

Sunureum as a Traditional Commoning in Jeju: Reinterpretation of Jeju's Livestock Culture*

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People of Jeju have survived typical geographical and natural conditions of an island. During the 17th and 18th centuries, in particular, the harsh living conditions dotted with a series of severe droughts and typhoons, which made it difficult for Jeju people to carry on farming in limited space, forced them to exhibit wisdom to use commons. The current study has examined the livelihood of Jeju people in a concrete way, especially their life-world through the livestock culture focusing on their farming practices. Cattle were indispensable for plowing, treading soil, and threshing. During the agricultural off-season, however, the cattle were grazed in common through a livestock gye, which was an association autonomously formed to utilize their labor force of individual farm households in more effective ways. Based on mutual trust built among gye members who voluntarily joined the association, they take turns in taking care of the cattle by setting up self-governing rules. The livestock gye does not have room for free riders. And as a result, the labor to be put in for cattle herding could be used more effectively in other tasks. Besides, they laid down rules for utilizing and managing the village pasture as well as agreements for reciprocally distributing profits from fodder grass and firewood collected from the common pasture. Within the village, there were other gyes for various purposes including weeding, tableware, and rice, intricately intertwined with one another. That is, multi-layered network of gye has been created in the village. The characteristic of Jeju commons is that this tightly woven network is formed through the organization called gye. Gye is a living system indigenous to Jeju. Through the gye system, people built social relationships with other people or nature, creating a reciprocal network. Through the mutual aids, reciprocity, solidarity and cooperation, caring and consideration and social network among village people, a custom and culture called 'sunureum' was developed. 'Sunureum culture' or 'sunureum network' can be the commonistic living culture that discloses the peculiarity of Jeju.

Keywords: substantive economy, gye, social capital, commons, commoning

*This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea Grant funded by the Korean Government (NRF-2017S1A3A2067220).

Introduction

Wisdom of using commons is exhibited in many parts of the world.

To briefly look at the history of Jeju Island, people of Jeju have overcome the hardships of natural environment through overseas trade during the era when Jeju was called Tamna. Through the seaborne trade they survived the harsh conditions of an island by widening the space of their living world in a region whose environment was not favorable for agriculture. However, Tamna (the old name of Jeju) was subjugated to Koryeo Dynasty and given the new title of Jeju. For the next 200 years until Joseon Dynasty was established, the island was isolated and the people had to live in a closed environment separated from the outside world by the seas. They managed to survive the geographical and natural environment of the island. During the 17th and 18th centuries, in particular, the harsh living conditions dotted with a series of severe droughts and typhoons which made it difficult to carry on farming in the limited space of the island forced people to exhibit wisdom to use commons. As Karl Polanyi explains, “man ultimately depended on nature and fellows for the means of survival (Polanyi 2017, p. 94).”

Elinor Ostrom proved a community’s sustainability through its autonomy not by a market or the state with her case analysis of successful operation of commons (Ostrom 2010). This study also attempts to examine the livelihood of Jeju people who used and managed nature in union and the characteristics revealed in the process of using commons; the system that village people employed to manage and use nature, customs and institutions developed while running the system, and the process of how the system was established. This will serve as an empirical basis of livelihood economics that exploits commons.

Commons used to be “a part of our daily life (Bollier 2015, p. 34).” But in this day and age where commons was disbanded or even went extinct, individuals who are alienated once again face a new challenge to figure out how to survive destroyed natural conditions. Unlike the past in which one needed to solely depend on nature to survive, today’s survival involves employment which is scarce. It is nevertheless the same that people are faced with survival issues. In particular, agriculture still takes up a larger proportion of Jeju’s industrial structure and, more recently, tourism is catching up by utilizing the island’s superb natural resources. But that doesn’t make much difference in the current method of survival which has high dependence on nature. Under these circumstances, today’s Jeju is left with a choice between

commoning and recommoning. Therefore, the livelihood of the past that used commons may provide a significant implication for us living in the present.

This paper will examine the life-world of Jeju people through their livestock practice focused on their living made by farming, based on which the paper will explore the characteristics and implications of Jeju commons.

Commons that Constitutes the Livelihood of Man

Karl Polanyi put more weight on substantive concept in economics which incorporates environment (resources) as material foundation to maintain one's existence, rather than on formal sense of economy explained by scarcity (Polanyi 2017, p. 110). I believe this substantive economy is what we call commons. Polanyi didn't use the concept of commons in a direct sense, but Ivan Illich who succeeded Polanyi's study understands that the substantive economy which consists of material means needed for survival is commons. He explains commons as follows:

Commons is "an aspect of the environment that was limited, that was necessary for the community's survival, that was necessary for different groups in different ways, but which, in a strictly economic sense, was not perceived as scarce." Illich also argues that commons has "a series of rules that prevent the perception of scarcity from spreading in communities" (Illich 2013, p. 66). That's why commons involve natural resources and communities that manage the use of resources. People who use commons have established and maintained their own approaches and regulations. Therefore, commons is comprised not only of resources but also communities that manage the resources by devising their own rules, traditions and values (Bollier 2015, p.40). On this wise, commons constitutes the livelihood of man.

Illich explained the concept of commons at a symposium held in Japan in 1982 (Illich 2013, p. 89). He exchanged research with Tamanoi, an entropy economist of Japan, who was recognised to be the first to conduct research on commons in Japan. While translating Polanyi's works, he also pioneered independent localism by re-establishing the argument of distinguishing between Polanyi's formal and substantive concepts economy and entropy theory. In late 1970's, Tamanoi advocated a new form of community in the name of "localism" based on degrowth paradigm. Reflecting on the four major pollution scandals in the era of high economic growth, he sought an alternative economic system for a living space for humans, different from

centralized local development and market economy. The concept of gong (共, together) in localism is the keyword of commons economics (Nakano 2016, p. 383). Meanwhile, leading the study on commons in East Asia is none other than Japan. The study of commons in Japan has a strong tendency to concentrate on the institution called 'iriai', meaning right of common, entitled to exploit the forests and fields in the village of Satoyama, and on property disputes thereof. There have even been discussions on whether the 'right of common' can be seen as commons. Although the study of commons in Japan mostly revolves around the relationship of rights and duties regarding property ownership, how the life-world connected with relations of rights over land and ownership is like, and what are the key issues discussed in the commons study of nature-human relationship have not been clearly disclosed yet.

Meanwhile, Robert Putnam approached substantive economy through his comparative study between regions in Italy over a long period, and pointed out that social capital is formed in areas whose substantive economy achieves positive results. He also took notice that rotating credit associations, equivalent to gye in some Asian societies, plays a crucial role in forming social capital (Putnam 2000, pp. 281-287).¹

Considering the livelihood of man, gye in Korea is a tradition and a cultural phenomenon incorporated into a substantive economy. Gye has changed over the course of long history by adjusting its roles and functions to each era. It had come to serve as an internal system to govern a village operating an economy for man in the Joseon Dynasty period. There existed multiple networks of gye not only on Jeju island but also in other regions in most parts of the Korean Peninsula, and they created a tradition where the whole community gathered and pitched in to hold major life events or address personal matters of community members that couldn't be handled by individuals alone. In particular, "gye has become the social, psychological, and material foundation to make the village into a cooperative community in which members reciprocally help one another (Lee 2005, p. 241)."

This study will explore how the living economy looked like for centuries before enclosure with substantive economy and gye as key words. This will be able to help us infer the commons created by communities and the process of

¹ Putnam regards a rotating credit association as an informal thrift institution. However, its Korean equivalent gye is formed for various purposes including one for savings. Gye (is an association that) has remained in existence in Korea from premodern times to the present, whose operational purposes have varied over such a long period of time. The term gye is used in this paper to represent a broader meaning than just an unofficial savings institution.

commoning as well as by-products of commoning.

Jeju's Livestock Practice and Sunureum

The soil of Jeju is made of volcanic ash. It is loose and short of nutrients that it is easily blown away in the wind. Jeju has an oceanic climate in which plants grow quickly due to high temperature and humidity. Securing good land to make a living by farming was hard to come by. Therefore, it was more important to build a pool of labor force to mobilize in time for farming seasons and climate than to secure arable land or expand landholdings (Kim 1995, p. 83). Since citrus was introduced as a cash crop as part of the country development policies promoted by the central government in the 1960s, the focus of agricultural production structure shifted to growing citrus and overwintering vegetables, including turnips, potatoes, and carrots. Before the introduction of cash crop farming structure, upland-crops such as barley, beans, millet, and broomcorn were the main sources of income in the living economy of Jeju. In the pages that follow, in order to explore the life style of commons, this paper will give an account of how commons was used in Jeju, focusing on the practices of farming and cattle breeding under a living economy.

Agriculture in Jeju

One of the most important crops in Jeju is barley. There are no rivers or streams because rainwater sinks into the ground due to the properties of volcanic ash soil. Since the water permeating through the ground is brought back to the surface through springs mostly found in coastal areas of the island, a large number of villages are concentrated in the waterfront. All available water in Jeju was groundwater and before waterworks was built, water was very scarce. That's why Jeju farmers didn't grow rice, the staple food of Asia, which has to be grown in paddy fields. Therefore, the agricultural cycle of barley will allow us to witness the life in Jeju's living economy. Barley is grown in double cropping farmland.

When winter begins (Advent of Winter according to the lunar calendar's marking of seasons, around November 7th) by the lunar calendar, people would collect compost from pigsties where households would keep one or two pigs, or make compost with excrement from cattle, and mix it with barley seeds before sowing in the field. This process is called seeding. After seeding,

the field was then trodden down by oxen to help the seeds take roots firmly in the soil. This is also effective in preventing moist in the soil from evaporating. But it was too much work for a single farm household to do. To increase the efficiency of the work, collaboration took place in which all the cattle of the village were gathered to have them tread down the field.

Weeding starts in late January and full-scale weeding follows in spring (Cheongmyeong, meaning clear and balmy season, around April 5th). To make the job more efficient, a group of people collaborate in the weed removal work.

Harvesting begins in summer (Mangjong, the barley harvest season, around June 6th). For threshing, a large millstone worked by horse or ox is used rather than a hand mill. The millstone was installed by pooling money with village people. After harvest, they plant summer crops (Go 2016, pp. 60-64).

Formation of Village Pasture as Commons

Cattle were indispensable in farming. Cattle were used when ploughing before seeding, treading soil to increase its water retention, and threshing after harvesting. These cattle were put out to graze in village pasture after seeding summer crops until the Autumn Equinox (Chubun, around September 23rd). As it requires much time and labor to make fodder by cutting grass in the field, people of the village would bring their cattle together to graze them in common. When grazing the cattle, they sometime hired a guard or took turns in watching over their cattle. In some parts, villagers themselves herded their cattle by turns between the village and the common pasture in the morning and evening. However different it may have been, each village organized and operated their own gye for raising livestock to take care of their cattle.

The common pasture of the village was the commons of the village people. Part of the pasture was for gathering feed. When it is too cold to graze cattle in winter, they needed to feed the cattle normally kept in barns. Villagers also co-owned the field of fodder grass. They invited bids from those without resources to get feed for the right to gather feed from the field. The proceeds from the bid were added to the village living. Another part of the pasture was forest where people would come for firewood. Anyone could cut off brushwood or dead branches but not green wood without permission. The village would set certain dates in late fall to allow cutting down live trees. During this period everyone in the village would come out and fell trees and

share them. Households supporting elderly parents were given larger shares than the rest. In this respect, the grazing land served as the foundation of the villagers' livelihood, from which they got feed and fuel (Go 2016, pp. 140-170).

Such grazing land is now called village pasture commons. There were 116 pastures in 1934, and only 56 are left in 2017. The formation process of such pasture commons should be considered in a single context that penetrates different times in history, encompassing Koryo Dynasty, Joseon Dynasty, the Korean Empire period, Japanese colonial era, and post-liberation Republic of Korea.

During the Koryo era (918~1392), the village pasture land was run as a state horse farm from 1276 to 1374 under the rule of Yüan (Mongolia) of China. The farm mostly raised military horses and sent them to Yuan. In the Joseon Era (1392~1896), ten state farms called sipsojang were installed in the mountainous area surrounding Hallasan Mountain. Also breeding military horses, they were strictly managed by the central government. When the system to pay tribute to kings with horses was abolished in 1894 and the state ranches were closed down, people started to slash and burn fields (Ijichi 2013, p. 110).

This area became ownerless in the period of Korean Empire. However, a record shows that a livestock gye existed in 1860 in Ojori, Seongsang-eup, northeastern part of the island (KCCF 2010, p. 156). A livestock gye is a self-motivated organization and an association to manage cattle by turns.

Places where the state ranches were installed became privatized by villagers who freely reclaimed the land (Kang 2013, p. 33). But the tragedy of the commons doesn't seem to have occurred during or after the privatization. What the feeding, treading, weeding and threshing explained above have in common is that they were done through separate networks of gye organizations. A unique association of Korea called gye was formed for stock raising for farming and it thus created a custom of common use of pasturage. In this wise, the grazing field for cattle was run through an autonomous association of gye, creating commons as a living foundation.

In 1933 under Japanese rule (1910~1945), the Japanese authorities gave orders to people to disband livestock gye's and organize ranch associations. According to the village newsletter of Sanghyo-dong, Seogwipo City, the livestock gye's were forced to be disbanded in 1935 by the Japanese colonial government (Kang 2013, p. 91). And since the liberation in 1945, the Japanese ranch associations have been in existence under the name of 'village pasture commons.' Today, stock-farming that produces beef cattle has fallen

into decay. The village pasturage has been turned into golf courses or tourist resorts by the central government's mid-mountain development plans in the 1960's. Every year on the agenda of general meetings of villages is the item to sell village pasture.

Meanwhile, the village pasture commons are now operated in the form of ranch association. Some of them have the entire community as members and others don't. The ownership of village pasture also varies: Some are owned by villages; some are shared by the state or municipality, and some are privately owned. As such, village people could donate some part of the land they cultivated, or donate their labor to contribute to creating the pasture if not owning land. Even those without cattle could use the village pasture. It means a new type of ownership was formed irrespective of ownership relations: Members of the village have been managing the pasture commons up to date with the perception that it is everyone's property. In this respect, the village pasture commons is a type of commons.

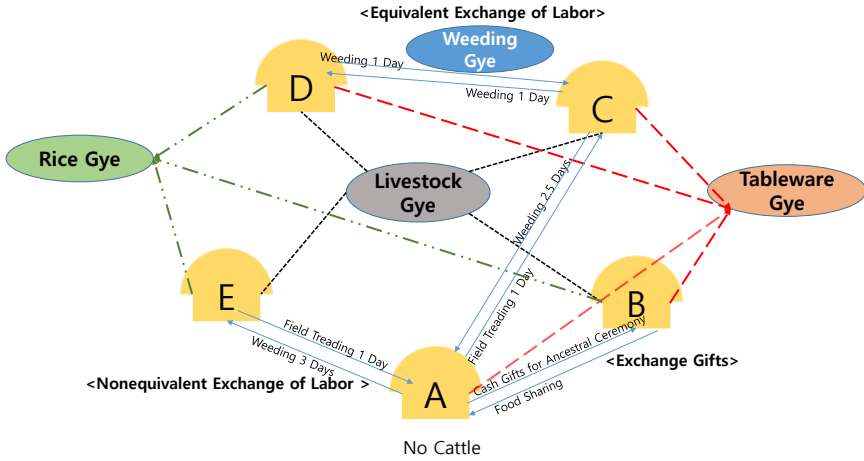
Through this cultural account of the stock raising practice in Jeju, we can roughly infer how commons called village pasture has been created and developed in present-day Jeju.

Livestock Gye and Sunureum Network

In the pages that follow, this paper will focus on Jeju's substantive economy, whose concept Polanyi described. Since agriculture was important in the living economy, Jeju people organized gye related to farming to help out each other in order to overcome harsh environmental and climatic conditions, such as volcanic ash soil, oceanic climate and frequent climate changes.

First of all, people with cattle formed a livestock gye to help each other in farming. The organization of livestock gye varied from village to village but they shared certain aspects: a gye is formed with village members who own similar number of cattle, a president is elected among the members, they select a member who is believed to be of strict integrity to entrust financial affairs of the organization, and members take turns to watching over the cattle; on the day of Baekjung, or the Buddhist All Soul's Day (the 15th day of the 7th lunar month), they hold a memorial service together to pray for their cattle to flourish; combating cattle tick is performed in union; they check and repair the pasture fence through a meeting before grazing the cattle(KCCF 2010).

As described above, the livestock gye is an organization through which individuals in need of grazing their cattle voluntarily assemble and



Source: Kim 2017 (p. 95)

<Explanation>

- Farm households: ABCDE
- Livestock Gye: Takes care of cattle taking turns in the order of BCDE.
- Weeding Gye: C and D exchange equivalent labor.
- Tableware Gye: A, B, C and D pool money to buy a large set of tableware in case for big events and keep it in the village hall. Member households can use it for wedding feasts or funerals for free but other village people have to rent it for a certain amount of money.
- Rice Gye: B, D, and E collect rice for B this month, then D and E receive rice in due order next time.
- A and C, A and E: Exchange nonequivalent labor. If A borrows cattle for treading for a day, it returns the favor by weeding for C or E for two or three days.
- A and B: A and B exchange gifts instead of barter of goods or labor. If A gives goods that B needs, it gets something else from B in the future.

FIG. 1.—Sunureum Network Based on Gye Organizations

collaborate in taking care of their livestock by setting up rules and turns. Mutual trust is the basis for autonomous individuals to gather and abide by rules. There is no room left for free-riders. Thanks to the system, the time for an individual to get cattle feed everyday can be used for other tasks. In addition, not only that a set of regulations to use and manage the pasture commons was established, but also that an agreement was made to reciprocally distribute the profits from the pasture land (fodder grass and firewood) among members. The system is an important example in which autonomy, self-governance and reciprocity show efficient performance. In

short, the village pasture managed through the gye or similar organizations run autonomously by village people was a village-oriented commons (Choe 2009, p. 13).

Meanwhile, even families without cattle, essential part of agriculture, could make their livings without any problem. Family A in the figure below has no cattle and can't join the livestock gye. That doesn't prohibit the family from using the village pasture or exempt it from the duty of pasture management.

"Household A borrows cattle from households C and E during seeding seasons for barley or millet to tread down its fields after seeding. In return, A provides labor of two or three days when C or E needs weeding their fields. When A helps Household B with goods needed for ancestral services such as rice, B shares the food from the service with A. In preparation for ceremonial occasions of coming of age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites, A forms a tableware gye. A pools money with households B, C, and D to buy a large set of tableware. B, C, and D can use it for such occasions for free. A wants to store rice in time for big events along with the tableware gye, but it hesitates to join the rice gye because of financial issues. The rice gye of this village is organized by B, D, and E. When the livestock gye is performing fence repairs, cattle tick extermination, or paring and burning the field for pasture maintenance, A joins the other households. It is not an obligation for A as it is not a member, but missing such events even one time has consequences of not being able to borrow the cattle next time. Meanwhile, households C and D are in the livestock gye, but they also form a weeding gye. Both households exchange equivalent value of labor taking turns in weeding each other's fields (Kim 2017, pp. 94-95)."

The custom of helping out each other is called 'sunureum' in Jeju. To trace the word to its origin, it comes from the native Jeju language. Two separate words *su*, meaning hands, and *nureum*, meaning piling, are combined to represent collaboration and helping each other out. In a network of sunureum, even an elderly man can do farming himself without having to resort to sharecropping. The system has a customary device of mutual aid through which even a peasant can stand on his own feet as an independent landed farmer. In defining boundaries of community, villagers don't automatically accept newcomers as part of their community just because they moved in the village. It can be analysed that the membership of the community is given when repeated experience of interactions of mutual aids are shared among the community members.

Meanwhile, some in other parts of Korea tend to view sunureum as a

temporary labor exchange of equivalents, also known as pumasi. However, pumasi is not operated as an organized system as gye. Such a perspective towards sunureum will not provide a whole account of the life-world of Jeju. It is because the system of mutual aid applies not only to labor exchange but also to much more diverse living systems (Ijichi 2013, p. 189).² As illustrated in the figure, it is clear that the gye's revealed in the life-world, including the livestock gye, weeding gye, tableware gye, and rice gye, exist in multi layers. Therefore, it can be suggested that the most distinctive feature of Jeju sunureum is that it creates a tight network with individual gye organizations. And the mode or reciprocity is shown in various ways such as equivalent labor exchange, nonequivalent labor exchange, or gift exchange. The custom and culture of sunureum has been developed through mutual aids, reciprocity, solidarity and cooperation, caring and consideration and social network built and practiced around the village pasture commons (Kim 2017, p. 97). Sunureum culture or sunureum network can be designated as the commonistic (of commons) culture of living that exposed the peculiarity of Jeju.

Features and Implications of Jeju Commons Based on Sunureum Culture

“Man depended ultimately on nature and his fellow for a means of his survival. Such dependence has now come under the control of the market. (Polanyi 2017, p. 94)” Jeju's commons is also walking in the same path. The commons around village pasture is dissolved and becoming extinct. On September 21st, 1968, there was a first completion ceremony of cultivator operation training (Go 2016, p. 19). With the advent of tractors, there's no need to maintain the treading field gye. Likewise, weeding gye disappeared when sales of herbicide began. The demand for animal power for farming has gone, which has in turn eliminated livestock gye and the need for village pasture commons. That is, the relationship between village pasture commons

² In different parts of Korea, there are cases in which the entire village is engaged in labor exchange. In rice farming communities, adult males organize an association for rice planting, which is called dure. Jeju can't have such an organization as it is mostly upland crop farming land. However, in other types of gye to handle big family events, there do exist gye organizations that involve the entire village. Some gye's for funeral, in particular, still remain today. Jeju also had male gye's and female gye's and other gye's irrelevant to agriculture. Having different types of gye's including signigye to which Puttnam pays attention, and fellowship gye consisting of village people of the same age is one of the characteristics of Jeju's sunureum culture (KCCF 2010).

and the village people is in danger of extinction. In areas where stock farming still continues, pasture commons is being sold for different reasons: Though they still raise cattle for meat, those who share rights to the common pasture had no other choice but to sell the pasture to pay off villagers' debts which kept increasing. What's more, a patch of vast grassland is very attractive to golf course operators. The tourism development plans by the central government drove up the tourist demand, and eventually increased the land development need for such tourist facilities as golf courses. Village pasture commons is on the brink of disintegrating by development capital.

A large scale single crop farming system has taken over, mostly growing citrus and over-wintering vegetables targeting consumers in metropolitan cities. Most farms grow similar crops in large quantities, which requires large amount of labor around the same time. The conventional structure in which people in the same village could help each other's farming through *sunureum* has disappeared. The shift in agricultural structure from living economy to cash crop farming is disconnecting the relationship between nature and human, and between humans. Disconnected and atomized individuals become more dependent on the market and the state to relieve the anxiety of survival. The dissolution and extinction of commons that constituted human's livelihood is being witnessed across the global village. Today, for people who sell their labor force in the labor market and the disadvantaged who have fallen into the dead zone of welfare and worry about their survival again, the village has become a mere collection of people, not being able to engage with its people or provide them with help whatsoever.

In this day and age in which danger posed by multiplicative factors is lurking in places and one must worry about his or her survival, the case of Jeju with respect to commons surely offers thought-provoking insights. First of all, this paper attempts to focus on the fact that various types of gye were organized to recover the relationship amongst people and between people and nature. Gye created a tradition of living in which lives of people are intertwined and shared while not denying ownership at the same time (Ha 2014, p. 80), which is represented in *sunureum* culture in Jeju language. Through this gye system, people made social relationships with people as well as nature, and formed a reciprocal network. In other words, operating a gye was a process of commoning, through which social capital of a network of solidarity and cooperation was established. This network is so tight that even a section is forcibly disconnected, the firm bond of the rest will remain intact. This was a system of social safety net where even those without an ox or the elderly without much strength to farm could make a self-sustained

living.

Village community has maintained communal order of its own, and such order is created not with fictitious but with natural conditions of living. The life of village members was the requisite that enables autonomous life based on symbiotic relationship through self-governance, self-sustenance, and commons (Ha 2014, p. 81). In short, the operation of livelihood by using and managing commons has led to the creation of social capital unique to Jeju village communities called sunureum, and this is a value of common ownership to be shared by all of us. Commoning is the process of making efforts to prevent the value from being privatized.

Secondly, understanding commons through sunureum culture provides a perspective to expand Ostrom's theory which explains commons as material basis. Jeju's case has proven that commons is the foundation of living. It is because the harmonious mixture of relationships between people and natural resources, and the custom and culture that maintain the relationships in order to make the foundation sustainable is substantive economy and the core of commons. In Jeju's case, in particular, reciprocity is shown not only in the equivalent exchange but also in various forms including nonequivalent exchange and gift exchange. It is impossible to understand this concept only with village's common pasture, the material basis of commons. Ostrom's Common Pool Resources are physical means injected to guarantee the autonomy of living and make society sustainable through the process of accumulating social capital. Therefore, commons is a system of autonomy, self-governing, and reciprocity to protect the living foundation of the village.

Conclusion

The most significant task of this study was to examine the archetype of Jeju commons based on the livelihood of man. The study has shown that indigenous system of gye to operate commons is sunureum, and that the process of commoning creates social capital, a network of solidarity and cooperation. As a result, the study has gained insights as follow:

While commons is dissolved and extinct, the relationship between nature and village community and the relationship between people are also disconnected. Individuals alienated again in this reality are faced with issues of survival in devastated natural conditions. Unlike the conventional way of survival which heavily depended upon nature, as a matter of course, the aspects of modern survival differ in that today's surviving technique involves

employment, which is scarce. However, the fact that people are faced with survival issues remains the same. In particular, Jeju's economy has high dependence on agriculture and tourism industry utilizing its natural landscapes, which leaves not much difference for survival.

In this market-oriented age, where everything has to be procured from the market, this study has shown that efforts need to be made to restore the relationships between people and nature by exploring the archetype of commonistic living of Jeju. Many people talk of community restoration as an alternative. The case of Jeju shows not a community of make-believe but an actual life-world that produces social capital as an alternative to the reality. Just like the book 'Ancient Future,' when planning a transformation of a life-world to restore communities, the case of Jeju is believed to be effective. Especially, the formation of relationships centered around gye resembles the ecosystem of today's 'social economy' If performing sunureum through gye is commoning, then coming requires a movement to reorganize some conventional commons or create new commons. It is a campaign to create conditions with a network of reciprocity, solidarity, and cooperation for commonistic living in ways to reduce life stress and anxiety factors together.

In addition, the understanding of commons through sunureum culture has provided a perspective to broaden the prospect of commons theory. It is because only through the bird's eye view over the multi-layered network connecting people and nature for sustainable living foundation that the understanding of commons deepens. The stronger the right to village communities' commons gets, the more powerful the autonomous rights become. Commons is a means of life. In order for us to manage to live together, the commons must not be in the hands of the market or the state. "From a position of re-adjusting institutional framework of living (Polanyi 2017, p. 64)," the study on commons is scalable into the field of democracy from an economic viewpoint.

(Submitted: April 30, 2018; Revised: June 25, 2018; Accepted: June 25, 2018)

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