kim still kept her precious tool for diving or "jokeun num (the haenyo's tool for diving which is equivalent to the water glasses) and carried it in her luggage.

③ Muljil in Japan

There are no accurate data on when Jeju haenyo went to Japan for diving work. But according to the Japanese history book "Nihon

Shoki", it is presumed that the muljil in Japan started in the 5th century or around that period. However, the big muljil is presumed to have started in late 18th century or early 20th century.

The chulga muljil by Jeju haenyo can be classified into three periods. The first period is from 1985 to 1945 when the haenyo could freely go to mainland Korean, Japan, China and Russia. In the period from 1945 to 1960, as the immigration was limited, a secret passage was adopted. From 1970 to the present, there are legitimate immigrations in addition to still illegal stays.

The chulga muljil by Jeju haenyo in Japan started in Miyakejima in 1903, mainly in Mie Prefecture. At first, the Ama in Mie Prefecture went to Joseon for chulga but the trend was reversed as the Korean haenyo's skill became widely known.

The "Jejudo Chronicle" published in 1937 shows that there were 1601 Jeju haenyo in chulga to Japan, including 750 in Takeshima, 265 in Sizuoka, 130 in Tokyo, 65 in Nagasaki, 55 in Gagoshima and 51 in Chiba.

The annual work days for Japanese Ama is not long compared to those for Jeju haenyo. Japanese Ama works only 10-30 days in the summer for abalone and conch and then depending on the region they harvest seaweeds such as rhybarb (arame) and sea cucumber in the winter. The work is done two times a day with each time taking 60 minutes.

With variation depending on the region, the Japanese ama do the sea job in two methods of hunado and gachido. Hunado is for a couple to go out in a boat to the sea. It is called as "Doto-kakahune" and the diving is performed down to 10-15m. For this work, the ama shall carry the heavy weight on their waist and dives in rapid speed and when they surface, they use the life line attached to their waist (is also called as ikisuna, hikizuna or jinawa, depending on the region). At this time, the ama is assisted by her husband. In the old days, the long rod was used to raise the ama from the sea (hikijao).

Gachito is to work the diving work using the

Oke (wooden basket) as a buoy. It is also called "Okeama" As the ama is supposed to dive using their own weight, the harvest is conducted in the shallow sea with the depth of 5 - 8 m. In ordinary cases, the ama swim to the open sea from the beach. Sometimes in the case of being far away offshore, they use a boat. In the mid-Meiji period, the ama started to put on the white diving clothes called "Isogi". Before that period, they worked with their upper body exposed. In this period, the Jeju haenyo started their muljil in Japan.

The fishing village called Wadau, located in Manoboso City, Chiba Prefecture, Japan, was the place for a lot of Jeju haenyo visiting Japan in 1920s. At that time, there were no ama in that area. So, twelve Jeju haenyo moved there and taught the local people on how to dive and catch the marine products. Though the first generation died, it is said according to the data researched by a civil group "Awa Cultural Heritage Forum" that there are twenty tombs at Janghuengsa Temple under the order of Jodongjong, Emi Cho, Kamokawa City, or a village near Wadaura.

There is a tomb named Ms. Lee who is presumed to have been a Jeju haenyo who moved to Japan from Jeju (In the tombstone, it is written "Tomb for Araiga, which is likely to be the surname obtained after becoming naturalized to Japan). On the tombstone, there is the saying that "she died on June 17, 2003 (at the age of 87). She did the diving job, and loved children."

The history of Jeju haenyo moving to Japan is now an old story. But, their trades have had a big effect on the local economy. It has been confirmed that the fourth generation descents of those haenyo are still living there.

④ China muljil - Qingdao and Dalian

Unlike other place, the sea farm in Qingdao is known to have been developed by the planting of Moon Family from Jeju intentionally the seed of seaweed in the sea. So, the Jeju haenyo had good and amicable relationship with local people compared to other places.

The Jeju haenyo went to Qingdao in May and

returned to Jeju in August. Their revenues are presumed to be good enough and as the volume of seaweed harvested by Jeju haenyo in the area was sufficient enough, the Shandong area sometimes suspended the import of seaweed from other places.

Compared to the Jeju haenyo who went to Qingdao focusing on the harvesting of the seaweed only, the haenyo who went to Dalian harvested only abalone. The size of abalone in Dalian was not big enough. The haenyo who went to Qingdao and Dalian took only the food, and tools of 'tewak' and 'bitchang' with them and had difficulty in harvesting the marine product due to the difficulty in communication with local people. According to the recollection of the haenyo, it is said that there was no haenyo in Dalian and only some men would dive for catching marine products.

⑤ Russia muljil - Vladivostok

The number of haenyo who went to Vladivostok was not large relative to the number of haenyo to other places. According to the haenyo who went to Vladivostok, it was cold enough to see the snow in summer and they usually harvested kelp. It is said that as the size of the rare kelp was so much it was difficult to raise it up to the boat.

In addition, the haenyo came across whales many times and they got into trouble when the whales hit the boat. At that time, the haenyo threw a fat mass wrapped in the paper to the whale to distract them from the boat. The muljil in Vladivostok was not officially announced.

4. Conclusion:

After the official opening of the national port to foreigners for foreign trading through the Japanese colonial period to the early 1970s, Jeju haenyo has conducted the bakkat muljil along the area of the coast of Gyeongsangnamdo, Jeollanamdo, and Gyeongsangbukdo and other islands. In the Japanese colonial period, they en-

tered to the Kando region (Tokyo (Miyakejima), Chiba Prefecture, Shizuoka Prefecture), Sikoku Region (Ehime Prefecture, Kochi Prefecture, and Dokushima Prefecture) and Kyushi region (Nagasaki (Tsushima, Koto islands) prefecture, Gagoshima Prefecture and Fukuoka Prefecture). They also went to Qingdao located in Shandong peninsula, China and Dalian, located in the tip of Ryaodong Peninsula as well as Vladivostok, Russia.

The bakkat muljil by Jeju haenyo is not just for the making of money. It also applied to the chulga muljil to Dokdo which lasted from 1950s to 1990s.

International law puts priority on the current and actual situation of the territory rather than the history and racial issued related to the territory in judging the ownership of a territory. Especially, the agreements made in the 20th century and their effectiveness are critical in judging the ownership of the territory. Korea has granted the address to Dodong 1, Nammyeong, Ulreung-gun as soon as its government was established in 1948. Japan claimed its right over the Dokdo in 1952, or a few years later than Korea.

What is more important that the record is the record of Jeju haenyo's chulga.

Mr. Kim Mun-gil, professor of Busan University of Foreign Studies found out the data recorded in the "Dakeshim Filke" in Shinema Prefecture in 2007 that sixteen Jeju haenyo were taken to Dokdo from Jejudo in to harvest the marine products." The oldest document shown in the Jeju haenyo went to Dokdo is no other than "the forced labor".

What is more clear is the fact that they lived in Dokdo.

The data of 1953 or later is more specific.

According to the record, in 1950 when the Korean War broke out, Japanese people arrived at Dokdo. Then, the civilians living in Ulreungdo and national defense security personnel volunteered to organize and to defend Dokdo (from 1952 to 1956). The Dokdo muljil by the Jeju haenyo is presumed to have started in this period. It is presumed that the haenyo who conduct-

ed the harvesting would have visited the Dokdo area where the competition for the marine products was not severe.

The articles of Gyeongbuk Ilbo shows that four haenyo including Park Ok-rang and Ko Jeong-sun started harvesting for the first time in 1953 in Dokdo and six haenyo did the job including Kim Sun-ha and Kang Jeong-rang in 1954.

Park Ok-rang who started the Dokdo muljil in the age of 19 (who entered Dokdo in 1953) recollected the Japanese coast guard ship. Park recollected that "whenever we worked the diving job, the Japanese coast guard ship continued to approach us but they never arrived at Dokdo."

Jo Bong-ok and Im Haw-sun also testified that when they were so starved in 1955, they asked the Japanese coast guard ship passing by to give them some dry fermented soybean powder. In return we gave them the sea shell including abalone and conch. But it was only the Jeju haenyo who slept there.

Go chun-ok also recollected the story on the Japanese coast guard ship in her memory. She recollected that she had envied the good equipment and supplied equipped in the ship and boarded the ship. There was no word from them that they boarded the ship but Japanese never put their feet on the Dokdo."

Kim Gong-ja (73) chose the Dokdo chulga to make money in 1959. But though her life in Dokdo was difficult, the life there was a strong part of her life.

Kim Shin-yeol (75) who visited Hansuri, Hanlim-eup in 45 years in 2012 has the name of "Dokdo keeper". Some returned to their native place but others stayed at Dokdo.

In 1960, a water tank was artificially made. The situation got better with the enough water provided for laundry and bathing. As the number of people residing in Dokdo grew, facilities were also built such as a simple toilet and warehouses.

The frequency of Dokdo muljil by Jeju haenyo decreased in 1970s as the sea farming of the

seaweed become rampant. In early 1990, they completely stopped the Dokdo muljil.

"Life of Residents in Dokdo" published by Gyeongsangbukdo local government showed the story of Go Sun-ja who stayed for 18 years in the sea of Dokdo from 1973 to 1991. They are different from other haenyo as they adopted not only the naked diving method but as diving equipment and clothes (meoguri) and carried the sand to construct the stair for port and helicopter platform .

"Life of Resident in Dokdo" also described the story that Jeju haenyo working the diving job in Dokdo in 1950s help the Dokdo volunteer security forces and resided in Dokdo during 1870s and 1980s as their territory for life. These bakkat muljil conducted by the Jeju haenyo has a lot of implications as they expanded the activities to Asian countries and propagated their unique cultures.

Until the early period of the Jeju haenyo starting the bakkat muljil, there had been no similar people who tried to harvest the marine product from the bottom of the sea in mainland Korea, some parts and islands in Japan, China and Russia with the naked body without any special tools as Jeju haenyo did. Not until the Jeju haenyo went there and started the diving job there did they live in those places and learned the skill. The efficient operation system (jam-sugye system), adoption of "no harvesting period" system and the profit sharing through joint work of Jeju haenyo have been adopted. Jeju haenyo has especially propagated the knowledge on how to cope offshore. They effectively used it to their advantages, changed the local economy as well as accumulated their individual wealth through their job and expanded the new living scope to the sea. They also made a critical influence on the positive female participation in the job market.

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