Korean Museums, Intangible Heritage, and the formation of national identity

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

School of Museum Studies
University of Leicester

By
Gee Sun Hahn

June 2022

Abstract

Korean Museums, intangible heritage, and the formation of national identity

Gee Sun Hahn

This thesis is about the social and political roles of the Korean historical and cultural themed national museums with particular reference to the role and place of intangible heritage in national identity formation. Korean intangible heritage, which is at the core of legitimising the existence of a nation and maintaining the nation's unique and exclusive identity as a form of national representation, is protected and promoted under government control. However, intangible cultural heritage is often understood to be based on human performance and practice and constructs people's sense of identity through social interaction. Intangible cultural heritage has an unconventional relationship with a museum presenting its culture. Since Korean museums are mostly concerned with the interpretation of material culture, preserving, and promoting heritage as part of remembering a fixed and essentialised past, they have contributed to the development of official intangible heritage as an unchanging form of expression of ethnic identity and led to a form of fossilisation of practice. As a result, this intangible cultural heritage ceases to have much relevance for today's society.

In the case of the National Folk Museum of Korea, this research suggests that the emphasis on an unchanging intangible form of expression of ethnic identity manifest in museum has a limited impact upon public ideas of what it means to be Korean today. Intangible cultural heritage as manifest in this way does not take account of the thoughts and feelings that visitors bring with them. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the museum's attitude towards intangible cultural heritage which includes the relationship with heritage holders named as Living Human Treasures to open out a discussion about the role of heritage and the impact on to the visitor's museum experience. It explores how the museum presents intangible heritage and articulates the formation of national identity as part of its role in maintaining and developing Korean's national identity.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my supervisor, Dr Sheila Watson for her extraordinary support in my PhD journey. She continually conveyed a spirit of adventure in regard to research and her wonderful supervision, steering me in the right direction and constant help this thesis would have been possible. Similar, profound gratitude goes to Dr Ross Parry, and Dr Alice Tilche second supervisor, who always supports me with great inspiration to continue my thesis.

Special mention goes to my very profound gratitude to my parents, my sister, and my husband for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my PhD journey. I have learned so much from them and this accomplishment would not have been possible without them. This PhD thesis is dedicated to my family. Thank you very much.

Gee Sun Hahn

Covid19 Impact Statement

Due to COVID19, I experienced several disruptions during the revision process. Despite being aware that my examiners stated that they thought it would be beneficial to facilitate more interviews, it was physically impossible for me to tackle the revision due to the ongoing lockdowns of 2020-2021. The National Folk Museum of Korea has repeatedly closed and reopened since early 2020 and introduced a visitor reservation system from September 2020.

With this in mind, it was challenging to visit the museum for further research and conduct other data collection from visitor interviews or professional interviews. In addition, we extended my revision schedule a couple of times, but the museum continued to be closed, thus it was not feasible to continue to wait until the museum opened, especially with social distancing in mind. For this reason, based on my correction plan, I have revised and reanalysed the data that I collected before through discussions with my supervisor to fulfil my correction requirements. Another challenge was not being able to access library resources and only being able to rely on online resources. This was a significant disruption caused by COVID19. An example of difficulty was that certain resources were unavailable online and only accessible in person from the library. I attended various online seminars and talks to see different references and resources for my research discussion to overcome the issue.

Table of Contents

Abstract 1

Acknowledgement 2

List of Tables 7

List of Figures 8

List of Abbreviations 11

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

1.1 Introduction 1

1.1.1 Research Topic 6

1.1.2 Research Question 14

1.2 The Case Study of the thesis 16

1.2.1 Fieldwork 21

1.3 Significance of the Research 24

1.4 Structure of the thesis 27

1.5 Conclusion 28

Chapter 2 Historiography of Museums and Museology in South Korea 30

2.1 Korean national identity issue 30

2.1.1 Modernising the ethnically homogenous nation 38

2.2. Museum history and museology in South Korea 45

2.2.1 A Symbol of Modernity 45

2.2.2 Structure of Korean museum 57

2.3 National Folk Museum of Korea 60

2.4 Conclusion 67

Chapter 3 Historical and Theoretical Contextualisation 69

3.1 What Is Heritage? 69

3.1.1 The Heritage Industry in South Korea 76

3.1.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage 85

3.1.3 Heritage and People 92
3.2 Korean Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage 99
3.2.1 Museums' Role 99
3.3 The Issue and the Role of Intangible Cultural Heritage 107
3.4 Conclusion 110
Chapter 4 Research Methodology 113
4.1 Research Purposes 113
4.2 Research Design 114
4.2.1 Case Study 116
4.2.2 Research Methods for the interviews 119
4.3 Data Analysis 129
4.4 Ethics 131
4.5 Conclusion 132
Chapter 5 Heritage Practitioners' Interperation of Intangible Cultural Heritage 133
5.1 Introduction 133
5.2 Living Human Treasures and Museums 133
5.3 Authentic experience 141
5.3.1 Certified Replica 152
5.4 Conclusion 158
Chapter 6 Museum Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage 161
6.1 Introduction 161
6.2 Forms of Intangible Cultural Heritage 162
6.3 The National Folk Museum of Korea 165
6.3.1 Materialisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage 165
6.3.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage as an Activity 186
6.3.3 From the history of the Korean to the Korean traditional daily life. 192
6.4 Conclusion 198
Chapter 7 Visitors' Interpretation of Intangible Cultural Heritage 200

7.1 Introduction 200
7.2 A Museum as a Trusted Institution 201
7.3 Museum Activity and Visitors 211
7.3.1 ‘Old’ and ‘Past’ 211
7.3.2 Traditional Culture: Not my culture and a culture that I cannot enjoy. 216
7.4 Conclusion 225
Chapter 8 Conclusion 228
8.1 Introduction 228
8.2 Research Questions and Main Findings 231
8.3 Significance of research 239
8.4 Recommendation and Direction for future research 242
Appendix 246
Bibliography 253

List of Tables

Table 1 Table Classification of Korean Intangible Cultural Heritage transmission system. 96
Table 2 A list of interviewees (Visitors) 113
Table 3 A list of interviewees (Holders) 115
Table 4 A list of interviewees (Professionals) 116
Table 5 Table of Intangible Cultural Heritage crafts skills in the exhibition. 174
Table 6 Purpose for visiting the National Folk Museum of Korea. 189

List of Figures

Figure 1 Korean moon-jar displayed in the British Museum. 7
Figure 2 Korean Moon-jar displayed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. 8
Figure 3. Korean moon-jar displayed in the 2016 Milan Art Fair. 8
Figure 4 Image of the National Folk Museum of Korea 16
Figure 5 The administrative structure of cultural institutions in Korea. 19
Figure 6 Image of Sungnyemun on fire. 31
Figure 7 Images of flowers in front of the burned down Sungnyemun. 31
Figure 8 Floor plan of the National Folk Museum of Korea. 62
Figure 9 Before image of the removal of the former Japanese Government-General Korea in 1995. 78
Figure 10 After image of the removal of the former Japanese Government-General Korea in 1995. 79
Figure 11 Image of kimchi in the onggi pot (Left) and a kimchi refrigerator (Right). 82
Figure 12 Image of Jeju Haenyeo 89
Figure 13 Image of Korean craft exhibition <Monochrome Monologue 수목의 독백> at the Milan Design Week 2019 90
Figure 14 Image of the <홈, 커밍 Homecoming> exhibition which is a contemporary interpretation of ancestral rites. 91
Figure 15 Figure Exhibition poster of the 'Arirang' (아리랑) exhibition in the National Folk Museum of Korean 102
Figure 16 Image of the Arirang exhibition in the National Folk Museum of Korea. 103
Figure 17 Image of 'Our Folk Festival'. 117
Figure 18 Image of 'Our Folk Festival'. 117
Figure 19 Image of practitioners reconstructing the Sungnyemun. 133
Figure 20 Image of practitioners reconstructing the Sungnyemun. 134
Figure 21 Image of a Living Human Treasure who is talking about his skills of making an 'Onggi' in the Korea Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival (대한민국 무형문화재대전) 141
Figure 22 Image of a Living Human Treasure who is demonstrating Yugi making (Brass wear making skill) in the Korea Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival (대한민국 무형문화재대전). 141

Figure 23 Image of a Living Human Treasure demonstrating in the Gyeongbuggug Festival. 142
Figure 24 Image of a double storage (이층장) made by the National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 55 Mater Artisan of Furniture-making skill Holder (Park MyoungBae) 150
Figure 25 Image of double storage (이층장) from the Joseon period. 151
Figure 26 Two different forms of understanding Korean intangible cultural heritage. 161
Figure 27 Image of the chronological history line in the exhibition. 165
Figure 28 Image of the museum display of the Bronze Age. 166
Figure 29 Image of portable dining tables in the National Folk Museum of Korea. 168
Figure 30 Image of traditional shoes in the second exhibition hall. 168
Figure 31 Image of portable dining tables in the National Museum of Korea. 170
Figure 32 Image of wooden furniture in the National Museum of Korea 173
Figure 33 Images of the display with objects in different layers with a painting on the back of the case. 176
Figure 34 Images of the display with objects in different layers with a painting on the background of the case. 177
Figure 35 Images of displaying objects as a scene. 177
Figure 36 Front view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Folk Museum of Korea. 179
Figure 37 Inside view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Folk Museum of Korea. 179
Figure 38 Front view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Museum of Korea. 180
Figure 39 Inside view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Museum of Korea. 180
Figure 40 Front view of the reconstructed traditional house in the British Museum. 181
Figure 41 Example image of the Hanbok displays in the exhibition. 183
Figure 42 Example image of the Hanbok displays in the exhibition. 183
Figure 43 Example image of the Hanbok displays in the exhibition. 184
Figure 44 Display image of the machine for the Hansan mosi-jjagi (The textile Atlas) (Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 88). 188
Figure 45 Display image of Korean traditional hat ‘Gat’ (Intangible Cultural Heritage No.4). 188

Figure 46 Display image of Korean traditional cloth Hanbok, also traditional skill of dying. (Intangible Cultural Heritage No.115). 189
Figure 47 Display image of Korean traditional cloth Hanbok, also traditional skill of dying. (Intangible Cultural Heritage No.55). 189
Figure 48 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. 193
Figure 49 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. 193
Figure 50 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. 194
Figure 51 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. 194
Figure 52 The National Treasure 287 Gilt-bronze Incense Burner of Baekje (백제금동대향로) 206
Figure 53 Image of Ki 217
Figure 54 Image of objects displayed as a scene. 223

List of Abbreviations

CHA	Cultural Heritage Administration
CHC	Cultural Heritage Charter
CHPA	Cultural Heritage Protection Act
ICOM	International Council of Museums
MCST	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism
NIHC	National Intangible Heritage Centre
PPICHA	Preservation and Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage Act
UNESCO	United Nations Educations, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1 Introduction

> Each nation's own unique culture helps its societies to remember their past and their traditions and to build a sense of identity of community and locality in the present.
>
> Harrison and Rose, 2010[1]

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the role of cultural heritage in the development and maintenance of a form of national identity in Korea. It focuses in particular on the concept of intangible cultural heritage and how it has been controlled by the government to present a form of authentic and ancient Korean identity. It examines the role of Living Human Treasures tasked with transmitting this heritage and museums who exhibit their work and practice based on the purpose to develop collective national identity.

While different countries have different value systems that control and define their heritage, heritage itself is about forgetting, remembering and reinventing the past in order to reflect the present.[2] Heritage – that is, a transmitted pattern of human behaviour, interwoven with thoughts, assumptions, and feelings passed down through generations - builds up cultural and national identities. Governments play a significant role in this management process, especially in post-colonial countries (countries who experienced colonial rule) grappling with the issue of developing and regaining their national identities, where heritage is used to define both who they are as individuals and the

[1] Harrison. R and Rose. D (2010), Intangible Heritage, in *Understanding heritage and memory*, (ed.) Tim Benton, Manchester University Press

[2] Anico, Marta and Elsa Peralta (2009) *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*, New York: Routledge, p.6

collectives to which they belong.[3] For instance, in the context of South Korea, heritage is regarded as a major emblem of nationhood,[4] developing and preserving the national identity. National museums, as political instruments that help citizens and visitors understand what it is to belong to a particular nation,[5] perform the important task of collecting heritage and presenting it as national identity.

However, as Brown asked, is 'intangible heritage a resource of all of humanity, or does it belong solely to the community of origin?'[6] The idea of heritage is closely related to the influence of colonialism, which created not only the political boundaries of the modern world but also its national characteristics.[7] However, by accepting the traditional 'Western' form of heritage – that is, material basis of heritage and attributes an inherent cultural value or significance to these things[8] - heritage in post-colonial countries developed for a global audience based on international standards, which means that it has slowly been detached from its contemporary culture and society and re-created to brand its nation for a world audience. The point here is that, as Harrison argued, the need to establish a national identity as a 'post colony' has led to the suppression of complex, alternative or competing histories and heritage rather than an inclusive forms of heritage that reflects the complex ethnie and cultural mixes.[9] For example, South Korea, a nation based on ethnie (defined by Smith as a named human population sharing a historic

---

[3] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University

[4] Park Hyung-yu (2011a) Shared national memory as intangible heritage: re-imagining two Koreas as one nation, Annals of Tourism Research, 38 (2), p.536

[5] Kaeppler, Adrienne L (1994) Paradise regained: the role of Pacific museums in forging national identity, in *Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity*, London: Leicester University Press, p. 21

[6] Brown M. F (2005) Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property, Intangible Journal of Cultural Property 12(1), p.49

[7] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University, p. 235

[8] Smith Laurajane (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge p.3

[9] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University

territory, common myth and historical memories)[10] has come to emphasis the persistence of ethnic ties from the past over expressions of ethnie in the modern nation. As this thesis explores, the form of essentialised ethnic identity is positioned in part within intangible cultural practices, preserved and demonstrated by Living Human Treasures[11] (individual craftspeople or group of performers who are the holders and preservers of traditional skills and the actors authorised by the government to protect the intangible cultural heritage by transmitting their skills and knowledge to the future generation) [see page 81] and exhibited within museums. The government substantially controlled the transmission of national culture and history, and heritage, manifesting an attitude that "the government is taking care of everything and the public need not to worry"[12]. However, Smith argues, ethnic ties can be created in various of factors and there are limitations to state-centred approaches as ethnic ties created based on the older cultural model became standards against the present generation and contemporary community.[13] This demonstrates that a belief of nation as an ethnically homogenous nation is based on intangible culture. Even though Living Human Treasures are government employed, they will have different interpretation objectives and methodologies in heritage. In Harrison and Rose's words,

> Intangible culture is a form of social memory that is grounded in everyday practices such as speaking, gesturing and communicating … It is things that people do, the ways they behave, and the sources they draw on to create connections between themselves as their environment in the present.[14]

---

[10] Smith, Anthony D (2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing, p.310

[11] In Korea, 'Living Human Treasure' is an official term by UNESCO to denote an important designated transmitter (*Jeonseungja*) or holder (*Boyuja*) of intangible cultural heritage. The journalist, Ye YongHae was the first person who use the term Living Human Treasure (*inganmunhwajae;* human cultural heritage) in Korea.

[12] Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 528

[13] Smith, Anthony D (1996) Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism, International Affairs, Vol. 72, No.3

[14] Harrison. R and Rose D (2010) Intangible Heritage, in *Understanding heritage and memory,* (ed.), Tim Benton, Manchester University Press, p.272

Intangible heritage refers to what a society remembers about its past and how that past has been continued to the present. It is a concept that is continuously in flux, by undergoing change and being reinvented as it is given different or new purposes, values and meanings over time.[15] However, the political action has effectively influence and control intangible culture for political purpose in some countries as South Korea, and to be presented in certain ways. Rather than being based on the autonomous transmission of the past or traditions, certain ideologies and rituals have been retained due to historic events and changes in society, creating a type of 'invented tradition.'[16] Whereas intangible culture is closely related to political, historical, and economic issues influenced by the conditions of the nation; museums developed

> to strengthen cultural identity and consciousness in the face of rapid and world-wide cultural change; to strengthen national identity within an internationalized system of states; and to make use of the educational potential of museums in the context of development.[17]

Museums as political institutions,[18] present the golden age of invented past to develop national identity through mass public education. As Tilley defined them, national museums function as 'part of the process of the nation-state buildings as the establishment could play an important role in developing a sense of unity newly emergent nation-states following decolonisation throughout the world'.[19] As museums developed in post-

---

[15] Kreps Christina (2015) Cultural Heritage, Humanitarianism and Development, Critical Links, in *Museums Heritage and International Development* (eds.) Paul Basu and Wayne Modest, Routledge, p.250

[16] Han Jeong- Hoon (2012*)* Review on Restoration and Multiplicity of Marginal Recollection Discourse of Intangible Cultural Properties- Focusing on Recollection Discourse near Gwnagju Chilseok-dong Gosssamunori *(*무형문화재의 주변화된 기억담론 복원과 다중성 고찰*)*, 비교민속학 Vol. 50, p.287

[17] Prosler Martin (1996) Museums and Globalization in *Theorizing Museums* (eds.) Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, Blackwell Publishers, p.23

[18] Kaeppler, Adrienne L (1994) Paradise regained: the role of Pacific museums in forging national identity, in *Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity*, London: Leicester University Press, p. 21

[19] Tilley Christopher (2006) Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage, Journal of Material Culture, Vol. 11 (1/2), p. 17

colonial countries focus on their role as being, intangible cultural heritage was used as another tool to present the official narrative of the nation's past.

However, since museums primarily concerned collecting, conserving, and displaying material traces of the past, as Alivizatou argues, their involvement with intangible culture was seen paradoxical.[20] Intangible culture as a socio-psychological remnant of the nation's past, is materialised in the museum and was dealt with as someone's responsibility.[21] Indeed, the role and responsibility required museums a constant radical rethinking in curating the past, and as Janes and Richard argued, museums have always had some sort of 'adaptive intuition' in reinventing and transforming themselves, however slowly and unconsciously. Museums learn and adapt as circumstances requires. However, today the use of intangible culture in museum practice is a question, as Urry described, 'the question is not whether we should or should not preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve'[22] and how we want to preserve and present it? Also, considering how we can be more inclusive with different interpretation and objective and methodologies with the past.

Thus, since social ideas cannot exist without physical content, and physical objects are meaningless without social content,[23] above questions are about how museums respond and adapt to societal changes with tangible materials and intangible ideas. Today's intangible cultural heritage not only represents the nation with a strong sense of nationalism but also shows how the nation develops over time, interacting with changing society. The increase of international interest in intangible cultural heritage from the early 21st century emphasises the fact that heritage is not only about tracing the past to

---

[20] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship, Institute of Archaeology, 17, p.47

[21] Park Hyung-yu (2010b) Heritage Tourism, Emotional Journeys into Nationhood, Annuals of Tourism Research, Vol. 37, No. 1, p.117

[22] Urry John (1999) Gazing on History, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (ed.) Stuart Hall, SAGE, p.212

[23] Pearce Susan M (1992) *Museums Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, Leicester University Press, Leicester and London, p.21

represent the nation but also a process of meaning-making as society changes.[24] A shift in museological thinking from a focus on objects to a focus on people and their interactions associated with cultural expressions,[25] challenges museums to incorporate the voices of source communities into their exhibitions and to organise them through collaborative works with representatives of the culture in focus, and thereby providing them with a chance to represent their own culture.[26] In the case of South Korea, as both a museum and intangible cultural heritage is in part managed by the central government, their relationship reveals various underlying issues with the development of South Korean museums over time and the instrumental understanding of heritage in today's society. As this thesis contends, the process of radically rethinking is layered with complicated historical, political and economic issues; this thesis concerns these layers of influence in South Korean museums that display heritage to develop national identity.

Based on this, this chapter will first discuss the research topic and question. It will include the research purpose and argument with a brief introduction of the theoretical framework and research case study, which will be continued in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. Then it will end with the original contribution to knowledge in the research field with an overview of the thesis chapters.

1.1.1 Research Topic

Since moving to the UK in 2013, I, as a Korean, became interested in this topic of national identity and how Koreans are encouraged to understand it. There is a slogan in Korea that 'the most Korean thing is the most ubiquitous thing' (가장 한국적인 것이 세계적이다). For

[24] Graham J. Ashworth (2002) *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*, Routledge, p.1006; Prats, Llorenc (2008) Heritage according to scale, in *Heritage and identity, Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* (ed) Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta, Routledge, p.79; Street., B. (1993). Culture is a verb: Anthropological aspects of language and cultural process, in *Language and culture* (eds.) D. Graddol, L. Thompson, & M. Byram

[25] Kreps, Christina. F (2009) Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) L. Smith and N. Akagawa, London: Routledge, p. 194

[26] Yoshida, Kenji (2004) The Museum and the Intangible Cultural Heritage, *Museum International*, 56

example, you can see Korean moon-jars (*Dalhangari*, 달항아리), a kind of white porcelain pot made in the late Joseon period (1637 – 1897) (National Treasure[27] No. 1437), appear at every exhibition and art fair to introduce Korean culture. All moon-jars in such exhibitions and art fairs were made differently by contemporary living artists or historical artists. South Koreans do not question which object is the original object; rather, these objects are accepted as national icon that present all people, however much or little they know about Korea, with a 'Korean thing'.



Figure 1 Korean moon-jar displayed in the British Museum. (©Author)

[27] See Appendix E.



Figure 2 Korean Moon-jar displayed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. (©Author)



Figure 3. Korean moon-jar displayed in the 2016 Milan Art Fair. (©Author)

However, a fundamental question that has always dogged me is 'What defines a Korean thing?' This is because, today, Korean national identity is not essentialised, as this kind of widespread historical icon would suggest, but reflects many complex and historical influences. When the aforementioned slogan (the most Korean thing is the most ubiquitous thing) was promoted during the 1960s after the Korean War, it was meant to preserve traditional Korean culture before the influence of outside countries as well as to promote self-respect among Koreans. The cultural foundation was strengthened with government support through a focus on education and the technological preservation of Korean products. As the slogan has been effective in South Korean society in developing national identity, it is still occasionally used in international festivals, including with variations such as, 'the Korean thing is the best thing in the world'. However, even though the majority of Koreans believe that it is good to feel proud of the products of traditional Korean culture, today's Korean national identity is different from that of the past as people share a variety of cultures based on the traditional one. The formation of national identity is complicated than the past and affected by various historical, social, and cultural phenomena.[28] For instance, Koreans felt proud when the South Korean film 'Parasite' won the Oscar for Best Picture in 2020, when the K-pop group BTS performed at the Wembley Stadium, the largest concert stage in the UK, and when the Korean footballer Son Heung Min played well at the Premier League club Tottenham Hotspur. Hence, as Lie argued, K-pop, part of the Korean wave of culture, called as *Hallyu* (한류), is 'an almost complete repudiation of traditional culture and the repeated rhetorical stress on the continuities between the past and the present: the nearly empty signifier that is South Korean cultural- national identity.'[29] National identity can be considered as a process with the new identity being based on the preceding culture and dependent on the depth of the influences of the past. These connections to the past could be many and integral or few and superficial.

---

[28] Manuel Castells (2010) *Globalization and Identity*, p. 94

[29] Lie John (2012) What is the K in K-pop? South Korean Popular Music, the Culture Industry, and National Identity, KOREA OBSERVER, Vol. 43, No.3, Autumn, p.361

The importance of traditional history and heritage, despite the Korean Wave mentioned above, can be seen in the following example. South Koreans still react sensitively when the issue of repatriation of cultural heritage or a different view of the past form their own goes viral with China or Japan. In 2019, because South Korean supreme court ruling last year calling on Japanese companies to pay compensation for their use of forced labour during Japan's 1910-1945 occupation of the Korean peninsula, Japan removed South Korea from its 'white list' of preferred trading partners. For this reason, South Koreans boycotted of Japanese goods for a year.[30] Moreover, the government interest in the Korean Wave serves as an example of the government's excessive intervention in culture in order to represent the nation and to cultivate patriotism by improving Korea's international reputation. Hence, whilst there is a traditional identity based on nation's past, there is a new identity, such as the Korean Wave, which impacts the maintenance and development of the traditional identity upon which it is based.

Thus, as the issue of cultural or national identity is closely bound up with complex historical and social issues, I was interested in South Korean museums struggling with the concept of intangible cultural heritage, including what role intangible cultural heritage plays today and has played in the past in promoting a form of Korean identity. Intangible cultural heritage in South Korea has been at the core of the process of legitimising the existence of the nation and maintaining its unique and exclusive identity[31] whilst continued and transmitted by contemporary living people; and museums are vital cultural organisations used by the government to understand and promote Korean national identity. Ethnicity of the nation has been perceived as an essential element of the country's national identity in South Korea. [see page 32] A belief that the nation of Korea as '*tanil minjok*' (단일민족, one homogeneous race) and a concept of 'Korean blood' (*hyoltong,* 혈통) has remained predominant, particularly, in South Korean society. Even though North and South Korea developed different political schema, the cultural and ethnic connections between the two Koreas are fundamentally connected to the idea of Korean nationhood.

[30] McCurry Justin (2019) South Korean boycott of Japanese goods hits beer and car makers, The Guardian, Available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/04/south-korea-boycott-japanese-goods-beer-car-sales [Accessed 3 August 2020]

[31] Park Hyung-yu (2011a) Shared national memory as intangible heritage: re-imagining two Koreas as one nation, Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38, No. 2

This form of national sought to identify and disseminate shared ethnic and cultural characteristics, such as blood ties and a common language and customs, which were thought to represent the traits that comprised the identity of ethnic Koreans.[32] This approach led South Koreans to accept the cultural heritage certified by administrators as 'authentic' and 'traditional'.[33] Museums of history and traditional culture in South Korea have focused their efforts on the interpretation of material culture, preserving and promoting heritage in the service of representing and remembering a fixed and essentialised past as well as maintaining and developing a form of ethnic national identity. Museums have used both the tangible and the intangible as tools to display this past to the public.

However, while museums appear to present a strong case for an essentialist and unchanging national identity, the appropriateness of this goal may be questioned. More than 70 years have passed since the national division to two Koreas, in 1953, and the historical and political condition of the nation is now very different from what it was when it gained its independence from Japan in 1945. National identity is a fluid concept that changes in response to political, social, economic, and personal factors.[34] Also, culture is a concept which is continuously in flux by undergoing change and being reinvented as it is given different or new purposes, values and meanings over time.[35] Nevertheless, official history, as promoted in museums and schools, has been selected and linked to the idea of ethnically homogenous nation and managed under the government policy while disregarding the public discourse based on personal memories and experiences.[36] This promotion and approach overlooked numerous historical factors

---

[32] Jeon Jae-ho (2005) Changes, in the Korean Identity in the Globalization Era, Korea Focus, p.2

[33] Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, *ACTA KOREANA*, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 528

[34] Woodward Kath (1997) *Identity and Difference*, SAGE Publishing, p.11

[35] Kreps Christina (2015) Cultural Heritage, Humanitarianism and Development, Critical Links, in *Museums Heritage and International Development* (eds.) Paul Basu and Wayne Modest, Routledge, p.250

[36] Han Jeong- Hoon (2012*)* Review on Restoration and Multiplicity of Marginal Recollection Discourse of Intangible Cultural Properties- Focusing on Recollection Discourse near Gwnagju Chilseok-dong Gosssamunori *(*무형문화재의 주변화된 기억담론 복원과 다중성 고찰*)*, 비교민속학 Vol. 50, pp. 263- 295, p.274

and processes. The public has long been considered as passive receivers by the government. Museums, it is suggested in this thesis, have a limited impact on South Koreans on their understanding of what it means to be South Korean today. According to this research interview data, the majority of visitors responded that they recognise museums' collection to be Korean culture but did not feel it to be their culture.

Therefore, as a museum studies scholar, I decided to look at how museums, in particular the National Folk Museum of Korea, attempt to promote a form of intangible Korean identity and explore how the practice of intangible cultural heritage may inform the theorisation in intangible cultural heritage. I am particularly interested in the ways in which certain types of intangible cultural heritage, is recognised as an important cultural activity expressing the national identity of South Korea.[37] As it is promoted and preserved by so-called Living Human Treasures, it provides examples of traditional cultural practices upon which the government's conception of Korean national identity is partly based. These Living Human Treasures' activities and works are closely linked to museums' objects. The tangible museum collection is a manifestation of long-term Living Human Treasures' activity over many decades whilst today Living Human Treasures with traditional craft skills leave a tangible trace of the intangible form of heritage (the skills used to create the object in a traditional form) as a material object: a certified replica.[38] [see page 141] Museums use these Living Human Treasures to provide examples of craft skills and other intangible practices as part of the ways they attempt to educate the Korean public about their heritage and officially endorsed national characteristics. However, as this thesis found, intangible cultural heritage as a concept based on human activity is different from the museum's presentation of heritage to promote the collective idea of the nation.

[37] Choi Gongho (2004) Uncultured environment of cultural property (비문화적인 문화재 환경), Kukmin News, [Assessed 15 June 2015], Available at (http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=110&oid=005%aid=0000159655)

[38] Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping it real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, *ACTA KOREANA*, Vol.17, No.2, December, p. 561

On the other hand, the South Korean government has begun a process of self-examination[39] questioning if this representative system of intangible cultural heritage and the devolution of responsibility to cultural institutions and Living Human Treasures is still necessary today. This recent concern by the government implies that even the government itself recognises that culture and national identity both are fluid, changing and influenced by various representations, not all of which are under government control. This thesis findings have pointed out that tension has emerged between the government and Living Human Treasures, and there is an increase of public interest in South Korean heritage at the same time. Criticising the government policy is because there is a need for attention through policy improvements. Intangible cultural heritage and the way it has been fossilised by its regulation challenges South Korean museums when they attempt to promote a form of South Korean national identity in the 21st century that has meaning for the public. To introduce the country, museums which historical and cultural objects has been the best place. However, to introduce how Koreans live today, outside the museum walking the highstreets doing cosmetic shopping and going for K-pop performance is better. The research argues, therefore, the role of intangible cultural heritage in today's South Korean museums should not only be in maintaining South Korea's unique identity but also developing that national identity so that it is more inclusive of a various form of national identity. It is important for museums to understand the use of intangible cultural heritage in providing a connective platform to visitors. It is not about making the tangible record alive and proving the nation's past but more in helping the public to bring to the museum and their own ideas of who Koreans are. To understand the role of South Korean museums in promoting national identity we need to look at the political, historical and social influences on intangible cultural heritage and its role in interpreting historic Korean culture and lifestyles.

Therefore, this thesis discusses the factors and influences involved in the development of South Korean museums and their relationships with intangible cultural heritage as the latter reveals the current social tension embedded in understanding Korea's past. Since the research focuses solely on the development of South Korean national identity, the term 'Korea' in this research refers to 'South Korea.'

[39] This question has been answered by the interview with the National Intangible Heritage Centre manager.

1.1.2 Research Question

Based on the research topic, the primary question of this thesis is ‘what is the role of intangible cultural heritage in today’s South Korean museums?’

In order to answer this question, the following sub-questions will be answered.

- What role do South Korean museums and intangible cultural heritage have in promoting a South Korean national identity?

- How is intangible cultural heritage perceived and understood within the museum practice in South Korea?

- How does the museum’s understanding of intangible cultural heritage affect the practice of intangible cultural heritage in promoting South Korean national identity?

The above questions are based on the intention to look at changes through intangible cultural heritage and the question caused by the attempt to find the value of Korean heritage in ethnic nationalism. Hence, the research question takes a historical overview of this topic, particularly examining the government's role in establishing the process of museums displaying national identity in Korea. Since this thesis aims to both understand the concept of intangible cultural heritage in museums and the relationship between museums and Living Human Treasures. It questions the government’s construction of a homogeneous South Korean culture and explores the effects of such authorised construction on the public. In doing so, it examines the impact of the Japanese and the USA on the establishment of Korea to reconsiders the efficacy and role of the traditional official national identity ideas promoted by museums for historical and political reasons. This discusses how museums have interpreted the past, focusing on material culture and present intangible cultural heritage in maintaining and demonstrating traditional crafts, skills, and practices. Considering this form of exhibitionary practice's influence on visitors and the museums’ relationships with the Living Human Treasures, this thesis examines the emotional impact on the public developing a collective national identity and

its presentation in certain spaces with certain display techniques. It shows what the public consumes and who participates in the process think of it.

A number of interdisciplinary theories will be used to understand South Korean museums and their relationship with intangible cultural heritage. By accepting that ethnicity is a constructed idea of the biological ancestor, the thesis uses the concept of Anthony Smith's 'ethnie' (1990, 1996, 1998, 2008, 2013) which explores ideas of biological ancestry and feelings of belonging to the nation resulting in a sense of common identity manifested through shared culture and history. Considering the national purpose of development of ethine idea in South Korea, Eric Hobsbawm's 'invented tradition' (1983, 1999) is also used to understand how this concept of ethnie is modified, ritualised and institutionalised for the new national purposes. Based on these studies, the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) argued by Laurajane Smith (2006, 2009, 2016) is used to explain the influence of the colonial legacy and Western museology in the development of South Korean national identity through museums and heritage. Also useful is Gregory Ashworth's (2012) understanding of heritage as a contemporary commodity purposefully created to satisfy contemporary consumption, whilst Rodney Harrison's (2010, 2012) critical heritage discourse is used to understand the role of heritage in contemporary society.

In consideration of the political and educational role of museums, the thesis uses the theories of museums becoming a temple[40] and places to store collections[41] which help to explain the exclusive role in South Korean national museums in keeping and preserving the originality of the nation's traditional culture. Based on these groundwork theories, the relationship between a museum and intangible cultural heritage will be explored using theories that argue the importance of intangible cultural heritage in museum practices (Alivizatou Marliena (2006, 2012), Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1992, 1994, 2000), Ito Nobou (2003), Christina. F Kreps (2003, 2006, 2009), Richard Kurin (2004), Yoshida Kenji (2004)).

[40] Duncan. F Cameron (1972) The Museum: A Temple or the Forum, Journal of World History, Vol. 14, No.1 Pinna, p. 195,198

[41] Parry Ross (2007) *Recoding the Museum: digital heritage and the technologies of change*. London: Routledge, p. 80

1.2 The Case Study of the thesis

The National Folk Museum of Korea

The research has selected the National Folk Museum of Korea as the primary research venue to explore how the museum perceives intangible cultural heritage and its role in developing ethnic identity, and what intangible cultural heritage means in museum practice.



Figure 4 Image of the National Folk Museum of Korea (© The National Folk Museum of Korea)

Briefly, the National Folk Museum of Korea was founded in Korea in 1945, under the US military government, named as the National Museum of Anthropology. The museum moved around Korea during the Korean War until 1966, when it reopened and settled down next to the Gyeongbokgung Palace in the centre of Seoul, its current location, in 1993. Since its reopening, the museum has been related to the development of the tourism industry in the late 1960s and 70s and focused on attracting more tourists to promote and inform them of Korea's culture. The museum expanded by opening a Children's museum

in 2003 as part of the secondary affiliated body of the National Folk Museum of Korea. Whilst the museum collects, preserves and exhibits Korean folk cultural artifacts, the museum targets both international and domestic visitors since its establishment. The museum provides educational and cultural opportunities to visitors to better understand and experience the traditional Korean lifestyle. Its goal is to create 'an educational venue where both international and domestic visitors can learn how Koreans lived from the past to the present.'[42]

Since one aspect of intangible cultural heritage is understood to be a form of oral tradition and to be associated with folklore, the National Folk Museum of Korea has shown interest in intangible cultural heritage more than any other national museums. In Korea, the concept of folk culture is related to faith. Cultural activities, understood to have been handed down for thousands of years, such as those associated with Confucianism and Shamanism, are called folk culture. According to the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, folk culture is defined as,

> "customs or traditions related to food, clothing, housing, trades, religion, annual observances, etc. and clothing, implements, houses, etc. used therefore which are essential for understandings changes to the life of nationals" (CHPA. 2.4).

The museum collected and displayed both archaeological and cultural objects from Korean's daily life within the theme of 'folk'. The concept of folk culture broadly refers to the everyday culture of Koreans in the past; people's daily lives and their symbolic system of expression passed down through materials and oral traditions.

However, folk culture is a complicated concept to discuss itself, and this thesis does not aim to define what is folk culture in Korea. Instead, it sees how intangible cultural heritage is defined, presented, and discussed with folklore. Heritage developed within a national framework, and folklorists, anthropologists, and historians have described the

[42] National Folk Museum of Korea Goal, Available from: http://www.nfm.go.kr/home/subIndex/193.do [Accessed 23 February 2016]

concept of intangible cultural heritage.[43] Both folklore and intangible cultural heritage are about human behaviours; the process of what we do in daily life and the connection to the present. Also, both are not only about history but also the concept and materials that articulate the past in terms of lifestyle, knowledge, and skills. The two concepts have the same subordinate concept, such as traditional spiritual dance and ritual ceremonies, the meanings are interrelated, and the intersection between the two concepts reflects each other. However, the difference between the two concepts is that intangible cultural heritage is more an institutionalised concept according to political mechanisms.[44] Here, intangible cultural heritage is a selective traditional cultural activity that has been passed down and promoted under the government cultural policy by the Living Human Treasure to represent the nation.

In this vein, the museum has played a leading role in promoting and preserving intangible cultural heritage. The awareness of intangible cultural heritage value and importance has emerged evidently in much of museum's work. The museum opened its first special exhibition on the Korean traditional song 'Arirang' in 2012 following the result of a political and cultural conflict with China. As the Chinese government tried to claim and list up 'Arirang' as their intangible heritage,[45] the museum was directed by the government to open an exhibition to officially announce that the song is a traditional Korean one that is part of Korean intangible cultural heritage. The museum has continuously encouraged the promotion of intangible cultural heritage by opening exhibitions, educational programmes, and research projects. Since 2006, the museum has also published the International Journal of Intangible Heritage as part of their responsibility for carrying out the critical mission of preserving and transmitting traditional Korean culture. They have attempted to gather diverse aspects of intangible

[43] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara (2004) Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production, *Museums International,* 2004 (1-2), Vol. 56, p. 54

[44] Juwen Zhang and Xing Zhou (2017) Introduction: The Essentials of Intangible Cultural Heritage Practices in China: The Inherent Logic and Transmission Mechanism of Chinese Tradition, Western Folklore, Vol.76, No. 2, Special Issue: Intangible Cultural Heritage in China

[45] Jo Sung-sil (2015) The Meanings of Source Communities in Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition – A focus on Special Exhibition Arirang of the National Folk Museum of Korea (무형문화유산 전시에서 소스커뮤니티가 갖는 의미, 국립민속박물관 특별전 '아리랑' 사례를 중심으로), The Society of Practice Folkloristics, Vol. 25, p.432

cultural heritage from around the world and to organise an academic debate about museums and intangible cultural heritage.

However, the National Folk Museum of Korea has a leading interest in intangible cultural heritage, its use indicated how it has been utilised to support a robust narrative of Korean history and culture and the institutionalised museum and heritage system in Korea. The interest was not about the relation to the museum's theme, but more with its given political and social role from the government and in which to educate Koreans a shared history and culture. For instance, due to the increase in international interest in intangible cultural heritage, the government opened the National Intangible Heritage Centre (NIHC) in Jeonju, in 2013. Its mandate is to support the transmission, performance, exhibition and exchange of all kinds of Korean intangible cultural heritage, as well as to promote research and education. The NICH has been collecting and documenting intangible cultural heritage as their foremost responsibility.



Figure 5 The administrative structure of cultural institutions in Korea. (Source: Author)

In this vein, the newly established NIHC reflects the current understanding of heritage in Korea. As the cultural centre collects, research manage and educate intangible cultural heritage; it currently has a similar function as a museum. The centre had opened due to the majority of researchers who argued the importance of intangible heritage and

criticised the existing heritage system in Korea, and emphasis the need for better systematic management of intangible heritage in Korea.[46] As Lim argues, the tangible and intangible differ in terms of transmission patterns and should be treated in a different framework.[47] However, as discussed in Chapter 3, intangible cultural heritage declined in importance. Due to the administrative system, there is no need for the museum to consider intangible cultural heritage as it became the National Intangible Cultural Centre's role. But this does not mean that the museum is not related to intangible cultural heritage. As the next chapter discusses the historical account of the museum, there are displays of intangible cultural heritage in the museum as Living Human Treasures activities as making cloth or furniture represents what Korean folklore is. Therefore, although such heritage is now mainly the remit of the National Intangible Cultural Centre, the establishment of the centre fundamentally revisits the role of the museum and its relationship with intangible cultural heritage from different perspectives. In addition, even though the NIHC has a similar function to a museum and can be categorised as a museum, this research focuses on the national museums which establishment purpose is closely linked to nation-building and has been opened for more than 50 years.

The establishment of NIHC shows the conventional Korean heritage system that caused cultural institutions to compete in terms of who has more valuable objects. For instance, when one of the Living Human Treasures of traditional songs passed away, related cultural institutions will claim to collect works of that Living Human Treasure. Not just the National Folk Museum of Korea, but also the National Gugak Centre, which preserves and promotes the traditional songs 'Gugak' and the National Intangible Heritage Centre, as well as the bereaved family of the Living Human Treasure, will claim as their ownership about the works from the Living Human Treasure. This problem shows that

---

[46] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호 제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술 학회), Vol. 34; Jung Soo-Jin (2008) *The birth of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (무형문화재의 탄생), Yucksawabipyung (역사와 비평); Lim Jae-hae (2014) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사 필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회)

[47] Lim Jae-hae (2014) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사 필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회)

how intangible cultural heritage as a national representative element is materialised and became a competitive concept among institutions. This also questions the position of the museum today. On the other hand, certain private museums and galleries occasionally conducted a special exhibition with intangible cultural heritage by displaying craftsmen's work and inviting performers for demonstration. Such as the Kyonggi University Museum conducted a special exhibition about Korean Jade, which is designated as No.100 intangible cultural heritage (Master Artisan of a jade carving holder). This use of intangible cultural heritage does not fully follow the national frame, but it shows the understanding of intangible cultural heritage and Living Human Treasure in museums. National institutions had a given role by the government to safeguard and promote intangible cultural heritage, whilst Living Human Treasure's activities constantly adapts to the change of society.

As this research interviewed institutional professionals from the National Folk Museum of Korea, the National Intangible Heritage Centre and the Kyonggi University Museum, the purpose of the research is not in comparing or discussing different institutions in terms of intangible cultural heritage. Instead, it is to see institutional professional's attitudes towards intangible cultural heritage as it explains the complication of understanding intangible cultural heritage within museum practices.

1.2.1 Fieldwork

Qualitative research methodology was conducted by setting up a case study and interviewing visitors and relevant practitioners to address the complexity of the topic. As Chapter 4 will discuss the detail of the research methodology, government publications and official statistics data were collected in this thesis to provide an understanding of the official perspectives on this topic. Especially regulations relating to certain heritage laws and statistical data of intangible cultural heritage are used to study in depth the instrumental understanding of heritage in Korea. Museum documents: annual reports, website and published books are also collected and used to shed light on their practices. However, since this data can be regarded as a 'social construction' rather than a detached, impartial picture of the real world, this thesis uses a range of secondary data through

interviews with visitors, Living Human Treasures and professionals who are working in the museum and heritage fields.

Initially, the research conducted a visitor interview as a pilot study to enhance the understanding of visitor engagement in museums and with the content of Korean intangible cultural heritage. However, the result of the pilot study raised an important question – what is a museum for Koreans? This question was not merely asking the institutional role of a museum in Korean society. It instead asked the fundamental issue caused by the institutional understanding and structure of the museum practice and the use of heritage. Visitor responses considering this question suggest a complication in the understanding of intangible cultural heritage in the museum practice. The research re-analysed the pilot study data from how visitors observe the exhibition and used this resource as the primary data for this research. As details of visitor's responses will be discussed on Chapter 7: Findings and Discussion, from the interview conducted at the National Folk Museum of Korea with visitors, it was noted that the political role of South Korean museums is disconnected from most of South Korean's daily lives. 15 visitors, a small number of visitor interviews can only gain limited insights into visitor behaviours. However, this revealed the fact that most of the visitors to the history and cultural museums in South Korea are foreigners and not South Koreans visitors which in part explains the small sample of visitor responses. Despite the small number of interviewees, the responses were very similar and suggest a conformity of attitudes towards the museum and intangible heritage.

As South Korean intangible cultural heritage is about what Living Human Treasures do, Living Human Treasures interview data was important albeit difficult to analyse. Since Living Human Treasures with traditional craft skills have a much closer relationship to the museum activity compared to other skills holder of dance or song, also the relationship between the museum and intangible cultural heritage has only recently been discussed, I tried to choose Living Human Treasures who has experience of working with the museum. Craftsmen are usually invited to the museum to demonstrate their skills and educate visitors as part of events held by the museums. The research chooses four craftsmen whose craftworks also has a close relation to the discourse of museum and intangible cultural heritage. By choosing selective Living Human Treasures, especially craftsmen, I

wanted to understand their ideas of intangible cultural heritage in today's society. After conducting an interview, my research found that their interest was not about representing the nation, it was their life. This demonstrated today's role of intangible cultural heritage. The government employed Living Human Treasures with the mandate of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. However, this valuable undertaking to represent the nation has inadvertently imposed limits on the daily work and their ability to express themselves in other areas outside of their main speciality. Hence, these demonstrate their nature of recording and transmitting the past and which involves transformation and adaptation to contemporary society, and the process of meaning-making in a contemporary setting. Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion will in-depth the discussion about Living Human Treasures and museums.

I interviewed three professionals, from the National Folk Museum of Korea, Kyonggi University Museum and the National Intangible Cultural Centre. Equally as difficult to avoid repeating challenges as deciding on the research venue, interviewing the museum professionals has been one of the challenging issues during the research. Since the National Folk Museum of Korea was the most representative museum which had an active relationship with intangible cultural heritage, I first contacted that museum for an interview. However, it was challenging to find the department relating to intangible cultural heritage while several museum professionals rejected the interview by saying 'it is not their expertise or their role'. Intangible cultural heritage did not appear administratively to be the museum's responsibility, and the concept of intangible cultural heritage was rarely understood by museum professionals. Hence, the interview was conducted by email with the museum staff who are in the cultural exchange and education division department.

While recognising that the number of interviews was relatively few, nevertheless findings from the analysis of the interviews from Korean visitors, Living Human Treasures, and professionals indicate that the relationship between the museum and intangible cultural heritage is not operating in a very productive way. Professionals are unsure of their role in promoting this heritage, and the Living Human Treasures are deeply frustrated by their inability to develop their crafts, forced as they are to perform traditional and idealised expressions of them. Visitors hardly connect with the traditional values demonstrated

through intangible cultural heritage displays of Living Human Treasures. Therefore, whilst visitors' responses gave an insight into public understanding, Living Human Treasures' thoughts revealed how their role as transmitting tradition is as a national treasure is a responsible job, but their role resulted in lost individuality in creativity and self-sustainability in the present. The professional's attitude, in this vein, importantly provided the robust idea that the nation disconnects the past and the present, the public from their past.

By giving in advance notice of the project, purpose and process to all participants of this research, interviews were conducted after the approval of the ethic regulations of the University of Leicester policies, including the University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.[17]

1.3 Significance of the Research

Research Contribution

The main contribution of this thesis lies in exposing the complexity of the role of museums and heritage, which have been taken for granted in Korean society. As a Korean researcher but researching in the U.K, I was privileged to ask something unusual of Korean museum visitors, Living Human Treasures, and museum and heritage professionals. I constantly asked 'why' in the dominant understanding in Korean society, which helped me view the issue objectively and interviewees revisit their thoughts about it. Furthermore, the research topic enabled me to view the dominant narratives in Korean society through an academic lens and create new understandings. Difficulties arose in determining the direction of the study, and the researcher's difference of perspective from the dominant national idea is a potential shortcoming of this research. However, as I was Korean born and raised in Korea, collecting Korean visitors' responses widened the scope of understanding the perception of museums in Korea (i.e., how visitors viewed them), and the consistency of the responses suggests a degree of consensus.

This research is meaningful in that it re-examines the role museums and intangible cultural heritage in today's Korean society and the limitations of museums' role despite government support and direction. It has expanded the scope of existing research using primary data gathered by the researcher. As intangible cultural heritage in museums has mostly been discussed from museums' perspectives, this research contributes to understanding intangible cultural heritage from the points of view of those who participate in its creation and those who are recipients of the process. These different perspectives importantly reflect how the practice of intangible cultural heritage in South Korea informs the theorization of intangible cultural heritage. Only some museums in Korea conduct visitor research. Typically, this is done via an annual visitor survey, providing general statistics. This type of official report, which aims to discover how far the museum has satisfied visitors' expectations, does not reflect nuanced visitor perceptions on the kinds of topics I wished to research. With its focus on visitor observations, this research has been able to identify the role that intangible cultural heritage has taken and can take in museums. Conducting in-depth interviews with visitors from various age groups and backgrounds eventually yielded a more complete picture incorporating multiple perspectives. The way interviewees reacted to questions provided valuable insights and resulted in a deeper understanding of the topic. Moreover, in the case of Korea, Living Human Treasure are integral to intangible cultural heritage. However, most previous studies, especially academic ones, related to intangible cultural heritage have not discussed or examined who Living Human Treasures are, how their crafts are kept alive or even what relationship they have with museums. Living Human Treasures have been simply defined by their works and as part of the national heritage protection system and having great difficulties in working with museums. They are well known as people who are transmit skills and knowledge to the next generation in the face of becoming less and less self-sustainable. Hence, considering that they are among the primary practitioners in heritage studies, this thesis reached a more profound understanding of the topic by inviting Living Human Treasures to discuss how they perceive their position in society and their relationships with museums. My methodology allowed me to approach the issue from a broader perspective by involving Living Human Treasures in the research.

At the same time, most previous studies have focused on the system from the political perspective, considering the museum as a suitable cultural institution for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. Discussions have hardly touched upon the fundamental tension in the Korean heritage system. Hence, it is worth noting that the research uses qualitative interview data which captures personal responses to the dominant narrative of Korean history. Recognising that these are preliminary findings, this thesis directs attention to a more critical and problematised understanding of official Korean national heritage than has hitherto been understood within South Korean museum and academic discourses. It suggests that formal methods of promoting South Korean national identity through traditional exhibitions of the work and practices of Living Human Treasures and their products are limited in their effectiveness.

The qualitative research method resulted in the interview ending with an open-ended question and being controlled by the participant's view.[48] However, the research data was not to gathered to either oppose of defend what museums do. Instead, by critically observing the museum exhibition, it broadened researchers' approach to the relationship between museums and intangible cultural heritage from previously overlooked perspectives. This research did uncover, a critical weakness in Korean museums: the museums' bureaucratic systems and the small proportion of Korean visitors in Korean museums. The research found how the conventional museum practice focused on tangible heritage contextualised intangible cultural heritage and how it affected intangible cultural heritage practice and transmitted in South Korean society. Thus, the research reveals an invisible barrier between museums and the Living Human Treasures. It provides important insights into the ways in which tangible and intangible cultural heritage has been used by post-colonial nations and how this attempt to reach back to a culture before colonisation to create a modern identity for the nation does not always succeed very well.

[48] Qualitative Research: Definition, Methodology, Limitation, Examples, Available From: https://www.omniconvert.com/blog/qualitative-research-definition-methodology-limitation-examples.html [Accessed September 19, 2019]

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One describes the topic of this research with questions and methodology (case study) and offers the background of the heritage definition and the understanding of museums in South Korean society.

Chapter Two discusses the issue of South Korean national identity, from the understanding of heritage and the establishment of a museum in South Korea. This chapter will look at the historical context of intangible cultural heritage in South Korean museums by drawing on literature relating to the nation and national identity. Its analysis of how South Korean museums developed over time will illuminate the influence of Japan and the US in musicological practice.

Chapter Three is a literature review chapter which unpacks the key terms of this thesis – Museum and Heritage. The chapter discusses the relationship between museums and intangible cultural heritage by considering the notion of preservation/safeguarding and utilisation. While considering how heritage took national and cultural symbolism that represented the whole nation, the chapter will explain the Korean Living Human Treasures and critically review literatures that is useful to this thesis.

Chapter four will be the methodology chapter which draws relevant academic literature on research method to justify the research design. The chapter will outline the research methodology and explain the fieldwork process and reflect on the researcher's position in relation to the research.

Chapter Five is a findings chapter which examines how intangible cultural heritage is used to present something traditional that is unchanging and thus has little or no relevance for contemporary Koreans. It shows complex issues of authenticity and the tension that exist with the role of the Living Human Treasures and the role of cultural polices in museums practices.

Chapter Six, as a following findings chapter discusses the presentation of intangible cultural heritage in the National Folk Museum of Korea. Based on the discussion from the previous chapter, the chapter will identify the two different understandings of and approaches to intangible cultural heritage in Korea.

Chapter Seven then examines visitor responses to the museum's interpretation of the nation's past, arguing that it does not produce the required official response from visitors. Key findings of this chapter are that people do not engage with what the museum has presented, and intangible cultural heritage is inextricably intertwined with the tangible in the museum. The discussion extends the understanding of the South Korean concept of intangible cultural heritage to emphasises the necessity of intangible cultural heritage in museum practice and suggests how museums can work with it.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by summarising the research findings whist reiterating key arguments. The museum does not appear to be safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in any way that is meaningful to the visitors, nor does intangible cultural heritage seem to be something South Korean museums can support while they adhere to their existing museological practices. However, if intangible cultural heritage, especially in today's South Korean museum, is considered to be important to the nation, then museums will need to change if they are to enable the process of material culture making, its rituals, traditions and practices to resonate with the public and to make it an important element in Korean identity. Based on this, by restating the original contribution to knowledge both to museum through and practice, the research will suggest thoughts about future research.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the topic of this research and articulate the research question by providing relevant literatures. By introducing the case study of this research, fieldwork was briefly explained, and it will be continued in detail in Chapter 4: Methodology. Considering the purpose of this research, research findings were also highlighted briefly, and it will be explained in detail in Chapter 5,6 and 7.

Before elaborating the findings of this research, relevant literature mentioned previously will be analysed with the development history of Korean museum in Chapter 2 and heritage under the political movement in building a nation with shared history and culture in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2 Historiography of Museums and Museology in South Korea

This chapter outlines the key theoretical concepts of the nation and national identity to analyse how museums in South Korea have developed over time. Based on the idea of ethnie as a constructed idea of the biological ancestor, argued by Anthony Smith (1990, 1996, 1998, 2008, 2013), this chapter looks at how the idea of ethnie, having common and shared idea of historical memories, has been applied to the development of Korean national identity within a historical setting and how it is evidenced in South Korean museums development. Considering the political role of South Korean museums that reinforced the political approach on the museum's display of material culture, this chapter will also briefly explore the historical account of the National Folk Museum of Korea.

2.1 Korean national identity issue

In 2008, the Sungnyemun (숭례문)[49] which is a National Treasure No.1 in Korea was set on fire by a man who felt disrespect from the government. The day after the fire, the area immediately changed to a funeral. A memorial procession of citizens sobbing continued day after day, and various religions groups gathered to hold memorial services to the national treasure. Before the fire, there was a movement to re-evaluate the value of Sungnyemun (숭례문) as it has been designated as National Treasure No.1 by the Japanese during the colonial period. However, even though the treasure has lost the 80% of the original structure after the fire, Sungnyemun (숭례문) was called National Treasure No.1 for a while. Recently at 2021 February, the government announced that the designated number used for administrative work efficiency caused unnecessary controversy and misunderstood the value of heritage, to the extend, decided to not to use the number system anymore.[50] This incident shows Korea's constant issue in developing national

[49] The Sungenyemun (숭례문) has been reconstructed and reopened to the public in 2013.

[50] Gang Haelan (2021) Ranking National Treasures No.1 Sungnyemun from Japan 87 years will disappear (87 년전 일제가 매긴 랭킹 … 국보 1 호 숭례문서 '1 호' 뺀다), JoongAng Ilbo (중앙일보) 28 June

ideas today. The public blamed the government's management system for the fire, but the public agreed about not ranking heritage by the Japanese designated number.



Figure 6 Image of Sungnyemun on fire. (© https://blog.daum.net/tntv/1254)



Figure 7 Images of flowers in front of the burned down Sungnyemun. (© http://www.ksilbo.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=207423)

2021, Available from: https://news.joins.com/article/24092690#:~:text='1%ED%98%B8%20%EC%88%AD%EB%A1%80%EB%AC%B8'%EC%9D%80%201934,%EC%84%9C%EC%9A%B8%204%EB%8C%80%EB%AC%B8%20%EC%A4%91%EC%8B%AC%EC%9D%B4%EC%97%88%EB%8B%A4. [Accessed 7 July]

For Korea, from series of traumatic historical events – Japanese colonial rule (1910 - 1945), the U.S. military government (1945 - 1948) and the Korean War (1950 - 1953) the issue of national identity has related closely to the ideas and theories of Western imperialism and colonial expansionism, although in Korea's case the main coloniser was Japan. In 1910, when Japan formally annexed Korea and ruled the Korean peninsula as a Japanese colony, Western ideas of modernisation began to infiltrate Korean society via the Japanese.[51] Western term of a nation was imported and introduced to Korea by Japan and China, who translated the term 'nation as ethnos'.[52] Since this translation became popular in Korea during the Japanese colonial rule, the term of ethnicity has been the key concept used by Korea to overcome the colonisation by defining who Koreans are as something different from Japan and its people.

Using the idea of ethnie, defined by Smith as 'named and self-defined human population with myths of common origins and shared historical memories, elements of shared culture, and a measure of ethnic solidarity'[53] for political purpose are commonly seen in countries with colonial past. Ethnie, as Smith says, is more a resource that has been used mostly for political purposes in many nations in every era and remains extremely influential today. Koreans being ethnie involves the attachment to the biological ancestors and perhaps more importantly, now a sense of belonging to a shared historical culture. As the national history of Korea begins 5,000 years ago with a Dan-gun myth story,[54] it shows how the idea of ethnie remains effective in nation-building, despite its national division into two Koreas. Jeon points out that "[the above] experiences had an effect of transforming ethnic identity understood as consisting of common blood ties and shared

[51] Hahn Christine Y. (2012) Unearthing Origins: The Use of Art, Archaeology, and Exhibitions in Creating Korean National Identity, 1945-1962, Visual Resources, Vol. 23 (2), p. 139

[52] Jang SangHoon (2015) A representation of nationhood: The National Museum of Korea, PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, p. 6

[53] Smith, Anthony D (2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing, p.310

[54] Dan-gun myth story is a Korean mythology, which tells the story of the founding of Korea's first kingdom 'Gojoseon'. (Available at http://folkency.nfm.go.kr/en/topic/MythofDangun/5336 Assessed 29/11/2018)

culture, into the essential factor behind Korean nationalism".[55] Korea was eager to rebuild the nation with the official history and culture, after independence and the Korean War, to prove that Koreans have shared its myth of common origin and historical memories generations by generations and strongly attached to their land. The idea of ethnie remains the most fundamental concept that illustrates the development of Korea as an independent country in the global era, although the sentiment has changed in society.

In the case of Korea, ethnic nationalism has developed through a reactionary attitude towards others to protect the nation by showing the nation in the museum and through cultural heritage. As Alford noted,

> Under the Japanese assimilation policy, Korea needed to affirm the value and uniqueness of their heritage zealously if their culture were to survive. In the face of a Japanese policy to assimilate Koreans as second-class, subordinate people, asserting the significance of their cultural heritage was a means to maintain and strengthen their national identity. [56]

Koreans struggled to define who they were, especially after the imposition of the Japanese assimilation plan when they were forced to adopt the Japanese language and religion, and also to change Korean names into Japanese names[57] under the guise of modernisation. Museum as a colonial zone,[58] was used as a tool for political colonialism, to undervalue the Korean ethnicity and to educate Korean people by using archaeological art history.[59] From the influence of 'others', who politically manipulate the identity of the nation, the idea of ethnie was useful to Korea to prove the independent existence of the nation and revive solidarity of the nation among the public. Moreover, the Korean War (1950-1953)

---

[55] Jeon Jae-ho (2005) Changes, in the Korean Identity in the Globalization Era, Korea Focus, p.1

[56] Alford C. Fred (1999) *Think No Evil: Korean Values in the Age of Globalization, Ithaca,* NY: Cornell University Press, p.792

[57] Lee, Kwang-Rin (1986) The Rise of Nationalism in Korea, Korean Studies, Vol. 10, p.1

[58] Anderson Benedict (1983), Imagined Communities, London: Verso, p.163

[59] Choi Seok-young (2011) The history of Korean Museums and the Prospect of Museum Policy (한국박물관 역사와 박물관정책의 전망), lecture notes, National Assembly Research Service, delivered 28 April 2011.

was the moment that hold back all the development of the nation, but also which reinforced the idea of ethnie in South Korea to resolve the issue of national identity and to overcome the 35 years of Japanese influence and the devastation of the war between the two Koreas.[60] People sharing same history and culture was important to make one united nation despite the geographical and political division.[61] Hence, Choi argued that Koreans incorporated the logic of the 'other' to define themselves.

> (Koreans) Identity construction is formed through a chain of actions and reactions, of shaping and being shaped… And Korea's cultural identity has in part been developed through this 'reactionary system.'[62]

Korean national identity based on ethnicity developed from mixed layers of actions and reactions and eventually compared itself with the others. Even though this idea of Korean blood or homogenous race seems ridiculed in today Korean society, this idea developed to a standard of proving and showing who Koreans are. It developed as a distinctive symbolic medium that is today associated with national identification for Koreans. As people construct their identity by identifying how they are different from other people,[63] developing a national identity in Korea was process of identification,[64] especially the Japanese.

---

[60] Park Yun-Ok (2015) The change of Museum role in 21st Century, Museum News, p.73

[61] Jeon Jae-ho (2005) Changes, in the Korean Identity in the Globalization Era, Korea Focus; Schmid Andre (2002) Korea between Empires, 1895- 1919, New York: Colombia University Press; Konard Kalicki (2009) Ethnic Nationalism and Politic Community: The Overseas Suffrage Debate in Japan and South Korea, Asian Studies Review, Vol. 33: 2, pp. 175- 195; Huh, Dong-hyun (2009) A Study on the Historical Formation Process of the Myth on the Ethnic Homogeneity in Modern Korea (한국 근대에서 단일민족 신화의 역사적 형성 과정), North-east Asian History Collection (동북아역사논총), Vol. 23 p.10

[62] Choi, Sung-hee (2011b) Re- thinking Korean Cultural Identities at the National Museum of Korea, in National Museums, new studies from around the word (eds.) Simon J. Knell, Aronsson. Peter an et, Routledge, London, p.293

[63] Mandler Peter (2006) What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography, Modern Intellectual History, Vol. 3. No. 02, p.272

[64] Bechhofer Frank and McCrone David (2009) National identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 9

In this vein, the shared ancestry framework has built up a strong connection between society, whilst the state became inseparable from the public. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Korea, "The state shall strive to sustain and develop the cultural heritage and to enhance national culture" (Article 9). Although it is not a thesis about policy, it should be recognised that state ideology and policy operated effectively in the process of reinventing the culture and history. To visualise the 'imagined communities'[65] , to rebuild the nation with the belief that the nation is immemorial, as Smith argues certainly, the state and political action played an important role in crystalizing ethnic sentiments and national identities, notable through protected warfare and territorialization.[66] The Korean government was keen to transmit the 'reinvented tradition',[67] reinterpreted Korean culture and history as a set of practices, rituals or symbolic nature, which automatically implies continuity with the past for national purposes, in a uniformed way. The state linked formal and informal, official and unofficial tradition to a national level and developed a robust bureaucracy system to control the citizen's collective actions.[68] The intangible forms of culture- language, religion, ethnicity, and a shared interpretation of the past have been transformed into imagined communities and valued as such in the national consciousness. For instance, Koreans believed that they have a moral responsibility to preserve and protect the national culture,[69] and also tends to accept the cultural heritage certified by administrators as 'authentic' and 'traditional'.[70] However, this acceptance does not mean that they agree with it having much if any relevance today; it can rather be described as the past has been

---

[65] Anderson Benedict (1983), *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso

[66] Smith, Anthony D (2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing, p.447

[67] Hobsbawm Eric (1983) Introduction: Inventing Traditions, in *The Invention of Tradition* (eds.) Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge University Press

[68] Ibid.

[69] Jung Soo-Jin (2008) The birth of Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재의 탄생), Yucksawabipyung (역사와비평), p.48

[70] Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, *ACTA KOREANA*, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 528

more the government's responsibility to protect it. Moreover, by instrumentally giving role to certain institutions and people, the reinvented history and culture of Korea was accepted in society as a comforting story. Hence as Hall argued, if we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or narrative of the self about ourselves.[71] The imagined idea of Korea as an ethnically homogenous nation is a fantasy as Hall insisted it, but the case of Korea shows that it is instrumentally materialised, visualised, and eventually fossilised over time through heritage.

In the meantime, the inter-relationship between the North and South Korea, in both political and cultural arenas, has been substantially improved over the last decade.[72] However, the effectiveness of cultural exchanges between the two Koreas depends on the political relationship between the two states. In other words, issues arising from the changing political relationship between them means that the influence of cultural policy and cultural exchanges is limited. For instance, there were roadblocks when North and South Korean researchers collaborated in excavating ancient historical sites:

> North Korea had already recognized the necessity for long-term excavation, but it was hard to get permission from the South government. The budget for this project decreased after the change of administrations to former President Lee Myung-bak (in 2008).[73]

Government power has an outsized influence on cultural exchanges between the two Koreas, a fact which has limited the cultural dimension of their political relations. Specifically, South Korea's rapid economic growth has caused different understandings

---

[71] Hall Stuart (1996) The Question of Cultural Identity, in *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies*, (eds.) Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 598

[72] Park Hyung-yu (2011a) Shared national memory as intangible heritage: re-imagining two Koreas as one nation, Annals of Tourism Research, Vol. 38. No. 2, p. 527

[73] Choi Hayoung, June 02, 2015, "Inter Korean excavation project aims at common awareness of history", NKNEWS Available at http://www.nknews.org/2015/06/inter-korean-excavation-project-aims-at-common-awarness-of-history/ (Assessed 9 October 2010)

of national and cultural heritage to arise in each country, among their peoples as well as their institutions. Thus, some have criticised this situation of the Korean heritage industry becoming subservient to politics.[74]

Eventually, the government-led system has been dominant in all cultural sectors in Korea. Whilst ethnic nationalism developed with rapid economic growth, political purposes significantly influenced the role of Korean museums and the management of Korean heritage. As a tool and method by which the nation diffused this ethnic nationalism, heritage and a museum became one of the ways in which the government sought to educate the public, which was encouraged to have a collective memory of the nation with a strong belief in a shared past and the traditional idea of ethnic nationalism. Museums with material cultures have been a useful tool to mass educate the public. Continued on the further part of the chapter, museums were the best place to disseminate 'tailored pre-existing mythologies, symbols and histories to manipulate the masses with a political movement.'[75] According to Tae and Jung, the government support "encouraged [Korean history and cultural] museums to reproduce cultural memory of the past through various cultural forms and also to operate as a mechanism to control and define social memory and to consolidate current social relations".[76] National museums, in this vein, have not only been considered as a place where it validates the myths and justified the nation's existence but also as an effective educational tool to disseminate ethnohistory.

The government recognised heritage as an essential cultural resource of the nation to develop a national identity.[77] By enacting the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (1961) 'to

---

[74] Kim Sang-un (2016) The administration of heritage which become to a 'politician maid' should be fundamentally repaired (정치의 시녀로 전락한 문화재 행정 근본적으로 손봐야), Available at https://www.donga.com/news/Culture/article/all/20160727/79419648/1, Accessed 6 April 2019

[75] Smith, Anthony D (2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing, p.447

[76] Tae Ji-ho and Jung Heon-joo (2014) <National Museum of Korean Contemporary History> as Cultural Practice of Public Memory: "Imagines" Growth and Politics of Memory (공적 기억의 문화적 실천으로서 <대한민국역사박물관>– "상상된" 경제성장과 기억의 정치학), The Journal of Asiatic Studies (아세아연구), Vol. 57 (3)

[77] Ashworth, G.J., (2012) From History to Heritage: From Heritage to Identity: In search of concepts and models (eds) Gregory Ashworth and Peter Lackham, *Building a New Heritage, Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, Taylor & Francis Group, p. 2

promote the cultural edification of Korean nationals and to contribute to the development of human culture by transferring national culture and enabling it to be utilised through the preservation of cultural heritage' (CHPA'.1), heritage has been selected based on the criteria of 'representative' and 'symbolic', as the chosen heritage should entail national pride.[78] The Korean government classified Korean culture as a continuity of the past based on the idea of pure and a long history, which is not recent but somewhere further back and line with the state ideology and defined it as heritage. Hence, through heritage as a cultural device and museums as cultural-educational institutions, Korean ethnic identity has been actively transmitted and reinvented by the government in a uniform and representative way.

2.1.1 Modernising the ethnically homogenous nation

Since the nationalism ties the nation into the ethnic community through its symbols, myth and history, the question is not whether Korea is an ethnically homogenous nation or not, rather it is about how this idea of ethnie developed and remains as Korea's fundamental national identity until today and what influence it has in society.

As mentioned, the Korean government took an enormous part in rebuilding the nation through culture, politics and economy. Korea was eager to develop a specific national culture that develops the solidarity of the nation. However, as some have argued that the emphasis on the ethnicity of the nation is a 'perception or illusion', [79] or some kind of 'fantasy'[80] Em argued that this illusion is an "imaginary called the '*minjok*' which was

---

[78] Jung Soo-jin (2013), From the Intangible Cultural Property to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재에서 무형문화유산으로, 글로벌시대의 문화 표상), Journal of East Asian Culture (동아시아문화연구), Vol. 53, p.106

[79] Shin Gi-wook, Freda James and Yi Gi-hong (1999) *The politics of ethnic nationalism in divided Korea*, Nationals and Nationalism, Vol 5: 4, p.466

[80] Hall Stuart (1996) The Question of Cultural Identity, in *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies*, (eds.) Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 598

constructed on the debris of Confucian political discourse by men like Shin Ch'ae-ho."[81] Confucianism has functioned to spread the idea of unifying the nation and has developed as a process of finding the uniqueness of Korea, even though Confucianism seemed to obsolete and remain as an old paradigm continued in contemporary Korean society.[82] In other words, going back to the traditional social system tends to encourage an obsession towards tradition which should restore the nation's former purity and recover its unity.

In this vein, Korean history has not only been revived to create a unified national identity but also reinvented to fit into the modern international system by separating Korea from the others, especially the Japan.[83] To decolonise the nation from the Japanese influence and to develop solidarity of the nation, the nation-building process was part of an emancipatory movement to imagine the nation as a unified nation and build a modernised country that required 'civilizational advancement, technological innovation and progressive national character'[84]. Whilst the government internally aimed to unify the nation with traditional culture, the idea of heritage became instrumental to proving that Korean national culture was equal to the Western culture. Based on the idea of ethnic nationalism, historical and cultural objects were shown in museums as elements to prove the development of the country with its long history and culture. The traditional culture of Korea became a 'pure' and 'unique' Korean culture that represents the nation, but which also does not change under any form of influence.

The point is that ethnic nationalism performed a net function that unites the power of members of society and promotes self-esteem. However, this leads to insular sentiments against other people or races in the name of ethnicity and leads to discrimination today. For instance, even though the history based on the ethnicity of Korea does not describe

---

[81] Em Henry H (1999) Nationalism, Post-Nationalism, and Shin Ch'ae-ho, Korea Journal, p.314

[82] Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, p.34

[83] Schmid Andre (2002) Korea between Empires, 1895- 1919, New York: Colombia University Press

[84] Watson, Jini Kim (2007) 'Imperial mimicry, modernisation theory and the contradictions of postcolonial South Korea', Postcolonial Studies, 10:2, pp. 180

the division into two nations, South Korea's modernising plan distinguished itself from the North. According to Kwon,

> The government introduced some elements of modern education from abroad and compiled new textbooks, including those on Korean history … it was apparently geared to inculcating patriotism rather than nationalism.[85]

For instance, national history was not only rewritten based on scientific manner but also presented to develop pride and patriotism, as defined, the feeling of loving your country more than any others and being proud of it.[86] Indeed, this is related to the colonial historiography developed in Korea. The Japanese scholars tended to exaggerate the negative aspects of Korean history, such as factionalism, stagnation, and the lack of internal dynamics of development.[87] Em argued that Japanese scholars characterised Korean history by the term 'lack' - "Koreans lacked the capacity for autonomous development, or Koreans lacked a progressive spirit."[88] This later influences the understanding of Korean traditional culture. However, the positive elements in history as to how hardly the ancestors' fight for the independence of the nation, were not only promoted to correct the Japanese view of Korean history but also to manipulate the content of Korea's history as a significant vehicle of political activism.[89] As Breen points out, the characteristic of Korean history is that

---

[85] Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, p.35

[86] Cambridge dictionary https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/patriotism [accessed 24 June 2020]

[87] Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, p. 46

[88] Em Henry H (1999) Nationalism, Post-Nationalism, and Shin Ch'ae-ho, Korea Journal, p.298

[89] Breen Michael (2017) The New Koreans, The Business, History of People of South Korea, Macmillan, p. 92; Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, p. 53

> Questioning and analysing is not seen as valid [in Korea]. History, painful memories, and victories are classified, categorised, prioritized, discussed and used as support, evidence, and in the way remembered. In Korea, details disappear, and memories are only triggered by anecdotes.[90]

However, Gang saw this government approach, especially during the 1970s and 80s, developed based on the idea that elite culture is necessary, and so the people's lifestyle should change at the same time.[91] According to Gang, this government's policy was supported by the idea that Korea's ethnicity was distorted from the colonies and that Korean nationalism could not be found in current social condition, hence it should be developed through guidance and education from the government itself. What this demonstrate is that the way people should remember and feel about the past of the nation was provided by the government whilst individual's memories of the past has been considered not as an important factor for a long time.[92] The government at that time suggested that the people should discard the current lifestyle, calling it an old practice, rather than finding a new value in the people's lifestyle, which is for the new country. The intangible aspects of culture and history were framed into specific ideas and senses, whilst material culture played an important role in proving the nation's existence by visually showing the difference of old and new culture. In this sense, Smith points out one of the consequences in the process of forming a nation with the pre-existing ethnic identity is that the "preservation of its identity required an effort to define what was original and distinctive in their culture, religion and history".[93] Indeed, authenticity depends on personal judgment,[94] but the revived ethnohistory of the nation became the

---

[90] Breen Michael (2017) The New Koreans, The Business, History of People of South Korea, Macmillan, p.94

[91] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies (박물관학보), Vol. 28, p. 107

[92] ibid

[93] Smith, Anthony D (2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing, p.450

[94] Cohen Erik (1988) Authenticity and commoditization in tourism, Annals of Tourism Research, Vol.15

standard that determined what is and what is not the indigenous culture of the nation rather than enlarging the understanding of Korean culture by accepting more diverse forms of culture.

Thus, as a reactionary attitude, Korean national identity has developed by identifying the difference between the 'I' and the 'other'. Park described, this action is "not to break the boundary between the 'other' and I, but to clarify and separate the boundary between the 'other' and I."[95] This also means that to identify who they are, they need the other. Nevertheless, to Korea, this action not only separates Koreans from the Japanese externally but also, internally, Koreans who do and do not follow and accept the rule. Kwon, therefore, criticised this sort of reactionary traditionalism, by saying, institutionalised national approach to the nation's history is very narrow and does not allow for different perspectives.[96] Similarly, Em argued that since this national history was a category inclusive of every Korean without regard to age, gender, or status distinctions, it has "inhibited the deepening of democracy by suppressing heterogeneity and discontinuity in Korean history."[97] This means that as if the other was Japan during the early nation-building process, the idea of other has expanded to anyone who stands against or who intrude into the Korean domain today. Hence, Em added that

> The problem in the unification of the Korean peninsula is [now] overcoming heterogeneity and recovering homogeneity, from a post-nationalist perspective, it is finding a way to live together with acknowledging heterogeneity.[98]

---

[95] Park Youha (2002) Imagined aesthetics and national identity – Yanagi Muneyoshi and self-organisation in modern Korea (상상된 미의식과 민족적 정체성 – 야나기 무네요시와 근대 한국의 자기 구성), in *Struggle between memory and history (기억과 역사의 투쟁)*, Dangde, p.376

[96] Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, p.51

[97] Em Henry H (1999) Nationalism, Post-Nationalism, and Shin Ch'ae-ho, Korea Journal, p. 288, 293

[98] Em Henry H (1999) Nationalism, Post-Nationalism, and Shin Ch'ae-ho, Korea Journal; Park Chan-Seung (1999) Should Korean Historiography Abandon Nationalism?, Korea Journal, p.329

Hence, it became important to see this character of Korean national identity because it promoted strong solidarity in society but at the same time divided what tradition is and what is contemporary. Traditional culture refereed to the revived ethnohistory based on pure Korean culture before the Japanese colonisation; valuing traditional culture was a necessary process that produces a sense of continuity, whilst contemporary culture is based on the influence of Western culture. This division developed to a concept of old and new, something relatable and not relatable. For instance, as Korea was influenced by the Japan's definition of 'museum' and 'art museum', the terms 'museum' and 'art museum' is used in dual way,[99] as 'museum' refers to old and past, whilst 'art museum' refers to new and modern. With this perception, the 2018 statistics for major tourist attractions showed that, the National Museum of Korea has a larger number of visitors, both foreigners and Koreans than the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art. However, the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art has seen a higher growth rate among Koreans whilst the National Museum of Korea has seen the proportion of Korean visitors decrease every year.[100] Koreans visiting more to the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art is not only about term are that is defined as 'creative art, especially visual art whose products are to be appreciated primarily or solely for their imaginative, aesthetics, or intellectual content and an activity requiring great skill or accomplishment' and was translated as art and imported into Korea in the late nineteenth century [101] but closer to the development of national identity that is fixed in an unchanging past. Hence, as Smith points out,

> "It is too simple to endow the state, whether ancient or modern, with the primary role in creating ethnic communities or nations… Ethnic ties and national

[99] Ha Kye-Hoon (2008) Prospective Role of Art History in the Context of the History of Korean Museums (한국 박물관 역사를 통해 본 미술사의 역할과 전망), Journal of the Association of Western Art History (서양미술사학회논문집) 29, p.316

[100] Statistics Korea https://kostat.go.kr/portal/korea/index.action [Accessed 15 October 2018]

[101] Ha Kye-Hoon (2008) Prospective Role of Art History in the Context of the History of Korean Museums (한국 박물관 역사를 통해 본 미술사의 역할과 전망), Journal of the Association of Western Art History (서양미술사학회논문집) 29, p.318

> sentiments are created by a variety of factors – ecological, social, and especially cultural and symbolic, such as religion, language and the arts.[102]

Thus, this thesis acknowledges the limitations of state-centered approaches. The conceptualisation of the past has led to discrimination and a reluctance to accept the difference in society's values and practices. As Pai pointed out this matter, "although this re-presenting of history has undoubtedly been successful in refuting condescending colonial narratives… this (archaeological counter-strategy) has not been able to shake off its past imperialist and colonial legacy"[103] In fact, what has been argued by Korean scholars is that an effort to modernise the nation to be recognised as a so-called developed country does not mean a overcome of colonialism. The political movement rather inherits or left it as a colonial legacy whilst focusing on reinventing and fixing the tradition of Korea for the purpose of regaining national solidarity. Korean culture, in this context, was destroyed, damaged and valued by its economic and political use.

Korean identity is vested in the idea of a pure ethnic population whose culture is ancient and involves the valuing of intangible cultural heritage. The government's role is to maintain this and it does so partly by funding national museums who are supposed to promote this intangible heritage through historical objects and work of Living Human Treasures. In part this focus on an incorruptible past is the result of colonisation, in particular by Japan. However, attempts to end colonisation have not resulted in a complete severance with the past. Korea uses colonial institutions such as museums to try and counter the impact of the colonisers on its culture and prestige. Therefore, based on this brief background of Korea and its national identity issue, the following section of the chapter will consider the museum in more detail exploring the historical context of Korean museums and heritage development with the preservation of ethnic nationalism in Korean society.

---

[102] Smith Anthony. D (1996) Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism, International affairs, Vol. 72 (3), p.448

[103] Pai, Hyung-il (1994) The Politics of Korea's past: the legacy of Japanese colonial archaeology in the Korean Peninsula. East Asian History, Issue 7

2.2. Museum history and museology in South Korea

This section will discuss how museums in South Korea have developed over time, to illuminate how museological practices in Japan and the US have influenced the form and function of museological discourse and practice in South Korea. The historical matter is an essential part of understanding Korean national identity. The division between two nations is not simply a political issue but which encouraged the whole society to think based on unification and integration. This will then link to the discussion of the influence of how museums in South Korea perceive and understand the concept of intangible cultural heritage.

2.2.1 A Symbol of Modernity

Considering the political and historical condition of the nation, museums in Korea are very traditional in their approach to national identity. They have developed into cultural and educational institutions in which the public is informed on history and culture based on maintaining and developing solidarity and cohesion with the nation. Similar historical and cultural objects displayed side by side in chronological order with brief explanations in the glass cabinet are common in Korean museums. However, this resulted in visitors feeling detached from this history and heritage, not understanding how this past has anything to do with them. For instance, one of the members of a rural tour group that visited the National Folk Museum of Korea first during the 1970s responded to the question 'Why are you coming out so fast?', replying, "Here are only stones. Nothing to see".[104] This thesis argues that this reaction has not changed much from what it is now as today visitors respond that 'I know this is Korean heritage, but I don't think this is my culture'.

[104] Jang Ju-guen (1996) History and Task of the National Folk Museum of Korea (국립민속박물관의 역사와 과제), The National Folk Museum Symposium, p. 6

The establishment of a museum in Korea was a product of the influence of Japanese colonisation and Western modernisation. The term 'museum', '*bakmulgwan (박물관)*', in the Korean language has been derived from Japanese as a product of modernisation, as Japan's colonial intentions have significantly influenced the establishment of museums in Korea after independence. As the first museum was established by the Japanese,[105] similar to museums developed in countries with colonial past, a museum was a symbol of modernity and a tool of modernisation.[106] By adopting the Japanese definition of the museum as, 'a world of various traditional lives which had been reshaped and disconnected, divided and dismantled under the concept of art,'[107] the concept of a museum has been applied to colonial Korea as a modern concept. Korea defined the modern museum as 'classify and exhibit scientific, cultural attributes according to historical and cultural contexts and show them to the public.'[108]

As mentioned, after the liberation in 1945, when Korea faced the daunting task of modernising the nation by recreating its national identity,[109] no other subject was more important than handling the past. Korea, as a newly independent country, the establishment purpose of a museum has been part of the process of overcoming the colonial legacy and educating its collective national identity to domestic visitors.[110] Since

---

[105] The first modern museum in Korea is officially known as the 'Je-Sil Museum', which opened during Japanese rule in March 1910.

[106] Karp Ivan and Lavine Frederik (1991) Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display, Washington, D.C.: London: Smithsonian Institution Press p. 14; Kreps, Christina F (2003) *Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural perspective on museums, curation and heritage preservation,* Routledge, p. 24

[107] Lee In-Bum (2002) The Origin and Characteristic of Korean museum system: From nationalism and beyond nationalism (韓國 博物館制度의 起源과 性格: 국민 국가주의에서 그 너머에로), 미술사 논단, vol. 14, p.47

[108] Choi, Sung-hee (2011b) Re- thinking Korean Cultural Identities at the National Museum of Korea, in *National Museums, new studies from around the world* (eds.) Simon J. Knell and Aronsson. Peter an et, Routledge, London, pp. 290- 301

[109] Shin Gi Wook (2006) *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics and Legacy,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, p.618

[110] Kreps, Christina F (2003) *Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural perspective on museums, curation and heritage preservation*, Routledge; Sheon Aaron (1969) Museums and Cultural Resources Utilization, The Journal of Developing Area 3; Smith Laurajane (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge; Prosler Martin (1996) Museums and Globalization in *Theorizing Museums* (eds.) Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, Blackwell Publishers

knowledge is well understood as the commodity that museums offer, national museums, particularly became political institutions being linked to the national objective of strengthening the consciousness of its culture and history. National museums, with their emphasis on material culture and exhibition, were part of the history-making process.[111] National museums developed based on the intention to "hold up a mirror to national identity,"[112] while simultaneously preserving cultural heritage and stimulating a sense of national identity.[113] Korean national museum developed, as Jang argues, "discover the nation's cultural identity and internalise it domestically and give publicity on the international stage"[114]. A museum represented the modernity of the nation. In this vein, national museums in Korea developed as political agents. As national history and culture were subsequently reconfigured as the subject of social memories, national museums have been recognised as an effective government agent to diffuse the ethnohistory of the nation to the public. National museums were "component of an emerging model of national identity presuming to present tangible evidence of a culture that coexisted within state borders."[115] As a preserver of memory of an earlier era of national culture, national museums are the one who still have a strong educational role in educating the public with the mythologies of Korean national identity.

To secure ethnic nationalism, museums preserving and protecting cultural heritage has been one of the museums' functions that continued from the colonial period, but which also became keener after the Korean War. Apart from educating and disseminating the

---

[111] Watson, Sheila (2020) *National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives*, Routledge, p. 21

[112] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed) Rodney Harrison, The Open University, p. 244; Kaplan, F.E.S (1981) Interdisciplinary in Museology, *Museological Working Papers*, 1/1981. Paris and Stockholm: UNESCO

[113] Sheon Aaron (1969) Museums and Cultural Resources Utilization, The Journal of Developing Area 3, p. 540

[114] Jang Sang-hoon (2016) Cultural diplomacy, national identity and national museum: South Korea's first overseas exhibition in the US, 1957 to 1959, Museum & Society, November 2016. 14 (3), p.456

[115] Schildkrout Enid (1995) Museums and Nationalism in Namibia, Museum Anthropology, 19(2) American Anthropological Association, pp. 65-77

shared culture of the nation, national museums in Korea have a fundamental role in protecting the collection, since the danger of political conflict and the Korean War.[116] For instance, during and after the Korean War (1950-1953), the museum's priority was to protect the collection from North Korea and the US the collection, as it represented the most important work. As Chewon Kim, who was the first director of the National Museum of Korea, noted in his memories,

> Despite the move, each night, the US soldiers would break down the door of the museum and take artefacts as souvenirs. I tried my best to prevent this, but many pieces were lost.[117]

Considering the political condition of the nation, no other function of the museum was more important than physically protecting the objects from danger. This demonstrates that protecting an object was more important in its exitance than on its intangible sense of value and meaning of society. To the extent, the object and its meaning were preserved to protect it from the invaders. After all, since the local museum system in Korea [see page 54] was also a system that effectively preserved burial cultural objects, which had been rapidly excavated from all over the country due to economic development, the excavation and collecting objects has been one of museums' fundamental role in Korea. This role has a close relation to the heritage system, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Currently, the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA), which is also an affiliated organization under the MCST, is required to select and report burial heritage that is worth preserving in the country among the relics discovered during the excavation of relics so that they can be attributed to the state. However, before transferring artefacts excavated to the National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage[118] in each region, the National Museum of Korea collects and manages all relics excavated by order of CHA.

---

[116] Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies, Doctor Thesis, p.59

[117] Kim Chea-won (1957) Masterpieces of Korean Art in America, Artibus Asiase, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 296-299,301,302

[118] Currently there are 9 National Research Institution of Cultural Heritage in Korea and their role and aim is to serve as a leading light for all those engaged in research on heritage. They are responsible to enhance the value of the country's culture based on knowledge creation and the use of heritages. (www.nrich.go.kr)

This system had a notable influence from the Museum of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, which had a close relation to the archaeological excavation project (고적조사사업, *Gojeogjossasa-eob)*.[119] The national museum of Korea continued to maintain its character as an institution for excavation and preservation of burial cultural objects.[120] Indeed, during and after the War, there was no active movement inside the museum to create a new museum or to reconsider the Korean history written by the Japanese, national museums had a fundamental role in protecting the collection. However, according to Yang, since the museum's activities were centred on excavation and communication functions such as exhibition and education remained passive, a museum gave an impression of a huge storage facility.[121]

Thus, whilst museums operated as keepers and guardians of national treasures, museums and their relationship with the material culture became closer. Since the US military government recognised heritage and culture as a resource for nation-building,[122] the material culture functioned to prove the advancement of the nation. Moreover, to demonstrate cultural equality to the West as a modernised country, the Korean *yangban* culture[123] has been tailored to a collective culture of Korea. Although the social class disappeared during the colonisation, *yangban* culture; the upper-class culture of Korea, has been representing how Koreans lived, whilst the rest of the culture was discarded in

---

[119] Archaeological investigation project is one of the projects held by the Japan during the colonial period (1909-1945) to reorganise the remains of Joseon and to prove that Japanese and Korean people belong to the same tribe.

[120] Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies, (박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책), Hongik University Doctor Thesis, p.56

[121] Ibid.56

[122] Jang SangHoon (2015) A representation of nationhood: The National Museum of Korea, PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, p. 104

[123] Since social discrimination was a major factor in Joseon society, below the *yangban* were what was called the *Jung'in* and below them was the *yang'in* which comprised the largest portion of Korean society and which was where the artist as artisans and the merchants were. At the bottom of society were slaves called *cheon'in*.

the name of superstition or irrationality.[124] This *yangban* culture has also been emphasised to divide the modern hybrid culture of Korea that has been influenced by the Western culture. As Korean history and cultural museums collect and display *yangban* culture as Korean's traditional culture, this shows how the museum similarly copied the western museum showing the national culture. A typical western tradition where the greatest object displays as a national treasure and visitors are allowed to identify it as their culture. This seems to indicate how material cultures at that time were recognised as a condensed version of proving who Korean are and became the way how Korean believe. As Macdonald argues, material culture as heritage is understood not simply as representing or somehow 'carrying' identity, but as materialising or objectifying it, it acts kind of physical proof, a material testimony of identity.[125] In order to prove the ethnicity of the nation, material culture as visual evidence was significant. In other words, the material culture became the vehicle for the projection and representation of a narrative of Korea's national image.

Material culture

Korean heritage, as discussed in the next chapter, was not only preserved with its assumed original form in museums to make the past believable but also its value has been framed and attached to a physical object and sites. Heritage was importantly used to prove the nation's past as believable. As Harrison agues, to inherent the value, heritage contained the physical fabric or a building or object, or in the material things associated with heritage practice.[126] The material culture has been the material substance of identity objectified heritage retained and created a type of 'official heritage' with certain ideologies and rituals.

---

[124] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28, p. 110

[125] Macdonald Sharon (2006) Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 12:1, p.11

[126] Harrison Rodney (2010) What is heritage? in Understanding the Politics of Heritage (ed.) Rodney Harrison, Manchester University Press, p.25

However, Korean national museum's role and their close relation to material culture have had significant influence by Japan, who established the first Korean museum as a 'colonial zone' where it profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its dominion, as Anderson argued.[127] Korean museum during the colonial period was formed to

> Provide the templates for the classification and administration of the colonised that were to manage their movement through a social space governed by the stratification of time so as to allow their assimilation into the modern nation.[128]

A museum development at that time was not merely a matter of looking and learning, but a place for being seen as for seeing – an exercise in civics.[129] By building a museum, Japan attempted to make Koreans admire Japan's colonisation also to prove that Japan and Korea had a historical link. Objects as visual materials, in this context, were importantly identified to prove and show the invisible historical links by applying the concept of *nasion ilchae* (내선일체): the theory of a common Japanese and Korean ancestry. Also, the museum exhibited arts and crafts objects from the Goryeo period (918-1391) and the Joseon period (1392-1910). But to show the historical link between Korea and Japan, the museum focused on and valued objects from before the Joseon period. In order to serve the point of origin, Korean culture was displayed based on the idea of 'the decline of Joseon (Korean) art'.[130] Japanese political ideology was implied to material cultures and excluded Korean history from the point of Japanese history. As this way of focusing on material culture is continued in today Korea, we can see "focusing on

---

[127] Anderson, B, (1983) Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism, Verso Publicaation, London, pp.163-4

[128] Bennett Tony (2004) *Past Beyond Memory, Evolution*, Museums, Colonialism, Routledge, p.140

[129] Bennett Tony (1995) *The birth of the museum, history, theory, politics*, Routledge: London and New York, p.102

[130] Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies, Doctor Thesis, p.34

the aesthetic value of historical objects is based on the historical decolonisation from the museum formation period."[131]

In this context, there are criticisms of the influence of Japan and the U.S. in Korean museums.[132] Korean scholars argued about liberating its culture from the view of others in interpreting Korean culture by saying de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation of Korea history and culture from the view of the others, which is Japan and the U.S. According to Chun, the idea of a museum cannot be divorced from the context of Western imperialism and colonial expansionism. The history and culture of Korea were deliberately de-contextualised and re-ordered from the viewpoint of the 'other', particularly Japan.[133] Similarly, Choi identifies the controversy brought by the cultural politics of the Japanese colonial rule and the de-contextualisation of the modern Korean museum.[134]

Nevertheless, rebuilding a Korean museum has partly ended up as a continuation of the colonial museum. Kook argues that the function or purpose of the museum is kept in the

---

[131] Eum So-Yeon (2008) Connotation of a Museum Exhibition and Its Social Contexts, An analysis of the exhibition of the five-blessings-symbol woodcrafts from the Joseon Period (박물관 전시와 사회적 맥락의 함의관계, 조선시대 오복(五福) 상징 목칠공예품의 전시분석), 민속학 연구 (Folklore Research), Vo. 22.

[132] Chun Kyung-soo (1998) Representing Colonialism and Nationalism in the Korean Museum (한국 박물관의 식민주의적 경험과 민족주의적 실천 및 세계주의적 전망), Jibmundang (집문당); Choi, Seok-young (2006) How to view Korean modern museum as colonial heritage (식민지 유산으로서의 한국근대박물관을 어떻게 볼 것인가), 2006 Select Professional Training (2006 년 공무원 연수선택 전문 교육), National Folk Museum of Korea ; Mok Soo-hyun (2000) The Genesis of the Museum of Korea during the Japanese Imperium (일제하 박물관의 형성과 의미) Seoul National University, Master Dissertation; Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies (박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책), Hongik University Doctor Thesis; Kook Sung-ha (2003) The Education significance of the Museum under the US Military Administration (미군정기 박물관의 교육적 의미), Hangukkyoyuksahak (한국교육사학), Vol. 25, No.1, pp. 7-31; Hahn Christine Y. (2012) Unearthing Origins: The Use of Art, Archaeology, and Exhibitions in Creating Korean National Identity, 1945-1962, Visual Resources, Vol. 23 (2), p. 139

[133] Chun Kyung-soo (1998) Representing Colonialism and Nationalism in the Korean Museum (한국박물관의 식민주의적 경험과 민족주의적 실천 및 세계주의적 전망), Jibmundang (집문당)

[134] Choi, Seok-young (2006) How to view Korean modern museum as colonial heritage (식민지 유산으로서의 한국근대박물관을 어떻게 볼 것인가), 2006 Select Professional Training (2006 년 공무원 연수선택전문교육), National Folk Museum of Korea

same context as the colonial period.[135] The building of the former Japanese Government-General Korea was demolished to symbolically show the decolonisation of Korea from Japan, [see page 73] but, at the same time, Korea inherited the list, Korea's national treasures (국보, *Kukpo*), which is a state-designated heritage portfolio, designated by the Japanese.[136] As 'the other' during the colonial period was Japan, and during the US military government was the US, it is now the Korean government whose political ideology framed the past into a static concept for the development of collective national identity. This means, despite the criticism, the collection remained fundamentally the same in the way that Japan ordered it. It also had a similar educational function to disseminate the collective national history and develop the solidarity of the nation. The remain material cultures were importantly used as a proof of the nation's long history that supports the augment of advanced nation and culture. Indeed, this results in museums with historical objects further strengthens stereotypes reminiscent of the archaeological museum. Korean museums not only inherited the colonial past but also considered the Western style of a museum as an ideal model to follow. In this moment, it was the administrative function of the museum not only influenced by the US, but also the European countries. For instance, after the first overseas exhibition, 'Masterpieces of Korean Art', which conducted both by the Korean government and the US and held in the US and Europe from 1957 to 1962, and as an opportunity to expand Americans' view of Korean art,[137] objects displayed at the exhibition were after designated as heritage and nominated as national treasures. When objects were returned to the National Museum of Korea, they were similarly reified as examples of the greatest works of Korean culture. Gang pointed out that the National Museum of Korea comprised Korean objects and contextualised Korean culture but did not connect these to the present.[138] Material culture

---

[135] Kook Sung-ha (2007) The History of and Education of Korean museums (우리 박물관의 역사와 교육), Yeonsegukhakchongseo (연세국학총서) 87, p. 373

[136] Pai Hyung-il (2013) Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity, University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, p.7

[137] Jang Sang-hoon (2016) Cultural diplomacy, national identity and national museum: South Korea's first overseas exhibition in the US, 1957 to 1959, Museum & Society, November 2016. 14 (3)

[138] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28

was selected and displayed to represent the nation. Jang argued that South Korean leaders thought that showing off the essence of Korean material culture in the US could be a soft and useful tactic in securing cultural and political citizenship in a world order presided over by the US.[139] However, as if historical objects during the colonial period were indicating the assimilation between the two countries, Japan and Korea, historical objects, later on, were promoted to divide Korea from Japan and to promote the shared understanding of who Koreans are both domestically and internationally. Thus, the Western perspective on heritage has dominantly and effectively influenced Korea to focus on material culture. For instance, listing World heritage still shows the complication of the influence of the Western idea of heritage and the development of national representation.

Developing proud emotion of national culture

As Dudley argued, materiality is sensory.[140] Visual materials can appeal to our sense of sight, thought the senses operate together and work to stimulate our minds and emotions. However, despite the change of meaning and value of an object, emotional responses have been pre-conditioned in the case of Korea. Ethnic nationalism has been presented with historical and cultural objects with a fixed narrative of history that promotes the public to remember as it is presented. As Choi comments, "The goal of the national museum is to make South Korean visitors feel proud of their culture".[141] Choi described the National Museum of Korea exhibition as,

> "context-free displays, focusing on accentuating the visual value of objects rather than facilitating visitors' understanding of them, also the objects removed from

---

[139]Jang Sang-hoon (2016) Cultural diplomacy, national identity and national museum: South Korea's first overseas exhibition in the US, 1957 to 1959, Museum & Society, November 2016. 14 (3), 459

[140] Dudley Sandra (2009) Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling, in Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations (ed.) Sandra Dudley, Routledge

[141] Choi, Sung-hee (2011b) Re- thinking Korean Cultural Identities at the National Museum of Korea, in National Museums, new studies from around the world (eds.) Simon J. Knell, Aronsson. Peter an et, Routledge, London, p.297

> the original object… Descriptive wall texts and object labels provide the title, period, materials and technique without any further visual clues or questions to stimulate a reaction. Also, lots of factors are themed to have a patriotic sense of belonging to its region rather than differentiation."[142]

The proud feeling of the nation is evoked from selective historical events and objects. Knell described Korean national identity established in the museum space is designed: "This is what we are, these are the things from which we are made, and we are different from these others." [143] The ethnic nationalism promoted in the museum through historical objects was not only perceived as a representation of the nation but also used to illustrate points made by officials. This demonstrates that the object's meaning and value is created and remained officially with certain purposes.

Historical and cultural objects are centred in museums, but this does not mean that they are the things that lead the story of museums, rather means that they have been used as a vehicle to provoke certain sense and the idea of Korea. As Watson argues, objects helped to make the past real and relevant through our feelings towards them.[144] Since museums display material cultural in an aesthetic manner divorced from former lifestyles and social history, Sageji and Veldkamp described the Korean museum as a 'mnemonic site' [145] where it repeatedly shows similar objects and creates and reinforces an understanding of the significance and value of particular heritage items. Veldkamp also noted from her experience in Korean museums, "the curation of Korean art and culture is approached from the perspective of reality or a 'felt past' that visitors are able to experience in

---

[142] Ibid.

[143] Knell Simon J. (2011) National museums and the national imagination in National Museums, new studies from around the world (eds.) Simon J. Knell, Aronsson. Peter and et, Routledge, London, p.17

[144] Watson, Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p.71

[145] Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014), The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2; Kim Ji-yoon (2014) National Identity under Transformation: New Challenges to South Korea, The ASAN Forum, Vol. 3, No. 5; Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping in real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, ACTA KOREANA, Vol.17, No.2, December

museum exhibition"[146] as Koreans do not seem to appear to have a particular antipathy towards the display of object replicas. All ideas and feelings that are prompted by the exhibition have been framed within a sense of pride. Hence, what intangible cultural heritage, part of this exhibition, was also related to make people proud of Korea's past and culture in the museum. As the research found, this emotion of proud shows how the material cultures have been presented in the museum and how a museum became a temple[147] where the public generally accepts the idea that if it was in the museum, also as a storehouse of objects and a storehouse of knowledge.[148] The interesting point to consider here is that this presentation and planted feeling is now too static and formal that visitors feel rather far and detached from their daily lives.

Therefore, today Korean national museums became more a symbolic place presenting the nation's traditional and enduring culture than a place that requires a broad understanding of other interpretations of the nation's past. National museums themed with history and culture were able to show the myths and justified the nation's existence, in part, by demonstrating to the public with the use of material culture when and how the nation came into being.[149] However, in order to deliver the official national history, per the main argument of this research, museums have tactically shown the history and culture of the nation with 'real' objects and fixed it in the way that it 'should be'. Considering exhibitions as a useful educational tool, exhibitions were more a presentation of traditional culture than a process of connecting the past and the present. It is true that this set of performance showing the nation's past has been a 'statement' not only about the

[146] Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping in real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No.2, December, p. 557

[147] Duncan F Cameron (1972) The Museum: A Temple or the Forum, Journal f World History, Vol. 14, No.1 Pinna, p. 195,198

[148] Parry Ross (2007) Recoding the Museum: digital heritage and the technologies of change. London: Routledge, p 80

[149] Watson, Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p.5

object but about the culture it comes from.[150] The recognition of the museum's role in society became increasingly political, with their nationalistic representations and their social, educational function. However, it remains in the past, as Lim noted, "(Korean) museums mainly focus on the traditional culture which is extinct in the present."[151] In line with economic growth and globalisation, the national museum's role and function have been allocated by the government to present Korean cultural objects as innate representations of Korean national pride and identity. But it now seems to have no relevance to today.

2.2.2 Structure of Korean museum

After liberation, the department in charge of museum policy changed to the US Military Government (1945-1948), the Ministry of Education (1949-1968), Ministry of Culture and Information (1968-1990), Ministry of Culture (1990-1993), Ministry of Sports (1993-1998), Ministry of Tourism (1998-2005), and currently Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) (2005-current) [152]. Under the MCST, currently, 18 national museums are affiliated organisation, including the National Folk Museum of Korea, this thesis research venue. Even though the government-oriented national culture is authoritarian, this interest in national museums was able to receive unprecedented support from the government.

---

[150] Baxandall Michael (1991) Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects, in Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (eds.) Ivan Krap and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution, p.34

[151] Lim Jaehae (2015), Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사 필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회), p.8

[152] Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism was established in 1948 as an Office of Public Information and become to today's form in 2008 by integrating the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Government Information Agency and Ministry of Information and Communication. Including 14 regional national museums, the National Museum of Korea, Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, National Folk Museum of Korea, National Museum of Contemporary History and National Hanguel Museum, also the Cultural Heritage Administration is affiliated to the MCST. (https://www.mcst.go.kr/english/ministry/history/history.jsp Access 08 June 2020)

As Korean museums expanded alongside economic development during the 1960s to 1980s, its fundamental role was not only to protect the Korean heritage but also to function as a symbol of the nation, especially internationally. It was the early 1970s when the system of the museum was established. In the midst of rapid social change, to encourage common values and identity, Korean museums were actively integrated, renamed and reopened during this period. For instance, in 1969, the Deoksugung art museum was integrated into the 'national' museum of Korea, and art was greatly strengthened in the archaeological museum,[153] also the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Korea, opened in 1969. Since the government allocated the museum function and to operate more with the government regime, the government systematically established a museum in each region according to 'the system of one museum per region'[154] in 1975 and announced the 'Museum Law'[155] in 1984. The purpose of this Act is to contribute to developing culture, arts, and learning; enhancing the general public's enjoyment of culture; and facilitating lifelong education, by providing for matters necessary for the establishment and operation of museums and art galleries for the sound development of museums and art galleries. (Article 1) The Korean government has been working closely as possible with museums or with people who are in the filed by carrying out policies with an appointed specialist like a state-employed archaeologist, architects, curators, academics.

In this vein, with the development of Museum Law, between the 1980s and about 20years later, museums in Korea had nearly tripled their size. The policy of distributing the framework of cultural facilities established museums in various ministries and greatly influenced the development of the museum. Currently, there are 50 national museums, 380 public museums, 362 private museums, 105 university museums. Also, there are 1 national art museum, 72 public art museums, 179 art museums, and 15 university art

---

[153] Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies
(박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책), Doctor Thesis, p.62

[154] The system of one museum in one region was established in 1975, and currently there are 13 regional museums affiliated to the National Museum of Korea.

[155] The Museum Law was renamed the Museum and Art Museum Promotion Law in 1991.

museums. The quantitative expansion of these museums is a product or government policy. Yang argues that the policy was not based on cultural demand but on hardware-centric provider-centric policy made under political consideration.[156] The government led the museum system and managed it to frame the nation in a certain way without considering what they are providing and who they are providing it for.

Korean national museums follow an agreed upon history whilst each museum concentrates on a specific period. For instance, the National Museum of Korea collects and displays the history from prehistoric times to 1910, before the Japanese colonial period. The National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, which opened in 2012, tells the history of Korea from 1876 to the 1960s. While history divided by chronological period has been displayed and collected at the two museums above, the National Folk Museum of Korea, which was established in 1945, collects and displays both archaeological and cultural objects from daily life, focusing on the Joseon dynasty period (1392-1897) within the theme of 'folk'. While 13 regional, national museums, under the National Museum of Korea's jurisdiction, the role is to preserve historical objects excavated in the region and explore the origin of local identities such as archaeology, history and folklore. Historical and cultural objects are not only narrated based on the dominant historical narrative but also classified in chronological order and divided into different museums. In this sense, visitors have similar experiences whichever national museums themed in history and culture they visit; historical objects are set to provide similar meaning and feeling about Korean history and culture.

Therefore, the government's constant support has been a factor in strengthening the bureaucratic museum system in Korea. For instance, the Director of the National Museum of Korea had to step down from her position in 2016 because she opposed holding the French Decorative Art exhibition, in which President Park Gun-Hye (2013-2016) expressed interest. According to the Museum and Art Gallery Act (2020), the mayor or the governor can request rectification to the museum regarding the facilities, management,

---

[156] Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies,
(박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책), Hongik University Doctor Thesis, p. 71

or operation (Article 28). Also, the head of the museum is required to submit an annual report on the operation status as admission fees, service change, guidance and supervision, to the MCST no later than January 20th of the following year. (Article 30) However, this top-down relationship between the government and museums has been part of the Korean culture of the way it works. As museums are managed by the government, it is hard for them to act independently.

In this vein, since the definition and the concept of intangible cultural heritage are mostly undertaken by folklorist, anthropologist and historians, the folk museum has been one of the key cultural institutions in Korea which took the key responsibility in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage more than any other museums. Although the discourse on intangible cultural heritage has been created around the Cultural Heritage Administration which is another affiliated agency under the MCST, the museum opened the first special exhibition of 'Arirang' a traditional Korean song, due to the political conflict with China and currently publishes the International Journal of Intangible Heritage. [see page 18] Indeed, before the National Intangible Heritage Centre opened in 2013, the museum was almost the only institution that can work with intangible cultural heritage. However, apart from the establishment of the centre, it seems that the museum was recognised as a representative cultural institution which can solve the conflict with China by presenting the intangible cultural heritage in the national museums. The interest in intangible cultural heritage has been promoted by the government for political purposes, [see page 94] as this will continued on the next chapter, but the museum was and still is the only national museums in Korea, which includes the concept of intangible cultural heritage in the museum exhibition because of the theme of the museum – folklore. This link to intangible cultural heritage shows much more complicated issues embedded in the museum as the political intention and purpose pushes the museum to not only have a responsibility of taking care of intangible cultural heritage but also to understand and present it in official terms.

2.3National Folk Museum of Korea

The following section is about the historical account of the National Folk Museum of Korea, which is the case study for this thesis. As mentioned previously, the National Folk Museum of Korea is a good example of the kinds of objectifying and fossilising the nation's past that takes place in Korean institutions. The museum is considered as key cultural institutions representing Korean history and culture, also known as a keeper of national treasures, and whose role is to promote Korean cultural and historical objects as innate representations of Korean national pride and identity. Especially, since the theme of the museum: folk, is a controversial concept that reflects how the state-centre system not only limits the activity of the museum but furthermore fossilises the intangible idea of ethnically homogeneous nation to material cultures. This history of the museum illuminates this fossilisation and the relationship of their role to intangible cultural heritage.

The National Folk Museum of Korea was founded in 1945, under the US military government, named as the National Museum of Ethnology (국립민족박물관), as briefly mentioned in the previous chapter. [see page 18] Since the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) plays a key role in safeguarding the integrity of Korea's cultural traditions and in enhancing its cultural life, the National Folk Museum of Korea has been one of the five national museums[157] under the system where it investigates, researches, and acquires artifacts and various resources about the daily lives of Korean in the past and present. Since the museum is located next to the Gyeongbokgung Palace in the centre of Seoul, nearly 3 million visitors visit the museum annually, with the proportion of foreigner visitors reaching 60 percent as part of the Gyeongbokgung Palace tour. The museum has a collection of 160,000 folk objects collected from all over the country. As other national museums themed in Korean history and culture, the National Folk Museum of Korea has a narrative structure that follows the idea of a homogenous nation.[158] The museum shows people's daily life from the 17th to 20th century based on the official

[157] The National Museum of Korea (including 13 regional national museums), Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, National Folk Museum of Korea, National Museum of Contemporary History, and National Hangeul Museum is the main national museums that is under the MCST.

[158] Kwon, Hyeok-Hui (2014) The Discover and Extension of Folklore in the National Story, Human Contents of Association, Vol. 33

national history and collects all tangible and intangible folk materials. Based on four seasons which ethnographically geographical characterises the life of Koreans, the permanent exhibition of the museum is divided into three sections: <Korean Traditional Daily Life>[159], <The Korean Way of Life> and <Life Cycle of the Koreans>. These three permanent exhibition galleries present the traditional culture of Korea, while two other exhibition galleries present temporary special exhibitions such as various types of folklore around the world and an exhibition space dedicated to the collection of donated artefacts.

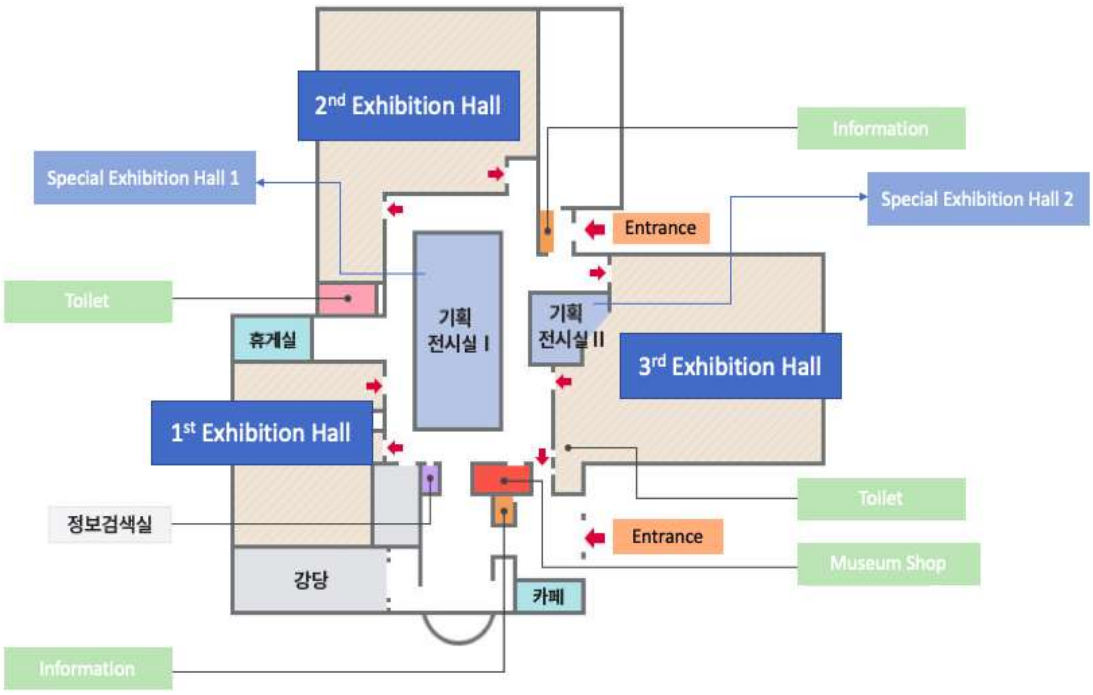


Figure 8 Floor plan of the National Folk Museum of Korea. (Source: Author)

However, since the museum had moved around Korea during the Korean War until 1966, when it reopened and settled down next to the current location in 1993, the character of the museum has rarely been researched. One of the reasons can be the concept of folk, which, is a culture that encompasses broad range of human activity, whilst intangible

[159] The permanent exhibition 1 has been completely changed since December 19, 2018, from 'History of the Korean People' to the current theme of 'Korean Traditional Daily Life'. Currently the permanent exhibition 2 is in full renovation.

cultural heritage is often defined in the category of folklore. Folklore and intangible cultural heritage have similar characteristics (as both concepts are about human behaviours, what we do in daily life and the influence of modern life). According to Na, one of the biggest differences between the idea of folklore and intangible cultural heritage is this system of selecting culture and designating and preserving for the nation.[160] The difference in that intangible cultural heritage is legally restricted as the system of Living Human Treasures. [see page 81] However, folklore exists in various ways from visual material to oral literature such as myths and legends. It can be defined as, 'informally learned, unofficial knowledge about the world, ourselves, our communities, our beliefs, our cultures and our traditions that is expressed creatively through words, music customs, actions, behaviours, and materials. It is also the interactive, dynamic process of creating, communicating, and performing as we share that knowledge with other people.[161] However, the problem with the term folklore is that it is broad and ambiguous itself. As society change and people's lives change, so does folklore. The elements are broad among countries, and the comprehensive meanings evoke confusion among concepts. Although the basic term of folklore does not have a big difference between countries as folklore is based on people and their lifestyle, the collective meaning changes the form and meanings of folklore. It depends on the 'interpretive communities', those who share the same strategies for reading texts and assigning meanings,[162] to which individuals belong.

As we have noted before, folklore in Korea is related to faith, linked as it is to cultural activities that have been handed down for thousands of years, such as those related to Confucianism and Shamanism. Since the way people lived in the past had changed dramatically during the Japanese colonial period, defining the concept of folklore in Korea is closely related to the nation-building process and a reaction from its colonial legacy. It is unclear what intention the U.S. military government had in the establishment

[160] Na Kyung-so (2020) Approach on Difference of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Folklore (무형문화재와 민속학의 거리), Korea Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vo.8, p. 13

[161] Sim et al (2011) Living, Folklore: An Introduction of the Study of People and Their Traditions (2nd Edition), Utah State University Press, p.11

[162] Stanley Fish (1980) Is there a text in this class? The authority of interpretive communities, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England

of the folk museum at that time.[163] However, the museum seems established with the Korean government's plan to modernise and industrialised the nation under the U.S. military government, as the museum opened in 1946. Yang argued that the establishment of the folk museum seems as an increase of national consciousness through an indigenous folk culture that not only tried to overcome the Japanese occupation but also a reaction of receiving new culture in order to overthrow the Japanese occupation.[164] Whilst, Gang argues that the establishment of a folk museum was a byproduct of democracy as folklore referring to people's lifestyle is based on the democratised and modernisation of the nation.[165] He meant that folk museum was needed as a representative symbol of democracy (referring to the belief in freedom and equality between people, or a system of government based on this belief, in which power is either held by elected representatives or directly by the people themselves)[166]. At the end of the Korean War, the newly formed government-built with economic support from the U.S. had a significant influence in developing a Western culture in Korean society. Ethnohistory was revived instrumentally to develop nationalism, while there was a cultural movement that tried to make Korea more westernised as quickly as possible.[167] The country changed rapidly while Korean cultural traditions as practices in everyday life was abandoned with little efforts to weave it into the process of modernising the nation. For instance, until the 1960s, Korea was mainly an agrarian country, but the five-year economic development plan[168] in 1962 rapidly reduced the proportion of the agricultural population and gross

---

[163] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28, p.106

[164] Yang Jongsung (1994) Folklore and Cultural Politics in Korea: Intangible Cultural Properties and Living National Treasures, Indiana University PhD Thesis, p.29

[165] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28, p.106

[166] Cambridge dictionary, Available at: https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/democracy

[167] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28

[168] Five-Year Economic Development plan is an economic development project of South Korea from 1962 to 1996. The plan was designed to increase wealth within South Korea and strengthen political stability.

national products. Obviously, during this period, "Korea's modernisers were committed to transforming the old kingdom into a modern nation, discarding the old outlook and emulating the modern West."[169] There has been a great change in people's live. Hence, Westernisation was not only by adopting the Western ideology but also the Western lifestyles such as clothing, food and living style, and it meant elite culture which emerged as an ideal culture replaced Korean traditional culture.

In this vein, the concept of folk culture as understood in the museum and by the government refers to everyday people's lifestyle based on agricultural lifestyle developed as a concept that is different from modern culture and Western culture. As mentioned before, [see page 48] the concept of folklore has been divided with the Korean's elite culture, the culture of '*yangban*'. Folklore has not only been passed down selectively with the development of national history but also inadvertently having an indifferent approach to those not defined as *yangban*. Indeed, as Kwon argues, folklore shown in the museum is overlapping the dominant national history,[170] by showing both the representation of the past culture and the contemporary culture. However, folklore refers to a form of traditional Korean culture that remains in the past and in the countryside based on agricultural life, while selective folk culture becomes a national treasure and designated as heritage. For instance, when the museum's tour guide mentioned that the museum lacked objects from common people-objects, it seems that the museum is explaining Korean culture regardless of social-class. Indeed, the museum's collection, mostly with a culture of the *yangban* class, can be a result of colonisation and the war which mostly destroyed Korean culture in any class as it is the culture that is left after colonisation. But since the development of ethnohistory in Korea has been influenced by the inflow of the

(Available at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five-Year-Plans_of_South_Korea Assessed 15 September 2017)

[169] Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, 34

[170] Kwon, Hyeok-Hui (2014) The Discover and Extension of Folklore in the National Story, Human Contents of Association, Vol. 33; Jo Jeong-woo (2002) Formation of ethnic nation and 'making history'- Focusing on establishment and development of folk museum (민족국가 형성과 '역사 만들기'– 민속박물관의 설립과 전개를 중심으로), The Korean Sociological Association (한국사회학회), pp. 45-64

West, especially the U.S., displaying the culture of *yangban* as a national culture seems like a recognition of democratisation and modernisation of the nation.

In this vein, according to Gang, there are also many cultures that disappeared from the value judgement based on economic, as the government put an effort to develop and represent the national culture.[171] The democratic change in Korea is linked to democratisation and institutionalising the rights of individuals and ethnic minorities.[172] Hence, the government were looking at the potential possibility of attracting more visitors from a commercial standpoint. For instance, since history and culture have been revived and reinvented with a strong nationalist view, the reviving process of ethnohistory was based on selecting and measuring culture with relation to its economic impact and the monetary value it has to the nation. This in contrast to the approach of revaluing the traditional culture to be continued or to be preserved from the rapid cultural change in society.

Therefore, as this thesis discovers, even though the museum has been showing the modern daily life of Koreans, the life after the Korean War with the influence of Western culture, the museum seems much more to remember and show the culture that has disappeared with the rapid economic development. As continued in Chapter 6, the museum has displayed traditional Korean cloth called 'Hanbok' in every exhibition room in various ways – from daily Hanbok to special occasional Hanbok to every age. However, the culture of wearing Hanbok has changed in today's Korea and most Koreans do not even have their Hanbok. In fact, as the culture of wearing hanbok changes, the skills of making Hanbok became an intangible cultural heritage that should be protected, but the museum does not show any of these changes.

---

[171] Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28

[172] Watson Iain and Jeong Hyoung-wook (2010), *Culture and Democratic Identity in South Korea: Contemporary Trends*, Pacific Focus (Inha Journal of International Studies), Vol. 25, No. 3 pp. 376- 395

Based on this, this thesis will explore how the museum understood the concept of intangible cultural heritage, and how visitors react to the display of the museum and how this reflects the understanding of intangible cultural heritage in society.

2.4 Conclusion

To Korea, the idea of ethnie has been an effective concept that justifies Korean national identity from the colonial experience and Western imperialism. This ethnic identity is based on political purpose as it was perhaps unavoidable to Korea due to its traumatic experiences. Having a sense of belonging to a shared historical culture has been an essential element that secured the nation from the external influences that threatened Korean culture and history. The government role was important here as developing a cohesive idea of the nation, and it can be seen to have been successful in some ways. However, in Korea, the idea of ethnicity was used for the national purpose and actively constructed by the state as in 'need of modernity'[173]. The political intervention has, directly and indirectly, affected the interpretation of the history and culture not only from what elements should be shared but also how they should be shared. The point of this process was not only about proving the country to be an ethnically homogenous nation but also about implementing the idea in society of the need to modernise an ancient nation and develop a collective idea of the nation that develops solidarity. National history was rewritten to construct a public ideology based on the purity of history, while historical objects were directly linked to the rebuilding of the nation and promoted to develop a strong collective national identity. The Korean government actively managed and controlled the re-imagining and re-constructing of heritage in contemporary Korean society and encouraged cultural institutions to play an official role and responsibility to protect heritage and enhance national identity. Designating heritage and giving the role to a museum was part of the process of an invented tradition and an imagined community.

[173] Gellner Ernest (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell; Hall Stuart (1996) The Question of Cultural Identity, in *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies*, (eds.) Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, Oxford: Blackwell; Smith Anthony D (1999) History and modernity, Reflections on the theories of nationalism, in *Representing the nation: A reader- Histories, heritage and museums* (eds.) David Bowell and Jessica Evans, Routledge, p.57

In this vein, there are inevitable issues in the process of inheriting the colonial past, but also the government which promoted the history and culture as national representation had considerably affected the museums to become today's form. Historical conditions developed a national history based on political power and, in this sense, what museums should do was specified. The national museums' role was not only to rediscover the past of the nation but also to disseminate Korea's national history to the public. By promulgating cultural polices as the Museum Law and the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, the state-centred system affected the role of museums and the process of articulating the national identity whilst the material culture took an important role in visualising the intangible idea of the nation. Tangible objects have been used as visual proof of the existence of the nation, whilst intangible forms of cultural traditions were not as importantly considered as tangible objects especially in museum practices. Alongside this, the way Korean visitors should feel, and think has been controlled more to create a firm national historical narrative. Material culture importantly shows the usefulness and value of Korean national identity, but it was displayed to convey to the viewer a fixed and coherent idea of authenticity.

Therefore, the historical influences upon the development of a museum in Korea require reconsideration on who is it for, with equal weighting as who is in charge and who influences it. Focusing on material culture to illuminate the nation as an ethnically homogenous nation very much limited the understanding of Korean culture and history and, to the extent, develop a museum more as storage of national treasures. The political goal has ignored the changes. Thus, considering the political power behind museums' practices, the following chapter will discuss heritage understanding in Korea with how Korean museums have fossilised heritage and affect Korean visitors' ideas of the past and the role of heritage in sustaining national identity today.

Chapter 3 Historical and Theoretical Contextualisation

> Heritage is not simply about the past; it is vitally about the present and future
>
> Palmer, 2009, p. 8[174]

This chapter reviews the existing literature related to the main subjects of this thesis - heritage and museum - in order to discuss the role of intangible cultural heritage in today's Korean museums. Heritage is a key concept in Korean society and the government has used it to develop and maintain Korean national identity. As the concept of heritage is critical to understanding the arguments of this thesis, it is necessary to consider theoretical approaches to heritage and how they are mobilised in Korea. It is only by exploring the nature of heritage in this way that we can come to an understanding of how museums have caused the fossilisation of heritage in Korea and how intangible cultural heritage, as manifested in museum exhibitions appears from my case study to have a very limited effect upon Korean visitors' ideas of how the past has influenced the present and the role of heritage plays in sustaining national identity today. Therefore, this chapter reviews the concept of heritage as an essential element in understanding nations and museums, which play prominent roles in establishing official heritage.

3.1 What Is Heritage?

In July 2021, the Getbol, or Korean Tidal Flats, were registered on the UNESCO's (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) World Heritage list. Starting in 1995, Korea has put a great deal effort into getting Korean heritage sites inscribed on the World Heritage list. To date, South Korea has registered 15 sites on the

[174] Palmer C. (2009) Preface, in Council of Europe, Heritage and Beyond, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, p. 8

World Heritage list and 21 practices in the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity list and 16 documentary resources in the Memory of the World list. To Koreans, these examples of natural, intangible, and tangible heritage represent not only a list of accolades but forces that have developed Korea's national identity. The registration of heritage sites, practices and resources constitutes recognition by foreign countries of Korea, thereby fostering a sense of national pride.

In Korea, as in most countries, the idea of the nation has strongly influenced how heritage is understood in society. As the state was instrumental in defining the national culture of Korea, the concept of heritage has been closely linked to the history of nation-building and nation branding up to today. Heritage has been recognised an integral role in both nation-building and tourism.[175] The South Korean government has had enormous influence in managing, selecting and promoting heritage. As Pai has argued, in the wake of historical and political conflicts, the government recognised heritage as a vital component of developing solidarity, cohesion and attachment to the nation as well as of 'branding' the cultural image of the country for a world audience.[176] Heritage has been defined to suit the national narrative and regarded as a major emblem of nationhood in Korea.[177] To Koreans, heritage is a mixture of ideas and symbols that engage the imagination of the nation and physical medium that visually display the past. It developed as a distinctive symbolic medium that is today associated with national identification for Koreans. As discussed, developing a national identity in Korea was much more about a

[175] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010), Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University; Hoelscher, S. (2006), "Heritage", in *A Companion to Museum Studies* (ed.) S. Macdonald, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett Barbara (1998) *Destination Culture, Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, University of California Press; Park Sang-me (2010b) The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965- Present, Journal of Korean Studies, Vol. 15. No. 1; Peckham, R.S (2003) Introduction: the politics of heritage and public culture, in Rethinking Heritage, Cultures and Politics in Europe (ed.) R. S Peckham, London: I. B. Tauris; Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2

[176] Pai Hyung-il (2013) Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity, University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, p.10

[177] Park Hyung-yu (2011a) Shared national memory as intangible heritage: re-imagining two Koreas as one nation, Annals of Tourism Research, 38 (2), p.536

process of identification,[178] as people construct their identity by identifying how they are different from other people,[179] especially the Japanese. Korean heritage itself, therefore, became more an ideology. It can be defined as a,

> A faith, and like all faiths, originated in the deeply rooted human need to give meaning to temporary chaos, to secure group boundaries, and to provide a symbolic sense of continuity and certainty that is often lacking in everyday life.[180]

Heritage validated the present by conveying an idea of unbroken narratives that embody what are perceived as timeless values,[181] as the nation promoted a belief in a common history and culture to serve the nationalist goal of developing the solidarity of the nation. Heritage was used for 'the need to forge new national identities in the wake of decolonisation.' [182] The idea of heritage developed based on a revival of the past, including mythical histories, not only to prove the existence of a nation but even more so to display and commemorate the nation's past.

However, since the government has determined what Korean heritage is, there is necessarily a level of 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) and certain spokespersons are designated the legitimate authorities on the past. As Smith suggested, the official representation of heritage has allowed the general public no role in defining heritage and focused largely on physical objects and places rather than on the intangible practices attached to people and things.[183] Korean heritage was defined and acknowledged by the

---

[178] Bechhofer Frank and McCrone David (2009) National identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 9

[179] Mandler Peter (2006) What is "National Identity"? Definitions and Applications in Modern British Historiography, Modern Intellectual History, Vol. 3. No. 02, p.272

[180] Hoelscher, S. (2006) "Heritage", in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, S. Macdonald (ed.) Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, p.216

[181] Ashworth, Gregory J. (2002) *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*, Routledge, p.1008

[182] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University, p.237

[183] Smith Laurajane (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge

experts who carefully curated it whilst the public's role was to accept the idea and contribute to protecting it as a moral responsibility. Koreans believed that they had a moral responsibility to preserve and protect the national culture[184] and accept the heritage certified by administrators as 'authentic' and 'traditional'.[185] As much as heritage played an important role in helping people to identify both who they were as individuals and the collectives to which they belonged,[186] heritage developed as a symbolic resource of the nation that should be protected under any circumstances.

Despite the importance of the government's role, the reason for being critical to the government role is not just because it controlled and defined what heritage is. Instead, in the case of Korea, it excluded and de-valued certain communities that are part of the heritage process. Korea, as a nation, can be defined as a community that shares historical and cultural experiences,[187] and so on, presenting a non-controversial subject of history or culture is much more related to neighbour countries as China and Japan. In this case, narrating history and culture has focused on defending and proving the nation more than considering how Koreans – individuals and communities with specialist knowledge - had different interpretation objectives and methodologies. This can see as Korea following a European tradition of using heritage to 'consolidate a sense of national identity and to assimilate or dispense with competing regional or minority challenges'.[188] As discussed previously, after the historical and political experience, presenting how different Korea is to neighbouring countries was significant. Through this process, the public accept and followed the government approach. However, it is true that this approach to heritage

---

[184] Jung Soo-Jin (2008) *The birth of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (무형문화재의 탄생), Yucksawabipyung (역사와비평), p.48

[185] Saeji, Cedarbough T. (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 528

[186] Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University, p.238

[187] Mason, R. (2005) Museums, galleries and heritage: sites of meaning-making and communication, in F. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries*, Abingdon: Routledge, p. 206- 207

[188] Kockel U. and Craith, M.N. (2007) (eds) Cultural Heritages as Reflexive Traditions, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmiliam

results to exclude the public becoming active in heritage process. Therefore, rather than criticising the role of the government, it can be seen as a critical view of the government's approach and the ways of using heritage.

Therefore, this study argues, as Harrison has, that there is a gap between what a given individual understands to be their heritage and the official heritage promoted and managed by the state, requires the possibility of multiple heritages.[189] In the case of Korea, the issue is to understand the individual differences that promote a multiple-heritage perspective. The gap between individual and official understanding of heritage resulted from the attempt to rewrite and 'purify' national history to prove nation's independence and homogenous character. The government's policy, based on ethnic nationalism, by no means encompasses today's understanding of heritage, though it remains dominantly in Korean society. The issue of national identity in Korea 'led to the suppression of complex, alternative or competing histories and heritage.'[190] Since heritage was used to promote a specific attitude of pride towards the past, it also led to the rejection of those who had different ideas about heritage. The government approach forced the public to accept the official version of the nation's past without question and ignored and discard cultures that did not seem to represent the nation during early nation-building period. The government focused on crafting a representative culture and national tradition by limiting and controlling the roles of cultural institutions such as museums and the practitioners known as Living Human Treasures. However, the meaning and forms of heritage have changed over time. As this research found, whilst most visitors agreed that the heritage found in Korean museums is Korean heritage, half of the visitors added that 'it is not my culture'. These responses show that Korean national museums have successfully achieved their educational goal of disseminating Korea's collective history but also reveals how different understanding of heritage exist in today Korea. Moreover, as this research found, Living Human Treasures are struggling with the idea of a whitewashed version of essential Korean national history and culture.

---

189 Harrison Rodney (2010) What is heritage? in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, Manchester University Press, p.12

190 Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University, p.240

In the meantime, Korean heritage was significantly influenced by Western culture and subscribed to Western practices and ideals. For instance, the enactment of the Preservation and Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage (PPICH) Act in 2015 marked one of the recent changes in heritage protection policy. Various factors influenced the revision of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, but the international influence can be seen as a major factor; in fact, the PPICH Act was passed due to the influence of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and was phrased in terms of UNESCO's criteria. Due to this influence, Korean intangible cultural heritage was removed from the sphere of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act and legitimised in a new act focusing on intangible cultural heritage. It is noteworthy that the institutionalised Korean heritage system attempts to conform to international standards of heritage. Korea's increasing interest in international norms prompted a broader understanding of heritage in Korea that included more diverse forms of culture; however, this system was developed according to international standards rather than the general public's understanding of heritage. Park noted that

> Changing trends related to the intangible cultural heritage of East Asia require shifts in relevant politics, making it urgent for Korea to seek measures that compliment rather than abolish its 40 years of experience in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and allow for the incorporation of international standards presented by the UNESCO Convention.[191]

Hence, the expansion of intangible cultural heritage did not reflect an agreement with the concept of multiple heritages but rather a move to follow international standards.

Jung has argued that the transition from cultural property to cultural heritage due to the international influence in Korea constitutes a change in 'the national level of cultural

[191] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호 제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술 학회), Vol. 34, p.320

representation, which becomes a global representation.'[192] Intangible cultural heritage refers the heritage of the entire nation, unlike in Australia or Taiwan, where intangible cultural heritage refers to the traditions of indigenous minority communities whose distinctive cultural activities have been passed down through generations and continue today. As Korea is believed to remained homogenous to the present day, with a national identity determined via a single coherent ethno-history and culture,[193] Korean intangible cultural heritage preserved by Living Human Treasures and accordingly, their activities have been promoted by the government to display traditional Korean culture to a global audience and to cultivate international recognition. Hence, considering the new intangible cultural heritage policy and the system of Living Human Treasure developed in Korea, the relationship between local action and global network seems to have a potential to transform society.[194] Having Korean heritage listed as world heritage and receiving international recognition and reputation have been important in developing the domestic solidarity of the nation. Establishing an international reputation equal to those of Western countries was not only profitable to the nation's economy but also enhanced the confidence and pride of the nation's people.

Heritage is a political act but also a process. Heritage itself is about forgetting, remembering and reinventing the past in order to reflect the present.[195] Thus, the question is not about forms (tangible or intangible) or symbolic meaning or how to build a collective idea of the nation. It is about continuity from the past to the present and developing different methods and narrative frameworks to represent the nation. As Harrison, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Smith have theorised, culture is constantly

---

[192] Jung Soo-jin (2013) From the Intangible Cultural Property to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재에서 무형문화유산으로, 글로벌시대의 문화 표상), Journal of East Asian Culture (동아시아문화연구), Vol. 53, p.91

[193] Park Hyung-yu (2010a) Heritage Tourism, Emotional Journeys into Nationhood, Annuals of Tourism Research, Vol. 37, No. 1, p. 120

[194] Harrison Rodney (2010) What is heritage? in *Understanding the Politics of Heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, Manchester University Press, p.39

[195] Anico, Marta and Elsa Peralta (2009) Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World, New York: Routledge, p.6

undergoing change and being reinvented as it is assigned new and different purposes, values and meanings over time[196]

3.1.1 The Heritage Industry in South Korea

Currently, the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA, 문화재청, *Munhwajae Choung*), which is affiliated with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST), plays a key role in safeguarding the integrity of Korea's cultural traditions and enhancing its cultural life, by preserving and promoting the use of heritage. During the peirod preceding colonisation by Japan, heritage awareness and protection and promotion centred on the Joseon royal family. Then, during the Japanese colonial era, the current form of the Korean heritage system took shape. After the Korean War, under the regime of the fifth president, Park Chung-hee (r. 1961-1979), the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (CHPA) was enacted in 1961 as a necessary means of protecting heritage from invasions like the one just experienced and the continual influence of Westernisation. Since he had strong connections with Japanese bureaucrats, he actively adopted Japan's cultural policy[197] after normalising relations with Japan in 1965.

The purpose of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act is

> 'to promote the cultural edification of Korean nationals and contribute to the development of human culture by transferring national culture and enabling it to be utilised through the preservation of cultural heritage' (CHP Act'.1).

[196] Kreps Christina (2015) Cultural Heritage, Humanitarianism and Development, Critical Links, in Museums Heritage and International Development (eds.) Paul Basu and Wayne Modest, Routledge, p.250

[197] Japan enacted the Proclamation for the Protection of Antiques and Old Properties act in 1871. Japan enacted the Protection of Cultural Properties Act 1950 by designating Important Cultural Properties and National Treasures of high historic, artistic and/ or scientific value (Kakiuchi Emiko (2014) Cultural heritage protection system in Japan: current issues and prospects for the future, GRIPS (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies) Discussion Paper, p.4

The protection act defines heritage as "naturally formed national, racial, or world heritage of outstanding historical, artistic, academic, or scientific value" (CHP Act'1.1) and ranks heritage into the following seven categories:[198]

1. National treasure (국보, *Kukpo*): Heritage of a rare and significant value in terms of human culture with an equivalent to "treasures."
2. Treasures (보물, *Pomul*): Tangible cultural heritage of important value, such as historic architecture, ancient books and documents, paintings, sculpture, handicraft, archaeological materials and armoury
3. Historic Sites (사적, *Sajok*): Places and facilities of great historical and academic values that are specially commemorable (e.g., prehistoric sites, fortresses, ancient tombs, kiln sites, dolmens, temple sites and shell mounds)
4. Scenic Site (명승, *Myongsung*): Places of national beauty with great historical, artistic or scenic values, which feature distinctive uniqueness and rarity originated from their formation processes
5. Natural Monument (천연기념물, *Chonyon kinuommul*): Animals, plants, minerals, caves, geological features, biological products and special natural phenomena, carrying great historical, cultural, scientific, aesthetic or academic values, through which the history of a nation or the secrets to the creation of the earth can be identified or reveals
6. National Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재, *Muhyung munhwajae*): Intangible cultural heritage, such as drama, music, dance, and craftsmanship, carrying great historical, artistic or academic values
7. National Folklore Cultural Heritage (민속문화, *Minsok munhwajae*): Clothing, implements and houses used for daily life and businesses, transportation and communications, entertainment and social life, and religious or annual events, that are highly valuable for the understanding of the transition in people's styles and more

[198] Cultural Heritage Administration, Heritage Classification, , Available from: http://english.cha.go.kr/html/HtmlPage.do?pg=/classfication/classification.jsp&mn=EN_02_01 [Access 15 June 2015]

Indeed, the inherited Japanese forms of cultural policy were to mobilise the populace in support of state goals,[199] but at the same time, there were events as 'Heritage Loving Period' (문화재애호기간, *Munhwajae Aeho period*) in November 1 to November 10, 1961 to increase public awareness of Korean heritage. Various activities were carried out after President Park's regime, contributed to an increase in Korean society's social awareness movement. The government-led issue of repatriation, the 1995 demolition of the former Japanese Government-General of Korea Building to dispose of the remnants of Japanese colonial rule and the enactment of the Cultural Heritage Charter (1997) can be seen as government actions to develop solidary of the nation by increasing the public's interest in heritage. The CHA, formerly the Office of Cultural Properties (문화재관리국, *Munhwajae Kwalliguk*, 1961-1998), under the Ministry of Education, became an independent ministry and was re-named CHA in 1998 due to reflect its expanding role.

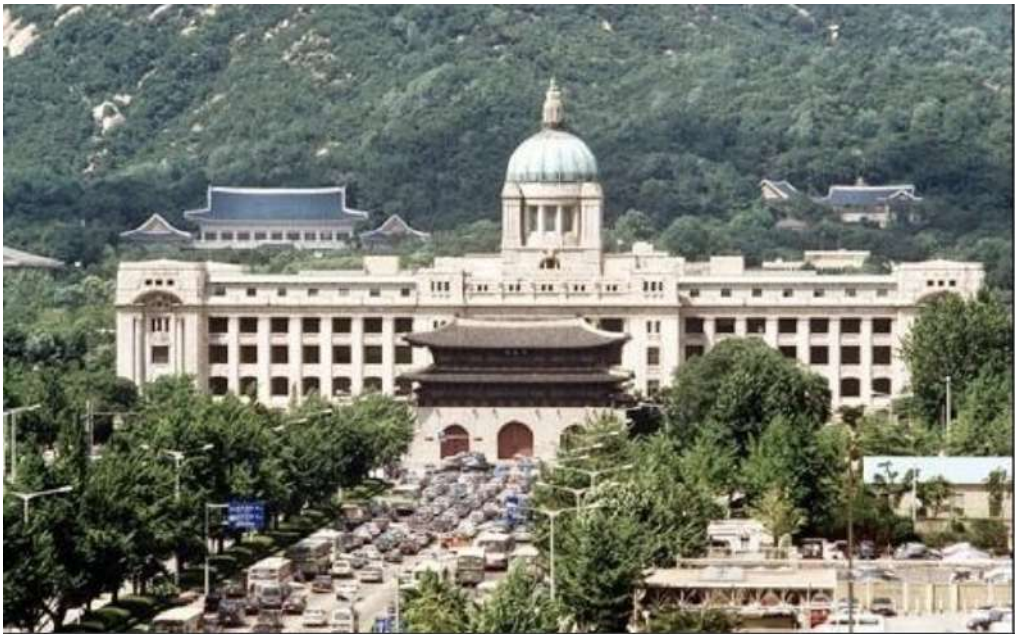


Figure 9 Before image of the removal of the former Japanese Government-General Korea in 1995.
(©https://namu.wiki/w/%EC%A1%B0%EC%84%A0%EC%B4%9D%EB%8F%85%EB%B6%80%20%EC%B2%AD%EC%82%AC)

[199] Park Hyung-yu (2010b) Heritage Tourism, Emotional Journeys into Nationhood, Annuals of Tourism Research, Vol. 37, No. 1, p 67,71

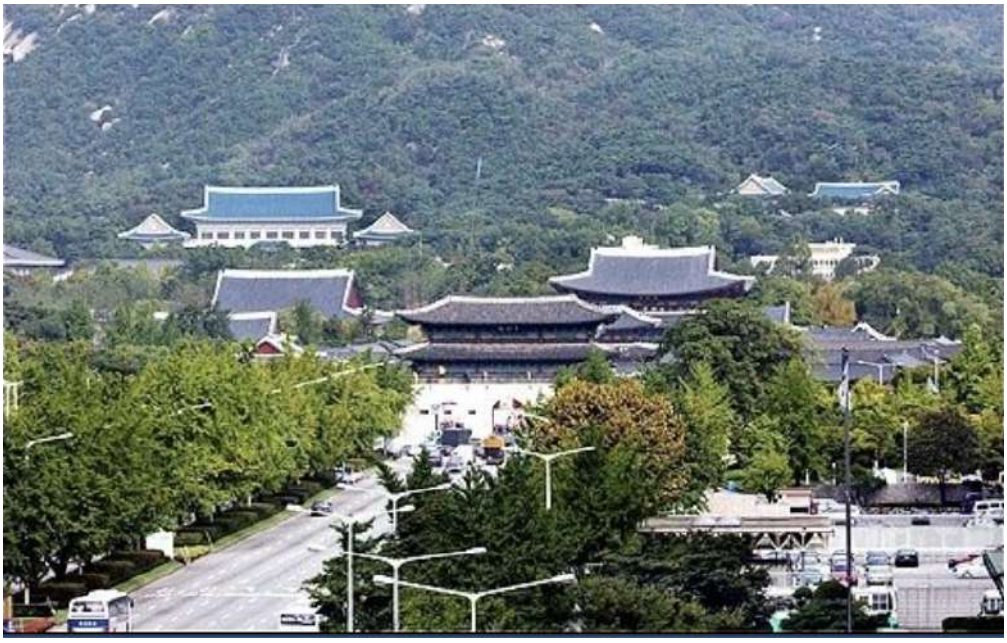


Figure 10 After image of the removal of the former Japanese Government-General Korea in 1995.
(©https://namu.wiki/w/%EC%A1%B0%EC%84%A0%EC%B4%9D%EB%8F%85%EB%B6%80%20%EC%B2%AD%EC%82%AC)

By the time of the U.S. military government came into power after liberation, activity was underway to restore a conception of heritage based on a nationalist ideology, which demonstrates the regime's intent to solidify its legitimacy. The government deemed heritage as a national asset that should be administered by the state. At that time, heritage was viewed as part of the nation's economy rather than its symbolic value. However, after the Korean War, heritage assumed a symbolic significance irrespective of its economic value as it became the nation's exclusive property, to be preserved and transmitted.[200] The Japanese-inspired model of the heritage system morphed into distinctive Korean model beginning in the 1970s. Political ideology was reflected in the government's choice to emphasis heritage whilst the government's early heritage policy depicted heritage as a national asset with no economic value that could not be owned privately.[201] Since the Korean government had significant authority and responsibility in the matter of

[200] Kook Sung-ha (2003) The Education significance of the Museum under the US Military Administration (미군정기 박물관의 교육적 의미), Hangukkyoyuksahak (한국교육사학), Vol. 25, No.1, pp. 7-31

[201] Lee Hong-Jik (1965) What is cultural heritage (문화재(文化財), Cultural Heritage, the Office of Cultural Properties (Munhwajae Kwalliguk), p.4

preserving Korean heritage, heritage developed within the idea of an ethnically homogeneous nation and certain cultural products were selected based on the criteria of being 'representative', 'symbolic' and likely to elicit national pride.[202] The government promoted heritage as a national asset to emphasise the urgent need to prioritise Korean history and culture. Cultural institutions such as national museums, cultural centres, and cultural foundations became part of the heritage management system by virtue of collecting, researching, and displaying heritage. Living Human Treasures, who are the holders and the enactors of heritage whilst living in contemporary society, have also played a major role in managing, preserving, and transmitting the intangible cultural heritage, particularly in Korea. [see page 81] Cultural institutions such as museums and practitioners like Living Human Treasures are active operators in protecting and promoting heritage. Meanwhile CHA appointed specialists have carried out the policy:

> 'state-employed archaeologists, architects, curators, academics and research staff micromanaged every aspect of heritage management (including excavations, collections, documentation, registrations, museum exhibitions, and restoration projects).'[203]

The abovementioned specialists make the final decisions about registering a piece of national heritage to this day.

Preservation and Promotion of Korean Heritage

The Korean heritage system is based on 'keeping it safe',[204] or *wonhyeong* (original form, 원형). According to Article 3 of the CHP Act, 'the basic principle for the preservation, management and utilization of cultural heritage is to preserve them in their original state'.

---

[202] Jung Soo-jin (2013), From the Intangible Cultural Property to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재에서 무형문화유산으로, 글로벌시대의 문화 표상), Journal of East Asian Culture (동아시아문화연구), Vol. 53, p.106

[203] Pai Hyung-il (2013) Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity, University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, p. 6

[204] Kim Kwanghe (2015) Understanding and Utilisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형유산의 이해와 활용), BookKorea, p. 178

Since the early stage of modern conservation, the original form has been understood to mean the earliest form and this approach has never changed in actual practice.[205] Under the CHP Act, the concept of preservation and conservation (보존, *bojeon*) are linked to tangible heritage, whilst protection and safeguarding (보호, *boho*) are linked to intangible heritage.[7] The difference between *bojeon* and *boho* is that *bojeon* means to keep something as it was in the past whilst *boho* refers to safeguarding it for the future. Based on this, protecting heritage is a social norm in Korean society.

However, as heritage itself became more of an ideology in Korea, it strongly encouraged the sense that heritage should not change or cannot change under any circumstances. The protection and the utilisation of heritage in Korea are not concepts that coexist uneasily or not at all. There are more negative perceptions of change than positive or open-minded ideas in the heritage field. As Kim has argued, the focus of Korean heritage has been on regaining and inheriting traditional culture and some people even consider its updating or creative utilisation to be taboo. [206] The message is that heritage is a concept that needs protection and should be preserved in the same condition in which it first appeared; the more we utilise it, the more damage will be done. Despite the effectiveness in protecting heritage from the danger of extinction, the uniform protection policy undermined the meaning of protection, as Koreans recognised the 'use' or 'development' of heritage for utilization as reminiscent of 'damage'.[207] In this sense, intangible cultural heritage, which is recorded in various ways – in oral traditions, dance, skills and so on - and passed down through generations must remain unchanged to be protected.

In the last ten years, the utilisation of cultural heritage has become increasingly important due to the increasing interest in cultural heritage in Korea. As much as Koreans wanted

---

[205] Lee Sujeong (2007) Conservation of Religious Buildings in Use: Comparative Research into some Philosophical, Legal and Management Aspects of the Conservation of English Churches and Korean Buddhist Temples, PhD Thesis University of York, p.121

[206] Kim Kwanghe (2015) Understanding and Utilisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형유산의 이해와 활용), BookKorea, p.181

[207] Kwan GuSung (2017) Breathe into a cultural asset (바라만 보던 문화재에 숨을 불어 넣다), Sagaeilbo (세계일보) Available at http://www.segye.com/newsView/20170728002628 [Assessed 15 October 2017]

to preserve heritage in its earliest forms, the relevance of these forms in the present disappeared. For instance, to maintain the tradition of making, eating and fermenting kimchi, Koreans had to invent a kimchi refrigerator as most Koreans today live-in apartments with no garden in which to put the kimchi pot, the *onggi* pot (Korean traditional pot). The pot is used to preserve food during winter and to assist in the fermentation of foods such as kimchi, took on a more modern form, a refrigerator in which to store the same food and sauces that once would have been stored in an *onngi*.



Figure 11 Image of kimchi in the onggi pot (Left) and a kimchi refrigerator (Right). (© https://www.cha.go.kr/cop/bbs/selectBoardArticle.do?nttId=60834&bbsId=BBSMSTR_1008&pageUnit=10&searchtitle=title&searchcont=&searchkey=&searchwriter=&searchWrd=&searchUseYn=&searchCnd=&ctgryLrcls=&ctgryMdcls=&ctgrySmcls=&ntcStartDt=&ntcEndDt=&mn=NS_01_09_01)

The government published the '*Guidebook to Utilising Cultural Heritage*' in 2007 to address the issue of heritage being undermined by excessive commercial use. The government seemed to try to expand the idea of heritage preservation from strictly following traditions to revitalising them, connecting them with the present and insuring their future preservation. However, the sense remains that heritage should be utilised for the greater purpose of preservation and this approach tends towards expanding and

enhancing government power. For instance, the fire that consumed the Sungnyemun Gate pushed the government to strengthen the idea of protectionism and the idea of heritage utilisation was also promoted as a means of increasing public awareness of tradition protecting a given form of heritage not only at the political level but also in the society. According to the former administrator of the CHA,

> The Sungnyemun fire became an important opportunity to reconsider the protection of our heritage […] We have shifted the policy from 'prevention' to 'post-restoration' and put heritage safety at the top of the policy list […] If the public consciousness that protects the heritage is backed up, our brilliant tradition and the value of the excellent cultural heritage will shine. [208]

Indeed, we can see in the case of Korea that the impulse to preserve is 'motivated by a fear of change or anxieties that the rate of change is accelerating.'[209] Yet there is a strong collective idea that heritage should be protected in what is presumed to be its original form. The existing policy framework and rigid system impede acceptance of contemporary and creative uses of heritage. The system maintains these original forms rather than promoting a changeable and fluid concept that depends on people's thoughts. For instance, the Living Human Treasures, who were asked to reconstruct the Sungnyemun encountered conflict with the policymakers about using modern tools to rebuild and repaint the structure. To the Living Human Treasures, it was obvious that machines should be used to cut the trees, but some policymakers asked them to cut the trees as in the past, with saws. Hence, the Korean heritage industry developed according to limited ideas and controlled environments, focusing mostly on the role of heritage in promoting state ideologies whilst such as Living Human Treasures activities were judged the state ideology standard.

---

[208] Kim Joung-jin, (2018) 10 years of Sungnyemun Fire… More awareness of disaster prevention (숭례문 화재 10 년…防災의식 더 다져야), Available from: http://www.munhwa.com/news/view.html?no=2018020201033711000001, [Assessed 12 December 2018]

[209] Basu Paul and Modest Wayne (2015) Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation, in *Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation* (eds.) Paul Basu and Weyne Modest, Routledge, p.7

Government support has been crucial to the continuation and promotion of heritage at various levels – local, regional, national, and international. However, the government system has focused heavily on defining and categorising heritage to integrate and manage it at the national level. Depending on the political power involved, heritage contents have changed, and the political ideation has been reflected in the selection and utilisation of heritage. For instance, intangible activities were in crisis when the government devalued the old customs and promoted modernisation to accommodate Western culture. [210] Government support can be seen as an active transformative process concerning the invention of tradition, and the issue of authenticity heritage tourism is a very significant source of revenue, as Basu and Modest have argued.[211] For instance, the act as making traditional hats became irrelevant in the course of the nation's development as what people wore changed. On the one hand, the change or disappearance was unavoidable, and the government heritage system protected this craft from disappearing. However, the scheme only protected certain cultural activities, which, once selected, became fossilised. Hence, when the CHP Act was enacted, the holders of those skills were not widely valued as skilled people linked to the development of national identity or consciousness. Such heritage holders did not have any official legal status until 1970, when an amendment to the CHP Act outlined the 'recognition system for important intangible cultural heritage holders'.

Korean heritage is a faith that internally develops the solidarity of the nation and brand and symbol that represents the nation. However, the perception of heritage today is still based on this institutional framework, a framework still dominated by imperialism and Western ideologies. Heritage, as a representation of the nation has a fundamental issue with authenticity as the process commodifies and sanitises the history to fit a limited national framework that promotes discrimination rather than diversity. The government has begun to ask itself whether this representative system of intangible cultural heritage

---

[210] Choi Gongho (2004) Uncultured environment of cultural property (비문화적인 문화재 환경), Kukmin News, Available from: (http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=110&oid=005%aid=0000159655) [Assessed 1 June 2015]

[211] Basu Paul and Modest Wayne (2015) Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation, in *Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation* (eds.) Paul Basu and Weyne Modest, Routledge, p. 7

and the devolution of responsibility to cultural institutions and Living Human Treasures are still necessary today. Not only in the criteria for selecting which forms of heritage to preserve but also in the methods of preserving it, Korean heritage is facing how to recognise individual differences and contemporary identities.

3.1.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage

The Living Human Treasure System

In inheriting Japan's heritage system,[212] Korea became one of the countries to promote and protect intangible cultural heritage at the national level with Living Human Treasures since the early 20th century. The Living Human Treasure system, which designates people as heritage practitioners to allow them to transmit their skills and knowledge to future generations, was modelled after Japan's system. Korea recognised the intangible activity in 1964[54] and, from 1967, also recognised the practitioners involved in the system, as mentioned before. [see page 80] Living Human Treasure (Living national treasures) is an official term used by UNESCO to denote an importantly designated transmitter (전승자, *Jeonseungja*) or holder (보유자, *Boyuja*) of a form of intangible cultural heritage that has been deemed important. The journalist, Ye Yonghae was the first person to use the term living human treasure (인간문화재, *inganmunhwaja* or 'human cultural heritage') in Korea.

Under the government-led Living Human Treasure system outlined in the CHP Act, people were subject to government designation, as the table below shows. Skilled craftsmen, dancers, and singers were officially named Living Human Treasures and employed by the government as national representatives to continue the traditional culture of the nation. As they live in contemporary society, their role and responsibility are to keep and transmit their form of intangible culture. In this sense, intangible cultural heritage in Korea can be defined simply as what Living Human Treasures do and how their activities are transmitted and understood. Their role is to keep the tradition 'alive'

[212] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호 제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술 학회), Vol. 34, p.296

in the minds of Koreans and enable them to witness their traditional cultural heritage being practised. Currently, in Korea, there are 148 practices of intangible cultural heritage, 173 individual holders and 70 group holders[213] have been designated Korean intangible cultural heritage.

	Classification	Description
***Jeonseungja**	Honorary Holder (2001)	Since 2001, the Cultural Property Protection Law has designated 'Honorary Holders' who are 'unable to train people or transmit their skills or abilities in the performing arts' (Article 5. (4). 2001)
	Holder	A 'Holder' is the person who is currently designated as a Living Human Treasure (Living National Treasure).
	Initiation training assistant	Initiation training assistants are selected from those who have completed the initiation training in the skills and arts from the designated holders and have worked for more than 5 years.
	Initiation training completer (apprentice)	Initiation training completers have trained in skills and arts for 3 years and have reached a significant level of skills.

Table 1 Table Classification of Korean Intangible Cultural Heritage transmission system. (Source: Author)

The above classification is based on the goals of educating the public and transmitting skills and knowledge to future generations. Korea's intangible cultural heritage education system is a state-led apprenticeship education system consisting of 'teachers called holders and apprentices called 'initiates' or 'training' assistants' and the state exerts a leading influence on designation, recognition and transmission. Supporting these apprenticeships is a national obligation. The government employs full time education assistants out of the national budget, including scholarships for full-time training, and

[213] This data is from the Cultural Heritage Administration annual survey (October 2020).

selects new heritage holders to replace the ill and deceased.[214] The government is asserting absolute power in the apprenticeship education system by providing a certain amount of funding to holders, initiation training assistants and those who complete initiation training. Currently, the holder receives ₩1,500,000 (£970) monthly, and to intangible cultural heritage practices which needs additional support can receive additional payment, ₩4,716,000 (£ 3050), once a year.

Since Korea started to recognise the importance of intangible cultural heritage and develop a Korean approach, regulations were adopted that were similar but not identical to Japan's system of Living Human Treasures. Compared to Japan's system of education and transmission, in which that state selects holders and establishes transmission systems on a case-by-case basis, Korean Living Human Treasures are controlled by government policy in that they have certain obligations in transmitting the skills. The Korean intangible cultural heritage system is currently more controversial than the Japanese. For instance, unlike in Japan's system, Korean heritage holders can forfeit their registration whilst retaining an honorary holder status. In addition, Korean Living Human Treasures must show their skills to the public at least once a year, whilst Japan only recommends that holders demonstrate their skills.[215] Furthermore, the Korean system of intangible cultural heritage contains a coercive punishment and penalty clause that allow holders to be stripped of their designation or be fined for negligence. Indeed, Japan's system is primarily based on representative intangible cultural heritage whilst Korea designated as intangible cultural heritage those practices that were in danger of extinction.[216] However, the point is that although Living Human Treasures are individuals or groups of people living in contemporary society, Korean Living Human Treasures are not considered

[214] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호 제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술 학회), Vol. 34, p.302

[215] Ibid, 300

[216] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술학회), Vol. 34, p.303; Lim Jae-hae (2014) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사 필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회)

individual's ability but more relate to the nation's collective memory. Heritage preservation presupposes that intangible cultural heritage represents the nation. To protect the culture that represents the nation, their activities must be controlled and transmitted in a certain form. Under the CHP Act, the Living Human Treasure system very much focuses on the transmission and protection of heritage. International interests influenced the system of Living Human Treasure. It stimulated a stronger internal collective sense of the nation and its place in the world system. For instance, implementation of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act has gone through several revisions. [see page 70] The concept of heritage as a practice of preservation seems to focus too much on the purpose of the nation-building rather than on the intrinsic value of heritage in the community.

Today's Intangible Cultural Heritage

In the meantime, this thesis found that today's intangible cultural heritage is not only about representing the nation, but more an individual's artistic activity which is presented in various forms that allows people to enjoy and be part of the heritage process together. Activities became symbolic cultural products as certain people practised are rarely used in contemporary society, they are now recognised as arts (meaning the expression of particular ideas through making objects, paintings or sculptures) that is used to re-interpret traditional culture in today's society. For instance, a performance called, the Haenyeo's kitchen, started since 2019, is a content that shares performance and meals. Jeju Haenyeo (women divers), community of women, some aged in their 80s, goes diving 10m under the sea to gather shellfish, are one of Korean intangible cultural heritage.[217] Their activities represent the island's character and the community. However, even though the activity is designated as national and world intangible cultural heritage, their concern was not about being nominated, but it was the market problem that they were facing for ages. There was a big problem caused by the failure of the excellent seafood of Haenyeo to create a domestic market. There was a fundamental issue embedded in their activity apart from the government's system of safeguarding intangible cultural

[217] UNESCO, Available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/culture-of-jeju-haenyeo-women-divers-01068 [Access 09 September 2020]

heritage or the influence of rapidly changing society. Hence, as the Haenyeo's Kitchen was conducted by the daughter of one of Haenyeo, she said that,

> doing something in the region absolutely required a lot of mental and physical investment and above all time. I think the starting point is to communicate with each other, solve each problem slowly. It's important that you can't just think of your own pace, but you have to keep the pace of the region absolutely.[218]



Figure 12 Image of Jeju Haenyeo
(©https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/culture-of-jeju-haenyeo-women-divers-01068)

As she says, transmitting culture has now moved beyond the point of giving a role and representing the nation to including and collaborating with the people who are part of it and visitors. It reflects the idea of heritage, which is not simply about the past, but is

[218] Kim Kyuwon (2021) The fasciation of local content awakened by Haenyeo and the region, Koreas Art Management Services (예술경영지원센터),Vol. 471

vitally about the present and future.[219] Here, there is a difference between performance-based intangible cultural heritage practice and skills-based intangible cultural heritage practice. Living Human Treasures with skills in traditional crafts such as making pots or wooden furniture transmit those traditional skills under the government transmission system and produce creative works (called 'certified replica') using their traditional skills and knowledge. [see page 140] Today's Living Human Treasures works are presented in international art fairs as London Design Biennale or contemporary art galleries.



Figure 13 Image of Korean craft exhibition <Monochrome Monologue 수목의 독백> at the Milan Design Week 2019
(©http://www.newstap.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=87141)

Cultural foundations have also been proactive in promoting intangible cultural heritage by presenting and collaborating with current Living Human Treasures. For instance, Arumjigi – a non-profit private organisation, has been recalling the values of traditional Korean culture and bringing them into the living culture of the 21st century. Arumjigi conducts projects as improving Signs of Four Palaces and Jongmyo Shrine, Renovation and Clean – up of Interior of Yeongyeongdang,[220] Changdeokgung. It opened an exhibition <홈, 커밍 Homecoming> which showed a total of 850 works, 200 craftsmen

[219] Palmer C. (2009) Preface, in Council of Europe, Heritage and Beyond, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, p. 8

[220] Yeongyeongdang is a hall stands beyond the area in which Juhamun Pavilion and Yeonghwadang Hall are located, in the rear garden of Chandeokgung Palace.

and designers showcasing new designs with traditional crafts and modern variations that permeate everyday life.



Figure 14 Image of the <Homecoming> exhibition which is a contemporary interpretation of ancestral rites. (©https://arumjigi.org/eng/main/main.php**)**

However, as this research explores, there is fundamental authenticity issue between craftsmen and craftworks with museums. Living Human Treasures' activities to preserve and transmit traditional culture constitute a transformative process that creates meaning and value in contemporary society. Heritage inevitably undergoes transformations and is influenced by the society in which it is being transmitted.[221] As Skounti argues, their activities "cannot be the same ever again and it includes different meanings and values to those who perform it."[222] This transformation is not a process that sacrifices the essence

[221] Basu Paul and Modest Wayne (2015) Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation, in *Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation* (eds.) Paul Basu and Weyne Modest, Routledge, p.8

[222] Skounti, Ahmed (2009) *Authenticity illusion*, Intangible Heritage (ed.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, Routledge, p.77

of the relevant from of intangible but rather adds meaning and value to the activity by recording how people think and feel about the past and tradition.

In this vein, as Brown asked, is 'intangible heritage a resource of all of humanity, or does it belong solely to a community of origins?'[223] The critical point of the Living Human Treasures system is the understanding and definition of heritage in Korea, eventually establishing an understating of heritage as a representation of the nation, which needs to be kept as it is. It can be seen that, especially at the policy level, not much attention has been paid to contemporary practices or the development or understanding of intangible cultural heritage. This means that transmitting and protecting heritage revolves around keeping practices in their original forms, frozen in time, and cultural institutions such as museums as well as individuals such as Living Human Treasures, have followed these instructions. As the purpose of representation has changed, its use and conception have also changed. The craftsmen interviewed for this thesis agreed that the target audience has gone from national to global and that it influences their personal work to have a bigger stage. However, since their work is restricted to the nation's official narrative, they become confused, having very little guidance on what tradition they are to pass down under this system.

3.1.3 Heritage and People

No analysis of the growth of heritage as an industry cannot ignore the economic aspect. Especially since the 1960s and 70s, when Korea began to consider the economic aspect of heritage activity and enlarge the heritage industry for the sake of tourism, heritage was considered as a national brand and traditional culture was classified and promoted according to its economic value in tourism. Heritage became fundamentally an economic activity. As mentioned before, this political play increased the reputation and recognition of the nation on the world stage. To this extent, the Korean government's encouragement of its people to stick ethnically uniform representations of the nation can be said to have

[223] Brown M. F (2005) Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property, Intangible Journal of Cultural Property 12(1), p.49

been greatly successful. Koreans can now enjoy heritage easily and view it after Korea implemented the opening of permanent, free exhibitions (notwithstanding special exhibition) in national museums in 2008. It became common for Koreans to perceive heritage as apart from their life and attended by the injunction 'not to enter and not to touch'. Korean visitors, as this thesis finds, know what Korean culture is and are aware of the need to preserve heritage. As Smith has argued,

> Visiting heritage places and museums is an embodied performance that is not only about negotiating what the past may mean for the present but is also involved in exploring and expressing a sense of self and belonging and understandings of the 'other'.[224]

The important premise of heritage experience is that heritage involves not just the tangible material of the past but also intangible heritage, which however, is often grounded in the material and tangible remnants of the past. However, whilst what people see in museums is the result of the selection and interpretation of heritage, the management system behind the preservation approach is losing its connection with contemporary society. Heritage, far from merely promoting enjoyment or entertainment, lay behind the nation's reconstruction. We can see that the efforts made to cultivate public awareness and interest results in indifference and even the perception that heritage is someone else's business. The perception that heritage is a national asset does not mean that it is the government's property or that the government is the only supplier of it but that the property can be consumed jointly by multiple people regardless of the suppliers.[225] However, as the public blamed the government's mismanagement after the Sungnyemun fire (숭례문),[226]

---

[224] Smith Laura jane (2016) Changing Views? Emotional Intelligence, Registers of Engagement, and the Museum Visit, in Museums and the Past: Constructing Historical Consciousness (eds.) Livingstone, Phaedra, Gosselin, Viviane, Vancouver, p. 116

[225] Park Jungho (2014) 'Cultural Keeps' Heritage conservator – understanding public property ('문화재 지킴이' 문화재 수리 기술자 – 공공재에 대한 이해) Hankyoung News (한경 뉴스) Available from: https://www.hankyung.com/news/article/2014052270481 [Accessed 03 July 2020]

[226] The Sungnyemun (named as Namdaemum) is designated as the number one National Treasure but was fired by a man who felt disrespect from the government in February 2008. The gate, after all, has been reconstructed and reopened to the public in 2013.

we can see how the perception of heritage as public property has yielded to a perception of heritage as government property in Korea. Saeji noted that in Korea,

> The definition of heritage, or tradition, or authenticity has become someone else's business, a previous generation's problem… the very protection of Korean heritage by the government has allowed Koreans not to worry and not assume a burden.[227]

This means that, as the public did not question about the history, the preservation and presentation of heritage were cut off from the reality and used to present an imaginary ideal of the nation. There had long been a 'tourist gaze'[228] in Korea, which cuts heritage off from the 'real world' and emphasises the exotic aspects of the tourist experience. As this research interestingly found, visitors in younger generation who are in 20s felt more distance and detached from their history and culture. In terms of what they believe about Korean heritage, Chung argued that the Korean understanding of authenticity does not aim at the realistic expression of things but at the presentation of the spiritual messages behind the material world in a visual form.[229] As Veldkamp argues,

> The curation of Korean art and culture is approached from the perspective of reality or a 'felt past' that visitors are able to experience in museum exhibitions. Although the original and the replicated object are intrinsically different, the influence a replica display has on visitor experience and display integrity varies according to the expectations and viewing goals of the observing party.[230]

---

[227] Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2, 527-528

[228] Urry John (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London, Sage

[229] Chung Seung-Jin (2005) East Asian Values in Historic Conservation, Journal of Architectural Conservation, 11:1, p. 61

[230] Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping in real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No.2, December, p. 557

The perception of authenticity is a 'socially constructed concept and its social connotation is no given, but negotiable'.[231] Kang argued, in this sense, that authenticity in Korea was understood differently among visitors, and performers and policymakers; even heritage festivals were perceived in different ways.[232] This means that in the case of Korea, what is believed to be the real has now changed to a contrived authenticity. Reinvented national history and culture that developed the nation's solidarity has now become a pre-set of the nation's past that made the public believe it as real, but its interest and experience depend on personal approach.

Thus, whilst there are both the constructive (in terms of social construction)[233] and the existential authenticity (relating to a potential existential state which is to be activated by tourist activity)[234] approaches in Korea, the research argues that the public has little or no role in the process. The public has been considered as passive receivers from the early stages of heritage development. Whilst the government's efforts to develop the nation's heritage played a significant role in establishing an institutional basis for protecting Korea's heritage. The use of heritage to legitimise cultural values has left Koreans with a rigid structure of heritage management. For the government, it was more important to use heritage as a source of national legitimacy and representation than to reconsider heritage in terms of its meaning for Koreans.[235] Heritage was most likely to be framed within the context of material culture and used to control society's memories of the past. Heritage sites, including museums, protect tangible objects and monuments and usually set to promote certain feelings and ideas about the nation. The political ideology behind heritage limits and controls the experience.

---

[231] Cohen Erik (1988), Authenticity and Commoditization in tourism, Annual of Tourism Research, Vol. 15, p.374

[232] Kang Shin-young (2013) Authenticity in Heritage Festivals in South Korea: A Comparison of the Gangneung Danoje and Baudeogi Festival, University of Exeter PhD Thesis

[233] Wang Ning (1999) Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, Annual of Tourism Research, Vol.26, No.2

[234] Ibid

[235] Hwang, Hee-Jeon and Park, Chang-Hwan (2015) Utilization of Cultural Assets; Is It a Realization of Authenticity? Or a Damage to Authenticity?,관광연구논총, Vol. 4, pp. 3-26

Thus, government support for heritage could have effectively developed the solidarity of the nation but it has overlooked more critical approaches to focus on the role of heritage in the production of state ideologies. The case of Korea proves that heritage is a process that does not always work with the national plan since the government is not the only party that has to abide by the government plan. Since the MCST recognised that the assemblage of Korean museums should be managed nationally rather than owned by institutions or individuals, it has started to build a platform on which all registered museums in Korea can upload and share their collections.[236] Apart from allowing more people to access the data, this approach seems to build another government-controlled data and not expanding or accepting different interpretations. This seems like an approach meant to disseminate information rather than a movement meant to allow different ideas or expand the understanding of the past. According to the result of this thesis, most visitors, when interviewed, said that the versions of Korean history and culture shown in the museum were something what they already know. Within this situation, the goal of preserving heritage in its original, outdated form can be seen as one factor that limits the public demand for intangible cultural heritage. Above response is not simply because the museum focused on the past too much but rather because the museum did not consider who will be enjoying it. Due to changes in society, there is not much demand for traditional crafts or dancers, whilst the government hire Living Human Treasures to continue the tradition in the contemporary society. To pubic, it became expensive to enjoy intangible cultural heritage when crafts or dance performance tickets are sold at high prices. Hence, recognising heritage as a representation of the nation has an issue: it suggests a limited national framework that disrupts the connection between people and their past. Preserving and upholding official heritage for future generations has developed into controlling the public's attitudes about the past and its connection with the present.

[236] Kwan Hyuk-san (2016) Construction and Service of DB for Collection Information of Museum, (박물관의 소장품 정보 DB 구축과 서비스) Museum News, Available from: https://museumnews.kr/165dbemuseum/ [Access 14 September 2020]

Therefore, thesis argues that the significance of heritage lies not only in transmitting it to future generations but also in the production of meaning for the present generation.[237] For instance, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is not only about transmitting skills but also developing interest in society and continuing the use. The number of apprentices is one of the vital facts that shows the survival of intangible cultural heritage in contemporary society. As the table below, the number refers to the sustainability of the element and the public interest as a greater number of assistants means there are higher protentional of help to the continuous of the intangible cultural heritage. It can be described as more people want to continue the skills with interest. However, as intangible cultural heritage based on performing act as Pansori epic can be regarded as category A while crafts skill holder refers to B, we can see that compare to the number of apprentices in traditional performing arts (A) there are considerably smaller number of apprentices in traditional skills concerning crafts and arts (B).

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
Number of Designated Item		**39/46**	**51**	**1**	**-**	**3**	**15/18**	**16**	**125/127**
Jeonseungja	Holder	**66**	**66**	**-**	**-**	**4**	**16**	**18**	**17**
	Initiation training assistant	**173**	**50**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**37**	**28**	**289**
	Initiation training completer (apprentice)	**4379**	**610**	**-**	**-**	**29**	**470**	**577**	**6065**
	Total	**4618**	**726**	**-**	**-**	**34**	**523**	**623**	**6524**

A: Traditional performing arts and arts
B: Traditional skills concerning crafts, art
C: Traditional knowledge concerning Korean medicine, agriculture, fishers,
D: Oral traditions and expressions
E: Traditional ways of life concerning food, cloth, shelter, etc.
F: Social rituals such as folk religion
G: Traditional games, festivals and practical and material arts

Table 5 Current status of holders and apprentices (2017.7)
(Source: www.nihc.go.kr)

[237] Staiff Russell (2014) Re-imagining heritage interpretation: enhancing the past-future, Farnham: Ashgate, p.32

Thus, the different number of apprentices between different intangible cultural heritage practices shows how current Korean society is responding and taking a role in its preservation. As continued in Chapter 6, today's intangible cultural heritage is based on experience, and a few apprentices show the degree of people's interest. It also requires a different method of protection process from performance-based intangible cultural heritage.

Although Koreans have accepted the importance of heritage preservation and transmission thanks to a mass educational effort, this does not mean that they are actively involved in the processes of preservation and transmission. It means that people will theoretically value the heritage, not that they are actively involved in it. Heritage is a selective, imaginative way of identifying a nation with a form of activity, the value and meaning of which change across time and space for those who enjoy it. As Harrison argued, 'if an individual can make a connection between their past and the heritage that is promoted as an aspect of their community's past, it gives them a connection they can use to "purchase" privilege in social interactions'.[238] Ashworth also noted that if the consumer defines heritage, then no perceived problem of authenticity results from any discrepancy between the product interpreted as heritage and some objective historical truth.[239] Hence, heritage involves change and transformation as it interacts with society. Urry described it, 'the question is not whether we should or should not preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve,'[240] why we have chosen to preserve it, and how will we preserve it.

---

[238] Harrison Rodney (2010) What is heritage? in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University, p. 38

[239] Ashworth, G.J., (2012) From History to Heritage: From Heritage to Identity: In search of concepts and models (eds) Gregory Ashworth and Peter Lackham, *Building a New Heritage, Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe*, Taylor & Francis Group, p. 18

[240] Urry John (1999) Gazing on History, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (ed.) Stuart Hall, SAGE, p.212

3.2 Korean Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage

3.2.1 Museums' Role

The role of museums has changed as they have tried to become more relevant and appropriate to the 21st century and the future. Theorists of museum studies such as Janes and Sandell have pointed out how museums today face complex and urgent challenges alongside the societies with which they coexist.[241] The world is now requiring a museum to become an activist with active practitioners to provide cultural frameworks to identify and challenge the myths and misperceptions that threaten all of us.[242] As this thesis explores, museums must find a new way of thinking about their work in society. So far, by facing various challenges, the role of museums has already expanded, and they are now concerned not only with tangible objects but also with intangible experiences.[243] Today, museums not only collect and preserve objects but also increasingly support and connect people in society.

The understanding of intangible cultural heritage has only recently come into the spotlight in museum studies. Museums have long been considered as places for the representation, preservation and conservation of the tangible cultural heritage of the past.[244] The

[241] Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York

[242] Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York, p. 7

[243] Hooper-Greenhill Eilean (1994) Learning from learning theory in museums, in *The Educational role of the Museum: Second Edition* (ed.) Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Routledge, pp, 137-146; Hein Hilde. S (2000) The Museum in Transition, A philosophical perspective, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London; Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York

[244] Yoshida Kenji (2012), *The Museum, a platform for the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, on Museum and Intangible Heritage, pp. 184- 191

importance of intangible heritage has been recognised by museums[245] beginning in the early 21st century. As the UNESCO Convention (2003) described the role of museums and similar institutions in safeguarding living heritage, it considered two main questions:

1. How have museums contributed to safeguarding living heritage?
2. How can museums contribute to the visibility of forms of living heritage in accordance with the aims of the UNESCO Convention (2003)?

The UNESCO Convention has challenged museums all over the world to incorporate the voices of their communities into their exhibitions and to organise them in collaboration with representatives of the culture in focus, thereby providing them with a chance to represent their own culture.[246] However, these questions emphasise the museum's role in safeguarding intangible heritage and focus on how a museum can supplement its conventional tasks of curating and preserving intangible, living cultural expressions (such as performing arts, skills, knowledge, and practices).[247] UNESCO's questions also seem to view cultural institutions as having a specific responsibility to collect and protect intangible heritage. In fact, museums have generally been as inappropriate institutions for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, whilst there is probably no better institution.[248] However, intangible cultural heritage in museums is a complicated and ambiguous term,

---

[245] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17; Bae Kidong (2012) Preservation of Intangible Heritage and Role of Museum, in International Conference on Museum and Intangible Heritage; Ito, Nobuo (2003), Intangible cultural heritage involved tangible cultural heritage, ICOM General Assembly and International symposium, 27-31, Zimbabwe; Kreps, Christina F (2006) *Non-Western Models of Museums and Curation in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, in Companion in Museum Studies. Sharon Macdonald, (ed). London: Blackwell; Kurin, Richard (2004) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: Culture Dead or Alive*?, ICOM News, 2004 (4); Boylan Patrick J. (2006), The Intangible Heritage: a Challenge and an Opportunity for Museums and Museum Professional Training, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 1, pp. 54-65

[246] Yoshida, Kenji (2004) The Museum and the Intangible Cultural Heritage, *Museum International*, 56

[247] Kreps Christina F (2009) Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage, in Intangible Heritage (ed.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, London: Routledge, p.194

[248] Kurin, Richard (2004) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: Culture Dead or Alive*?, ICOM News, 2004 (4)

and the relationship between tangible and intangible is complex.[249] Alivizatou argued that the concept of intangible heritage focuses on the human element inherent in artefacts and cultural spaces, raising practical and theoretical issues for museum theorists and professionals to engage with.[250] A museological process based on scientific knowledge and focusing mainly on material culture is has been seen as insufficient to deal with intangible cultural heritage. On the one hand, it has been argued that the idea of intangible cultural heritage is commonly understood in non-Western countries, whilst the traditional Western discourse on heritage stresses its materiality and making intangible memories more 'tangible' by linking them to places, objects and spaces.[251] Hassard added that the 'prevailing vision of cultural inheritance as residing solely in the materiality of the past - tangible heritage - a vision largely fashioned by the scientific/technical and political-institutional sectors of the West' fails to recognise the historicity of the present as embodied in people and the intangible heritage sustained by their activities.[252] Compared to tangible objects, which are moveable and can be defined according to the social milieu; intangible cultural heritage undergoes constant reproduction and reinvention. Intangible heritage is more of a subjective concept than tangible heritage as it is constantly being recreated and must be viewed in the historical and contemporary senses at the same time. Hence, whether museums are considered responsible for preserving intangible heritage depends on each culture and country's purpose of safeguarding it. For example, as the

[249] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17; Kirchenblatt-Gimblett Babara (2004) *Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production*, Museums International, 2004 (1-2), volume 56; Ito, Nobuo (2003) Intangible cultural heritage involved tangible cultural heritage, ICOM General Assembly and International symposium, 27-31, Zimbabwe; Labi, Kwame Amoah (2009) Reading the intangible heritage in tangible Akan art, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 4-3; Monson Rhiannon (2005) Museums, Galleries and heritage sites of meaning-making and communication, in Gerard Corsane (ed), Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader, Routeldge: Londong and New York; Knell Simon J (2012) The intangibility of things, in *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*, (ed.) Sandra H. Dudley, Routledge; Yili Lu (2010), Position and role of museums in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, University of Leicester Museum Studies MA dissertation

[250] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17, p. 45

[251] Smith Laurajane and Waterton Emma (2009) 'The envy of the world?' Intangible heritage in England, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, London: Routledge, p.294

[252] Hassard Frank (2009) Intangible heritage in the United Kingdom, The dark side of Enlightenment, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) Laurajane Smith and Nastuko Akagawa, London: Routledge, p.270, 279

UK has shown rather little interest in intangible heritage, essentially saying, 'It just does not fit with the UK approach,'[253] whilst intangible cultural heritage in Korea is a concept that has been preserved and promoted under the heritage system as a form of official heritage. As in the case of Korea, cultural institutions have been encouraged by the government to accept official responsibility for protecting not only tangible objects but also living heritage. Intangible cultural heritage in museums is closely related to each museum's approach cultivating a cultural narrative structure as each nation's national museums are the product of national history and local circumstance.

In the case of Korea, starting with the 2004 International Council of Museums (ICOM) conference in Seoul, a series of changes have taken place concerning Korean intangible cultural heritage and museums. For example, the definition of intangible cultural heritage has been revised. Given that Korea's value for intangible cultural heritage was made explicit in the CHP Act, it is evident that Korea became interested in intangible cultural heritage from around that time, but not at the museum level, but in the head of the Cultural Heritage Administration. According to Cho, the head of the administration, over the past decade or so, a discourse on intangible cultural heritage has taken place in the Cultural Heritage Administration, whilst museums, especially national museums, have not actively tried to accept it as museum content.[254] In other words, Korean museums did not actively express their interest in intangible cultural heritage and link it to exhibitions or other activities. On the one hand, the understanding and management of heritage centred on protection have prevented museums from acting effectively to promote intangible cultural heritage. However, as mentioned previously, [see page 18, 58] when China attempted to register the Korean traditional song 'Arirang*'* as an example of its cultural heritage in 2011, the interest in intangible cultural heritage was suddenly enflamed in

---

[253] English Heritage Interview 2005, quoted in Smith Laurajane and Waterton Emma (200) 'The envy of the world?' Intangible heritage in England, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, London: Routledge, p.297

[254] Jo Sung-Sil (2015) The Meanings of Source Communities in Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition- A focus on Special Exhibition Arirang of the National Folk Museum of Korea *(무형문화유산 전시에서 소스커뮤니티가 갖는 의미 국립민속박물관 특별전 '아리랑' 사례를 중심으로)*, The Society of Practice Folkloristics Vol. 25, p.432; Hahm Han-hee, (2012) Representation of Intangible Cultural Heritage in museum, In International Conference on Museum and Intangible Heritage, pp. 120- 139

Korea. Under these circumstances, a special exhibition of 'Arirang' by the National Folk Museum of Korea opened in 2012; the exhibition was the first of its kind held by the museum under umbrella of intangible cultural heritage. However, the purpose of museum's opening the exhibition can be seen as the discussion of intangible cultural heritage has been mainly conducted by folklore experts and there has was no specific institution dealing with intangible cultural heritage at that time. Na argued that the wide category of intangible cultural heritage has not been able to acquire detailed expertise to the extent that experts can cover the individual categories.[255] As a result, it has been problematic to define intangible cultural heritage from a folklore perspective. Thus, although its origins may have been political, the exhibition on 'Arirang' constituted an opportunity to revisit the museum practice that focused mostly on objects.



Figure 15 Figure Exhibition poster of the 'Arirang' (아리랑) exhibition in the National Folk Museum of Korean (©The National Folk Museum of Korea)

[255] Na Kyung-so (2020) Approach on Difference of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Folklore (무형문화재와 민속학의 거리), Korea Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vo.8, p. 13



Figure 16 Image of the Arirang exhibition in the National Folk Museum of Korea. (©https://m.blog.daum.net/sin4769/618)

Museums' relationship with intangible cultural heritage involves complicated process of representing the nation and developing the national identity in today's society. Even though intangible cultural heritage was simply not the museum's major concern, it does not follow that museums are not related to intangible cultural heritage. The role of intangible cultural heritage is inextricably bound up with the tangible in a museum. The inseparable relationship between tangible and intangible in the museum shows the interrelationship between the visible and invisible thoughts, assumptions and feelings. Intangible heritage is renewed and recreated both inside and outside of the museum and among people. Furthermore, it is about knowing the intangibility that influences viewing, understanding and knowing the object. It is not about responsibility but rather a fundamental relationship that improves the audience's understanding of objects whilst requiring a different and expanded method of interpretation and protecting it. As Knell argued,

> Intangible objects exist in our world but are made in our thoughts; they are ever-present and inescapable. These thoughts could involve religion, science or history,

> meaning that material objects exist in our world but have a different existence in our thoughts.[256]

Similarly, as Harrison and Rose (2010) described,

> Intangible cultural heritage occupies the fluid, slippery space between people and things. It is a form of social memory that is grounded both in everyday practices such as speaking, walking, gesturing and communication and in more specialized ceremonial or ritual contexts.[257]

Indeed, due to this characteristic, intangible cultural heritage has been seen as far removed from scientific knowledge whilst also being accepted as a given and not a reflection of the museum's choices. However, intangible heritage is related to the experience of heritage, enabling people to see visually, learn practically and interact with the idea of the past. It is not a thing that can be fixed in time and space; it is not a moveable or a collectable in the same way as tangible objects. Rather these memories continually interact with other human memories and also with objects.[258] Hence, intangible cultural heritage has been suggested an approach to tangible objects that has been reborn and acquired a new 'museum reality' due to the displacement of tangible objects. [259] Intangible cultural heritage has been suggested as a necessary resource that can expand the understanding of objects among people who participate in and enjoy the culture in question. As Alivizatou argued, intangible heritage is a resource that 'suggests a holistic understanding of what is a cultural heritage by acknowledging the significance and value of oral and living practices and expressions that are related to objects, monuments and

---

[256] Knell, Simon J (2012) The intangibility of things, in *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*, (ed.) Sandra H. Dudley, Routledge, p.326

[257] Harrison. R and Rose D (2010) Intangible Heritage, in *Understanding heritage and memory,* (ed.), Tim Benton, Manchester University Press, p.72

[258] Assmann Jan (2008) *Communicative and Cultural Memory,* Cultural Memory studies, An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook, Berlin, New York, p.111

[259] Hein Hilde. S (2000) The Museum in Transition, A philosophical perspective, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p.69

cultural spaces.[260] Thus, intangible cultural heritage suggests new and inclusive aspects of objects. In the shift in focus from objects to people, intangible cultural heritage can be used to improve visitors' understanding[261] and re-evaluate interpretations of the past.

Intangible cultural heritage is information that is inevitably linked to the sense of material culture and that has an interdependent relationship with tangible and natural heritage. Intangible heritage can be regarded in a broader concept as a way of people engaging with objects, so as to affirm or develop a new history, memory or emotion related to objects. Hence, exploring Korean museums' relationship with intangible cultural heritage is not a criticism of the political ideology that shapes the nation but rather a reconsideration of the environment of the museum, which can be adjusted to allow the museum to perform its role in disseminating the state ideology. It should be considered whether intangible cultural heritage in Korean museums is related to the narrative structure laid out by the government, and to the role, feelings, and thoughts of visitors. It is a question of a process that reflects the given role of museums. The issue is that safeguarding intangible heritage involves asking not only how but also why. This is because, as Watson argued, especially national museums, in particular, where proof of a historical link between the nation's past and present is critical, use scientific knowledge as a tool for nation-making. [262] She adds that national museums are places where the beliefs of the nation are materialised and where visitors are trained to feel in certain ways.[263] As heritage became an ideology in itself more than a tool for depicting ideology, individuals and communities' memories have been whittled down in Korea according to the state's ideas and are considered as a non-scientific resource. To some extent, the issue is that intangible cultural heritage was another tool for nation-making and the objects at

---

[260] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17, p.47

[261] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17; Burden Matilda (2007) Museums and the Intangible Heritage: the case study of the Afrikanns Languages Museum, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 2-7

[262] Watson, Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p.17

[263] Watson, Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p.18

the centre of exhibition were carefully curated used to deliver particular stories. Intangible ideas were thus controlled and limited. Museums themselves became something of sacred storage units where a certain kind of intangible cultural heritage is provided. Korean national museums aimed to encourage proud feelings of pride through their exhibitions but scarcely work with Living Human Treasures to share their knowledge. As this research found, although Living Human Treasures are employed by the government as professional protectors of the nation's past, museums barely acknowledge their work. Even though their activities are showcased through educational programmes, events, and videos, museum practices have remained within the limits of educating the public generally and representing the country.

3.3 The Issue and the Role of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Heritage is a difficult concept to define and doing so is essential to the process of organising heritage. The government-led approach has influenced Korean museums' relationship with intangible cultural heritage. The decision of whether museums can or cannot manage intangible cultural heritage is made from a policy standpoint. Knell argued, in this context, that in the cases of certain countries that struggle with ethnic diversity, 'it was not that the national museums' wish to be politically instrumentalised, but without appropriate frameworks for operation, they found themselves perpetuating old national ideals or following the superficial lead of visitors numbers'.[264] Political power has controlled the representation and understanding of the nation and the nation's past in a top-down system wherein the government directly limits the museum's capacity to take action in society. It is true that this top-down system has a direct limiting effect on the personal agency of staff and their capacity to take action in the world.[265] Beyond the fact that political power has played a positive role in the protection and promotion of Korean

[264] Knell Simon J. (2011) National museums and the national imagination in National Museums, new studies from around the world (eds.) Simon J. Knell, Aronsson. Peter and et, Routledge, London

[265] Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York, p.9

culture and history for future generations, Korean museums appear to present a strong case for an essentialist and unchanging national identity, and the appropriateness of which goal may be questioned. With the arrival of a new generation, this thesis suggests, the expression of ethnic identity in an unchanging, intangible form as manifested in museums has limited ability to influence public ideas of what it means to be Korean today. In particular, the cultural practitioners named Living Human Treasures, who are themselves employed by the government to provide evidence of continuity with the past, are very aware of the limitations of their role as heritage protectors and the way in which this process has led to the fossilisation of their practices.

Intangible cultural heritage is not only about what Living Human Treasures do but also the symbolic ideas and values that their activities involve. As identity is formed and transformed continuously along with the surrounding environment,[266] intangible cultural heritage, as a form of cultural memory, reflects the changing process of identity. Hence, the role of intangible cultural heritage is about being 'more inclusive and allowing diverse perspectives and sensitive to the rights of people to have a voice in how their culture is represented and their heritage curated.' [267] This process requires a museum a new experiment of museums; as intangible heritage is part of local community culture, in theory, museums are required to co-curate and collaborate with communities that have authority over the culture and respect their traditions.[268] However, having museums work collaboratively with Living Human Treasures or source communities is not a simple relationship that can be built by signing of a paper agreement between Living Human Treasures and the museum. Rather, the relationship requires reconsideration and asking the fundamental questions such as 'What do museums mean to society?' and 'Why do museums need to work with communities?' For instance, when the term 'source

[266] Hall Stuart (1996) The Question of Cultural Identity, in *Modernity : An introduction to modern societies*, (eds.) Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, Oxford: Blackwell

[267] Kreps Christina F (2009) Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage, in Intangible Heritage (ed.) L. Smith and N. Akagawa, London: Routledge, p.193

[268] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17; Kurin, Richard (2004) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: Culture Dead or Alive*?, ICOM News

community' was first used in the 'Arirang' exhibition, the curator of the National Folk Museum of Korea mentioned that 'the most important feature of the exhibition was that it is centred on people and it was experimental'.[269] This meant that intangible cultural heritage was considered in the museum as people-centric for the first time. Even though the museum talked about everyday Koreans' lifestyles, they didn't put people in the centre of the exhibition. Previously the museum worked with the so-called source communities, for instance, Jeju Island people, for the exhibition of *Heobeok and Jeju's Pottery* in 2007. However, the display method of the exhibition ended up with various relics and explanation panels in the line log which visitors flowed, with related videos shown only at the end. Hence, this reflects how the people have been ignored in museum practices. Korean museums and their relationship to intangible cultural heritage reflect how people who are part of the culture and enjoy the culture are ignored when it comes to displaying the culture. As Lee argued, although the CHP Act recognised physical artefacts and their relationship with other neighbouring buildings or monuments as essential aspects of heritage protection, it ignored the intangible aspects of tangible remains.[270]

Thus, this thesis explores how difficult it became for Living Human Treasures and museums to carry on such traditions without promoting an imagined and idealised past that has little to do with contemporary Korea. Intangible cultural heritage poses a challenge to museums about how they will respond to different interpretations and different views. As Alivizatou argued, 'heritage sites, monuments and cultural objects are imbued with symbolic meaning and values that are not necessarily related to their material properties or technical characteristics.'[271] This means that the meaning of tangible heritage is established through symbolism; in addition, intangible cultural heritage

---

[269] Lee Kunwook (2012) Experiments of Exhibit Things that are Intangible – An Example Study of Special Exhibitions: Arirang and Multiculture (무형의 것들이 주제가 된 전시에 대한 실험), International Conference on Museums and Intangible Heritage (박물관과 무형유산 국제학술대회 발표 논문집), The National Folk Museum of Korea, p.68- 73

[270] Lee Sujeong (2007) Conservation of Religious Buildings in Use: Comparative Research into some Philosophical, Legal and Management Aspects of the Conservation of English Churches and Korean Buddhist Temples, PhD Thesis University of York, p.194

[271] Alivizatou Marilena (2006) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship,* Institute of Archaeology, 17, p. 50

acquires value from the continual changes in society. Although the material culture remains at the centre of museums' exhibitions, intangible activities such as making crafts, dancing and singing should be considered full forms of expression that convey memories, knowledge and emotion. Living Human Treasures' activities in museums are not meant to prove the national existence of a coherent nation but to tell the story behind the historical objects. Living Human Treasures activities "cannot be the same ever again; includes different meanings and values to those who perform it,"[272] as the protection and transmission of intangible cultural heritage involves not merely conveying it to the next generation but adding new values to the existing values to the next generation in the process of transmission. Hence, the concept of intangible heritage in Korean museums involves reconsidering the state's narrative structure, the symbolic values and meanings behind objects and the understanding of intangible heritage as a resource in order to rebuild connections between histories, cultures, peoples and institutions. Thus, the important question to consider is how to make the living culture more than a means of representing the nation and how to connect people with their past, places, and things.

3.4 Conclusion

Heritage is a modern concept, and governments already have a large responsibility in managing heritage. Korean heritage is managed under the government system to preserve and transmit the traditional culture for the future generation. By selecting, categorising and listing heritage, the government's ideology has reflected the idea of heritage. By giving roles to cultural institutions as museums and Living Human Treasures, who are government-employed heritage preservers of intangible heritage, to promote and preserve Korean heritage, Korean heritage became a national brand. Heritage has been promoted as part of remembering a fixed and essentialised past based on the idea of an ethnically homogenous nation. Heritage is a proof of the nation's excellence. In this context, national museums as political agents have been influential cultural institutions establishing and

[272] Skounti, Ahmed (2009) *Authenticity illusion*, Intangible Heritage (ed.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, Routledge, p.77

firming this official heritage. While the intangible cultural heritage was protected along with Living Human Treasures, museums have focused on and taken responsibility to preserve tangible cultural heritage.

As this thesis explores, various institutions have a varying degree of heritage management, and they have been focusing on the common idea of the ethnicity of the nation since their establishment. However, Korean heritage has developed with less relevance to the present culture, and the public has only a limited understanding of it. A focus on traditional culture and an effort to preserve it over time and space reflect the government's active intervention in preserving heritage and the effort to purify the traditional culture of the nation as untainted. In particular, the intangible heritage is easily promoted as a repetition of cultural activities, and the concept of preservation and reproduction are accepted with less understanding of creativity as a form of tradition. Institutions have developed an understanding of intangible heritage as being fixed and being part of a distant traditional culture. The institutionalisation of intangible heritage in Korea eventually links to the fossilisation of heritage in Korean society. Hence, the fossilisation of intangible cultural heritage has called into question the role of Korean museums in society. As traditional museums practices are often criticised as an inappropriate institution for safeguarding intangible heritage, under the policy, intangible heritage was a collective experience which was crystallised while the power of cultural objectivities was stabilised[273] as cultural memory in certain situations for years. Intangible heritage was materialised and controlled in the museum space.

Therefore, per the main argument of this thesis, preserving and promoting the idea of a shared ethnicity is not only about the past, but more importantly, a consistent process of sharing and communicating with the past in the present. A variety of factors creates ethnic ties and national sentiments. In this context, heritage is about tracing the past to represent the nation and a concept that continuously is in flux by undergoing change and being reinvented. Different or new purposes, values and meanings are added over time. Therefore, what should be considered in the case of Korea is the influence of heritage and

[273] Assmann Jan and Czaplicka John (1995) Collective Memory and Cultural Identity, New German Critique, No. 65, p.129

the effectiveness of the museum's role in terms of developing national identity in Korean society. How Koreans remember the past has been very much controlled by the government, whose political ideology has influenced the form of heritage considerably. Although political support is necessary for heritage preservation and continuation, the support has been an intervention that controls the meaning, value, and simply how it should be perceived by the person who looks at it. The fixed and purified narrative of Korea's past not only distracted the connection between the past and the present but also made a distance between people and their culture and history. Today heritage discourse goes beyond what heritage is to what motivates the involvement of the state and the other organisations. Heritage is a reactionary phenomenon that is not only about what the government wants to preserve but also about who enjoys and where they enjoy it. It is important to understand who enjoys it.

Based on this, the following chapter will be a methodology chapter discussing how this thesis approach to answering questions about how museums relate to Living Human Treasures and how visitors react to the exhibition reflects the understanding of intangible heritage in Korea today. It will discuss how the impact and limitation of this institutionalised system can be explored from various perspectives.

Chapter 4 Research Methodology

This chapter will discuss the methodology of this thesis. This chapter will draw on relevant academic literature to explain the research design and outline how it will help to answer the research question. In order to uncover the conceptualisation of intangible cultural heritage by institutions and individuals, it is necessary to analyse how its frameworks are legally applied. Considering that previous chapters have explored the theoretical, legal and management aspects in sequence as they are closely related to each other as parts of the heritage preservation process, this chapter will reveal where I, as a researcher, am positioned in this research and how the methodology is employed in this research process, in terms of data collection and analysis.

4.1 Research Purposes

As discussed on previous chapters, in the case of Korea, the relationship between museum, heritage and nation revealed that although Korean museums developed as a representative cultural and educational institutions promoting the idea of an ethnically homogenous nation, they seem to have become like temples and a place for storage of objects rather than a place for people to explore a living culture. Since the government has an enormous responsibility and authority in Korean history and culture, the public was prompted to accept the ideas that is provided by the museum whilst the museum fossilised the history and culture of the nation.

In this vein, the purpose of this research is to examine why Korean museums are struggling with the concept of intangible cultural heritage and what role it plays today and has played in the past in promoting a form of Korean identity. This research started from a personal interest in intangible cultural heritage as the researcher was trained in traditional crafts and art skills through the Living Human Treasures programme in University, not as an apprenticeship, but for the purpose of training heritage professionals. As a Korean who was born, raised and educated in Korea, learning about the history or culture of Korea has been a matter of memorising history with key events in chronological

order. However, by gaining skills and knowledge through the Living Human Treasures programme and becoming a heritage specialist, I faced a dilemma while researching what tradition is and how this tradition is spoken about today. Museums were the best place to see delicately made historical and cultural objects and build up ideas of Korean traditional culture. Since traditional crafts skills have mostly been replaced by machines or disappeared over time, museums' collections were a good reference to learn the processes by which these skills create objects. However, intangible cultural heritage was not to be found in museums. This does not refer to the greater physicality of intangible cultural heritage in Living Human Treasures' activities; rather, it refers to how the idea of the past was mostly fossilised in museums, where there was no place for contemporary ideas. This situation assumes that visitors, particularly, Koreans, are prepared to accept what is provided and promoted by the museum and feel proud of it; meanwhile, intangible cultural heritage does not seem to fit into the museum process even though it is a part of the process of developing a national identity.

Thus, the purpose of this thesis is not only to identify the use of intangible cultural heritage in museum practices but also to explore the relationship between the museum and intangible cultural heritage and to reconsider the efficacy and role of the traditional, official ideas of national identity promoted by museums for historical and political purposes. It is to answer the question 'why' in social phenomena and, to move from the general to the specific. The main question has become, 'What is the role of intangible cultural heritage in today's South Korean museums?'.

4.2 Research Design

Qualitative research, primary data, secondary literature review

Based on the purpose of this research, qualitative research methodology is an appropriate approach to answer the research question. By understanding the theoretical framework through the collection and analysis of qualitative data, setting up a case study and interviewing visitors and relevant practitioners were regarded as suitable methods to

address the complexity of the topic. As research aims to describe a social phenomenon and provide a deeper understanding of the situation, as Carey described, qualitative research can offer,

> An opportunity to gain new insight into themes such as those relating to policy, legislation and political, economic or cultural dynamics without impinging upon aspects of practice and broaden our understanding of the complexity.[274]

The qualitative method used in this research focuses on different interpretations from different stakeholders who are part of the heritage management system and who make suggestions about how the situation can be improved. In order to understand Korean museums and their relationship with intangible cultural heritage, as well as the role of intangible cultural heritage, it is necessary to grasp the structural relationship between the museum and heritage. The administrative framework that has been underlying these issues is crucial in exploring the relationship between the two concepts. Especially since heritage and the establishment of museums are closely related to the nation-building, not only as components but also as a representation of the process, official documents such as government reports, legal policy data, museums' annual reports, and newsletters provided essential information. Along with this, the research necessarily overviews how terms such as museum and heritage are developed over time from various political, historical and cultural perspectives and how they are perceived in society. The official documents demonstrated that the museum and the government considered museum visitors, including the general public visit to learn about Korean history and culture, to be passive.

However, this research was not designed to test the hypothesis that visitors will get a feeling of pride from museum exhibitions. Rather, to explore the extent to which visitors to museums appreciate and understand museum exhibitions of past craftsmanship and whether they feel attached to this as part of their culture. A museum display is not permanent, and visitors perceive it in diverse ways. Even though the framework that the

[274] Carey Malcolm (2012) Qualitative Research Skills for Social Work: Theory and Practice, Taylor & Francis Group, p.9

government built for the protection and development of the nation's solidarity became greatly successful, its appropriation and effect must be questioned. Therefore, besides the government report with official understandings, this research uses a case study methodology and semi-structured interviews. In order to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon from different perspectives, interviews with museum visitors, Living Human Treasures and museum and heritage professionals were arranged as a sub-category of research to clarify how cultural life is produced by those in power and affected by privilege, how this affects individuals and why it is important to understand individuals. Since Korean intangible cultural heritage is about what Living Human Treasures do, the research focused on their perspective of the use of intangible cultural heritage to understand the perception of intangible cultural heritage and the role of the museum. Due to the museum's bureaucratic system, this secondary data was collected to complement the statistical data provided by the museum. Since having a face-to-face interview was uncommon in Korean museums, the secondary datum, here, will enable the research to analyse complex, in-depth information provided by the participant[275] and reflect the perception of intangible cultural heritage and the effect of its role in society. Bearing in mind that social rules and norms and people's experiences and attitudes are more interdependent and complex than could realistically be accounted for, [276] this research aims to explore the complexity and interconnectedness of everyday actions. Qualitative research was suitable to enable me to begin to understand how people act; it takes into account inconsistencies, contradictions, discontinuities and relatedness in actions.

4.2.1 Case Study

Case study methodology was used in this research to reflect the range of different kinds of evidence that can be found in a case setting and which have to be abstracted and

[275] Wengraf, T. (2001) Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured method, London: Sage

[276] Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K. (2007), Research in Methods in Education, 6th edition, London, Routledge, p 491

collated to get the best possible answers to the questions.[277] For the purpose of this research, the most important factor in selecting the case study was that it had to reflect the official understanding of Korean heritage and be a popular attraction for visitors. Based on these criteria, selecting a museum as a case study for this research was simple and difficult at the same time. Since national museums relating to the history and culture of Korea have almost the same framework of showing the official version of Korea's past for political purposes, the list possible case studies were narrowed down to national museums. It was generally accepted in this case that since the official understanding of intangible cultural heritage includes the concept of folklore, the content of the National Folk Museum of Korea can be considered intangible cultural heritage. As previously mentioned, most Korean museums are neither operated nor designed to take care of intangible cultural heritage, and only a few museums show interest in intangible cultural heritage according to the official understanding, whilst a small number of local or private museums occasionally open an exhibition about intangible cultural heritage. For this reason, this research involved an interview with one of the curators of the Kyonggi University Museum, which held an exhibition with the Living Human Treasures programme in 2016.

The National Folk Museum of Korea, accordingly, was selected as a case study for this research. The museum was established as part of the government's nation-building process and, since then, has had a direct impact on government policy. Considering the structure of Korean museums, wherein national museums are at the centre of government policy as they collect national treasures, the National Folk Museum of Korea is in a leading role compared to small local and private museums. Also, apart from the issue of intangible cultural heritage, the museum has been one of the top tourist attractions in Korea as is located in the centre of Seoul next to the Gyeongbokgung Palace. The museum's goal was to become an educational venue where both international and domestic visitors can learn how Koreans lived, from the past to the present.[278] Hence, whilst other museums invite Living Human Treasures to demonstrate their skills as part

[277] Gillham, B (2000) Case study research methods, New York; London, Continuum, p.1

[278] https://www.nfm.go.kr/english/subIndex/436.do [Access 1 December 2020]

of a museum event once a year, the National Folk Museum of Korea has shown interest in intangible cultural heritage by researching and developing educational programmes with Living Human Treasures. For instance, since 2005, the museum has conducted a weekly event called 'Our Folk Festival' to showcase traditional dance, music and performing arts more easily to visitors as well as to provide an opportunity for people who are practising and transmitting their skills to become Living Human Treasures and to promote the transmission of traditional culture.



Figure 17 Image of 'Our Folk Festival'. (©https://blog.naver.com/tnfmk/220949123893)



Figure 18 Image of 'Our Folk Festival'.
(©https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iQVz7QOcuuU)

Therefore, even though the establishment of the National Intangible Cultural Centre affected the role of the National Folk Museum of Korea in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, the museum has continued and expanded its interest in intangible cultural heritage until today.

Admission to the museum is free of charge since 2008, when the government announced a free admission policy for 17 national museums. It is open from 9 am till 6 pm (March - October), from 9 am till 5 pm (November – February) and 9 am till 7 pm (June – August), and is closed on the 1st of January, Lunar New Year's Day and Korean Thanksgiving Day. Since 2016, national museums located in Seoul (the National Museum of Korea, the National Folk Museum of Korea, the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea) open all year round to expand cultural enjoyment and provide more attractions to foreign tourists.

4.2.2 Research Methods for the interviews

With the National Folk Museum of Korea, as a case study venue, the research used semi-structured interviews, observation, and secondary data methods to explore and answer the research question. In total, 15 visitors to the National Folk Museum of Korea, four holders of intangible cultural heritage and three museum professionals were interviewed in the course of this research. Although the research in the field was time-consuming, as I was asking questions that have never been asked among visitors or to the museum, the researcher wanted to understand different people's perspectives and relationships with the museum regarding the use of intangible cultural heritage. Regarding the small number of interviewees, the researcher used observation and secondary data to increase the validity of the study and better understanding the context and phenomenon under study.

Interview with visitors, holders and museum professionals were based on the semi-structured interview – a combination of pre-planned and spontaneous questions[279] – as

[279] Ibid. p.112

some of the questions were partly difficult to have an immediate response to. Especially, Since the interview aimed to examine issues which are easy to ask but difficult to answer, a semi-structured interview with visitors was an effective way to ascertain the nuances that are embedded in their experiences in the museum. For example, interviews with museum visitors were conducted primarily as a pilot study to explore the meanings that participants took away from their experiences in the museum. Visitors' responses reflected an important question in this research, 'What is a museum in South Korea?'. That is, the difficulty of finding Korean visitors in the museum and the fact that there were only a few visitors during weekday hours reflect that museums are not particularly popular with South Korean citizens in their present form. In addition, the fact that visitors' perceptions of the museum and their responses became various these days, museums were the place where people visit to learn about Korea and where it enabled them to explore what it. Means to be Korean in Korean society, but not necessarily the didactic role the government assigned to the museum. Thus, as Carey argues, this interview method can help the researcher 'to detail and unpack personal experience, emotions, or feelings, again intangible experiences or events that practitioners address and regularly accommodate in their daily practices.'[280] Carey adds that this allows the researcher an 'opportunity to gain new insights on issues',[281] which helped to revalue the interview data and used it as the primary data of this research.

Not only to visitors but also to holders and museum professionals, questions that were asking their thoughts and feelings took time to have a clear response. Also, as I am a Korean, and a researcher in the UK, asking questions that are commonly and socially accepted in Korean society such as 'Do you think this is Korean heritage?' did not have immediate responses from them. Hence, the ability to add new questions in response to the participant's answers or body language made semi-structured interviews ideal for gathering more diverse answers. Questions were not set with a clear answer; it aimed to question the topics and needed to be explored by the interviewees. A face-to-face

[280] Carey Malcolm (2012) Qualitative Research Skills for Social Work: Theory and Practice, Taylor & Francis Group, p.110

[281] Ibid. p.110

interview was, therefore, preferred and conducted by the researcher in various parts of the museum, the resting area inside the exhibition space, the museum café and the common area of the museum. Each interview lasted around 20 to 30 minutes; the researcher also took into account their body language, their tone of voice and their gaze. Knowing how important the gaze is, the body movement and the gestures of the participants were critical to grasping the immediate context and meaning of the conversation.[282] Especially, considering that it was not easy to conduct a qualitative interview in the museum with not enough Korean visitors and visitors who are not used to have a face-to-face interview, unpacking 15 visitors experience, emotions and feelings were the key in this research. This method may not represent the whole population but can serve as the ground study in this research.

Visitors Interview

For the purpose of this research, 15 visitors of the museum, both male and female, were interviewed. The interviewer selected non-vulnerable adult visitors from the twenties upward who visited the museum. There were no gender or age restrictions in the interviewee selection. The two criteria for participation were their nationality (they had to be born and raised in Korea) and their age (they had to be over 20). The reason why the researcher did not divide the interviewees into more detailed age groups is that the research aims to expand the understanding of how the official heritage narrative is accepted in Korean society at large. The number of visitors, 15, can be seen as inadequate size to represent the data, but as Charmaz argued, 'how many can be the wrong question as it depends upon developing the range of relevant conceptual categories.'[283] This means that the purpose of the visitor interview was not only to gathering fresh data for new theoretical insights but also to inform the discussion of the relationship between the museum and intangible cultural heritage. In fact, the manner in which interviewees responded to the questions was an important point to consider as it reflected their

[282] Assi Peräkylä (2004) Conversation Analysis, in Qualitative Research Practice (eds.) Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman, SAGE Publications, p. 157

[283] Charmaz, K (1999) 'Discovering' chronic illness: Using grounded theory. Social Science and Medicine, 30, 1161-1171

experiences in the museum. Moreover, considering that the museum has a larger number of foreign visitors than domestic visitors, the limited number of interviewees indirectly reflects how the museum appears to be important in society.

As each interview took on average twenty to thirty minutes starting by introducing me and the interview purpose, some felt friendly and comfortable, but others did not. Indeed, a certain number of visitors who felt uncomfortable about having a face-to-face interview with personal questions rejected the interview. Hence, I arranged various sub-questions to allow flexibility in posing the main questions among different interviewees. While asking simple questions, such as why they visited and gathering personal stories, I also looked for insights and meaning in their responses. The study tried to carry out further research with visitors to have a clear idea of what is easy to ask but difficult to answer for Koreans. The interview questions were developed to encourage them to think clearly, while I, as a researcher, positioned myself more as a visitor during the interview to make questions more understandable. I have occasionally asked the questions in different ways or repeated their responses during the interview to help them to make their own judgement.

The research undertook observations and interviews at the permanent exhibition of the National Folk Museum of Korea. In particular, visitor interviews took place at this location from April to June 2016 and then in December 2016. In the course of a semi-structured interview, additional questions in response to interviewees comments and reactions were asked, based on the following questions:

1. What is the purpose of your visit to the museum?
2. What did you like the most about the exhibition?
3. Where do you often see these objects?
4. What do you feel about these objects? Do you feel anything?
5. Do you feel proud?
6. Do you think this (museum object) is part of Korean culture or heritage?
7. Have you heard about intangible cultural heritage?
8. Are museums relevant to your daily life?
9. What have you got from your museum visit?
10. What do you expect from the museum?

A full list of interviewees and dates is given as follows:

Interviewee			
No.	**Gender**	**Age**	**Occupation**
V1	F	20-29	Artist
V2	F	20-29	Teacher
V3	F	20-29	Student
V4	F	20-29	Student
V5	F	30-39	Employee
V6	F	50-59	Housewife
V7	F	50-59	Housewife
V8	M	20-29	Artist
V9	M	20-29	Employee
V10	M	30-39	Student
V11	M	30-39	Employee
V12	M	30-39	Assistant teacher
V13	M	50-59	Employee
V14	M	50-59	Employee
V15	M	60-69	-

Table 2 A list of interviewees (Visitors)

Holder (Living Human Treasure) Interviews

This thesis also took in-depth face-to-face interviews with four craftsmen (as defined by the system of intangible cultural heritage), classified as Living Human Treasure in May and December 2016. Semi-structured interview was carried out with craftsmen who are part of the Living Human Treasures system to gain an in-depth understanding of intangible cultural heritage in the current state of affairs. Among various intangible cultural heritage skills such as dance or singing, the researcher chose craftsmen who had a previous relationship with museums from running educational sessions or opening

exhibitions. Craftsmen have a particularly close relationship to museums as the traditional skills they transmit involve the creation of an object as well as the practice of a skill. Craftsmen's skills are a form of intangible cultural heritage and their products show the inextricable connection with museum collections. Moreover, since craftsmen's status in society is that of individual artists, their relationship with museums was not only tied to the idea of nation or tradition but to the process of exhibiting an object in a museum space. Accordingly, four craftsmen were chosen who had different paths to becoming part of the Living Human Treasures system, but a similar period of time spent working as craftsmen and transmitting traditional skills, about twenty years. Compared to visitors' interviews in the museum, these face-to-face interviews with Living Human Treasures were conducted in a more comfortable environment for the interviewees, their studios. Each interview lasted for around 40 to 60 minutes and was based on the semi-structured interview, a combination of a pre-planned and spontaneous questions. The researcher aimed to have an in-depth conversation to gather more personal experiences from their perspectives. All the Living Human Treasures were very helpful as the researcher knew them personally and introduced them to other Living Human Treasures.

Since these Living Human Treasures are known to have been doing this work for more than twenty years, the interview tried to capture their idea of intangible cultural heritage in relation to their role in today's society. Whilst previous interviews with Living Human Treasures focused on their autobiography - how they became a Living Human Treasure, this interview tried to ask more about their understanding of their role by keeping the tradition and at the same time recreating it. The researcher tried to capture the idea of becoming a Living Human Treasure today. The interview, eventually, aimed to find out Living Human Treasure's role and its relation to the museum's practice. It included questions about their previous experience and expectation in the relationship with the museum. Additional questions in response to interviewees' comments and reactions were posed, based on the following questions:

1. Why/How did you become a Living Human Treasure?
2. What is your role as Living Human Treasure?
3. What do you think about the system of Living Human Treasure?
4. What do you think about historical crafts displayed in museums?

5. What do you think the key point of intangible cultural heritage is?
6. How and where do you usually perform your skills?
7. Have you ever worked with museums?
8. How would you describe your work in terms of the past and present?

A full list of interviewees and dates is given as follows:

No.	Interviewee	Date
L1	Holder, Chiljang (lacquerware making)	June 2016
L2	Initiation training assistant, Mokjogakjang (wood sculpture)	June 2016
L3	Master, joiner (wood furniture making)	June 2016
L4	Initiation training completer (apprentice), joiner (wood furniture making)	December 2016

Table 3 A list of interviewees (Holders)

Professional Interviews

In the case of museum and heritage professionals, the researcher first contacted an employee at the National Folk Museum of Korea for an interview. However, as mentioned before, finding an appropriate interviewee in the museum sector was difficult. Especially in national museums, the position rotates under the bureaucratic system, and since it is a national institution, their responses were formal. Nevertheless, the researcher collected responses from one of the museum staff through email. Considering this issue and identifying that the museum's staff were unwilling to take part in the research, which was not very much in their interest, the researcher decided to contact a representative from the National Intangible Cultural Centre who was managing a museum and hosting a Living Human Treasures educational session: "Special educational programme for restoration and research into traditional craft skills". Since, the project manager was also part of the Living Human Treasure system, being a skilled maker of traditional hats, the interview was able to capture more in-depth tension between institutions and practitioners. One of the curators at the Kyonggi University Museum who had experience working with Living Human Treasures was chosen for an interview as well. The curator was a previous colleague of the researcher, and she was able to approach this research formally and

informally by giving her personal experiences. The interview included not only the methodological perspective of understanding intangible cultural heritage but also the relationship which was built up with the Living Human Treasure for the exhibition. Since the interview with the National Folk Museum of Korea was formal and limited to email, the manager at the National Intangible Cultural Centre and the curator of the Kyonggi University Museum interviews took the form of semi-structured face-to-face interviews, which lasted around an hour. As mentioned before, considering these institutions with different purpose but similar function to a museum, the research attempted to find a broader perspective of intangible cultural heritage understanding in museum practices.

As the research comprised interviews within different institutions due to the limitation of the professional interview, and these interviews mostly had an official tone, the researcher tried to listen more and ask more critical questions to develop more open-ended questions for the interview as follows:

1. What is the role of the museum?
2. What do you think about the purpose of intangible cultural heritage in the museum (exhibition or education)?
3. Can you describe your experience with intangible cultural heritage?
4. How do you or your work consider intangible cultural heritage?
5. Were there any challenges?
6. Are there any approaches or thoughts about the concept of intangible cultural heritage in terms of museum activity?

A full list of interviewees and dates is given as follows:

No.	Interviewee	Date
M1	The National Folk Museum of Korea	June 2016
M2	Kyounggi University Museum	December 2016
C1	National Intangible Cultural Centre	December 2916

Table 4 A list of interviewees (Professionals)

The researcher collected the data in two phases. The first phase lasted from May to June 2016. As a pilot study, it was an opportunity to test out research protocols, data collection instruments, sample recruitment strategies, and other research techniques in preparation for a larger study. In the first week, the researcher spent around four to five hours per day around the museum on weekdays. However, the researcher only interviewed three visitors whilst encountering more visitors who were reluctant to participate in the interview. People who rejected the interview were mostly in their 50s, as they came to the museum as a local group tour and only spent an hour at the museum. The researcher, therefore, decided to spend more time at the museum on weekends as there were more domestic visitors, such as couples, students, and families, who were spending time there. Whilst the researcher spent four to five hours there during the guided tour time (from 10am to 11am) on the weekdays, the researcher spent five to six hours there on weekends. This schedule was continued in the second and third week, and every week more visitors participated in the interview.

Living Human Treasures interview data were collected in two phases. Two craftsmen interviews were conducted at the first phase in June 2016, and the other two craftsmen interviews was in December 2016. Two more interviews with museum professionals were also conducted during the second phase. All interview questions were developed in English and translated into Korean, whilst some of the questions were added or removed during the interview in order to prevent possible language barriers in comprehending the question.

Participant observation

One important method of collecting data for this research was participant observation. Observation illustrated the larger picture of the context of the research[15] and observing interviewees' responses to the exhibition formed a fundamental approach and procedure within this research. It captured interviewees' non-verbal language during the interview as a necessary process to understand the depth of their emotional reactions conveyed within the language they used. This observation method was useful as it allowed the researcher to 'check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe

events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making them aware of distortions or inaccuracies in the description provided by those informants'.[284] The researcher aimed to understand the culture and the ways visitors experience the culture in the museum. Alongside noting how visitors responded to the questions during the interview, the researcher also tried to gather their ideas and thoughts through their movement pattern in the museum and conversations. The process of watching and checking their immediate responses, as DeWalt and DeWalt noted, it was a process that 'developed a holistic understanding of the phenomena under study that is as objective and accurate as possible, given the limitations of the method'.[285] Based on the people who declined to participate in the research by saying, 'I don't know, or I'm not sure if I will give you the right answer', I tried to downplay but also remain aware of the influence of my position as a researcher, as asking a question can influence the interviewee's attitude.

Secondary data

Reviewing the museum exhibition was another way of collecting data for this research. As secondary data increases the overall effectiveness of the research, museums' annual reports, visitor surveys, journals and newspapers were helpful in modifying and contradicting the findings of this research. For instance, since visitor surveys have been commonly conducted as part of the museum's annual report to the MCST, resources published by the museum provided important quantitative data to enlarge my comprehension of what the museum is focusing on in visitor experience and how visitors responded relative to the museum's goal. Secondary data was essential, but there was a possibility that government statistics data is massaged for government purposes, making its reliability questionable. Considering the circumstance, the researcher tried to deal with the available information by cross-checking the suitability and objectivity of the data and,

[284] Marshall, Catherine & Rossman, Gretchen B. (1989) Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

[285] DeWalt, Kathleen M. & DeWalt, Billie R. (2002) Participant observation: a guide for fieldworks. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

accordingly, the researcher reviewed the exhibition labels and narratives to uncover the conceptualisation of intangible cultural heritage by institutions and individuals. Except for the hours in the museum devoted to visitor interviews, the researcher reviewed the museum exhibition from the labels, design, programmes and planning.

4.3 Data Analysis

Since this research is based on the particular case of Korea, one important and inevitable process was transcribing and translating Korean data into English. Translating articles and the data of this research took meticulous care in analysing and understanding the cultural context and nuances. Field notes and research diaries were, therefore, crucial to translate in a direct manner at an initial stage. As a Korean but in the position of a researcher, the researcher went through several stages of correcting and editing words to catch the different of nuances of the two languages, Korean and English. The translation was checked by a native English translator and revised by the researcher at every stage.

After the translation, the researcher started to categorise and code the data. The researcher created an initial code by highlighting and connecting keywords by using a table in a Word document. For the purposes of this research, it was important to capture the meaning embedded in the interview and analyse the use of language real-life situations. The discourse analysis research method was useful in this case, as semi-structured interview with open-ended questions asked visitors, Living Human Treasures, and the museum professionals to revise their own thoughts of how their experience in the museum was whiles explaining it into words. Especially the discourse analysis research method, which analysis the use of language in social context,[286] helped to understand how the same location, the museum, brought different feelings to different generations. Also, considering that Koreans are not used to taking a face-to-face interview and taking time to express their ideas in front of a stranger, discourse analysis was useful to understand their direct and indirect messages and descriptions of their experience in the museum.

[286] Stephanie Taylor (2013) *What is Discourse Analysis?* Bloomsbury Academic.

Through discourse analysis method, I was able to understand overall meanings conveyed by language in context.

Thus, after transcribing interview scripts helped in discovering what was really to be found in the museum, how visitors were really feeling and thinking while there and how Living Human Treasures function in today's society. Categorising and highlighting the data was helpful in gaining a clear understanding of the complicated and fossilised relationship between the museum and the officially defined intangible cultural heritage. Collected interview data were closely interconnected to the exhibition, reviewed by the researcher and analysed based on the literature that has been reviewed in the previous chapter. Realising I, as a researcher, have also accepted the dominant concept of intangible cultural heritage, it was necessary to be as detached as possible, to stand back, at least temporarily, and take a wider view of the circumstances.

In the meantime, to enhance the observation data, textual analysis, which involves reading the object of analysis like a text for its narrative structures and strategies[287] was also used. The research saw the whole of the exhibition as a text and focused on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of a text. As museum's act of display is always simultaneously one of definition and attribution of value; 'this is art' or 'this is culture'[288] I observed and analysis how Korean traditional culture is represented in image and language; what objects in which ways and what story it implies. Details of exhibition design importantly reflected the process of meaning-making in the museum; how the museum intends to present the nation's past, tradition, and culture, and after all the process of how it can influence visitors' understandings and perceptions. As this observation has been combined with visitors' responses particularly, it pointed out the political and social context in interpreting and engaging Korean heritage in the museum. For instance, exhibition display neither used the 'old' word nor emphasised how old it is; however, visitors commonly responded with the word 'old' and 'past'. Moreover, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's approach to textual analysis -the degree of performance

[287] Rhiannon Mason (2006) Cultural Theory and Museum Studies in *A Companion to Museum Studies* (ed.) Sharon Macdonald, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, p. 26

[288] ibid, p.18

involved in the narration of spatialized stories within museums[289] - helped me understand the term intangible cultural heritage in the museum space. It helped to see how Living Human Treasure's performance recorded and shown in the exhibition as a cultural experience is different from currently Living Human Treasure's activity. Hence, by considering the museum's role in Korean society as a political agent, the textual analysis helped the researcher see the meaning beyond the words they – visitors, Living Human Treasures, and museum professionals- used.

4.4 Ethics

This research was conducted according to the ethics regulations of the University of Leicester policies, including the University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.[290] The research was explained, and a consent form was signed by, every interviewee taking part in this research.[291] Before starting the research at the museum, the research purpose and visitor interview process were proposed to and approved by the museum. The interview date, location and safety protocols were discussed and confirmed with the museum. After receiving approval, the researcher tried to avoid discomforting interviewees and asked people first if they were willing to be part of the research. People who wanted to participate in the interview were notified of what this interview was about, the purpose of the research, and how their responses would be recorded and secured for their privacy. As a face-to-face interview is not a common method of visitor research in Korean museums, and as it made certain people feel uncomfortable, people who did not want to participate were not pressed for information. After the interview, they were asked if they wanted to have a record of their interview or furthermore information about the interview and informed that they could contact the researcher anytime.

---

[289] Kirshenblatt – Gimblett. Barbara (1998) Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

[290] University of Leicester, Code of Practices for Research Ethics <https://www2.le.ac.uk/staff/policy/codes-of-practice-and-policy>

[291] See Appendix. Consent forms from the research participants are attached in the Appendix.

In the case of the interviews with the Living Human Treasures and museum professionals, the subjects were first notified of the purpose of the research and asked if they wanted to participate in the research. After their agreement and before the interview started, the subjects were asked to sign the interview consent form and notified that the interview would be recorded.

4.5 Conclusion

Based on an initial literature review, this thesis begins by understanding specific terms such as heritage and museum by drawing on the literature relating to the nation and national identity. Concepts and theories are used to define the differing and complicated layers of understanding of the keyword of this thesis: intangible cultural heritage and defines this term in the context of Korea. These in-depth interview and observation are for a broader view in understanding the concept of heritage and museum in Korean society. In fact, for this thesis, it is not only to analysis or criticises the government-led cultural plans, but it is also more to discover and reveal issues caused by the government plan and influence on the whole system of use of culture in Korea. Hence, based on the government publications and reports, data collected by the qualitative method are used for answering the effect to society beyond the role that has been given by the government. Multiple methods used in this research contributed to an expanded, in-depth understanding of the cultural context. Accordingly, the following chapters will present the research findings and discussions based on this research methodology.

Chapter 5 Heritage Practitioners' Interpretation of Intangible Cultural Heritage

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the museum with its relationship with intangible cultural heritage. From the perspective of Living Human Treasures, the chapter examines how intangible cultural heritage is used to present something traditional that is unchanging and thus has no relevance for contemporary Koreans. It is to do with the complex issue of authenticity and the role of cultural policies in museum practices. It is also to do with the role of the Living Human Treasures and the exhibition policies of the museums that do not facilitate easy understanding of intangibles and its role in national building. Findings and discussions will be based on interviews with Living Human Treasures, who become a national treasure as a respectful job for the nation but lost individuality on creating and self-sustainability in the present, and visitors.

5.2 Living Human Treasures and Museums

The role of intangible cultural heritage

In Korea, safeguarding and presenting heritage in museums is different from Living Human Treasure's transmission process. Whilst Korean museums preserved tangible heritage by presenting the national history and culture within the national framework, Living Human Treasures safeguarded intangible cultural heritage by transmitting their intangible skills of making craftwork, dancing and singing songs through the state-led apprenticeship education system. Craftsman who is apprentice on wooden crafts skills, but who achieved the license of cultural heritage repair technician[292] and worked with the museum as a conservator before said,

[292] In Korea, Act on Cultural Heritage Maintenance defines 'cultural heritage repair engineer' as a person who takes charge of technical duties concerning the repair of cultural heritage and directs and supervises

> "To be honest, making an object and conserving an object is a different thing… I mean making an object, for example a wooden drawer, is a collaborative work as, in the past, there was a person who only paint lacquer in the wood.[293] However, the circumstance changed a lot from the past. It seems now one person does all the work by itself. While conserving the object depends on what museums want and how the condition of the object is." (L4)

According to this craftsman, Living Human Treasures' role is closer to creating an object by using traditional skills, which includes the process of transmitting skills. There is a difference between their role in transmitting skills to safeguard intangible cultural heritage and their skills used for conserving objects. Skills of knowing how to make a historical object might have similar process of knowing how to repair a historical object. However, as Yoshida argues, the important characteristic of intangible heritage is that it is based on human existence and the body of knowledge held by human beings, which continually constructs and reconstructs people's sense of identity through their social interactions.[294] Craft people are often caught in a double bind. They do respect tradition but also have the taste of the modern consumer. This means although conserving an object and safeguarding the traditional skills and knowledge has the same purpose of transmitting the intrinsic value of the nation's culture, Living Human Treasures' activities include new values constructed over time by practitioners. Safeguarding and transmitting skills is not only about knowing how to make it but also adapting and developing skills over time with modern consumers. During the process, Living Human Treasures create a certified replica, [see page 181] with the knowledge of material, cultural background, regions characteristics. Thus, although the purpose of Living Human Treasures system is to safeguard and transmit the traditional skills and knowledge to the next generation, as

works performed by 'cultural heritage repair technician', who takes charge of technical duties concerning the repair of cultural heritage under the guidance and supervision of the cultural heritage repair engineer. (ACHM. 2)

[293] Collaborative work here means that each process of making a wooden furniture, for instance, carpentering the wood, carving the wood, attaching woods are done by individual skilled craftsmen as a process.

[294] Yoshida Kenji (2004) The Museum and Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museum International No. 221-222 (Vol. 56. 1-2), Blackwell, p.109

the above Living Human Treasure says, their activity is not only in preserving or conserving an object. It is different from conserving an object to prove the history of the nation and represent the nation.

Nevertheless, the government recognised their activity to protect intangible cultural heritage as a performance-based activity showing the nation's traditional culture as a living cultural activity. For instance, the government occasionally requests Living Human Treasures to do conservation works on historical monuments. For instance, when the Sungnyemun was on fire, Living Human Treasures, who have skills in Traditional Wooden Architecture (대목장), Roof Tile Making (기와장), Ornamental Painting (단청장), were asked to reconstruct the Sungnyemun.



Figure 19 Image of practitioners reconstructing the Sungnyemun.
(©https://www.seoul.co.kr/news/newsView.php?id=20120613014003)



Figure 20 Image of practitioners reconstructing the Sungnyemun.
(©http://www.medicalworldnews.co.kr/m/view.php?idx=1394532269)

As the above Living Human Treasure mentioned, the process of making an object changed with the social change as machines replace certain processes. However, to transmit the intrinsic value of the nation's past linked intangible cultural heritage with the old national identity. As necessary as government support was to continue the tradition of the nation's past, it instead promoted certain views and ideas and controlled Living Human Treasures' activity to repeat the past despite the change of society. The cultural policy did not consider or accept the interactive process in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage. It rather influenced the presentation of the heritage in museums and the understanding of Living Human Treasures' activity.

In this vein, this thesis found that the issue is dividing and comparing the past and the contemporary. Living Human Treasures have continuously transmitted the representative idea and symbolic sense of the nation's past by producing a certified replica. This process was not based on the idea of heritage as a process of forgetting and remembering.[295] Instead, with the government support, the process led their activity to be a repetition of the past. On the one hand, as much as they relied on government support, Living Human

[295] Anico, Marta and Elsa Peralta (2009) *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*, New York: Routledge, p.6

Treasures not only lost the social awareness of their work in society but also lost its self-sustainability in society.

The 'Special educational programme for restoration and research into traditional craft skills' conducted annually by the National Intangible Heritage Centre shows the current understanding of intangible cultural heritage and Living Human Treasure in Korean museums. The purpose of the programme was to help craftsmen, who are part of the intangible cultural heritage system, to learn how to view historical objects. Indeed, educating Living Human Treasures, who are already known as professionals in making objects, to view an object seems paradoxical. However, the purpose reflects the heritage system which is trying to present something traditional that is unchanging and has no relevance for contemporary Koreans. According to the programme manager, this programme was promoted by one of the university professors who found that there was Living Human Treasures who do not know the original size of a historical object that he/she is transmitting skills and knowledge of it. Hence, training Living Human Treasures to view a historical object here means that 'in principle, habit should have ingrained accuracy... but to improve, they need to know how to compare their skills and works by seeing in details and different things'.[296] The university professor expressed a strong view regarding today's Living Human Treasures' and their need to view an experience objects as displayed in the museum. So, the programme was conducted to give a chance to Living Human Treasures to do research about their practices by viewing, touching, comparing historical objects and develop their skills.

However, we should question the above purpose as it seems to consider Living Human Treasures' activity to be traditional and that intangible cultural heritage should be safeguarded with intrinsic value. This can be related to the term 'craft' which changed over time from community-based work with local materials to an individual artist who implements their idea and creativity in an object.[297] As Sennett argues, the contrast still informs our thinking: art seems to draw attention to work that is unique or at least

[296] Sennett Richard (2008) The Craftsman, Penguin Books, p. 161

[297] Ibid, p.66

distinctive, whereas craft names a more anonymous, collective, and continued practice.[298] In this sense, the project manager stated how difficult it was to work with museums; how confused museums reacted in presenting traditional craft. Following the purpose of the programme, he contacted five museums: the National Museum of Korea (국립중앙박물관), the National Folk Museum of Korea (국립민속박물관), the National Palace Museum (국립고궁박물관), the Horim Museum (호림미술관), and the Onyang Folk Museum (온양민속박물관) to open their collections for Living Human Treasures training. However, when the project manager first approached each museum, all museum administrators showed uncomfortable reactions with unveiling their collections. The project manager said, 'As I expected and you know, Korean museums have a high wall', which meant that museums are insular space. He continued saying, 'We were able to push forward the project faster and further as the director of the National Intangible Heritage Centre asked museums directly to open their collection and participate the project.' He meant that administrative issues were solved easily with the power from the top. He also said that 'museums had different reaction when we [the centre] approached them [museums] administratively and when the Living Human Treasures physically went there.' (C1) Museums were more friendly and open when they met the Living Human Treasures. Each museum had different attitudes as the National Museum of Korea strictly limited access to objects, and craftsmen could not handle any objects. Meanwhile, the National Folk Museum of Korea allowed them to take photos with their mobile phones and measure the object while wearing gloves. The National Palace Museum of Korea and the Horim Museum did not welcome the programmes at first, but when they met the craftsmen and had discussions about their collections, they later asked for technical help and opened their collections to be researched by them.

Museums' reluctant attitudes show their perception of Living Human Treasures. To museums, working with Living Human Treasures was something new that they hadn't done before and required them to work within different methods and processes. However, whilst this programme allowed museums to develop a relationship with Living Human Treasures, the programme manager said,

[298] Sennett Richard (2008) The Craftsman, Penguin Books, p.66

> "I think this collaborative work will give them [museums] a chance to understand different skills, materials and methods used in the past… But one of the issues is that museums think their collections are their possession" (C1).

What the manager meant here is that this is not only about museums having responsibility in taking care of national treasures but also behind the responsibility, they were controlling the public's view from a position of a provider. In the case of Korea, museums opening every day having no entrance fee does not mean that they are an inclusive place; it instead means that there is an invisible wall that limits access to museums and thoughts to the past. Living Human Treasures could hardly access museums' collections and also their craftwork was not accepted to museums' collections. As one of the craftsmen talked about his museum experience as follows, Living Human Treasures had very limited access to the museum.

> "A few years ago, I asked to handle an object in the Seoul Museum of History (서울시역사박물관) . I was interested in one of the wooden furniture pieces on display and asked the museum if I could look inside the furniture. However, the museum told me, 'Object handling is possible only for academic reasons. Since you are a furniture-maker who could copy the object and sell it for a profit, we cannot let you see the actual object. You might not copy it for academic reasons. Also, how can we be assured that you would not sell it, and if so, that would mean a public institution helped you (or any individual) to make profit (as money)'" (L4).

The museum declined the craftsmen's request because under the regulation only the following people are qualified to handle objects:

> 1. A person who worked for a public institution, an education institution, an academic institution, or research organisation;
> 2. A person who has a Master's or higher degree;
> 3. Master's degree students who have been issued a recommendation from their department head;

4. Those who are admitted by the Director of the National Museum of Korea for special reason.[299]

As we can see, Korean museums generally required high qualification for object handling. Indeed, Korean museums have long been keepers of heritage due to their historical experience of being sacked by the Japan and the US. However, to the extent, we can now see that it developed with strict regulations for handling, viewing and collecting historical and cultural objects in Korean museums, whilst museums thought their collection is their own property to be controlled and managed. As mentioned, heritage as a national asset does not mean that it is the government's property, or the government is the only supplier of it, but the property that can be consumed jointly by multiple people regardless of their suppliers. [300] [see page 87] However, as the role of museums become clearer, it was not the physicality of objects but the intangible framework, the state's official narrative, which influenced the way of viewing and the practice of representing the nation's past to a limited sense. As this will be continued in the next chapter, the issue was the narrative structure in the museum that limited access of Living Human Treasures and their crafts works. Visitors were even far from the narrative structure as it even made them think it is just the museums' thing and not their culture. The physical restriction reflects how heritage as a political act is detached from the real world.

Moreover, as the regulation states, the above-mentioned museum seems to question the status of the ability of Living Human Treasures, who are not 'literally' qualified to handle objects. Considering the average age of Living Human Treasures[301] and their background in becoming a Living Human Treasure, as one of the craftsmen said, "comparing our activity with an academic degree does not make sense" (L4). As the other craftsmen

---

[299] Available at http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/content/reading_guide [Accessed 15 March 2017]

[300] Park Jungho (2014) 'Cultural Keeps' Heritage conservator – understanding public property ('문화재 지킴이' 문화재 수리기술자 – 공공재에 대한 이해) Hankyoung News (한경 뉴스) Available from: https://www.hankyung.com/news/article/2014052270481 [Accessed 03 July 2020]

[301] According to the Living Human Treasures system age distribution status, 43% is in their 60s, 25% (50s) and 22% (70s). Available from: https://kosis.kr/statisticsList/statisticsListIndex.do?parentId=H2.1&vwcd=MT_ZTITLE&menuId=M_01_01 [Accessed 09 July 2020]

criticised becoming a Living Human Treasure today, [see page 139] their 30 years of training based on oral transmission cannot be measured or compared with an academic degree. Even though the above requirement for object handling is a general standard, it seems to create a barrier between the public and their heritage.

Therefore, we can see that there is uncertainty about the intangible cultural heritage in museums. Museums' reaction to Living Human Treasures showed how less understanding developed in museums and how the cultural policy restricts the understanding of Korean heritage. Museums have worked with intangible cultural heritage with the principles and rules set by national legislation, but it paradoxically limited and controlled Living Human Treasures activity and the imagination of Korean heritage in society. Korean heritage developed instrumentally as a particular form of imagining the past that differs in some respects from the ideas of heritage as a fluid, complex and ever-changing form of cultural expression. The issue can be the official understanding of intangible cultural heritage; the Living Human Treasures activity is repetitive and not a scientific process. The activity made Living Human Treasures a unique position to represent the nation's culture. But to museums, intangible cultural heritage as a human-based live culture is a challenging concept that makes them rethink the presentation process of the nation's past and correspond with their current role. To the extent, the issue can be the understanding of the role that divided who cares of what rather than considering how to work together to change and improve the process of intangible cultural heritage in Korea to reflect a more lived experience.

5.3 Authentic experience

Living Human Treasures' activity has a close relation to tourism. Living Human Treasure was a component of the national brand that developed solidarity, cohesion, and attachment with the nation, [302] and effectively showed the national culture to the world

[302] Pai Hyung-il (2013) Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity, University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, p.10

audience. Since the Living Human Treasures activity has been shown as an authentic experience of Korean heritage, this section explores the role of authenticity.

Living Human Treasures are commonly invited to museums and heritage site to perform and demonstrate their skills and to provide visitors with an authentic experience of Korea's past. Even though it is hard to define what it makes an 'authentic experience', and the sense of authentic changes over time,[303] in the Korean context, authentic heritage experience is about experiencing Living Human Treasures activity by seeing their activity and making an object during the performance. According to visitors interviewed in this research, twelve of fifteen visitors responded that they have experienced – seen and learnt - Living Human Treasure's performance before.

In this sense, Living Human Treasure's activities have been limited to memories that represent the nation while at the same time, developed as part of tourism industry activity that reproduces and reinvents the dominant tradition. Museums and heritage sites invite Living Human Treasures to perform and demonstrate their skills and knowledge as a day event. The weekly event called 'Our Folk Festival' in the National Folk Museum of Korea is one of the examples that invites Living Human Treasures, including the apprentices, and shows traditional dance, music and performing art to visitors. It is designed to provide an opportunity for people who are practising and transmitting their skills to become Living Human Treasure and promote the transmission of traditional culture. Living Human Treasures with skills of performing art usually performs at the National Gugak Centre (국립국악원) which is a state-supported organisation supports the preservation, transmission and development of traditional music. Whilst Living Human Treasures with craft skills are invited to museums or heritage festivals as the Korea Intangible Cultural

[303] Watson Sheila (2019) Introduction part 2: Authenticity and Tourism, in A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage (ed.) Sheila Watson, Routledge, p. 186

Heritage Festival (대한민국 무형문화재대전)[304] or the Royal Culture Festival (궁중문화축전)[305] to perform and demonstrate their skills to public. As illustrated below, usually the host organisation builds up a small space for Living Human Treasures to perform. Visitors can visit each booth and participate in the performance by making the craftwork together.



Figure 21 Image of a Living Human Treasure who is talking about his skills of making an 'Onggi' in the Korea Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival (대한민국 무형문화재대전) (©Author)

[304] The Korea Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival (대한민국 무형문화재대전) is an annal festival – exhibition, performance, demonstration and participatory experience - organised by the National Intangible Cultural Centre.

[305] Royal Culture Festival (궁중문화축전) is an annual festival organised by the Cultural Heritage Foundation. It is a 10-day festival offering visitors to experience royal culture through programs and activities in 5 royal palaces in Seoul.



Figure 22 Image of a Living Human Treasure who is demonstrating Yugi making (Brass wear making skill) in the Korea Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival (대한민국 무형문화재대전). (©Author)



Figure 23 Image of a Living Human Treasure demonstrating in the Gyeongbuggug Festival. (©http://7ryang.com/%EC%86%8C%EC%8B%9D/%EC%A0%84%EC%8B%9C-%ED%96%89%EC%82%AC?ckattempt=1)

It is well known that a historic environment has the potential to strengthen the sense of community and provide a solid basis for neighbourhood renewal. [306] Performing inside the palace or on national holidays encouraged people to remember their heritage in a busy society. However, the research found that this use of intangible cultural heritage presents an old identity of Korea which purpose is to improve visitor engagement in heritage but results to promote fossilised idea of Korea's past and culture that distracts and distant Koreans from their past and culture. In the case of Korea, these events instead seem to operate as a process of fixing intangible cultural heritage – the memory of the past and the Living Human Treasures' activity - and to only represent the nation. The issue was not because their skills are old and different from modern technology, but because the way how the government wanted to show them was to represent the nation.

Thus, considering these events are regularly and repetitively held to provide visitors an authentic heritage experience, it is questionable if this is helping culture alive or if it is designed for tourist. This is because, inviting Living Human Treasures to demonstrate and educate visitors can be seen as another way of using intangible cultural heritage to present Korean history and culture as an unchanging traditional thing. Events are normally informed as 'You can experience making Onggi by yourself through a performance and demonstration of the Living Human Treasure.' [307] They are also publicised as 'this programme or experience class will enhance visitor understanding of the excellence of traditional cultural that we have never encountered before and increase our pride in our culture'. As Watson argues, from these events, museums and heritage sites seem to validate certain feelings by enabling visitors to experience through sight and sound and performance as some of the narrative of the origin and belonging made authentic through material culture interpreted in a variety of ways.[308] On the one hand, since Living Human Treasures are obligated to demonstrate their skills to the public once a year, practitioners count their invitation from the museum educational programs or heritage events as a demonstration requirement. However, as Living Human Treasures

[306] English Heritage (2000) Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment. p.23 Available online http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/discovery/heritage- review/consultation/index.asp [Accessed June 2020]

[307] 'https://www.chf.or.kr/c1/sub2_10.jsp?brdType=R&bbIdx=102879 [Accessed 12 July 2018]

[308] Watson Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Routledge, p.45

activities are reconstructed in the space where they perform, it is mostly set to provide certain ideas and feelings as proud. This is because, Living Human Treasures' activities are neither related to the location where they perform nor about community they are from. This means that visitors' authentic heritage experience is designed for tourists more than helping the culture be alive. What makes this 'real' experience is the Living Human Treasures wearing traditional cloth whilst they are treated and asked to perform to repeat the process of making craftwork wherever they show. One of the Living Human Treasures mentioned his experience as follow.

> "We normally have 3 sessions a day for an hour performance and some lunch break between performances. But, as you might know, we cannot show our works in an hour. Making a pot, for instance, takes at least three to four days." (L4)

According to this Living Human Treasures, their activities "cannot be the same ever again and it includes different meanings and values to those who perform it,"[309] but it seems now a one-time event and a performance for experience, which he also believes that it does not improve public interest to traditional craft. This Living Human Treasure meant that increasing public interest is related to consuming heritage by buying it. Transmitting traditional craft skills is not only about repeating skills but also creating and communicating with modern consumers. As mentioned, there were more apprentices in performance-based intangible cultural heritage practice as dance or song than craft skills-based intangible cultural heritage practice. Koreans also spent more time and money seeing a performance than buying craftwork. [see page 95] Hence, what Living Human Treasures are asked to do and have done over time was an activity giving the contemporary public a sense of how different the past of Korea looks from today to the extend, how unrelatable it is to today. It was showing how the pot that we can see in the museum is made in the past rather than how it continued today with different use and form. Their performance seemed far from encouraging people to think of the use of craftwork today or being creative with the skills.

---

[309] Skounti, Ahmed (2009) *Authenticity illusion*, Intangible Heritage (ed.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, Routledge, p.77

Furthermore, according to Living Human Treasures, their performance seems to create the notion of discrimination – who can belong within the nation and who does not quite fit in. One of the craftsmen who organised an educational programme at a Museum, talked as follows.

> "I once conducted a 15 week programme at the National Gonju Museum (국립공주박물관) for adults. The purpose of the programme was to teach technical skills about making a wooden desk. However, the most difficult thing was that the museum seemed to value only simple information about the object, and it was hard to make connections with mine. The museum encouraged visitors to accept things as seen, whilst people don't understand that things change over time. I was trying to teach how they can adjust the object with today as by changing the size. However, not all of them seem happy about the change and thought it is not real. I think the museum should explain the object in consideration of their use and changes over time. They need to reinterpret what has been changed and influenced" (L3).

As Living Human Treasures are working with the museum as educators, people can also have a more intense experience of the traditional culture of Korea, and there is an increase of interest in Living Human Treasures' activity over time. However, these opportunities seem to focus more on providing a fossilised traditional culture of Korea. As discussed, educating people to have a collective idea of nation was necessary after the Korean War, but to the extent it became an unquestionable knowledge that people learn and accept it whilst above opportunities to experience fossilises rather than building a link to the present. As visitors' responses will be continued in Chapter 7, to gain knowledge, apart from ideas and experience that visitors will bring to the museum, building a link from pre-existing knowledge is important. [see page 192] However, as the above craftsman mentioned, it seems complicated to build a link between their activity, including social change, and the past fossilised in the museum. People do not seem to understand the change and improvement of traditional culture, it seems difficult for some of them to accommodate the change or an adjustment over time. This could be an impact from the government's heritage policy that bases on protecting heritage in its 'original form' under

any circumstances. It fixed intangible cultural heritage into a form that does not change and links only to the past.[310] Utilisation of heritage is closer to continue the idea of preservation rather than revitalising it. Hence, the craftsman had struggled to change the idea that traditional culture is not different from the contemporary culture; rather, it changed over time and adjusted to the changes.

Thus, as this will be continued on the further part of the chapter, providing an authentic experience to visitors shows the embedded tension between tradition and contemporary. What has been provided and accepted as authentic Korean tradition caused conflict in Living Human Treasure's activity. For instance, the museum educators usually conducted educational programmes while Living Human Treasures are invited as performers or part-time educators as above. It seems as there is a set form of educational programmes that require Living Human Treasure to follow it. The museum asks them to do what the museum thinks fits the museum's purpose and hardly allowed them to organise the programmes or the event by themselves. The use of intangible cultural heritage to provide visitors with an authentic experience promoted a firm and fixed idea of Korea's past and limited Living Human Treasures activity as a repetition. Hence, there rigidity around Living Human Treasures activity reflects the official narrative which is framed to promote the proud feeling of the nation's culture and history developed a form of authenticity – how it should be accepted and believed. It suggests what Living Human Treasures should do with specific criteria and the understanding of their works. As the idea of heritage developed with a top-down process by the government, we can see that it is not only about the control but more about the dominant understanding of heritage that is embedded in society. As intangible cultural heritage is defined by the people who perform and have become a performance-based culture that people experience, Kirshenblatt – Gimblett argued that today's core of intangible heritage is a shift from objects to people and their knowledge and skills.[311] Living Human Treasure's performance and demonstrations are

[310] Jung Soo-jin (2013), From the Intangible Cultural Property to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재에서 무형문화유산으로, 글로벌시대의 문화 표상), Journal of East Asian Culture (동아시아문화연구), Vol. 53, p.96

[311] Kirchenblatt-Gimblett Barbara (2004) *Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production*, Museums International, 2004 (1-2), volume 56, p.52

a process of teaching traditional culture and aim to increase interest and transmit skills and knowledge to future generations. However, when the museum demonstrates the activity for education, it becomes a ritual performance that repeats the past, instead of being a cultural experience that resonates with everyday living practice in Korean society. Hence, as the following craftsman said,

> "I'm getting confused about what tradition is. I'm not sure whether I should make objects in the same way they were in the past or should I just use the same material? Would it be fine for me to use developed technology? People think traditional is something that is in shape or something that can be fixed. They, particularly, the government, want us to take tradition, what do they mean about tradition and what are they trying to continue it?" (L4).

This craftsman response shows that as the past has been seen as immovable, the concept of intangible cultural heritage became vague. Also, as a result, Living Human Treasures works and activities are now always surrounded by the issues of who is real, and what is real. Becoming a Living Human Treasure today has changed with strict regulation and discrimination. According to one Living Human Treasure, with a background of sculpture and education in Korea and Paris, respectively; a son of another Living Human Treasure, a master of crafting Buddhist sculpture[312] stated,

> "You must have heard about my father's story before. He was well-kwon sculpture making lots of Buddhist sculpture for temples almost 50 years and nominated as a living human treasure in 2001. However, compare to my dad's generation, becoming a Living Human Treasure now changed a lot. I am a trained assistant now, but I am always confused and feel uncomfortable about the criteria becoming a Living Human Treasure, which the government suggests. Such as giving grades if you get the first prize from specific art competitions. I assume the nominators wanted to make a fairer process by giving everybody a chance to apply and become a living human treasure. Also, to reduce the conflict between

[312]Under the heritage system, skills of traditional wooden sculpture (including Buddhist sculpture) is designated as Important Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 108.

craftsmen who wants to become a living human treasure. However, I feel like become a Living Human Treasure is now like applying for a company which has very specific criteria." (L2)

According to this craftsman, the static understanding of traditional culture and the past stimulated the issue of authenticity as craftsmen now compete each other by judging each other's work as 'fake' or 'non-tradition'. When there is a moment to select a new Living Human Treasure as the current person is too old, it becomes a competition among apprentices. For instance, in 2014, the final designation of Chaehaw Chiljang (채화 칠장),[313] which caused controversy over its fair screening and alleged use of Japanese techniques, had been withdrawn. The skill has been removed from the list since. As discussed, unlike Japan where it allowed and gave authority to the Living Human Treasure to designate the next Living Human Treasure whether the decision is made internally or not,[314] [see page 83-84] Korea saw the internal apprentice system as a monopoly system. Since the policy operates as an important mechanism to continue the shared idea of the past through to the present, the institutional improvement solves the problems such as privatization of heritage, proprietorship due to family-centred closed traditional structure, institutional education and liberalization of reserve holders. There has been a movement to make equal opportunities and ideas of protecting the national culture. By making the nominating system as an open call could have gave more equal opportunities to craftsmen. This regulation can be seen as a movement of spreading skills into a broader sense, whilst we can also find that heritage is a political act. However, allowing more people to apply to become part of the intangible cultural heritage system questions if this regulation proceeded because the government recognised the change of meanings and understanding of intangible cultural heritage. This is because, since a list of criteria has been created, the system cannot ignore the lobbying of specific people

[313] Chaehaw Chiljang (채화 칠장) was No.20 Intangible Cultural Heritage with skills of colouring lacquer.

[314] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호 제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술 학회), Vol. 34

becoming a Living Human Treasure.[315] The conflict is that this equal opportunity does not lead to a diversity of skills or an expansion of understanding the intangible cultural heritage in today society. Korea's intangible cultural heritage system had a flaw: it only considered making an only national intangible cultural heritage and a Living Human Treasure. Intangible cultural heritage may exist in certain places but is not subject to sanctions of time and space.[316] Indeed, the international influences have expanded the concept on the one hand, but we can see that the concept of intangible cultural heritage in Korea became more formal than ever within the national frame. Reflecting Harvey's critique of heritage studies in the 1970s, which simply traced the lineage to certain nineteenth-century culture figures, [317] Korea's heritage policy seems to go beyond the relation to the present. Today's Living Human Treasures' performance showed how the system and the framework indubitable outdated cultural heritage understanding.

Thus, the critical point of this use of intangible cultural heritage for authentic experience is that it limited the way of understanding heritage to something that does not change and has no relation to the present. Continued in Chapter 7, visitors enjoyed the performance as it is more interactive than viewing an object inside the glass case. Their point was not about feeling proud or recognising who is the original Living Human Treasures. Instead, they wanted to be part of it by physically experiencing and building a connection with their experiences. Hence, the research found that even though Living Human Treasures are used to justify protecting intangible cultural heritage, they are consistently working as communicators to build the link between the past and the present.

---

[315] Richard Simon (2018) Weighing up intangible heritage, A view from Ise, in A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage (eds.) Sheila Watson, Amy Jane Barnes, Katy Bunning, Leicester Readers in Museum Studies, p. 116

[316] Terzic Aleksandra (2015) *Common Histories, Constructed Identities: Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Rebranding of Serbia*, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 10, p.113

[317] Harvey David C. (2018) Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies, in A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage (Eds.) Sheila Watson, Amy Jane Barnes and Katy Bunning, Leicester Readers in Museum Studies, pp. 16

5.3.1 Certified Replica

Compared to songs and dances, programmes related to crafts skills developed with more restricted concept of creativity. Whilst traditional dances and songs are performed in a fusion way in the museum with an affordable price and instant experience, certified replicas are exhibited in art galleries and sold for private collectors. What is important to notice here is those craftworks created by the Living Human Treasures are not collected or dealt within the historical and cultural museums in Korea. Museum collections and certified replicas are more in a comparative subject.

In contrast to performing arts, handicraft production leaves its tangible trace in a material object.[318] An object which is called 'certified replica'[319] is created with inherits skills by adding various values and meaning from society over time. Certified replicas look alike to archaeological objects, having the same value and meaning as archeological objects, but not defined as tangible heritage.[320] Certified replicas have less sense of preserving the past and 'purity' of Korean culture than the museum's real excavated objects. It can represent the nation symbolically, but the inherited skills will also produce different forms and add various values and meaning from society over time. For example, pots made by previous Living Human Treasure and pots made by the current ones have different cultural and social values. The object has different meaning of representation. Certified replicas show how the tradition changes over time by including both the idea of the past and the contemporary.

---

[318] Laurel Kendall (2014) Intangible Traces and Material Things the Performance of Heritage Handicraft, ACTA Koreana Vol.17, No. 2, p. 537-555; Lim Jae Hae (2015) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사필요성과미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회)

[319] Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping it real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, ACTA KOREANA, Vol.17, No.2, December, p. 561

[320] Lim Jae Hae (2015) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사필요성과미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산조사현황과방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회), p.8-10



Figure 24 Image of a double storage (이층장) made by the National Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 55 Mater Artisan of Furniture-making skill Holder (Park MyoungBae) (©https://www.chf.or.kr/brd/board/696/L/menu/314?brdType=R&thisPage=1&bbIdx=110585&searchField=titlecontent&searchText=%EB%B0%95%EB%AA%85%EB%B0%B0)



Figure 25 Image of double storage (이층장) from the Joseon period. (© The National Museum of Korea)

However, this certified replica shows the complication of understanding intangible cultural heritage in museums, also the extent of authenticity issue mentioned above. As craftsmen felt confused about what they can do with their skills and knowledge when their works were only treated in the eyes of the past and compared with old historical objects. Heritage as a political act, selection and exclusion are key characteristics of intangible cultural heritage today.[321] But certified replicas are constantly surrounded by the issues of who is real and what is real. One of the craftsmen said,

> "We are struggling with the issue of comparing the work of current Living Human Treasure and historical objects. They judge if the newly-recreated object has a feeling of traditional 'Korean-ness', which is never based on scientific research. If they are talking about some sense as an imperfection curve and hole in the furniture, I would like to say that we are using more developed machines that make a straighter and cleaner surface of the furniture than in the past." (L2)

This craftsman struggled with the need to meet the subjective idea of representation of the nation.

Other museums outside Korea which collects contemporary art objects made by Living Human Treasures, used them for helping visitors understand the culture. However, to most museums in Korea, collecting and displaying contemporary artworks that is created by the existing Living Human Treasures is understood as collecting a contemporary artwork. For instance, when the craftsman asked the museum for object viewing, the museum thought his work and activity was copying things for individual profits. [see page 129] As the craftsman who had closer relationship with various museums than other said,

> "Of course, museums will never buy any products that are made by the Living Human Treasures unless the Living Human Treasure passed away. I partly agree

[321] Hafstein, V. (2004) The Making of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Tradition and Authenticity, Community and Humanity, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. Hafstein, V., and R. Bendix

> with this because, we [Living Human Treasures] also know the museum's effect in this case. I mean, the price of the product will increase if the museum is involved in the process of craftsmanship" (L4).

On the one hand, in the Korean context, re-producing and selling a historical object can profit the craftsmen, as the value of objects made by the Living Human Treasures is treated with a high price. Certified replicas are accepted as a product that is approved by the government whilst museums are a trusted place with reliable information. Hence, it is true that if a museum helps the process of reproduction in any sort of ways, such as collecting an object made by Living Human Treasure, the price of the object will increase as the museum seems to guarantee the process and the work. However, this understanding rather suggests that the museum has recognised the certified replica as a contemporary artwork which price will automatically go up or have some kind of an instant inflation when the artist dies.[322] In this situation, the recognition of Living Human Treasures' activities has expanded from a transmission process to an economic activity. Considering the act of reproduction as 'copying' can be assumed as an awareness of the change of perception in objects made by the Living Human Treasures as purchasable objects. However, the issue is that the museum seems to identify their activity as being for own profit that is not right for them to do. To museums, allowing craftsmen to view objects and replicate them for personal research seems risky as well as collecting objects from living artists seems to disturb the market order by promoting or giving priority to a specific artist. Believing itself as a trusted institution providing reliable information to visitors, collecting re-created cultural objects seems to go beyond their given role and rejected the Living Human Treasure's request.

Therefore, what can be seen here clearly again is the Korean museums with a fossilised narrative of Korea's history and culture that does not allow creativity and change. To museums, Living Human Treasures are not identified as national representatives, but more as contemporary artists with the government approved traditional skills. Hence, the curator of the Kyonggi University Museum mentioned, "from the perspective of

[322] Daniel Grant (2010) Is an Artist Only Appreciated After He Dies?, Huffpost, 25 May 2010, Available from: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/is-an-artist-only-appreci_b_512932 [Accessed 28 June 2020]

managing the exhibition, I had to pay more attention to the damage of relics, and hope that Living Human Treasures' activity would not deviate from the area of the exhibition space" (M3). The Kyonggi University Museum opened an exhibition of Korean Jade as part of the Living Human Treasures request to meet the government obligation. However, intangible cultural heritage here is not about how the skill of crafting a jade is continued today in Korea, it is more about how the artifact, Jade with different shapes and colour are formed with historical and cultural background. What has been continued and transmitted as cultural activity, intangible cultural heritage was objectified as an exhibition content whilst Living Human Treasures' activity was to make the object look more real and alive. This identifies that Korean museums themed in history and culture remain academic and object-centred rather than people-centred and identify intangible cultural heritage as a separate concept to their activities. To these museums intangible cultural heritage is not related to what they do, more precisely, it is not related to what they have been collecting. It is a challenge and experiment to museums.

While the museum prefers to frame itself within the concept of tradition, the present works from Living Human Treasures are identified as a mixture of tradition and modernity. Museums' attitude can be seen more as an exclusion and discrimination of culture to keep the purity of the nation's past. This situation can be linked to the understanding developed from the colonial period, when the word 'museum' connoted old and past, while 'art museum' referred to new and modern. [see page 40] The intangible cultural heritage dynamic seems different from the past in terms of what the museum wants to present. Thus, in museums, the official heritage which remains in its symbolic meaning to represent the nation's past developed irrelevant to today whilst certified objects are displayed and collected in art museums and dealt within a much broader sense of the nation's culture. Tangible heritage in Korean museums importantly presents and proves how the nation exist. This can be seen as the result of museumification which gives new meanings and value to tangible heritage. As we will see in the next chapter, these dynamics are played out through the exhibitions of the National Folk Museum of Korea. The museum presented the knowledge of how pot or wooden desk was used in the past by displaying objects as a scene. [see page 164] To museums, displaying a tangible object was to show how Korea's traditional culture looks like in the past rather than how it continued today in society. Change or adaptation of

heritage is hardly equivalent to the idea of safeguarding and preservation of heritage. Hence, at the same time historical and cultural Korean museums have conceptualised intangible cultural heritage narrowly to the idea of official heritage; to only exist or be used for the representation of the nation's culture. We can see here how the robust collective idea that heritage should be protected and transmitted in its original form in any circumstance

Therefore, as this research argues, this way of working with Living Human Treasures does not seem to have efficacy in developing national identity. The role of today intangible cultural heritage in Korean museums is that it pushes museums to reconsider their position in contemporary society constantly. Heritage representing the nation's past and promoted under government legislation is evident, to the extend, museums developed as a temple and storage. Korean heritage was set with a 'tourist gaze'[323] that cut off it from the real world and emphasis the exotic phase. However, as Living Human Treasures express confusion about their role with tensions and conflict, we can see an increase in public interest in heritage. This thesis found that nation's past based on heritage is in the movement to the public sphere. With the increase of World heritage, Korea was in the path where it saw an intensification of public interest in the past, and various debates about the ownership of heritage and its functions in contemporary society.[324] There was and still has an influence by the universal principle as discussed. However, what the Korean case shows is that what government wants to promote and how the contemporary people want is different, and this tension and conflict has emerged with the increase of interest on intangible cultural heritage which is a subject to constant criticism and that has been forced to adapt continually to incorporate a broader range of values around heritage.[325]

Therefore, in Korea, as much as the government tried to promote the official heritage through museum exhibitions and heritage festivals, people had more opportunity to

[323] Urry John (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*, London, Sage

[324] Harrison Rodney (2012) Heritage: Critical Approaches, Routledge, p. 115

[325] Ibid, p. 118

experience it and increased public interest to either accept or criticise. For instance, according to one of the craftsmen, in the past, when the government began to designate Living Human Treasures, real craftsmen did not show up at first. There are two reasons here that why they hide at that time. First is the perception that the government will charge too much tax on their work and the second is that the government might take their work for the government without rewarding back them. We can see there was almost no understanding built between craftsmen and the government in the past, whilst today Living Human Treasures work closely under the government system and try to show what works and what does not work for them.

Therefore, what this suggest is that the museum space should not become a temple, collecting and preserving objects but expanding and including broader idea of the traditional culture and helping visitors to question and understand the history and culture itself. Intangible cultural heritage has a dynamic form that exists in people's behaviours[326] and is inseparable from tangible culture. Intangible cultural heritage does not have a fixed form like an object, but it adds to the dynamic in the object. Museum's reaction to certified replica will be continued to the next chapter which discusses how intangible cultural heritage is presented in the exhibition and how it influences the museum to become passive by not accepting different views and thoughts. It will show how their approach and purpose lead them to become a temple and a storage and detach people from their past and the museum from society.

5.4 Conclusion

Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage as a living culture is considered to be essential for the continuity of Korean national identity. A recognition promulgated by the government is now considered as a political implication that controls and limits the understanding of intangible cultural heritage. Considering intangible heritage as a pure

[326] Lim Jae Hae (2015) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회), p. 9

cultural expression that is continued in the present, requiring continual attention and support importantly required the Living Human Treasures to take responsibility. However, the policy framework to safeguard Korea's intangible cultural heritage created a distance between the history and society.[327] There is now a tension between the legislation (and the institutions set up as per its directives) and Living Human Treasures. As outlined earlier, intangible cultural heritage exists in the framework of national representation but repeatedly losing its sight of the priority, spiritual and emotional engagement with the current society.

Today Korean intangible cultural heritage is about experience. Depending on the use of intangible cultural heritage, museums' programmes with Living Human Treasure can expand visitors' understanding of the traditional culture. However, inviting Living Human Treasures to perform can be seen as limiting the concept of intangible cultural heritage. The research showed two aspects of government promotion that controlled and limited the understanding whilst the international interest brought out the tension to the surface of heritage discourse in Korean society. Whilst museums' responsibility gave them a priority to present narratives and perspectives, museums thought it was right and they were under considerable pressure to deliver certain stories in specific ways.

Thus, based on the robust idea of ethnically homogenous nation, Korean intangible cultural heritage has been surrounded by the issue of authenticity and compared to the imagined past. The research confirmed that intangible cultural heritage remains in the past tense requiring Living Human Treasures to repeat the tradition repeatedly in a very narrow idea. This perception influenced the development of understanding Korea's traditional culture as a concept that hardly concerns the change of meanings and values over time and to only represent the nation without enlarging or accepting how today people understand. Becoming a Living Human Treasure is now being hired from the government which fulfilled the government qualification. Korean museums hardly

[327] Yun Jung-gang (2014), Twenty- first century Intangible cultural heritage, Event or Masterpiece? (21 세기의 무형문화재, 종목이냐, 작품이냐?), Culture Space (문화공간), 세종문화회관 문화예술전문지 Available from: http://navercast.naver.com/magazine_contents.nhn?rid=1526&contents_id=60611 [Accessed 14 August 2015]

allowed Living Human Treasure into the museum space. Indeed, the findings revealed that the museum was 'unsure' about the concept, rather than saying ‘we do not want to work with its intangible cultural heritage or with living human treasure.’ But the absence of a sufficient understanding of each other raises the possibility of a hostile relationship between the museum and Living Human Treasure. Living Human Treasures were invited to the museum to perform and educate, but the museum neither collects contemporary art works made by Living Human Treasures (as the museum rarely allows intangible cultural objects to be modified), nor displays them in their exhibitions. Even though the intangible heritage is manifested through tangible objects (as we understand spiritual ceremonies or historical events through objects) collecting ‘certified replica’ seems to go beyond what museums think of their social role. Therefore, the policy framework limited the expansion of the concept by making distance with the current society and culture. The museum had a more limited sense of heritage than the art museums and galleries. Historical museums have possibly felt uncomfortable about the traditional culture being reproduced and used for recreational purposes, especially considering the potential commercial impact, which can influence museum objects' value.

Therefore, the following chapter will discuss how the National Folk Museum of Korea presents intangible cultural heritage and examine how it limits the understanding of Korean today.

Chapter 6 Museum Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage

6.1 Introduction

> Museums tell the story, and so the past can become a memory.
>
> Octave Debary[328]

Previous chapters looked at various external and internal political, historical and cultural influences on the formation of historically and cultural Korean museums. They have suggested that Korean national museums, in particular, are lifelong educational spaces that attempt to spread the idea of the ethnic origin of the nation. However, although museums appear to present a strong case for an essentialist and unchanging national identity, the appropriateness of this goal is questionable. My research suggests that the emphasis on an unchanging, intangible forms of expression of an unchanging ethnic identity as manifested in museums presented a limited idea to the public of what it means to be Korean today. Preserving and presenting tangible objects in the National Folk Museum of Korea not only glorifies the past but also fossilises the past. The exhibition shows how the past is collected and recollected in a museum and how intangible cultural heritage is fossilised within the framework of Korea's past. The cultural practitioners named as Living Human Treasures, who are themselves employed by the government to provide evidence of continuity with the past, are very aware of the limitations of their role as heritage protectors and of how this process had led to the fossilisation of their practices.

This chapter, therefore, first identifies the two different understandings of and approaches to intangible cultural heritage – historical and contemporary - and focuses on how the National Folk Museum of Korea conceptualises the intangible cultural heritage through

[328] Debary Octave (2004) Deindustrialization and Museumification: From Exhibited Memory to Forgotten History, ANNALS< AAPSS, 595, p. 130

its exhibition. Focusing on this case study, this chapter will discuss how the intangible cultural heritage is presented based on the dominant national history and its representative culture, which constrains visitors' responses in museum spaces. Since the museum exhibition changed during the course of this research, this chapter will discuss two different versions of the same exhibition, the old one and the new one. The aim is to explore the conceptualisation of intangible cultural heritage as a static and official national culture in the museum space, even though it is embodied, not inanimate objects,[329] intangible cultural heritage is rather a transmitted cultural activity that creates ways to understand and engage with the present.[330] The argument is that the museum not only provides a static environment for objects but also one that is 'somehow safe, static and out of the territory in which their meaning and use can be transformed'.[331] It will eventually answer the question of what today's Korean museums understand by the concept of intangible cultural heritage.

6.2 Forms of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Before discussing the complexity of the conceptualisation of intangible cultural heritage in today's Korean museums, it is important to point out that Korean intangible cultural heritage has developed into two different forms: historical and contemporary. As the figure below shows, both approaches to intangible cultural heritage co-exist in Korea today. As discussed in previous chapters, Korean intangible cultural heritage is safeguarded as part of the nation-building process and continued as one of the key elements that increase ethnic sentiments and collective national identity.

[329] D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman (2009) From Tangible to Intangible Heritage, in Intangible Heritage Embodied (eds) D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, Springer, p. 1

[330] Smith Laurajane (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge p. 44

[331] Smith Charles Saumarez (1989) Museums, Artefacts and Meanings, in The New Museology (ed.) Peter Vergo, Reaktion Book, p.9



Figure 25 Two different forms of understanding Korean intangible cultural heritage. (Source: Author)

The historical understanding of intangible cultural heritage is based on the Korean Cultural Heritage Protection Act, referring to the collective memory of the nation. The government system has promoted intangible cultural heritage as a representation of Korean nationality. Categorised forms of intangible cultural heritage show the nation's continuity. However, as this chapter discusses, museums based on this historical understanding of intangible cultural heritage shows the limitation of state-centred approaches as it has fossilised intangible cultural heritage. By designating Living Human Treasures and giving them the task of transmitting their skills to the future generations, their living activity becomes a repetitive activity that remains in the past. Whilst as discussed in the previous chapter, the contemporary understanding of intangible cultural heritage is about experience and art rather than an activity that embodies the past and the idea of the nation. Fossilised intangible cultural heritage became a consumable activity that promotes ethnic sentiment through experience. This does not mean disregarding the safeguarding approach; it means that how people engage with intangible cultural heritage is not about going back to the past but rather enjoying it by making it, buying it, and re-creating it. As intangible cultural heritage does not exist in a particular form but rather through action, today's intangible cultural heritage has been creatively developed from a nationalist narrative into a contemporary, relatable idea. Thus, as the historical approach to intangible cultural heritage is about preserving the old national identity, today's intangible cultural heritage is about what the current Living Human Treasures do and how they interact with the public.

The co-existence of historical and contemporary understandings of intangible cultural heritage explains why Korean museums today struggle to understand the intangible cultural heritage and why Living Human Treasures face limitations and the loss of their role in today's society. The critical point here is that these two forms show the transition in interpretation of the past and heritage engagement among people and society. The museum's approach to national identity is very traditional. As discussed, Korean heritage has a strong link to the nation and is supposed to represent the nation and be kept as authentic as it possible. The government and political action played an important role in crystalising ethnic sentiments and national identity. Heritage is used as a vehicle to represent Korea. However, as Smith argues, 'the ethnic ties and sentiments are created by a variety of factors – ecological, social and especially cultural and symbolic, such as religion, language and arts.[332] Museums are no longer merely a place where ethnic ties and sentiments are created. Museums are instead a place where an old conception of national identity is presented, which visitors feel is not their culture. According to the interviews, visitors to the National Folk Museum of Korea perceived the history and traditional culture differently. The ways how people thought about the past differed as the past is a 'foreign country'[333] argued by L. P. Hartley. To the public, heritage is an enjoyable and consumable culture, and this aligns with the contemporary sense of intangible cultural heritage.

Based on these two interconnected concepts of intangible cultural heritage, the findings of this chapter will discuss how it is identified by the museum and engaged with by visitors as well as the role of intangible cultural heritage in today's Korean museum.

[332] Smith, Anthony D (2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing, p.448

[333] L.P. Hartley (1953) The Go-Between, Hamish Hamilton

6.3 The National Folk Museum of Korea

This section shows how the museum actually applied and understood the idea of intangible cultural heritage and conceptualised it as material culture to represent the ethnic identity of Korea. Based on the historical understanding of intangible cultural heritage mentioned above, intangible cultural heritage is inextricably bound up with the tangible in the museum. Intangible cultural heritage refers to the history, memory and emotion that surrounds the objects. In the National Folk Museum of Korea, intangible cultural heritage is used to promote certain memories and emotions relating to the past. Living Human Treasures activities are displayed through videos, as visual records, and historical and cultural objects. However, the intangible cultural heritage is largely represented by tangible forms of memory. The broad sense of intangible heritage in the exhibition makes an object centred exhibition and, more importantly, the lack of intangible stories surrounding the objects - unsuitable. The issue does not only lie in the methodology of transmitting the living culture but also in how the museum controlled the interpretation of the historical and cultural objects and limited the link between contemporary visitors and objects from the past.

6.3.1 Materialisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage

Intangible cultural heritage can be regarded in a broader concept as history, memory, and emotion-related to objects. Depending on how it is used, intangible cultural heritage is the vehicle that can help the museum to move forward from the past to the present. It is an impermanent act of dynamic engaging with the past in the present and making traditional culture relevant to the contemporary global context.[334] However, the issue is that museums exhibition materialised and fossilised intangible cultural heritage.

Behind the information desk in front of the National Folk Museum of Korea entrance and the museum shop there are three successive permanent exhibition halls. The museum

[334] Alivizatou Marilena (2012b) Intangible Heritage and the Museum, New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation, UCL Institute of Archaeology Critical Cultural Heritage Study Series 8, p. 191

layout is designed for visitors to move easily through the museum in order. As soon as you enter each exhibition hall, a text panel describes the exhibition room in four different languages - Korean, English, Chinese and Japanese. Panels at the entrance explain the flow of the museum.

Exhibition 1 <Korean Traditional Daily Life>

- The exhibition focuses on ‘one day’ of Korean people’s everyday life over time. Visitors can learn about the wide range of daily life, what the Korean people ate and wore, where they lived and how they supported themselves through various occupations.

Exhibition 2 <The Korean Way of Life>

- The exhibition focuses on the Korean people's daily lives based on agriculture and its cycle of four seasons: spring, summer, autumn, and winter. Visitors can understand the Korean people's overall life history, such as the traditional marketplace and culture connecting villages, people, and goods.

Exhibition 3 <Korean Life Passages>

- The gallery exhibits a ritual-focused life and series of major events, from birth to death, of an individual born into the noble class, called “Yangban” in Korean, that emphasised Confucian teachings in the Joseon dynasty (1392-1910).



Figure 27 Image of the chronological history line in the exhibition. (© The National Folk Museum of Korea)

As discussed, since the purpose of the museum establishment was the need for a representative symbol of democracy, representative historical and cultural objects were presented based on the idea of a developed and modernised Korean culture. Before the first exhibition hall was updated, [335] Korean ethnic identities were implicit in the display. What visitors should feel and know was very much controlled and limited through the archaeological museum's use of stereotypes. For instance, there was a large panel with a chronological timeline near the entrance of the exhibition, (above figure) as is commonly found in other national museums' exhibitions. By ordering historical events, it seemed to emphasise the continuity of the nation by showing the steps that Koreans have taken from prehistoric times to the modern era. Although the archaeological objects such as rocks and axes in the display had little relation to the museum's original purpose, they were displayed to provide an emotional and imaginary link to the nation's past.

[335] The exhibition in the first hall was modified and reopened in December 2018.



Figure 28 Image of the museum display of the Bronze Age. (© Author)

While most of the objects were grouped by material, like ceramics or wooden furniture, there were several long text panels next to the display case where a change of context was required. Long text panels in Korean and English explained ideas such as the 'Enjoyment of Culture', 'Arts Nested in Life', 'The Emergence and Growth of the Popular Class and the Opening of Ports and Enlightenment'. The atmosphere of this exhibition hall can be said to be a static exhibition that does not question or doubt, especially, what Koreans learn from schools. Since the first exhibition hall, in particular, tried to cover all the historical events that are known as representative and commonly seen in other national historical and cultural museums, also through books, it seems to build a stable thought of the complex history of Korea. As Watson argued, this historic narrative close to myths seems to help to explain why a society may go through radical changes without apparently fragmenting.[336] In addition, it appears to operate as a way of emotionally establishing links with an ancestral homeland.

[336] Watson Sheila (2020) Ethnicity and Belonging, in National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives (ed. Sheila Watson), Routledge, p. 85

However, what is found here is that history, memory, and emotion, which are intangible, are dealt with only in a limited way in the exhibition. With a determined narrative, [337]; the timeline, the exhibition space presented certain ideas and emotions of Korea's past that is preserved in the museum. This encouraged visitors to engage with Korean history and culture in their unchanging traditional forms. As discussed in detail on the following chapter, visitors were imbued with similar feelings and thoughts as can be found in other national historical and cultural museums. Indeed, as discussed, material culture has played and is playing a significant role in Korean museum. [see page 46] Material culture was crucial to Korea as it visually and physically proved the nation's existence after its history was distorted by Japanese colonialism. However, the National Folk Museum and its collection also have followed this path by grouping and narrating objects by materials. By setting objects in a glass case within a specific viewing position, we can identify how objects have been detached and carried away from the story and used mostly as evidence. As Korean national history was re-written based on a manifestation of the scientific approach, archaeologically excavated objects displayed in the museum were presented as scientific point of reference that can prove the nation's existence despite colonisation.

Especially, in the old display, as the figures below illustrate, traditional wooden tables and shoes of all different shapes and colours are displayed in one display case, showing what Koreans have traditionally used as tables and worn as shoes in the past. Since these objects are no longer used today, this display can be useful in enabling visitors to visually imagine what shoes and tables in the past looked like and how different they are actually are from those in the present. But it is also true that, before reading the label, visitors can first see is an arrangement of differently shaped and coloured historical and cultural objects. It is difficult to know what culture they come from as this kind of a linear interpretation based on archaeological and historical display clearly leads itself to a static display in the museum.[338] Layering objects easily made the understanding of the past as a fixed concept with limited relevance for today's society. The arrangement of tables and

[337] Kwon, Hyeok-Hui (2014) *The Discover and Extension of Folklore in the National Story*, (내셔널 스토리 속 민속의 발견과 확장, 국립민속박물관 전시 내러티브 구조), Human Contents of Association (인문콘텐츠), Vol. 33

[338] Walsh Kevin (1992) The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World, Taylor & Francis Group, p. 13.

shoes in the exhibition has been found as one of examples where the forms of material culture that functions as visual evidence of the nation's past and in the meantime conveys information in a fixed narrative of history. Thus, the exhibition method that can be seen similarly in other museums can lead to comparisons between museum exhibits, which easily exclude emerging feelings and thoughts about historical events and artifacts.



Figure 29 Image of portable dining tables in the National Folk Museum of Korea. (© Author)



Figure 30 Image of traditional shoes in the second exhibition hall. (© Author)

Labels next to the object also show how little intangible cultural heritage is used in the museum. Labels, especially, in this sort of display do not explain what an object is but describes what the museum is thinking and what information they are proving to visitors. For instance,

> ‘Portable Dining Table’
>
> Unlike Western culture, Koreans developed a culture of sitting on the floor in their homes. As a result, the *soban*, a small portable table, was introduced. This portable dining table was used to serve a meal of rice and side dishes for one person. Thus, Korean households usually had the same number of small tables as they had members of the household. However, for special occasions like weddings or funerals, families rented dining tables and dishes from a rental store to serve many guests. Types of *soban* differed from region to region in terms of the shape of the tabletops and of the legs. These tables were made of local materials and reflected the characteristics of each region. The shapes of the legs included *hojokban* (tiger-legged table), gujokban (dog-legged table), and *majokban* (horse-legged table). The shapes of tabletops were round and rectangular.
>
> (The National Folk Museum of Korea exhibition text panel)

The display and labels can be summarised as, ‘This is what Koreans have used as a table in the past, and this is Korean culture’. The label explains the object by covering its visual character. Whilst briefly mentioning the names of different shapes of table, it is presenting the past evidentially. It does include facts as occasional uses and differences between regions. However, it does not explain how it has been replaced to western style of dining table even though the food is similar and how it continued today with Living Human Treasures. In fact, this descriptive information does more to representatively show the culture of the past than to demonstrate the continuity of the culture.

Similar to the above-mentioned display, the National Museum of Korea has a display of wooden furniture. Referencing these figures, the label in the front of the gallery states,

From early in history, various wood and lacquer crafts have been produced in Korea, using different types of wood with beautiful grain. Records from Chinese historical texts, corroborated by modern-day excavations of sites from the Korean Bronze Age, confirm that wood and lacquer crafts were being produced and used in the Korean peninsula as early as 3,000 years ago.

Woodcraft of the Joseon period (1392-1910) is renowned for its austere yet sophisticated aesthetics, wherein minimal decoration is added in order to highlight the natural grain of the wood. As in the preceding Goryeo period, lacquerware inlaid with mother-of-pearl was widely produced in Joseon, with the number of users gradually increasing throughout the period. In addition, craftworks made with painted sheets of ox-horn were briskly produced in the last Joseon period. These wood and lacquer crafts manifest the true aesthetic of Korea, characterized not only by elegant beauty but also by balance and harmony with nature.[339]



Figure 31 Image of portable dining tables in the National Museum of Korea. (© Author)

[339] English description on the exhibition panel (Source: The National Museum of Korea)



Figure 32 Image of portable dining tables in the National Museum of Korea. (© Author)

Unlike the National Folk Museum of Korea, the National Museum of Korea's exhibition categorised objects according to the period in which they were used and the materials they were made from, naming the exhibition rooms 'ceramics', 'wooden furniture' or 'paintings.' [340] Compared to the dark exhibition space, the display cases are usually bright, and spotlighting objects, and centred in the exhibition space. The object's name, size and original location are described in a small panel next to the object, and another large panel, as above, describes the object's uses and displayed in front of the exhibition space. Almost all of the objects are displayed inside a glass case at different elevations, some are displayed separately in their own display cases, whilst others are grouped to show different forms and colours.

However, the point is that both exhibitions similarly focused on the visual characteristics of the object. Both exhibitions similarly listed objects inside the glass case by material's characteristics. The National Museum of Korea described the object's history in greater detail, mentioning the historical period and skills involved in making it. While small labels next to the object described the name and the use, the label in front of the gallery

[340] See the floor plan of the National Museum of Korea in Appendix 1.

entrance that does not obstruct the view of objects tells visitors that the objects displayed are the 'true aesthetic of Korean beauty'. The National Museum of Korea dedicated a separate space for wooden furniture apart from the museum's chronological order. The National Folk Museum of Korea displays wooden furniture as an object that is sold in the market and focuses on the character of the object. However, it is true as we can see that both museums focused more on the visuality of the object rather than telling the story of the object. Well preserved different shapes of furniture seem attractive, but the point is that it gives the viewer a set idea of how the furniture looks in the past and how the past and present are different. In fact, instead of explaining why or how these objects are part of Korean culture, both exhibitions seem to promote the aesthetic view of the object and emphasise Korean culture's symbolic meanings. The aesthetic perspective of objects exaggerates the historical and cultural value of the object in relation to the Korean concept of beauty. In fact, whilst the history presented remains uncontroversial, objects are presented as art. Display shows 'this is Korean culture' and 'how beautiful objects were made in the past'. This view has been discussed and criticised by Choi and Eom before as this issue goes back to the influence of Japan, which limited Korean history and culture to antique crafts and detached it from the discourse of history.[341] Eom called this aesthetic view as 'Craft Nationality,'[342] which focuses on objects' appearance, assigns value to important objects and proposes ethnic nationalism. As the first overseas exhibition used the material culture to visually show the difference between Japan and China, the issue does not seem to lie in the material at the centre of the exhibition but in the interpretation of the object from an aesthetic point of view. Focusing on the aesthetic point of view can be similar to focusing on history's narrative, which shows the glorious golden age of historical events.

Presenting the nation is about representing and visualising than continuing the culture. Whilst museums preserved the material culture, Living Human Treasures transmitted traditional skills of making the object. The skills of making traditional wooden tables

[341] Choi Seok-Young (2001), Korea Modern Fairs and Museum (한국 근대 박람회, 박물관), Seokyongmunhwasa (서경문화사)

[342] Eom, So-yeon (2008) Connotation of a Museum Exhibition and Its Social Contexts, An Analysis of the Exhibition of the Five-Blessings-Symbol Woodcrafts from the Joseon Period (박물관 전시와 사회적 맥락의 함의 관계, 조선시대 오복(五福) 상징 목칠공예품의 전시 분석), 민속학연구 Vol. 22, pp. 109-136

remain as a form of intangible cultural heritage in Korea today. However, the culture of using the material has not continued in society, and this part has not been considered a concern in both museums' presentations. The culture of sharing and borrowing tables, or memories that evoke the culture of using the table, do not remain in Korean society. In other words, even though the intangible culture has been passed down until today, it is presented as an adjunct to the object and history. The museum shows how the object was used in the past rather than its continued use today. Hence, as Kirshenblatt- Gimblett argues, this way of exhibition often increases the possibility of objects to be presented as art. [343]

In this vein, as we will see on the next chapter, visitors end up remembering what object was in the museum rather than what story the museum was telling. Thus, even though the visual display of written history to correct and demonstrate the value of culture could have helped visitors develop a shared idea of what Korean culture is, a fixed view of the past seems to develop as an obsession with keeping tangible objects the way they were in the past without considering any changes or influence from society. This raises issues whether the exhibition is a vehicle to display objects or a space for telling a story.

As a scene

The difference between the National Folk Museum of Korea and other museums is that it displays objects as a scene. Whereas in the first exhibition hall, representative archaeological objects were ordered chronologically, the second exhibition hall 'The Korean Way of Life', changed the focus to people showing the Korean folk culture. The exhibition space created a narrative through which visitors walked. Objects are displayed in differently sized and shaped glass case. Displays included paintings also short poems and songs related to the objects playing in between the display cases.

This second exhibit tried to demonstrate Koreans agricultural lifestyle. As shown in the figures below, agricultural life was illustrated by showing the different shapes and uses

[343] Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara (1990), Objects of Ethnography, in Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museums Display, (eds.) Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p.389

of farm equipment, stressing how important agriculture has been to the Korean culture and of ways of life. The objects arranged side-by-side re-imaged agricultural life as a scene to help visitors imagine how objects were used. Rather than highlighting the text panel and focusing on one object, the display tried to present agricultural life by arranging related objects and visualising their uses. Indeed, this method is not intended to show the importance of the object, but to help understand the uses of the object by reading the text panel and looking at it at the same time.



Figure 33 Images of the display with objects in different layers with a painting on the back of the case. (© Author)



Figure 34 Images of the display with objects in different layers with a painting on the background of the case. (© Author)



Figure 35 Images of displaying objects as a scene. (Source: Author)

However, the exhibitions adopt a panoptic approach, which Kirshenblatt- Gimblett mentioned offers the chance to see without being seen, to penetrate interior recesses, to violate intimacy;[344] the viewer is controlled behind the scenes, while various fragments of history serve to recreate the past. Demonstrating elements of Korean culture by arranging representative objects in an innovative way and using a variety of display materials such as prints, images, and songs, may create a more holistic impression of how these objects were used in the past by presenting the past as a scene. However, the exhibition remains in the framework of 'the past of Korea', hardly considering changes from the past to the present in Korean culture. For instance, considering the concept of folk culture in Korea, this agricultural lifestyle shows how Koreans in the past lived. As most of objects are rarely seen and used today, as replaced by machines, it shows the cultural change with modernisation and industrialisation. Visitors can see how the lifestyle has changed overtime by simply comparing their life with it. However, the exhibition shows the agricultural lifestyle by displaying the tools rather than expanding its boundaries to explain how the community lifestyle or ritual activities as songs and dance relate to, and it is continued today.

Since most of the historical and cultural objects in museums are no longer in use today, objects are presented in various ways. Despite the difference, the National Folk Museum of Korea had a typical display of a Korean traditional house in the exhibition. As the figure below illustrates, Korean historical and cultural museums occasionally displayed a visual reconstruction of a traditional house inside the exhibition space to help visitors to imagine how displayed objects were used in the past. We can see clearly from this example that exhibitions aimed to present the traditional culture more realistically as unchanging idea. As this type of display is commonly seen in most museums with a Korean collection, it possibly promotes particular ideas of Korea's past without allowing other narratives. It seems to give visitors a strong sense that it is something that does not change. This visual reconstruction seems to provide a fixed view, rather than creating a space to encourage curiosity.

[344] Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara (1990), Objects of Ethnography, in Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museums Display, (eds.) Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p.413



Figure 36 Front view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Folk Museum of Korea. (© Author)



Figure 37 Inside view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Folk Museum of Korea. (©Author)



Figure 38 Front view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Museum of Korea. (©Author)



Figure 39 Inside view of the reconstructed traditional house in the National Museum of Korea. (©Author)



Figure 40 Front view of the reconstructed traditional house in the British Museum.
(© http://www.londnr.com/fashion-art/beautiful-objects-korea-in-the-british-museum/)

Koreans neither live in this kind of traditional house nor use objects displayed in the traditional house and the museum exhibition. So, this display method can help visitors experience the culture and understand objects by seeing the artefacts in the context of rooms and objects that are no longer seen today. Reconstructed scenes and stories inside the model house made the culture come alive even further. In this situation, as Watson argues, objects without narratives may confuse visitors who may be encouraged to make their own narratives, based on prior knowledge.[345] However, as visitors' responses in the next chapter show, visitors commonly responded that they have seen this sort of traditional house display with wooden furniture and ceramics before and place them within a narrative that is familiar to them. Which means, this shows the presence of what as Abbot called *master plots*, stories that we tell over and over in myriad forms and that connect vitality with our deepest values, wishes and fears.[346] This narrative of how

[345] Watson Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p. 77

[346] Abbott, H (2013) The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative: 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.46, Cited in Sheila Watson (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narrative, Routledge, p.76

Koreans lived in the past, and what objects they used, is embedded in master plots that helps to explain the imagined past. By setting up a visual space similar to those of other museums visitors are guided to remember Korean history and culture through similarly displayed objects.

However, the point is that even though the master plots help visitors understand culture, a culture that has been taught rather than experienced, this method of display rarely questions the form of the nation has taken over time. Moreover, we can see that intangible cultural heritage based on Living Human Treasures' activity or works is not an essential factor to inform or display in this kind of display. As Krishenblatt-Gimblett argues, the danger of mimetic display is that a theatrical spectacle will displace scientific seriousness and that the artifice of the installation will overwhelm the ethnographic artefact and curatorial intention.[347] Which means, even though this display method can help people understand objects through enhancing their visual appearance, the manner of categorising and organising objects inside the display case seems to restrict visitor's imagination of the nation. It informs how it was in the past rather how it continued today or how it had influenced today's Koreans' life. It is full of symbolic objects displayed in a similar layout – a desk in the middle with a cushion and shelf on the corner of the room with several ceramic works on top of it. Hence, as mentioned previously, when the craftsman was trying to teach visitors about the change of desk size to use it today, some visitors felt it was not the right thing to do or was fake. [see page 136] As this thesis found, visitors had clear idea of what Korean culture is by narrating certain historical objects, but they also said it is 'not my culture'. [see page 203]

The National Folk Museum of Korea's three exhibition spaces were connected by presenting similar cultural objects in different ways. Traditional Korean cloth, called *Hanbok*, is used in all three exhibition halls. Manikins wearing the *Hanbok* standing at the corner behind the display case or are displayed inside the case. Visitors may recognise an object displayed in the first exhibition hall used again in different images in the next exhibition hall.

[347] Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara (1990), Objects of Ethnography, in Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museums Display, (eds.) Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p. 386-443, p.390



Figure 41 Example image of the Hanbok displays in the exhibition. (© Author)



Figure 42 Example image of the Hanbok displays in the exhibition. (© Author)



Figure 43 Example image of the Hanbok displays in the exhibition. (© Author)

In this vein, considering the purpose of national museums' role, we can see that this mnemonic site is based on a transmission approach to communication, which focuses on 'sending information and transmitting ideas across space from a knowledge information source to a passive receiver.'[348] In contrast to the cultural approach, which takes into account to changes and development of culture over time, these types of display embody the method of communication prevalent in Korean museums, where the public is to be educated and not to challenge the unidirectional transmission of knowledge and values.[349] Other museums have centred historical objects in similar ways and convey similar thoughts while focusing on sending information and promoting particular ideas and perspectives. Hence, even though intangible cultural heritage represents Korean living culture, museums seem only to take the Living Human Treasures' activity that show how the past was rather than how the past is connected to today. They only considered the

[348] Hooper-Greenhill Eilean (1994) Learning from learning theory in museums, in The Educational role of the Museum: Second Edition (ed.) Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Routledge, p. 15-16

[349] Barrett Jennifer (2012) Museums and the Public Sphere, Wiley-Blackwell, p.57

cultural aspect that is recognised as not influenced by the Japanese and the Western countries.

Indeed, designing the exhibition space with various resources – prints, videos and model houses – is intended to provide supportive resources that help visitors understand the object, particularly those that are no longer used. Just by viewing an object, visitors can recognise how it was used. Resources beside the objects appear to be designed to inspire visitors, help them relax and increase their engagement. This way of constructing knowledge in the museum space can create interactive situations that allow visitors to have the experience they would not have in a different environment.[350] The culture that is defined as traditional as wearing a *Hanbok* or eating at the floor has disappeared in contemporary Korea, and it is only experienceable in museums. As a process of museumification, materialised and categorised past transformed the absence of experience. [351] Current people are not using any of the materials displayed or haven't used it before in their life and people are experiencing the past culture through categorised materials. However, there were no details about the past as it layers fragments of cultural events and events and the daily life of Koreans. Without further information of where it is from or who enjoyed it, objects were presented broadly representing the traditional culture of Korea, and visitors got confused when they were asked about what Korean culture is.

Preserving and presenting tangible objects in the museum glorified the past. Similar historical and cultural objects have been repeatedly presented to anchor the nation in museums. This can be an issue with museumification[352] which distracts the viewer from engagement with the present and purifies museum objects. Museums affect the meaning of the objects by placing them in new contexts, and thus, these meanings of objects within

[350] Kode R. Jeffery-Clay (1998) Constructivism in Museums: How Museums Create Meaningful Learning Environments, The Journal of Museum Education, Vol.23, No.1, Understanding the Visitors Experience: Theory and Practice Part 2, p.5

[351] Debary Octave (2004) Deindustrialization and Museumification: From Exhibited Memory to Forgotten History, ANNALS< AAPSS, 595, 132

[352] Patrick Wright (1985) On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain, London and New York, Verso.

the museum are produced through complex and multi-layered museological processes. This materialised past fossilised intangible cultural heritage as an old cultural activity that is not related to today. It contextualised intangible cultural heritage to fit into the recreated space where it focuses on the aesthetic point of view and the purity of the nation's culture. The exhibition space fragments of stories are materialised and repetitively shown in different display cases.

Therefore, whilst traditional objects are neatly organised in the display case, what people will perceive is open to question. The issue is that the more the museum emphasises the objects in the exhibition, the part played by the history and memory surrounding the objects shrinks, limiting what visitors can feel and think. This is not a criticism of museums' focus on tangible historical objects but, more importantly, of museums becoming a space where the national history is objectified and preserved as a memory. The examples of specific exhibitions display have shown how the narrative of Korea's past became more and more representative of modern Korea over time rather than reflecting the linkage of the past and the present. This reflects the role of intangible cultural heritage in today's Korean museums as it contains both the idea of national representation and the changes.

6.3.2 Intangible Cultural Heritage as an Activity

Korean intangible cultural heritage has a close relationship to what Living Human Treasures do. The second exhibition hall, <The Korean Way of Life> displayed the Korean way of life in different seasons and contextualised through market culture, what they sold and, partly, how they made these goods. Living Human Treasures activities are presented in this space with tangible objects and recorded videos of their activities. As discussed, the concept of intangible cultural heritage had a close relation to folk culture and, for this reason, the National Folk Museum was recognised by the government to safeguard intangible cultural heritage. However, showing Living Human Treasures' activities with recorded video is another difference that the National Folk Museum of

Korea has with other national museums. This display indicated the understanding of intangible cultural heritage in Korea and in museums' practices.

Eight selective craft skills designated under the heritage protection act are displayed as part of the market culture story.

No	Classification	Nama of Cultural Heritage	Location
1	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 55	Somokjang/ 소목장 (Mater Artisan of Furniture-making)	(New) Exhibition Hall 1
2	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 4	Gannil/ 갓일 (Mater Artisan of Horsehair Hat Making)	Exhibition Hall 2
3	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 115	Yeomsaekjang/ 염색장 (Mater Artisan of Natural Dyeing)	Exhibition Hall 2
4	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 88	Badijang/ 바디장 (Mater Artisan of Reed Making)	Exhibition Hall 2
5	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 14	Hangsn Mosi Jjagi/ 한산 모시 짜기 (Mater Artisan of Fine Ramie Weaving of Hansan)	Exhibition Hall 2
6	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 53	Chaesangjang/ 채상장 (Mater Artisan of Bamboo Case Weaving)	Exhibition Hall 2
7	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 114	Yeomjang/ 염장 (Mater Artisan of Bamboo Blind Making)	Exhibition Hall 2
8	National Intangible Cultural Heritage 74	Daemokjang/ 대목장 (Mater Artisan of Traditional Wooden Architecture)	Exhibition Hall 2

Table 5 Table of Intangible Cultural Heritage crafts skills in the exhibition. (Source: Author)

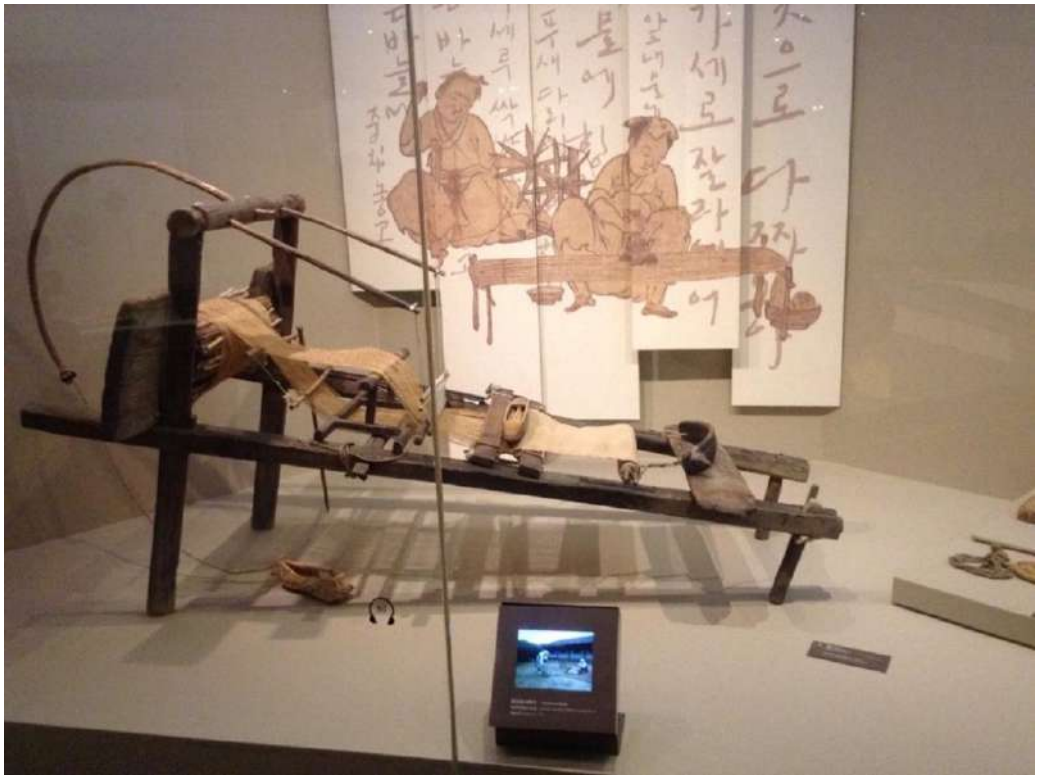


Figure 44 Display image of the machine for the Hansan mosi-jjagi (The textile Atlas) (Intangible Cultural Heritage No. 88). (© Author)



Figure 45 Display image of Korean traditional hat 'Gat' (Intangible Cultural Heritage No.4). (© Author)



Figure 46 Display image of Korean traditional cloth Hanbok, also traditional skill of dying. (Intangible Cultural Heritage No.115). (© Author)



Figure 47 Display image of Korean traditional cloth Hanbok, also traditional skill of dying. (Intangible Cultural Heritage No.55). (© Author)

Craft skills such as making hats, furniture, cloth, shoes were presented to show what was sold in the market as well as how they are made. Making, selling, and buying things are illustrated to explain the Korean way of life, particularly in the Joseon period (1392-1910). Over here again, the narrative does not talk about how the market culture, the location or products have changed. The narrative restricts the range of visitors' understanding and engagement using objects and their attendant intangibles. The objects associated with the story intentionally represent the past. Even though, the market does not exist anymore, also people do not use any of products that are sold in the market, the exhibition presents intangible cultural heritage as a product sold in the marketplace in the past.

Basic descriptions of skills are given by showing tools and videos, but no detail of what intangible cultural heritage is, who Living Human Treasures are or what they do. Indeed, the exhibition's primary purpose is neither to present what intangible cultural heritage is nor what Living Human Treasures do. However, what this way of presenting intangible cultural heritage with recorded video shows is that Living Human Treasures were not included in this exhibition. Even though Living Human Treasures are the ones who are an employee of the government to transmit the skills and knowledge and whilst their skills and knowledge are transmitted the practitioner will change, they are recorded by their official intangible cultural heritage number. We cannot see or think about who Living Human Treasures are and what they do. Still, it is difficult to imagine how intangible cultural heritage has continued until today. The museum only shows the record of Living Human Treasures for several possible reasons. One of the reasons can be the low awareness of community engagement in the museum's practice. As discussed previously, the increase of intangible cultural heritage emphasises the need of co-curation and collaboration with communities who have authority over the culture. [see page 92] It was 2010 when the museum first conducted an exhibition with the community – the *Arirang* exhibition. My research found that the museum did not work with Living Human Treasures afterwards.

One of the other reasons is the dominant understanding of official heritage. Eight selective intangible cultural heritage is based on the official list and presented with tangible manifestations. As the curator of Kyonggi University Museum mentioned during the

interview, she herself as a curator found unsure about what intangible cultural heritage is. She continued saying that she knows who they are and what they do but was unsure how she can present them with the museum's collection apart from inviting them to demonstrate their skills next to the objects. She felt challenging working with Living Human Treasures as she thought their activities are more traditional and not relevant to today. This curator's response reflects that the concept of intangible cultural heritage is considered apart from the practitioners. Living Human Treasures were recognised as agents in transmitting intangible cultural heritage with very little recognition of how they contributed to the transmission process. Hence, the National Folk Museum of Korea and the Kyonggi University Museum showed the record of Living Human Treasures skills and tools that can represent the traditional skills. This presentation eventually fossilised intangible cultural heritage and detached it from the practitioners and to contemporary society. Thus, as Kurin argued, "if it exists just as a documentary record of a song, a videotape of a celebration, a multi-volume monographic treatment of folk knowledge or as ritual artefacts in the finest museums in the country, it is not safeguarded."[353] As Ito argues, 'recording or preserving intangible heritage in the museum is seen as a fossilisation process that disconnects link with the community.[354] Which means through this display method, we can see that museums are transmitting the fossilised past. Their role in safeguarding heritage meant to keep it safe and pass it down to the next generation they have kept it. Intangible heritage which exists in people's behaviours and is correlated to tangible culture, is fossilised in time and space. We can see that the physical formation of intangible cultural heritage is at the centre of the exhibition.

Indeed, since most national museums do not provide any stories of Living Human Treasures, this display seems to, at least, link intangible cultural heritage with their tangible collection. Although Living Human Treasures' activities are shown through a short video clip inside the display case with a label showing the official heritage number and name, it seems to show the relevant stories of tangible objects. Video clips showing

[353] Kurin, R (2007) Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention. *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, 2, pp.12

[354] Ito, Nobuo (2003), Intangible cultural heritage involved tangible cultural heritage, ICOM General Assembly and International symposium; Pinna Giovanni (2003) Intangible Heritage and Museums, ICOM NEWS, No.4

the process of making an object may help visitors understanding. As the researcher observed visitors, most of visitors have stopped in front of the video and watched until the end, as it only takes one to two minutes. It was an interactive vehicle that helped visitors to see how the objects were used and how they were made in the original environment. However, the critical question is that how this can be related to today's Living Human Treasures' skills. The purpose of heritage protection is to protect and transmit the skills, including the culture of those skills – both tangible tools and the community that shared and worked together to develop the skills. However, the museum exhibition seems to show visual records of intangible cultural heritage without explaining how they relate to Korean's life and, more importantly, whether it is continued today and in what form. Even though new Living Human Treasures are selected every couple years, the museum only presented an old record of their activity as a form of collection. Skills next to objects emphasised the representation of Korean culture rather than explaining the culture within the concept of folklore. Hence, the museum hardly expands the understanding of Korean traditional culture as a continuous concept apart from re-emphasizing the idea of the nation. Living Human Treasures' activities are shown as fossilised repetitive activities.

6.3.3 From the history of the Korean to the Korean traditional daily life.

Since the previous exhibition in the first hall showed typical Korean culture and history with representative historical objects, the museum reviewed the exhibition in 2018. The title changed from 'The History of the Korean People' to 'The Korean Traditional Daily Life'. While keeping the main theme – Koreans' daily life - the space has been redesigned to change and improve the exhibition. The exhibition of Koreans' daily life now shows what Koreans did in the morning and the night based on the four seasons. First and the most importantly, the museum entirely removed the historical timeline from the entrance of the first exhibition space. By removing the official chronology, the museum recreated the space and reordered objects in different layers. Unlike the previous exhibition, which mostly ordered and displayed objects by materials, it rearranged different objects in the display case to show what Koreans did in different rooms, as seen in the figures below. While the previous display showed a fragment of the history and culture related to each

object, the renewed exhibition space tried to present the tangible object as a subjective reflection of intangible culture, giving greater consideration than before to the interconnection and balance between object and story, tangible and intangible.



Figure 48 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. (©Author)



Figure 49 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. (©Author)



Figure 50 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. (© Author)



Figure 51 Images of the 1st exhibition hall (renewed exhibition space) with displays of objects in different order. (© Author)

According to the tour guide, who is in her 50s doing a volunteer docent for part-time, thought that the new exhibition space has been influenced by contemporary design. Compared to the typical archaeological museum display, the museum was using more digital materials, a brighter space with more sounds that can attract visitors more interactively. The museum is not showing as much objects as before and labels became simpler.

What can be seen from the renovation is that neatly ordered historical objects in separate display cases are now displayed in the white cube as a scene with a mixture of objects that explains the theme. Compare to previous exhibition that categorised and displayed objects symmetrically, the new exhibition seems to change the method of displaying items representing culture and tradition by removing surplus objects. Rather than showing a traditional model house, various materials are rearranging in the display case that is shaped with a roof of a traditional houses. As seen in the figures above, a desk is placed in the centre of the room, with a pencil on the table and bookshelves leaning on the wall, and all objects were oriented to face the front individually and lead visitors to see the objects in different combinations. Objects that were on top of the shelves, desk or wall are placed on the floor, so that visitors can see them in a better position.

The display still shows how people might have organised and used them but by simplifying the space to focus on what Korean people did on a daily basis, visitors seem to have more space to reconnect to the culture and tradition from their understanding rather than encountering set information. The exhibition seems to create a space that can influence the meaning and value of the object. It broadens the concept of intangible cultural heritage from a selective historical narrative to a more objective narrative, surrounded by diverse stories to make objects more understandable with different objects. Rearranged objects tell the story in different ways. History and memories are conceptualised to connect different objects in different ways, even though the fundamental narrative has not changed. This seems to at least give less representative value to objects and to melt the frozen history and memories to include a sense of the present. By slowly improving its approach to objects and using various digital materials, it seems to take a decisive step in representing the traditional culture of Korea by

removing the conventional display case and encouraging visitors to walk around the museum more easily. The new exhibition reflects the shift in the understanding of intangible cultural heritage from an official to an unofficial stance where people can draw links with their own memories and emotions. Believing that as Falk and Dierking argue, visitors do not respond passively even though museums normally control the environment.[355] Each visitor brings their own unique personal experience to the museum, including prior knowledge, before they gain a new information. In particular, since the Korean culture shown in the museum is very different from today's lifestyle, this method of display seems to consider the fact that 'people bring their own emotional responses to events, objects and forms of media that can provoke an array of different interpretations of what they encounter in the display'.[356] Visually and technically, the display had reverted to familiar ways. Indeed, it is difficult to know the National Folk Museum of Korea's intention as it is a government organisation, and the government imposes a strict policy and framework on the museum to work with a firm national history that promotes a sense of belonging with the lost and imagined past. However, if the previous rigid storyline possibly produced less engagement, the new layout seems to provide more room between stories and visitors by removing inflexibility. It changed the view of what has been known as traditional by arranging the display case with different objects and in different views. There are fewer text panels than before, by showing the object and the story and the culture at the same time. The exhibition still describes all the information previously presented by dividing it into fragments based on objects in a very general and representative sense of Korea's traditional culture. Objects are presented to convey the story as before. However, the new categorisation method seems to help visitors see the object from a different perspective. Visitors can see individuals object simultaneously within the story.

On the one hand, the aesthetic perspective seems emphasised more than usual. Objects are not having individual spotlights but without having pre-existing knowledge of the

[355] Falk John H. and Dierking Lynn D. (2012), The Museum Experience Revisited, SAGE Journals, p. 105

[356] Macdonald, S (1992) Cultural imagining among museum visitors: A case study, *Museum Management and Curatorship,* 11(4), cited Watson Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p. 53

culture, mixture of objects easily makes people to see an object as an art. Thus, as per the main argument of this thesis, the approach to prove and objectify the nation's past devalued living forms of culture. Display cases are still placed in the exhibition space in odd ways and displaying objects in a different order in a separate display case seems to create a further panoptic image of the culture in a new display case. The purification of traditional culture and official history with materialised records promotes discrimination rather than diversity. There is still a lack of details, what has changed and why they wore *Hanbok* in Korean society. Even though the *Hanbok* culture has changed today as lots of tourist borrow the cloth from the shop and take photos at the palace, there are no mention about the change. Since Korea's history is believed to form an authentic national culture, the museum's presentation showed the traditional story of Korea's past

The new exhibition shows the daily routines of people in the late Joseon Dynasty. Social discrimination[357] was a major factor in Joseon society,[358] and it defined the concept of folk culture on the one hand. But this fact is still very vague in the exhibition. It almost looked like each display case had no relevance to each other. Agricultural lifestyle display was next to the upper-class man's culture and making a wooden craftwork was also shown next to it. The exhibition became simple by showing what it is without explaining why it happened. It encouraged the attention to an object as it almost seems to agree or have no effort to change the perception of the past. As there is no sequence, it does not even encourage visitors to question.
by objects.

Thus, considering intangible cultural heritage as transmitted knowledge and memories and the present understanding of the past, it is hard to say if an expanded or in-depth understanding of intangible cultural heritage is presented in this new exhibition space.

[357] Confucianism dominated the political, social, and philosophical landscape of the Joseon dynasty, the government was run by Confucian scholars, the so-called scholar-officials. As mentioned previously, they were known as '*yangban*', a lierato, meaning 'both' or 'two' (*yang*) and 'sides' or 'ranks' (*ban*). The two sides were the military and the civilian. Below the yangban were what was called the *Jung'in* and below them was the *yang'in* which comprised the largest portion of Korean society and which was where the artist as artisans and the merchants were. At the bottom of society were slaves called *cheon'in*.

[358] Portal Jane (2000) Korea, Art and Archaeology, British Museum Press, p.112

Watson argues that people's default setting appears to react emotionally rather than rationally if their core beliefs are challenged.[359] The removal of a chronological history line allowed visitors encounter folk culture more emotionally than rationally. However, perceptions of official heritage and responsibilities in heritage still remains open to question. The museum has long differentiated between the past and present and focused on the past more than the change from the past. Korean museums often focus on the traditional culture, which is extinct in the present;[360] the new exhibition not only shows how the museum views the past but also how the dominantly historical narrative is fossilised in the museum without question.

6.4 Conclusion

Analysis of the two approaches on intangible cultural heritage – historical and contemporary, indicates that the National Folk Museum of Korea had a specific role in representing and preserving the national culture, and intangible cultural heritage was still viewed in the historical sense. This research found that intangible cultural heritage as history, memory and emotion are materialised and presented as a repetition of cultural activities representing the past. Thus, the study's findings suggest that whilst tangible forms of heritage are collected, protected and displayed in the museum to represent the nation's past, a construction of an imagined past has been developed, including a limited scope of intangible cultural heritage.

Each exhibition hall contains stories and narratives related to the theme of the museum. However, in such the second exhibition hall ('The Korean Way of Life'), the idea of the intangible cultural heritage is selectively shown, based on the cultural policy. Indeed, the purpose of the exhibition is not to point out what the intangible heritage is. What can be critically inferred, however, is that the intangible cultural heritage is selectively framed

[359] Watson Sheila (2020) National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives, Routledge, p. 51

[360] Lim Jaehae (2014), Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사 필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회), p.8

within the official version of heritage. The exhibition shows the culture in image: ‘we have used these objects in this way, and this is our culture’. However, intangible cultural heritage has been dealt with, shown and understood in a limited way in the exhibition. For example, among the items designated as forms of national cultural heritage, the museum only chose and displayed those related to folk culture. Therefore, this selection has limited the perception of intangible cultural heritage to the categories designated by the state. It has developed the recognition of the designated forms of intangible cultural heritage as the only forms of Korean heritage, considering the intangible cultural heritage to relate only to the tangible forms of heritage that are visible and moveable. The living culture can be shown through videos or images, but the research suggests, more importantly, by explaining the continuity with the past and the possibility of the changes to come.

In this vein, Korean heritage, whether tangible or intangible, has unsurprisingly become less relevant to the present culture. Korea’s intangible cultural heritage, as a form of the national brand under the institutional management system, is used to promote the tradition that has no relevance for contemporary Koreans. Intangible cultural heritage became a moveable and consumable activity that includes practical experience, though the public has only been led to a limited understanding of it, as my fieldwork suggests. Based on this, the following chapter will continue the discussion based on visitors’ responses.

Korean museums neither serve the function of ensuring the sustainable development of the intangible cultural heritage nor provide a flexible sense of the culture. Also, within its political and social role, the museum seems to find it difficult to relinquish the idea of teaching and delivering the official heritage with its essentialised history. Korean museums have promoted the fossilisation of the intangible cultural heritage, rather than enlarging the idea of intangible cultural heritage.

Chapter 7 Visitors' Interpretation of Intangible Cultural Heritage

7.1 Introduction

> Thinking and feeling are themselves 'systems of representation', in which our concepts, images and emotions 'stand for' or represent, in out mental life, things which are or may be 'out there' in the world. Similarly, in order to communicate these meanings to other people, the participants to any meaningful exchange must also be able to use the same linguistic code… they must be able read visual images in roughly similar ways. They must be familiar with broadly the same ways of producing sounds to make what they would both recognize as 'music'… meanings are a dialogue- always only partially understood, always an unequal exchange.
>
> Hall, 1997, p. 4[361]

We saw in previous chapters that the national historical and cultural museums, especially the National Folk Museum of Korea, were founded for political purposes and that national identity is widely disseminated in the space. However, intangible cultural heritage is about history, memory and emotion. It relates closely to how people see the exhibition and interpret it through their individual experiences. Considering that having different perceptions of intangible cultural heritage creates different valuations of it, this chapter has two focus points; firstly, how visitors understand Korean heritage through the museum and, secondly, the range of visitors' emotional responses based on their experiences.

Fifteen visitors to the National Folk Museum of Korea were interviewed in this research by using semi-structured interviews, observation and secondary data collection methods. Even though the museum had robust idea of the nation's past, visitors had 'different emotional repertories, which are conditioned by a range of factors such as nationalism,

---

[361] Hall Stuart (1997) Introduction, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (ed.) Stuart Hall, SAGE, p.4

knowledge of historical events, and personal circumstances.'[362] The National Folk Museum of Korea's exhibition does not effectively work for visitors anymore. Thus, it is important to see how visitors' engagement with this history and culture has changed across time and space. Rather than opposing what the museum has done, exploring the efficacy of the museum display, set in the past, and understanding visitors' responses are the key part of this chapter. It will examine the implications of the conceptualisation of intangible cultural heritage in the museum and expand the discussion of museum activity.

7.2 A Museum as a Trusted Institution

The previous chapter explained the circumstances by which Korean museums were forced to develop as temples. Visitors' reactions show that museums, as temples and life-long educational institutions, have developed at the same time into places of trust. The public perception of the museum was a trusted place, providing reliable information, despite its promulgating the official version of the past. For instance, the 2017 Visitor Satisfaction Survey conducted by the National Folk Museum of Korea revealed how much the museum operated as a place where visitors learn and where trusted information could be collected. As the chart below shows, 37.8% of visitors came to the museum for leisure purposes, 28.8% came by chance as part of the palace tour, and 8.2% came to gain knowledge and information.

[362] Watson Sheila (2015) Emotions in the History Museum, in The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory, First Edition (eds.) Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message, John Wiley & Sons, p. 296

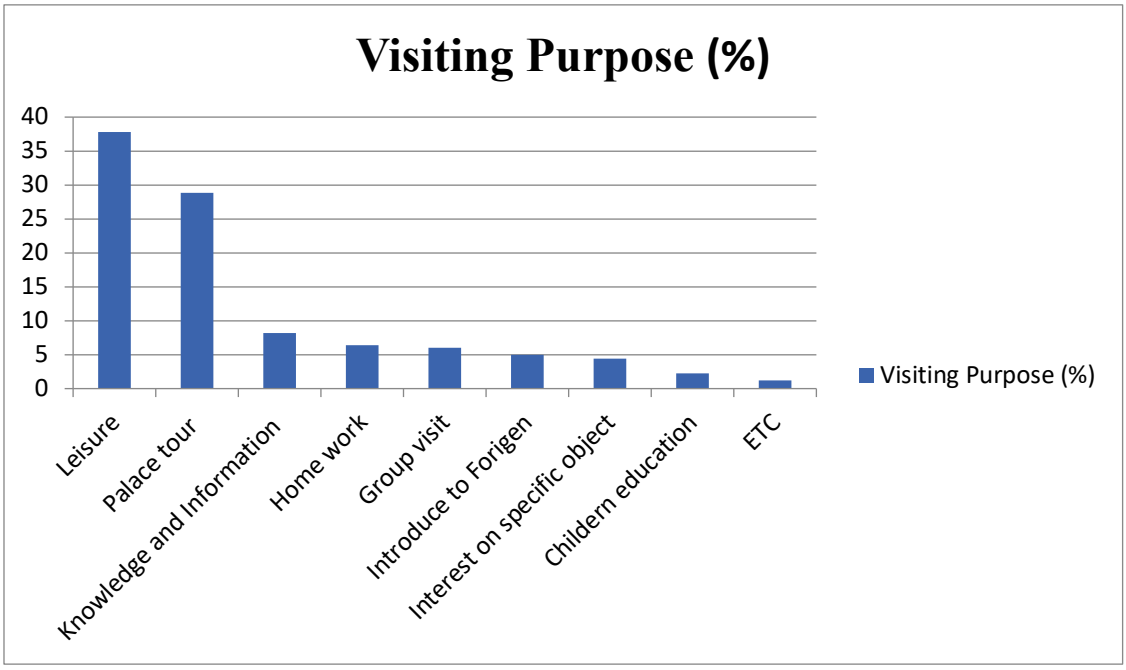


Table 6 Purpose for visiting the National Folk Museum of Korea. (Source: The National Folk Museum of Korea)

Indeed, most visitors expected to be entertained in the museum, but asking them how often they visited the museum revealed that visitors who want to gain knowledge and information came more often than ones who visited for leisure. More than half of the visitors interviewed came to the museum at least partly to get information (to know about objects in detail) visually and through informational literature. Even though they did not visit the museum for an educational purpose, they believed that they could obtain reliable information there (V2, V4, V10, V11). Visitors said:

> Interviewee (V1): I'm a painter and wanted to have some information/ resources about traditional Korean culture.
>
> Interviewee (V8): I came to the museum to see the objects in real life.
>
> Interviewee (V10): Although I can't find any details about the pot [a traditional Korean pot, 'Onggi'], I thought I could have more resources about it and visited today.
>
> Interviewee (V11): Although I can get it from the website, I always come to the museum when I need some references for my work.

Their responses seem simple as they did not even hesitate their visiting purpose to the museum. Especially, visitors above were all in the age of 20s who are the generation visiting museums for study trip every term; their responses presumed that the museum was a place where they come to get information. One of the craftsmen who led an educational programme in another museum before said as follows:

> Interviewee (L3): Museum objects are really in good condition, and that is why it is good for us to open a working session for the public in the museum. Indeed, museums are trusted institutions.

According to this craftsman, museums have always been a great place for him to get a good quality of reference, although it is difficult for him to access museums. Hence, although visitors above rarely used the word 'trust', most of their responses conveyed that a museum is a place of real objects and[363] true stories.

However, even though the public tends to accept that information and national treasures are kept safe, it does not mean that museums' interpretations are always accurate. The visitors' responses questioned whether their trust was based on what the museum is providing or if they felt as a trusted place because of the atmosphere and the presentation – clean and organised. This is because Koreans have been accepting the history and culture defined by the government without question in relation to the previous discussion and consideration. This meant that their unquestionable belief did not even question what the museum is doing or what the museum is showing. Indeed, as explored in the previous chapter, there are no controversial contexts in the museum exhibition. History and culture were repetitively displayed within a similar layout. Considering the constructive knowledge structure of museums, the focus on providing the dominant narrative of Korean history and culture confirmed the prior knowledge of individuals. Instead of helping visitors construct knowledge construction by providing opportunities to build

[363] Watson, Sheila (2020) *National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives*, Routledge, p.71

links to their pre-existing knowledge,[364] the museum focused on delivering the common perception of 'what Korean culture' and it rather led visitors to think what museum provides is accurate. As discussed before, stories that are told repeatedly with similar material culture develop a stable setting in perceiving the national history. As Wood argues, people are more trusting when museums are perceived to be neutral. [365] In addition, as Hall argues, if we feel we have a unified identity from birth to death, it is only because we construct a comforting story or narrative of the self about ourselves.[366] Visitors saw familiar objects in familiar layout and deemed the resource neutral, believing that the museum offered reliable resources. A pervasive narrative of Korean history has strengthened the idea that a museum has reliable information. In this vein, national museums as an effective educational institution that collectively informed the national history of Korea, is one of the significant factors that hardly encouraged people to question about the nation's past. Hence, we can see that, as Watson argues, museums, in this condition, rarely had to demonstrate a theory or justify their approach, and it created experiences that elicit emotional responses.[367] For instance, the goal of the NFMK is to 'create an educational venue where visitors can learn how Koreans lived from the past to the present'. According to the curator of the National Folk Museum of Korea,

> Interviewee (M1): The museum exhibition's main purpose is to introduce and share the folk culture of our country's whole life with the visitors and widely communicate with the local area and world through fusion and collaborations and to promote cultural diversity.

---

[364] Kodi R. Jeffery-Clay (1998) Constructivism in Museums: How Museums Create Meaningful Learning Environments, The Journal of Museum Education, Vol.23, No.1, Understanding the Visitors Experience: Theory and Practice Part 2, p.4

[365] Catherine M. Wood (2018) Visitors Trust When Museums Are Not Neutral, University of Washington, MA dissertation

[366] Hall Stuart (1996) The Question of Cultural Identity, in *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies*, (eds.) Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 598

[367] Watson, Sheila (2020) *National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives*, Routledge

Koreans believed a museum as place where they can learn history better with physical objects. Koreans believed that the history presented by the museum will be accurate. This belief has developed not only because museum collections are rarely seen outside of the museum, but also because most Koreans have visited museums for study trips when they were young. According to the school curriculum for children from age 11 on, there is an annual museum session that teaches them what museums do and the kids are required to write a report about the museum tour.[368] They learned about the role of a museum whilst their visit to the museum was on experiencing and learning about traditional culture. As Bae argues, Korean museums have run educational programmes to supplement culture unrelated to their collections. Rather than educational programmes linked to the contents of the exhibition, the main curriculum focuses general history lectures.[369] Hence, even by visiting a museum, children were repetitively taught about Korean history and culture. Late on, they are dependent on the effects of viewing the exhibition on their own; this, in turn, results in a lack of awareness about it the museum and traditional culture, as the research discovered. This allowed visitors to be more passive than ever, whilst similar historical narratives and objects easily made them feel proud of Korean culture and history wherever and whenever they see and experience it.

The 'real' object

People considering the museum as a trusted place influenced how to see an historical object in a museum. To Korean visitors, questioning what is physically authentic or a true story was not a major concern during their visit to a museum. Two-thirds of the visitors interviewed said that they had seen the objects before without feeling discomfort. They seemed unsurprised about the replicas in the museum display. One of the visitors said, 'I have seen the real National Treasures No. 287 over there at the other museum. I know where the real one is.' (V12). Another visitor said, 'I generally did not feel burdened looking around the museum as we know that we can see similar things at other museums' (V4). Ten out of 15 visitors mentioned their previous experiences in other museums but

[368] Bae Bong Kyun (2005) Field trips to museums in elementary schools, in the Museum Education and Exhibition, The Gyonggi Museum Council, p. 44

[369] Ibid. 39

did not looked conflicted about repetitively seeing the same national treasures in other museums.



Figure 52 The National Treasure 287 Gilt-bronze Incense Burner of Baekje (백제금동대향로). (©The National Museum of Korea)

Visitors were not curious about whether the object is the original one or not. This attitude reflects, Veldkamp argument that,

> The curation of Korean art and culture is approached from the perspective of reality or a 'felt past' that visitors are able to experience in museum exhibitions. Although the original and the replicated object are intrinsically different, the influence a replica display has on visitor experience and display integrity varies according to the expectations and viewing goals of the observing party.[370]

[370] Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping in real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No.2, December, p. 557

In the case of Korea, research found that the felt past relates more to the experience in the museum rather than the quality of the information provided. As everyone learns the same history and traditional culture, history was neither a source of questions for people nor an interesting topic for new interpretation. Instead, the combination of light, materials, physical movements, texts and digital materials created an experience that elicits emotional responses. A visitor linked 'old' and 'luxury', too, by saying: 'Because these objects are mostly dealt with in the museum, I also feel they are luxury objects that have a lot of historical and cultural value' (V11). This visitor continued, saying, 'I feel safe and calm, maybe because the exhibition space divided things by section and ordered it very well' (V11). For people such as this visitor, the museum was a space that collects historical objects, making him feel that the objects were luxury objects with inestimable historical and cultural values. Interestingly, to visitors who were in 50s responses show that the experience in the museum was more to the facility of the museum they used. They talked about the facility of the museum, how clean or dirty the museum is, if there was enough bin or toilet, or if it was too busy with kids or tourist. As following,

> Interviewee (V6): It is a surprise to see how Korea developed… but there was not enough bin in the museum. It's good to have no trash, but it's uncomfortable to have no place to throw it away.

> Interviewee (V5): It is good to see that the museum preserved historical objects… but I didn't feel that the environment was qualitatively good to see the exhibition. It was generally good, but the toilet was a little uncomfortable.

Whilst visitors in the older generation talked more about their whole experience in the museum, the younger generation in the 20s talked about the displayed objects, as how many national treasures were in the exhibition, of where they saw the object before in other museums or the exhibition design. As in the past, when the process of providing exhibitions was closed, and the completed display allowed no point of entry for the customer, the visitors,[371] Korean museums have positioned themselves as providers who oversees the collection and the display of the museum, whilst visitors had no chance to

[371] Hooper-Greenhill Eilean (1992) Museums and the shaping of knowledge, Routledge, London, p. 210

be part of the process and rather accept it as it is. As Kook argues, museums' educational role became superficial as they developed into providers who hold and dispense information rather than communicate and interact with visitors and listen to what they want or need from museums.[372] Similarly to the NFMK, the National Museum of Korea notes that the primary purpose of museums establishment is to 'raise the people's awareness of the existence and significance of the nation through its cultural heritage'; and through cultural heritage, 'we can understand our identity and excellence, familiarise ourselves with the creative minds that created it, and release the importance of our nation'.[373] As mentioned previously, as a provider of history, the National Museum of Korea considers its central function to be cultural transmission and eventually dissemination of the history and culture into the collective memory through the museum experience. [see page 50] Thus, based on the transmission approach of communication, mentioned by Hooper-Greenhill [see page 173], visitors were interested to see if they could recognise the object from their previous experience. The approach focused on providing the message without considering how visitors perceived it or what they wanted. Visitors' reactions in this research reflect how promoting an imaginary unblemished history and culture and repetitively showing cohesive information makes a museum in Korea as a trusted institution. In this context, the idea of heritage, including both tangible and intangible, became more official and symbolic than it has ever before.

However, the issue that arises from this trust is that objects seem to lead visitors to a limited emotional and intellectual engagement. The promotion of an understanding of Korean culture gave visitors a comprehensive approach to the history and culture and a limited perception of what should be remembered. One of the craftsmen said,

> Interviewee (L3): It is true that they [the museum] only have simple information about objects which, I think, never helps people to understand how it was used and how it changed over time. I mean, people actually know or maybe feel the

[372] Kook, Sung-ha (2007), The History of and Education of Korean museum (우리 박물관의 역사와 교육), 연세국학총서 87 p.374

[373] Yi Kun-Moo (2015) 'The Significance of the National Museum of Korea's Reconstruction and Opening to the public in Youngsan and Task Ahead', The International Symposium: 10th Anniversary of the National Museum of Korea's Reconstruction and Opening to the Public, p.16, 23

> warmth in old designs, and it is good that they can feel that. For me as a re-interpreter of those objects, I feel that people think of our intangible works as something different from the past rather than continuity.

Five of 15 visitors felt unsatisfied with what they saw and took away from the museum, which shows that there is a problem in the museum's method of delivering information as it lacked sufficient detail.

> Interviewee (V11): It doesn't lead me to think about anything else.

> Interviewee (V3): I haven't actually thought about the information that museums are giving to me, but I am pretty sure that it is not enough. I mean, I am referring to academic references; rather, I want the contents to make me feel some empathy.

> Interviewee (V10): I came to the museum to see that object [a traditional Korean pot, 'Onggi'] over there. I can see several in the museum, but I couldn't find more about it. The exhibition really only shows how it was used, without other explanations.

One-third of visitors mentioned finding too few resources in the museum. Visitors said that they did not receive as much information as they wanted or needed. Here, the information is about arranging an object to contain and show all the layers of stories in the display and labelling it with a brief description as another abstract object.[374] Some visitors wanted more details on the displayed object, whilst some visitors wanted a resource to link itself. Such as the above visitor (V3), who wanted resources that would allow her to feel connected with the museum content, it was not only about the past she was curious about but also the connection between the past and the present. For this visitor, the issue was not feeling anything special or interesting about the museum's display. To her, the exhibition was neither interesting nor boring it was just there. One of the other visitors said, 'I came to the museum to see the physical object which I know it as original.

[374] Dudley Sandra (2009) Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling, in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (ed.) Sandra Dudley, Routledge, p.3

But to be honest, if this is all, what I can only see in the glass case, I can get more information through the website and by Googling it.' (V12) We can see that visitors now expect more information that provides details of objects and different narratives that can link them with the exhibition. With lack of information, visitors found the museum collection as old things and old ideas that seemed to teach things they had already learned. Their visit to the museum was also an old memory. As a couple of visitors mentioned,

> Interviewee (V7): I haven't come to this museum for a long time … maybe when I was a teenager for a school trip. I think it has changed a lot from before, but I still need to study in the museum.

> Interviewee (V5): I actually hadn't thought about coming to this museum again. I visited the Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art in front of this museum and just wanted to see how it is. It seems nicer than I came to the museum when I was young.

Hence, beyond the fact that people do not question the museum's information, we can question the relatability issues, as discussed with the Living Human Treasures. It is doubtful whether people are being provided with enough information. Moreover, what visitors want from the museum is not a firm idea but flexible ideas and environment that can expand and connect with their experience. As Korean adults who are over 20s go to the museum for leisure, beyond the pressure that they need to remember the history from the school education, they seem to want to enjoy the history and culture. Compare to the age group of 50s and 60s who does not have much experience of visiting museums when they were young, younger age group had more diverse experience of learning the history of the nation by visiting museums and heritage sites from school trips. Group who had more experience had active responses by saying what they agree, but also what they do not agree and what they want. Hence, when visitors were asked about their thoughts and expectations about the museum at the end of the interview, half of visitors replied, 'the museum is doing good enough'. But, especially visitors in the age of 20s and 30s, responded as,

Interviewee (V7): I hope the museum can make it easier for us to get engage with the content.

Interviewee (V1): It is a very friendly place, but I hoped to find more programmes for adults.

Interviewee (V3): I like that the museum is free, but not only me but also most people think 'of course, it should be free' while not respecting it at all. I mean, I hope the museum can challenge me with exciting news.

Interviewee (V6): Museums display authentic things. But I hoped the museum would have more diversity. Something more that stimulates our senses and something that I can concentrate on more.

Therefore, from how the public sees the museum in terms of receiving reliable information, we can assume that the museum itself does not doubt the story it conveys. In other words, the museum has hardly concerned itself with intangible cultural heritage, which bases different stories and views upon reliable information. To the museum, it was not important to focus on intangible cultural heritage. To the museum, intangible cultural heritage was a cultural activity with Living Human Treasures but not a concept that influences its narrative structure. For instance, narratives as how the wooden table influenced the family culture of Koreans, why different shapes were made in different areas, what relation it might have with the social change or, more importantly, how the practice is continued today. The museum was a trusted place, but what visitors experienced was a series of traditions that they cannot link it with themselves and contemporary society.

7.3 Museum Activity and Visitors

7.3.1 'Old' and 'Past'

Since museums in Korea are understood as old while art museums are understood as new, some of the noticeable terms that visitors used were ‘old’ and ‘past’. The sense of Korean culture as being ‘old’ and remaining in the ‘past’ gave rise to a sense of disconnection. More than half of the 15 visitors used the words ‘old’ or ‘past’ during interviews to describe the museum exhibition. The examples below are chosen to show how the interviewees were able to articulate their views much better when the words ‘old’ and ‘past’ were used during the interview.

> Interviewer: How was your experience in the museum?
>
> Interviewee (V1): It looks like another exhibition. I mean, I feel they are just old things.
>
> Interviewee (V3): Because I don’t use any of these objects today, I kind of thought that these are things that are only used in the past. I can recognise some of them but most of them are hard to find these days. I have no idea what they are.
>
> Interviewee (V4): It reminded me of old memories with my grandparents.
>
> Interviewee (V6): The exhibition reminded me of the ‘70s -80s’ in Korea.
>
> Interviewee (V12): Although it still has the old things that I’ve seen when I was young, the museum and the exhibition are better than expected.
>
> Interviewee (V15): I can see and feel our ancestors like in the past.

These expressions show that visitors felt and thought that Korean culture is an old thing. Visitors similarly thought that the museum is showing the past through old objects. Intangible cultural heritage here consists of stories present in the museum’s narratives, which are written in the text panels surrounding the objects, as well as feelings and thoughts about Korean culture that visitors gain from their visit to the museum. Most visitors positively agreed that the exhibits relate to Korean culture and heritage, but it does not follow that they necessarily agree that traditional Korean culture is their culture.

The following responses from visitors show how they identified Korean heritage in the museum but expressed uncertainty about it at the same time.

> Interviewee (V3): Because I'm Korean, and because they are made in Korea, I believe that these objects represent Korea.

> Interviewee (V4): Of course, I was born and raised in Korea. These are things that I am not familiar with, but I don't feel awkward when I see these, even though they are in the museum. I mean, I don't wear or use any of those things over here, but I grew up seeing those and just feel like they are already inside me.

> Interviewee (V8): Yes, it is Korea. I'm not sure exactly what it is, but I can feel Korean culture's uniqueness when I see these old objects.

As discussed previously, the various historical objects in the exhibition focused largely on showing how life was in the past rather than how it continues to unfold in the present. Visitors commonly said about this as, 'This is the old version of Korea, which I do not think of as my culture' (V4). According to this visitor, my culture meant the contemporary culture that she is experiencing now in society, a different culture from traditional culture. The past can be seen as a foreign country as they do things differently[375] but thinking apart from the country's past is a different issue in the case of Korea. Indeed, my research explored the factor that could have influenced this understanding in Korean society from historical, political and economic aspects. However, as visitors' responses points out the issue of disconnection of the past and the present, we can see that the issue expands to a fossilisation of the past. This is because it can possibly mean that they are not interested in the past and simply detach itself from the past that is not related to them. To the extend, people end up judging any current issue related to the past with the old tradition and standard that does not change. Hence, even though some responses indicated that visitors agreed that the objects were essentially Korean, one of the visitors interestingly expressed the view that they were the museum's objects and talked about how he felt physically and emotionally distant from museum objects. This visitor talked about the fundamental issue

[375] L.P. Hartley (1953) The Go-Between, Hamish Hamilton

he was experiencing in the museum. As this visitor's attitude changed seriously whilst he responded to his thought about the exhibition and his expectations, he seemed struggling to feel more connected with the museum content. He felt proud and acknowledged how unique displayed historical objects are made in the past. However, as he said the exhibition was as he imagined, he seemed to justify what he is seeing is the what he needs to know. In other words, this may, an illusion of the type as Knell describes:

> Illusion: that this one object is actually two, one tangible and real but not always present, the other intangible, the product of experience and negotiation, which seems to us to be the real object but is not.[376]

The illusion consists of the fact that, although thoughts might arise from a visitor's individual experiences, visitors also viewed the historical and cultural objects within the framework established by the museum exhibition. People have their own expectations, imaginations and understandings of objects whilst the museum can intervene in this process of thinking, such as by challenging, questioning or persuading. Since the museum takes care of the objects responsibly – collecting, researching and preserving them – this could have created the illusion of culture and intangibility. This is because, even though intangible cultural heritage occupies the fluid, slippery space between people and things as a form of social memory grounded in everyday practices, [377] the museum dealt with it as a thing that can be collected, framed and moreover preserved in a certain form. Hence, due to this illusion effect, the exhibition made the intangible both tangible and dormant. As the objects represented the culture and the nation, intangibility was attached to cultural objects. It led visitors to understand the nation's history and culture through visible objects, evincing a certain national pride. Visitors looked rather confused when I as a researcher but a Korean who is questioning about their personal thoughts of Korean heritage. Some of them seemed awkward, whilst some of them seemed worried about giving a wrong response. As the exhibition offered a fixed historical narrative, it provided certain

[376] Knell Simon. J (2012) The intangibility of things, in Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things, (ed.) Sandra H. Dudley, Routledge, p. 326

[377] Harrison. R and Rose D (2010) Intangible Heritage, in Understanding heritage and memory, (ed.), Tim Benton, Manchester University Press, p. 72

emotional connection but did not give a space for visitors to question. It did not even question visitors about what they already know.

The points, as mentioned earlier, is that the standard exhibition narrative utilised by the museum limits visitors' feelings and thoughts. Regulated information and objects were seen repeatedly based on this dominant narrative, evoking certain feelings of pride within visitors. The culture shown in the museum presented visitors with a certain version of the past and an idea of intangible cultural heritage became old traditions continued into the present. The scene was set with objects to help visitors imagine the nation's past, but this display hardly promoted the ongoing life of the culture. Showing various objects is not about showing the history and culture through different perspectives but rather showing a history and culture classified under a symbolic framework.[378] Hence, as visitors had had similar experiences in various museums, the museum exhibition space created another illusion, replacing detailed descriptions of objects with a re-enacted scene set in a distant past, remote from people's lived experiences.

Thus, some of the noticeable feelings experienced by visitors regarding the past were distance and detachment. As visitors' quotes will continue in the next section, one of the visitors, who is in her 20s and has been to the museum a couple of times, said, 'This is not my culture' (V1). Another visitor in his 30s who practices traditional arts and crafts also said, 'I know this is Korean heritage, but I don't feel or get it as my culture'(V9). Here, detachment refers not only to the physical act of fragmentation but also to the detached attitude that makes that fragmentation and appreciation possible.[379] As the research found, the feeling of disconnection or distance from traditional culture results from the limitation and control of intangible cultural heritage by the museum. There are few to almost no elements of the intangible cultural heritage that could enhance the visitor's perception of the history and culture of the nation beyond a view of them as old and in the past.

---

[378] Harrison Rodney (2010), What is heritage? In *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, Manchester University Press

[379] Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara (1990), Objects of Ethnography, in Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museums Display, (eds.) Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p. 386-443, pp.388

7.3.2 Traditional Culture: Not my culture and a culture that I cannot enjoy.

Visitors agreed that the displayed historical and cultural objects reflect Korean heritage. However, this agreement may rather be the identification of a common conception of what Korean heritage is. Visitors responding that 'this is not my culture' indicates that the issue lies not only in the difference between the past and present culture but even more in the fact that people feel distanced and separate from that culture. Especially to younger generation, who mostly learned about traditional culture through books and exhibitions, the traditional Korean culture shown in the museum seemed oppressive. According to one of the visitors, in his 30s said, 'I feel antipathy sometimes as I think there is too much editorialising when we try to show our culture and tradition.' (V9) This visitor continued the conversation by saying 'I especially felt that when I went to other country's museums and judging their culture by its representation. I'm used to seeing Korean things in a very clean and organised situation'. As a person who is interested in Korean traditional culture, this visitor has had an opportunity to look back on himself through Korean traditional culture repeatedly shown in the museum. During the interview, this visitor tried to explain how apart he is from that traditional culture but at the same time how he is educated to remember it without knowing the reason or finding any relation to himself.

On the one hand, it can also be seen that the older generation was familiar with the objects and felt differently about them. As Johnstone argues, younger people would prefer to see things related to their present experiences while older people are more interested in objects that remind them of their earlier lives.[380] Whilst the age group of 50s and 60s talked about their experience with the object, younger people viewed the artefacts as something unfamiliar and foreign to them. The fact that this is the case even though that the visitors had likely seen similar objects before at other museums may be due to the fact

[380] Johnstone C (1998) 'Your granny had one of those!', in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield (eds) History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture, Dorset: Donhead Publishing Ltd, pp. 67-77

that the objects had been removed from their original cultural contexts and relocated into a different context, that of the museum, which changed the meaning of the objects. Museums were the place where they preserved the physical object and ideas and memories of how it was used. Hence, to Korean visitors in their 20s to 40s, cultural and historical objects made more sense and had more meaning when they were in a museum rather than in contemporary society. Visitors in their 50s and 60s, spent a longer period of time in the exhibition than younger people and talked more about the objects with the other visitors with whom they had come to the museum. Being able to evoke their old memories, also made them believe what the museum is doing and think that the museum is doing the right thing. The interview data indicated that visitors from the older generation felt more connected to the objects. Although they rarely visit museums,[381] they were able to connect with the objects through their personal memories and experiences. According to one of the visitors, 'I've only visited two or three museums before. It's interesting to see how things changed from when I was young to now' (V14). One of the visitors, an American immigrant woman in her 50s who visited the museum with her daughters to show them what Korean culture is, said: 'I saw the Ki[382] in the exhibition. It brought back my old memories with my brothers when we saw a dead rat under it, and we were screaming, and my dad had to come out and clean it up'. (V8)

[381] According to the Visitors Satisfaction Survey in 2016, only 1.6 % of visitors aged over 60 and above participated in the survey, while 55.5 % of visitors aged 19 - 29 have participated in the survey.

[382] As a farming tool to pick out the whole grain by shaking it, also if young children are not potty trained, they put a Ki on the child and sent them to get salt to their neighbour's house. It was also used as a tool for the ritual of rain. (https://folkency.nfm.go.kr/kr/topic/detail/2945)



Figure 53 Image of Ki (© https://m.khan.co.kr/article/200511211824031)

Few of those from the younger generation were familiar with the objects, which they had primarily seen only in different museums, heritage sites and television programmes. But the issue was identified by one of the visitors: 'I think the point of preserving the history is the present sense of us using it and enjoying it' (V11). This visitor understood the reason why the artefacts need to be protected but had mixed feelings about not being able to enjoy them properly. As this person visit the museum to have some inspiration in his art project, he felt some-kind of wall that he cannot or not allowed to do with the past. He continued the interview saying that,

> "The process of seeing the museum object is really complicated… The good thing is that they uploaded all the images on their website. But seeing in reality behind the glass is still very difficult… I sometimes get a better view by googling it. I'm saying that some of them became so precious that we must accept the meaning and use as it is." (V11)

For this visitor, he was not expecting to evoke his old memories or confirm what he had learnt before; he instead wanted to have some inspiration and ideas that he didn't know.

The physical barrier – the glass case – could have made him feel more detached to it, but it was more about the disconnection he felt with the object. Hence, the objects without the intangible heritage that would provide them with meanings meant that the visitors had no way of linking the past to the present and thus felt disappointed. The museum's intention is to present the national history and culture and promote a sense of national pride through displaying objects in this manner. In actuality, it creates a feeling of distance for visitors who have not experienced this kind of Korean-ness. Even though younger generations have visited the museum more often than the older generation, what they felt was boredom. These responses from the younger generation are important because it seems to expand the question of the method of presenting and transmitting traditional culture to the contemporary society. Indeed, visitors from the older generation, had a strong concern about protecting the heritage, but they shared the conventional idea that old things should be kept in museums. In other words, the fact is that visitors approach the history and culture of Korea, which is seen as belonging to the past, through complex feelings of both interest and boredom. This suggests that the limited involvement of official intangible heritage within the framework of the museum eventually also induces complex feelings within visitors. The limited intangible cultural heritage which is presented in this museum affects how visitors feel; in this case, a determination to preserve the heritage evokes feelings of both interesting and boredom, rather than pride.

As seen in the following conversation, visitors' reactions are, interestingly, linked to the words they use when expressing their ideas about the Korean heritage. Since the exhibition has taken away intangibility, what were left with were their own ideas, which have very few links with the official heritage. According to Harrison's argument, 'most people would recognise the existence of an official heritage that could be opposed to their own personal or collective one'.[383] In fact, visitors have recognised what Korean heritage is but also identified that it does not entirely describe what they understand as their own history and heritage. However, whilst the museum dealt with part of the heritage – tangible heritage, the question remains: do these objects really have meaning today? In other words, the question is 'are museums willing to suggest new ideas about these objects?

[383] Harrison Rodney (2010), What is heritage? In *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, Manchester University Press, p. 11

Interviewed visitors accepted the displayed heritage as part of their heritage but also as something remote and difficult to access and understand. The following conversation with a visitor who is in her early 30s and has studied Korean heritage before expressed her confused feelings after her visit.

> Interviewer: How was your visit?
>
> Interviewee (V2): It was new and amazing at the beginning, but I was bored at the end. The exhibition hall was too dark to concentrate, and they seem to have put too many things in one space. As it was difficult to understand the subject of the exhibition, I just found something that I already knew.
>
> Interviewer: Did you feel anything about the objects? Do you think these are part of Korean heritage or culture?
>
> Interviewee (V2): I felt that these belong to the Joseon period rather than to Korea. I mean, these looks like simply old Korean things. I know this is a folk museum with folk objects, but I can't find or see any modern things. Everything seems to belong to the past rather than to present-day Korea.

The woman in the conversation above had contradictory feelings with regards to the objects from the past, as she was bored and interested at the same time. She felt 'bored' because she could only confirm facts that she already knew, but she also felt it was 'interesting' to see objects that she had not used before. Based on these contradictory feelings, three of 15 visitors also expressed their view that the culture shown in the museum exhibition was 'dead' and 'not mine' but acknowledged it as belonging to their past and heritage. When visitors gave such an answer, they were determined as if they were certain rather than suspicious. The above woman continued, saying, 'I think the Korean-ness includes the modern Korean things as well' (V2). This woman seems to have her own idea of what Korean culture is and to have been trying to find something that could represent herself as a Korean in the museum exhibition. As the above visitor, of the total interviewees, more than a half of the 15 visitors felt uncomfortable, not denying

what Korean culture is but a feeling that is something missing in the idea of Korean culture shown in the museum. Their reactions were close to uncertainty.

> Interviewer: Do you think this is part of Korean culture or heritage?
>
> Interviewee (V1): Yes, but I don't feel related.
>
> Interviewee (V8): Because it is not a culture of today, but a culture that is dead, I don't really feel close with these. I think these objects are just things for the exhibition.
>
> Interviewee (V9): Yes, I do. But it doesn't really touch me.
>
> Interviewee (V10): Rather than feeling proud of these objects, I think these are the museum's objects which are just displayed in here. I actually can't find and feel any link to this traditional culture.
>
> Interviewee (V12): I felt bored and disconnected from the traditional culture […] I know that this is Korean culture, but I don't think this culture is mine.

According to the responses, it was not about the memories from grandparents or historical facts that made them feel belonging to the nation's traditional culture; it was the intangible stories whichever visitors can understand the continuity of the nation's culture. Moreover, visitors were not refusing or accepting traditional culture as their culture; it was more a reaction of feeling lost and apart from it. As mentioned in the previous chapter, intangible cultural heritage was presented according to an official, stereotypical conception of heritage, disseminating similar stories over and over again to visitors. Visitors knew what Korean traditional culture is, but they were unsure about how it continued today and how it can relate to today's Korea. A visitor who, although they enjoyed the museum experience, said, 'I cannot relate to the activities in which these objects were used and the museum exhibition. I mean, the things inside the museum are just traditional objects, and I don't understand the point of getting excited about the content' (V11). This visitor continued, saying, 'I think the works done in the past are great, but I don't feel proud of

it. Because I sometimes feel we are forced to feel proud of it, which makes me uncomfortable doing so' (V11) Indeed, the exotic representation of the ordinary life of the past prompts visitors to recognise what is unique among the cultures of other countries, and also to understand the difference between the past and the present. However, visitors responded that the museum exhibition was not for them, but for foreigners. As Saeji argues, 'the lack of personal connection to heritage [in Korea], in part caused by a widespread belief that the government is taking care of everything, had a clear impact on engagement'.[384] As discussed, the way Koreans live today does not derive from their history; rather, it has been adopted from outsiders, and the definition of heritage, or tradition, or authenticity, has become someone else's business, a previous generation's problem, in Korea. It has been discussed in the previous chapter where the issue of nation-building had a correlation to deploying collective national history and when the government actively promoted it due to the experience of colonisation and interruption from the US military government. However, here, the issue is not only about the influence of the government on the museum but more to the understanding of the role of the museum in society. For instance, since the museum's establishment, the National Folk Museum of Korea has targeted both 'foreigners and Koreans'(M1). The purpose of establishing the museum was to help domestic visitors to develop a collective sense of national identity and to show the glorious past of the nation to an international audience. However, when the exhibition serves as another way to show native visitors that 'this is Korea', it possibly made native visitors feel familiar with and unrelatable to themselves at the same time. Visitors were lost at the same time, uncertain about their ideas and thoughts, as the collective ideas can judge them. Hence, this can result from uncomfortable feeling to disinterest. For instance, remembering the history and visiting historical and cultural museums seem less enjoyable than visiting art museums to Koreans today. The 2018 statistics for major tourist attractions showed that, in comparing the National Museum of Korea and the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, the National Museum of Korea has a larger number of visitors, both foreigners and Koreans. However, the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art has seen a

[384] Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2528

higher growth rate among Koreans. In contrast, the National Museum of Korea has seen the proportion of Korean visitors decrease every year.[385]

Therefore, as visitors said the atmosphere in the museum, which seems to exaggerate the glories of the nation's culture, this response about feeling pressured or overwhelmed by the content appear to support Kwon's argument[386] about the historiography of Korea having focused on proving and presenting itself as a nation and ultimately demonstrating indifference to histories outside of Korea. [see page 39] People know what Korean culture is but, at the same time, it is not their culture. The point is that the museum did not show the continuity of culture; it showed how it was in the past and allowed visitors to accept it rather than question it or be interested in it. There was a limited presentation of the intangible cultural heritage, controlling visitors' views and emotions as indicated by the visitors' responses quoted above. In fact, the concept of ethnicity as a strong national ideology has been visualised and promoted through objects in the museum space, but at the same time, intangibles have been limited and controlled in regard to feelings and thoughts that connects the past and present.

Thus, I argue what people can relate to are the contents that connect them to each other without drawing a boundary between culture and history. This view was expressed by the following visitor:

> Interviewee: What did you like the most about the exhibition?
>
> Interviewer: Well… Since I'm in my late 20s, I'm interested in the culture of marriage, so the most memorable thing from the exhibition was four-ceremonial depiction of coming-of-age as wedding, funeral and ancestral rites. I thought it was great that the exhibition divided the subject clearly. Also, at the beginning of the exhibition, there were some bedding displays that reminded me of my grandmother's house. When I was young, I thought those bedding styles were just

[385] Statistics Korea https://kostat.go.kr/portal/korea/index.action [Accessed 15 October 2018]

[386] Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal, p.51

an old design. But, after reading the panel, I found that the colour and pattern of the bedding meant marriage. I just realised why my grandmother kept it for such a long time.



Figure 54 Image of objects displayed as a scene. (© Author)

As the woman above, who is in her late twenties, stated, displayed objects were representative of Korean culture but only represented the past that was not connected to her. In other words, for her, the culture of Korea was not only about the past but also about the culture that she herself experiences. She agreed that the culture and history that the museum tries to present are part of Korean heritage, but, on the other hand, said: 'I don't think this has a Korean-ness'. Especially for this visitor, Korean-ness was related to the ongoing culture and if she could put herself in the context. It was more related to her daily life rather than just an experience. According to her, traditional culture of Korea in the museum reflected an old image of Korea and an old idea of Korean-ness. Although to feel and know about Korean-ness was the reason for some people's visit to the museum, their responses suggested that the Korean-ness found in old dead physical things and is not related to themselves, unless they can make a personal connection as this woman did

to her grandmother. Thus, the research suggests that the issue lies not only in the detachment of the traditional culture from modern society but also in the fact that this disconnects elicited feelings of pride and boredom at the same time. People brought their own ideas to the museum based on their experiences, what the museum provided was basic knowledge about Korea that people can oftentimes find outside the museum. But did nothing to support or re-inforce their identification with the Korea of the past. In fact, it allowed them to disassociate themselves from the past, thus doing the exact opposite of what the museum wanted their displayed to do.

Therefore, visitors' reactions seem to prove how the concept of 'Korean-ness' became vague, as it is neither entirely about the past nor continuity with the present. Modern things conceptualising who Koreans are now are missing. Similarly, one of the visitors said, 'Even if it is not representative or is a luxury item, what I want to experience is things that are more closely related to me and that can reflect the time or the theme of the museum' (V12). Hence, as Hooper-Greenhill argues, 'people make their own meanings and bring their own knowledge, understandings, needs, expectations, and motivations into the museum.[387] In this case, the question is whether the museum is willing to accept new narratives reflecting visitors' expectations and conceptions of national identity that differ from the past.

7.4 Conclusion

The relationship between museum and visitor has changed over time, while museum has remained fixed within the framework of official heritage. Visitors' responses reveal that the museum is not effective in terms of disseminating the history and culture of the nation according to different perspectives. The past was interesting to visitors, but the issue was that the displays limited their interest to certain point of view, ideas and places. To develop a collective idea of the nation's culture and history, the museum presented selective official culture and heritage. However, it ended up developing a general idea of

[387] Hooper-Greenhill. Eilean (2000) *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*, New York: Routledge

what Korean culture is and, consequently, a very shallow view of who Koreans are. Due to the official cultural policy, an essentialised idea of the past influences the curation not only of tangible objects but, more importantly, of intangible culture, including the way that people think, feel and see in museums, which are also influenced by the perception of heritage. Political influences and controls have affected the role of Korean museums as the set of thoughts, emotions and views that once informed visitors have become insufficient to articulate changes in national identity.

Therefore, interview results first suggest, first, that visitors trusted the institution, the museum. Although the museum remained a temple, which collected information about the nation's past, and visitors were used to accepting the official culture rather than questioning or being curious about it. According to visitors' responses, they felt that 'Korean-ness' was based on official culture and heritage, even though they could not explain what 'Korean-ness' is by themselves. The museum prepared translations for the exhibition panels for foreigners, but surprisingly little effort was made to explain objects with in-depth information for natives. However, the message that the museum tried to disseminate did not match what visitors expected from their visits. The dominant official idea of heritage and the given role of the museum was intended to promote national unity. Half of the visitors responded that 'it is not my culture' after visiting the museum. Visitors had different ideas of what Korean heritage is, while there was little or no intangible cultural heritage present in the museum. They did not find enough information, or enjoyable, engaging elements, especially for young adults who had not experienced this culture before. The museum providing selective information is not main criticism of this research, as this could be considered as a museum's given social and political role. However, considering its traditional role and observing visitors' reactions, the findings suggest that visitors' thoughts and feelings were controlled through the lack of intangibility in the museum. A museum attempting to preserve intangible cultural heritage does the opposite, making Korean heritage old and irrelevant. The museum played a role in preserving the meaning of the official heritage but has not created or helped to build a new definition of official heritage. Even though the display of digital media alongside an object can help visitors not only understand the concept of intangible heritage but also find a sense of the continuity of traditional culture, the museum's use of this technology left the objects still seeming old and irrelevant. Hence, despite visitors'

efforts to explore or expand their imaginations, the museum, with its set ideas about the nation's culture and history, actually limited the intangibility of the museum experience. What was shown in the museum went unquestioned.

Therefore, beyond the collective idea of the nation, there are individual differences in levels of interest in the contents of the history and culture of the nation; for example, visitors had different emotional reactions to the exhibition, feeling proud, interested, moved, invigorated, bored or even nothing. Since intangible heritage is based on what people think and feel, as discussed [see page 90] the meaning of intangible heritage in this museum lies in conveying the values of the cultural heritage to the next generation. For it to fulfil its remit it is important for the museum to expand an understanding of intangible heritage so that there are clearer links between the past sense of Korean identity and its present culture and identity. To do this the museum needs to take into account of what people feel and think and what their current sense of identity is. Only by linking the present to the past will the museum fulfil its mission of proving Koreans with a past that has meaning today. For this research found that the static narrative influenced visitors to feel emotionally distant from the past of Korea and not to view it as their own culture. In other words, the museum space seemed reluctant to accept other ideas or narratives that went beyond their role. The concept of 'Korean-ness' eventually remains vague. What the old and historical idea of the nation's culture and history indicated in this research is that there is a lack of, almost no, intangibility in the museum and intangibility, as discussed and problematized earlier, is one of the ways in which individuals make connections to the past. Since the meaning and sense of intangible heritage are attached to objects, it has become difficult for visitors both physically and emotionally to get close to it. There was almost no intangibility that could deepen or diversify visitors' understanding of the traditional culture that informs Koreans' identity. Despite a general understanding of the museum as a trusted institution with reliable resources, this recognition reveals a contradictory fact - that a museum is a closed space where the public find it difficult to relate to the current, living intangible Korean culture.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

Restatement of the research purpose

I started this research to try to identify the complicated relationship between the Korean museum and the intangible cultural heritage. The purpose of my research was to examine why Korean museums are struggling with the concept of intangible cultural heritage and what role intangible cultural heritage plays today and has played in the past in promoting a form of Korean identity. Considering the historical and political condition of Korea, which has developed a dominant discourse of ethnicity, with a desire to modernise the nation, this research is important in the field of museum, heritage and visitor studies in Korea in general. Especially focusing on the intangible cultural heritage protected by the government and continued by the Living Human Treasures, this research is based on museums and their relationship with heritage in Korea.

The concept of ethnicity of the nation developed over time with political influences that controlled the cultural sector in Korea. The concentration of ethnicity made the process of national identification more positional, political and less diverse while creating a stronger obsession with the purity of traditional and national culture. Moreover, Korea's national culture has been institutionalised to inherit the dominant viewpoint as the essentialist cultural text of the past. Korean national museums had the leading role in disseminating collective national identity with a traditional approach, whilst visitors trust museum. Intangible cultural heritage, a living cultural activity, has been safeguarded and transmitted by the government employees, called Living Human Treasures, to continue the intrinsic value and meaning of Korean heritage.

However, today Korean national identity is different from how it was in the past. It is different from when it strongly developed as a reaction to the Japanese colonisation. Identity has been established and lost; it has been constructed from personal experiences

while being affected by historical and cultural phenomena.[388] This research does not question if Korea is an ethnically homogeneous nation. Based on the idea of ethnically homogenous nation, this research examines how the intangible idea of an imagined nation with a single historical narrative is materialised and visualised through heritage and presented in museums. Furthermore, how visitors respond to it. This is because, even though historical objects have significantly developed the solidarity of the nation over time, identifying who Koreans are has changed with the external influences and the fluidity of the culture. As Smith argues, ethnic ties and sentiments are created by a variety of factors – ecological, social and especially cultural and symbolic such as religion, language and arts.[389] Hence, Korean museums relationship with intangible cultural heritage shows what relationship that people have with this collective idea of imagined nation and what efficacy it has today. Within the context of the historical and political condition of the nation which was subject to the significant influence of the Western museology and heritage discourse in Korean museums and heritage system, I wanted to investigate the concept of intangible cultural heritage. My research uncovers the limitations of the museum's influence.

This thesis used qualitative research methodology, semi-structured interviews, observation, and secondary data. As the development of Korean national identity is politically controlled and official discourse is predominant in the media, I tried to understand the possible museums', visitors' and Living Human Treasures' perceptions, thoughts, and attitudes towards the museum's official display messages. Especially, museums that developed in countries like Korea with the colonisation and the influence of the West with modernisation and globalisation, the museum's role has been more focused than how visitors perceive and react to it. Hence, considering the fact that most of the museum's research in Korea relates to visitors is based on quantitative research in the national museums as a form of a report, the research set up a case study and interviewed 15 visitors and 7 relevant practitioners (4 Living Human Treasures and 3

---

[388] Manuel Castells (2010) *Globalization and Identity*, p. 94

[389] Smith, Anthony D (2008) The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic, Blackwell Publishing, p. 448

museum and heritage professionals) to attempt to understand the complexity of the topic. It was important to understand the current issues surrounding intangible cultural heritage in Korean society, and this methodology helped to unpack personal experience, emotions, or feelings, again intangible experiences or events that practitioners address and regularly accommodate in their daily practices.[390] Since I as a Korean born and raised in Korea but also lived in the U.S and the U.K for quite a long time, qualitative research methodology allowed me to think outside the framework of dominant Korean understanding. I recognise that the number of visitors I interviewed was relatively few. However, this research approach to understand in-depth personal thoughts and experience. Although it proved extremely difficult to secure any interviews at all, as I spent several weeks in the museum approaching people and asking them to talk to me. Also, giving personal views to a stranger is not something Koreans are accustomed to do. Nor were most visitors I approached happy to have a face-to-face interview, especially with a content that has already been accepted dominantly in society. Questions were simple to answer but hard to explain and express their thoughts about it. I was asking general thoughts about Korean traditional culture, but which has not been questioned among Koreans. Public criticism of institutions such as museums, and official discourse is considered to be impolite. I found it very difficult process to approach people and lead the conversation. This required me to adopt a sense of distance, a stepping back from my community of birth and nation, in order to view my research objectively. Thus, the flexibility of the semi-structured interviewed allowed not only the interviewees but also the researcher a certain degree of freedom that gives space to think.

Based on this, this thesis reconsidered how the robust idea of the nation developed a fossilised museum over time and influenced the museum and its relationship with intangible cultural heritage. By not only revisiting the museum's conventional practice but also exploring the presentation of intangible cultural heritage in the museums' practice and its relationship with Living Human Treasures, it tried to consider the efficacy and role of the traditional official national identity ideas promoted by museums for historical and political reasons, without criticising the institutions or the government.

---

[390] Carey Malcolm (2012) Qualitative Research Skills for Social Work: Theory and Practice, Taylor & Francis Group, p.110

8.2 Research Questions and Main Findings

The main question of this research was ‘what is the role of intangible cultural heritage in today’s South Korean museums?’ To answer the question, one of the important factors to review was how Korean museums developed over time and also how heritage in Korea has been used by the government to develop and maintain Korean national identity. These relationships were so important to understand this thesis and to discover the presentation of intangible cultural heritage in museums.

The research found that the government promoted an old national identity rooted in a pre-colonialist past, dependent on the acceptance of the idea of a pure Korean culture, for that reason, intangible cultural heritage has been fossilised as a repetition of the past and conceptualised to an idea that represents the nation. Since this traditional promotion of national identity through institutions such as museums significantly influenced public understanding of heritage, the study identified two different but co-existing understandings of intangible cultural heritage in Korea: Historical and Contemporary. The historical understanding is based on the government's intention which promoted the old national identity and reflected the museum’s understanding of intangible cultural heritage that fossilised the past with tangible centred exhibition and disconnected the past and the present. Museums with historical objects to represent the past were very much following the historical understanding of a form of fixed intangible cultural heritage rooted in pride in the past through traditional objects displayed in cases and in a formal manner, divorced from most of the context in which they were originally situated.

On the one hand, the contemporary understanding of intangible cultural heritage is related to Living Human Treasures. Living Human Treasures are the ones that are at the centre of transmitting and promoting intangible cultural heritage and adapts to the change of society. Even though their activity is closely influenced by the government policy representing the nation and remembering the past, Living Human Treasures are the one who interacts with the public and adapt to the change of society. Hence, today’s intangible cultural heritage is about experiencing and engaging rather than accepting the past as it is

defined. In the meantime, during my research, I came to realise that I also accepted the dominant historical understanding of intangible cultural heritage, trying to find and prove the nation's unique culture and represent the nation. It was challenging to understand and identify the works and activities of current Living Human Treasures as they cannot be defined without the government framework on the one hand. However, as I went further into the research, I realised and also found that there has been a transitional moment in Korean intangible cultural heritage understanding as the interest increased with international influence. Intangible cultural heritage is now more a responsibility of the Living Human Treasures and not something the museums think is their responsibility. This neither means that museums are not related to intangible cultural heritage, nor do they need to take care of it. It instead suggests that the concept of intangible cultural heritage became clearer in Korea, and it requires museums a different relationship and approach with it. However, this research founds that, still the government divides roles, responsibilities, and results in making boundaries rather than expanding the understanding the concept of heritage outside of the government aspect and to the Living Human Treasures aspect.

In my research, I argue that the concept of intangible cultural heritage is limited to the official version of heritage and conceptualised to represent the nation. Being aware of the fact that this concept of intangible cultural heritage developed from the government's selective choice, this research explored the idea from the national, institutional and individual levels to see the difference. Since the increase in international interest influenced the Korean government to recognise its intangible cultural heritage as an activity that could effectively represent the nation, the intangible forms of culture-language, religion, ethnicity, and a shared interpretation of the past - have been transformed into 'imagined communities' [391] and valued as such in the national consciousness. Museums, as a political agent conceptualised intangible cultural heritage as a practice and process of selecting information, and the method of providing the information. It has been used for ways of interpreting the history and culture of the nation. However, as the establishment of museums has traditionally been aligned with the nation-

[391] Anderson Benedict (1983), *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso

building process, the methods of displaying culture and history have not changed whilst they remain under this system. This indicates that, to Korean museums, whichever mythology of the nation's past is to be presented, the point has been how to showcase it effectively, mostly from the provider's perspective. It provided fossilised and traditional understanding of intangible cultural heritage.

The National Folk Museum of Korea, where the researched focused, was established in the process of modernisation, and the purpose was to anchor ethnic national identity. The museum has grown intensively and systematically in relation to Korea's historical and economic conditions over the past 70 years. The museum has long been based on the ideology of ethnic nationalism by inheriting the genealogy of the 'colonial museum'. It became a political device from the beginning and remain so both in colonial and post-colonial contexts, as the history of Korea was deliberately de-contextualised and re-ordered in the space.[392] Its role has been significant in the articulation of collective identity. By sharing knowledge, it had responsibility for rehabilitating the sovereignty stolen by Japan and for developing a pure Korean national identity separate from other identities. Also, the wave of Western modernisation, which occurred after liberation, influenced, and strengthened the museums' educational role. Especially, the 19th century Western methods of exhibiting culture and the idea of heritage were particularly influential to the museum as object-centred exhibition forms the core of museum communication. As most museums in Korea present the country's history and traditional culture by following the flow of chronology, the museum developed as a vehicle of representation by exhibiting Korea's past and its traditions, especially focusing on the concept of folklore, within the frame of nationalism. Moreover, as Korean museums continued to see methods of Western museums as an ideal, this perception led to the widespread acceptance of a museum's social role as if it were also given. The history and culture shown in museum exhibitions were the way Koreans learnt at school and in textbooks, whilst the museum considered Korean visitors as passive receivers by collectively developing national identity by disseminating national history.

[392] Hahn Christine Y. (2012) Unearthing Origins: The Use of Art, Archaeology, and Exhibitions in Creating Korean National Identity, 1945-1962, Visual Resources, Vol. 23 (2), p.142

Nonetheless, the research found that the National Folk Museum of Korea had a better storytelling method than other national museums themed on history and culture. Whilst historical and cultural objects are mostly displayed in the centre of museums exhibition, the National Folk Museum of Korea included the concept of intangible heritage in display as well as using it for educational programmes and events. Intangible cultural heritage has been used and presented in the museum exhibition as the museum tried to explain the fluid concept of culture through various media in the exhibition. This is noticed as a strength of the museum and where the intangible cultural heritage was used in the museum. The museum showed objects as a scene, an image by mix-matching objects together and by categorising them by their uses. Objects were categorised by their use and displayed within by theme in the exhibition. It also included Living Human Treasures in the display. However, the issues are that this set of scenes, a panoptic approach,[393] have controlled and limited the understanding of the scene as it is shown. Which means that the national history based on the country's ethnicity has been presented to anchor the national identity that is only linked to the past. Intangible cultural heritage in the museum was not about how the past continued to the present, instead more to show how the past is different to the present, and most likely how it should be remembered.

The museum was one of the spaces where Living Human Treasures' activities were presented as an exhibition and shared their knowledge through educational programs. On the one hand, Living Human Treasures were obligated to perform their skills and knowledge to the public once a year, and Living Human Treasures used the exhibition space to show their work to the public. However, either inviting Living Human Treasures to the space or Living Human Treasures using the space was very much limited and framed to the idea of official heritage. Living Human Treasures activity is 'the past that is endlessly construed in and through the present.'[394] However, their activities and works were hardly accepted in the museum space. Not only the National Folk Museum of Korea but also other museums in Korea had quite reluctant responses and attitudes towards

[393] Kirshenblatt- Gimblett, Barbara (1990), Objects of Ethnography, in Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museums Display, (eds.) Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p. 386-443, pp.413

[394] Urry John (1996) How Societies Remember the Past, in Theorising museums: representing identity and diversity in a changing world, (eds.) Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 48

Living Human Treasures. Some thought Living Human Treasures were trying to copy and sell, whilst some rejected their access to the museum's collection because of the regulation. These attitudes could have been related to the development of a museum in Korean society as a political agent and a keeper of a national treasure. Museums were conservative in terms of sharing and opening the museum space to the public.

Moreover, since Living Human Treasures are living in contemporary society, these administrative limitations rather revealed the complex issue of authenticity to Living Human Treasures – there is a complex dilemma facing them. The institutionalised heritage management system and the national approach considered heritage as a thing that can be fixed according to official policy the way it should be. If they perform their duty as requested, they produce traditional crafts which do not have much resonance with people. This is considered by the museum to be a form of authenticity that presents their work as the same as the objects from the past. The Living Human Treasures are unable to develop their skills to create more modern objects which are not considered authentic by the museum. Thus, the culture they promoted has hardly changed and is something that seems left behind in the past. Living Human Treasures invited to museums and festivals to demonstrate their skills by wearing traditional clothes can be an example. The organiser promoted Living Human Treasures' activity as an authentic Korean heritage experience whilst Living Human Treasures thought it asked them to repeat the work and to continue the work but without changing the process or the tools they use. In this case, Living Human Treasures thought it does not help the public to understand the change of intangible cultural heritage or the whole idea of tradition, which they are struggling with.

This conflict reflects the old Korean national identity developed with a reaction to differentiate itself from others, especially the Japanese. The identity was formed by identifying the difference, and it required to define what was original and distinctive in Korean culture and history. Hence, today's Living Human Treasures still had to prove how their work is pure Korean and different from Japanese culture. They were even judged by using Japanese materials, Japanese skill and if they have studied in Japan. Thus, even though their work gave them a title and authority acknowledged by the government, interviewed craftsmen said they are struggling and confused about the tradition they need to pass down.

In this vein, this thesis found that to most museums in Korea, collecting or working with the present Living Human Treasure is far from what they have done and what they consider as their role in society. Indeed, museums are not denying their role, the findings revealed that the museum was 'unsure' about the concept, rather than saying ‘we do not want to work with its intangible cultural heritage or with living human treasure.’ Nevertheless, Living Human Treasures were recognised as agents in transmitting intangible cultural heritage with very little recognition of how they contributed to the transmission process. The dominant official idea of heritage and the given role of the museum developed in opposition to their exhibition’s intentions. For example, half of the visitors responded that it is not my culture, after their visit to the museum. So, visitors had different ideas of what the Korean heritage is. These reactions indicate that there is almost no intangible cultural heritage in the museum.

Intangible cultural heritage is a cultural activity based on Living Human Treasures, and a living culture which is invisibly embedded in people’s attitudes and thoughts that exist outside the museum and which people bring with them when they visit.[395] However, in the museum space, limited intangible cultural heritage excluded the public and focuses largely on the material objects. Indeed, the role of heritage is to inspire people with Korean nationalism. But it promoted as a fixed entity symbolising the nation without considering how society change over time. Based on the traditional approach to national identity, the museum considered intangible cultural heritage as a tangible. The reconstructed traditional house inside the exhibition space was showing how objects were used in the past. The idea of how people in the past lived was shown through particular historical objects that represented the idea and presented repetitively. Videos with Living Human Treasures showed how the object was made in the past, not how the use or design changed with society. Indeed, as objects are not used anymore in today’s society, the presentation could have helped people’s understandings. But the researcher found that the issue was the view of Korea’s past that has been narrowed down to the aesthetic view. This view had an influence from the 19th century Western methods of collecting and

[395] Harrison. R and Rose D (2010) Intangible Heritage, in *Understanding heritage and memory,* (ed.), Tim Benton, Manchester University Press, p.14

displaying object, and when the Japanese limited Korean history and culture to antique crafts and detached it from the discourse of history.[396] As an idea of 'Craft Nationality,' objects' appearance assigned value to important objects and proposes ethnic nationalism. [397] Intangible cultural heritage was presented through the motifs of art objects. Intangible cultural heritage was used within a limited sense to show the imagined reality of the nation's past. Living Human Treasures' activities and works were framed within the establishment of a national spirit.

In the museum, therefore, intangible cultural heritage developed as a fossilised image of the past. The issue was not the museum's given role or conventional practice focusing on the tangible object. It instead had an issue in presenting the intangible culture as a supplement of the tangible object, in which intrinsic value and meaning do not change. This also indicates that when the museum says 'unsure' how to work with intangible cultural heritage or Living Human Treasure, there is a conflicting understanding between the national museum's role and the fulfilment of the public's expectations of the museum. Indeed, the idea of heritage developed in Korea as a belief that the loss of heritage may reduce the future prosperity of Korea.[398] However, visitors interviewed in this research wanted to enjoy whilst they thought it is the way how it can be transmitted and how they can be part of it. More than half of visitors felt something missing and lack from their experience in the museum, which led them to feel detached from the culture shown in the museum. Their responses were not saying disagreement of what the museum is showing. Instead, they were asking the museum to show them more as something different from other museums, something that can be relatable to their contemporary culture.

Thus, the issue is not about museums having responsibility in taking care of national treasures but behind the responsibility, they were able to control what can be seen and

---

396 Choi Seok-Young (2001), Korea Modern Fairs and Museum (한국 근대 박람회, 박물관), Seokyongmunhwasa (서경문화사)

397 Eom, So-yeon (2008) Connotation of a Museum Exhibition and Its Social Contexts, An Analysis of the Exhibition of the Five-Blessings-Symbol Woodcrafts from the Joseon Period (박물관 전시와 사회적 맥락의 함의 관계, 조선시대 오복(五福) 상징 목칠공예품의 전시 분석), 민속학연구 Vol. 22, pp. 109-136

398 Bae Ki-dong (2012) Preservation of Intangible Heritage and Role of Museum, in International Conference on Museum and Intangible Heritage, pp. 10- 13

thought about the past, whilst the action did not consider the audience. Museums were not only the guardians of the national treasures but also, later, became to an owner of the national treasures. Visitors responded that they know the museum collection is Korean heritage, but a number of visitors said it is a museum's and not mine. This is paradoxical. The idea that developed over time as a moral responsibility to take care of Korean heritage by continuous invasions now became certain people and institutions' responsibility by only providing certain space and time to be enjoyed. As the curator of the Kyonggi University Museum and the National Folk Museum of Korea says, they seem to be more concerned about how to present the history and culture of Korea accurately with material culture, rather than how their approach can operate as control and provide a limited sense of it. The museum exhibition seems to convey the meaning of the intangible heritage only through material culture and to promote it as an old thing. The exhibition as a communication method identifies the concept of intangible heritage not to show the continuity of the culture but to show that this is Korean culture in a representative sense. As the museum focused on providing a general and dominant idea of what Korean culture is, it showed the culture of Korea, focusing on comprehensive and representative materials by limiting the intangibility of culture. Hence, reducing the intangible cultural heritage to a narrowed idea of aesthetic point of view, points out that the museum hardly included different cultural characteristics existing in society. The museum with a chronological history line and representative historical and cultural objects were showing the idea of Korean tradition and culture in a unified way. The museum was old fashioned in its collections and displays, focusing on the material culture of the past that had little relevance to the changing versions of Korean national identity that were emerging after the end of colonialism.

In this vein, what visitors saw and felt was something that they already know and nothing special. To visitor, real or original was not an important point. Repetitively seen objects in museums confirmed their pre-existing knowledge but did not build or questioned their knowledge. Different responses from different generation can be noticed on the findings. Visitors in the 20s and 30s were able to detach themselves from the traditional culture shown in the museum. They commonly said, 'this is not my culture', but not in a critical voice or annoying feeling. The research data showed how visitors' thoughts and feelings have changed as there seems an emotional distance between visitors and their past. It

could have developed from the exotic idea of the nation emphasised in the museum exhibition as one of the visitors felt uncomfortable about the proud feeling presented in the museum. Visitors who were over 50s responses were somehow expected as being less critical about the museum's display, but what has been similar to the younger generation was that a museum is not only a place where they see historical things but where a complex experience take place. Indeed, the museum content was relatable for them and evoke their old memories, but the display also gave them new insight about the past.

Accordingly, the research found that commodified and sanitised history and heritage in the museum exhibition suggested a limited national frame that promotes discrimination rather than diversity. Heritage, as an integral part of nation-building, was materialised in the museum but due to the purpose link to the state ideology, the collective idea of the nation and a purified nation's past lost its connection with the present. The way in which the museum has conceptualised intangible cultural heritage has proved how much the museum practice was rigid, focusing on tangible objects and a single history line. The display in the museum was almost showing those who do not share this history and culture is not Korean and asking people to accept it without further explanation of how the nation developed over time and it changed. The museum exhibition acted as a barrier connecting people and their past by suggesting how glorious past the nation has. The government system dominantly allowed the public to believe that heritage should be protected in any circumstance whilst it meant to keep it as it was in the past without accepting any changes. Besides visitors' emotional distance, they were physically distant from historical objects in the museum. Historical objects were displayed in the glass case and categorised mostly by materials. It physically made it difficult to access the museum collection as Living Human Treasures were hardly allowed to handle the museum collection. Based on this, it is hard to say that the policy improvement through institutional support recognised the one who consumes heritage.

8.3 Significance of research

By addressing the development of the role of a museum under political control, this research re-discovers the concept of communication in the museum on the one hand and the concept of heritage as national representation on the other hand. This research importantly suggests a future of Korean heritage system. It gives an idea as to how the system should develop.

This research is the first to discuss and link the concept of the intangible cultural heritage, Living Human Treasures, and museums in Korea. Although the intangible cultural heritage system with the Living Human Treasure is well known internationally, previous studies have focused on the political control of intangible cultural heritage in terms of preservation, while the museum was perceived as the best cultural institution that could and should care for the intangible cultural heritage. In other words, their focus did not concern either the fundamental question of what museums are for Koreans, the role of intangible cultural heritage, or the issue of preserving intangible heritage in the 21st century.

Therefore, instead of examining whether the museum is effective or not in terms of sustaining the intangible cultural heritage, the research found how the understanding of intangible cultural heritage has changed in Korean society, and how it influenced the museum's practices. This research importantly looked at the case of Korea, where the development of museums has complicated historical and political background influence and which political role has been given and deployed in the museum practice significantly. Also, as Korea is one of the countries that idealised Western countries' approach as using heritage as a national representation, this research importantly saw the influence and in-depth how it has been used and reformed to Korean condition. This research discovered Korean understanding of museum and heritage.

Indeed, this research has summarised the research findings as an issue of political intervention in the heritage and museum system, while limiting the concept of intangible heritage in the national level. But the critical points that can be argued from it are the museum in Korea is not an educational institution only, nor should the concept of intangible cultural heritage be framed in the national sense. This research importantly suggests that the museum needs a new approach as society changes and visitors perceive

it differently, not being against the museum but requiring museums an inclusive and expanded understanding of the nation's past. The research has shown that Korean museums need to be more active in terms of presenting the past. The role of museums should change to become more relevant and appropriate to the 21st century and the future. Theorists of museum studies such as Janes and Sandell have pointed out how museums today face complex and urgent challenges alongside the societies with which they coexist.[399] The society is now requiring a museum to become an activist with active practitioners to provide cultural frameworks to identify and challenge the myths and misperceptions that threaten all of us.[400] As the National Intangible Heritage Centre's programme, with its Living Human Treasure, asked the need of museums to view their collections from a different perspective.

As the programme manager at the National Intangible Heritage Centre stated, the government is now concerned with the question 'Do we [Korea] really need it [the representative system of intangible heritage] and give responsibility to the cultural institutions and the holder?' The relationship between the museum and the intangible cultural heritage is now not simply an issue that can be led through a government scheme. In fact, the issue has been a need for understanding the changes in the value and meaning of heritage. Thus, the research consistently asked question about things that are taken for granted in society. It also left the issue as an open question, to such countries as Korea, where the firm idea of tradition and past is disappearing due to indifference.

Thus, this research explored the issue of intangible cultural heritage in the museum exhibition context and also expanded its remit to consider the intangible cultural heritage that is (1) dealt with in certain museums only and (2) seems to exist in museums in a dissonant manner. The research expands the discussion of museums approach to heritage as the two concepts were defined and managed in different legislation and institutions in

[399] Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York

[400] Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York, p. 7

Korea. Although a small group of people were asked general questions, the interviews were able to locate the challenges faced by Korean museums today. Qualitive interview data help develop the idea further. The research pointed out a fundamental question as to what a museum means for Koreans. In so doing, it was able to focus on what today's intangible cultural heritage is, how intangible cultural heritage is conceptualised in a museum and how this way of presentation can influence the visitor's perception and understanding of Korean heritage and culture. In other words, the research was able to suggest concerns about a lack of public engagement in heritage, which is possibly caused by a widespread belief that the government is taking care of everything and it should be protected. Based on interview responses, the research was also able to expand to a discourse on preserving and promoting the essentialised past and official heritage in museums.

This research will be useful to researchers as well as museum and heritage professionals, including policymakers. It offers a basic understanding of the relationship between museums and heritage in presenting the nation. Moreover, it highlights the perspective of Living Human Treasures, who are the key practitioners in the presentation, also visitor's perspective that has usually been quantified with a general understanding. Most importantly, as museums become an old place showing the old identity of Korea, it will be useful for museums to understand intangible cultural heritage and at the same time practically using intangible cultural heritage and being active in presenting the nation. This research will serve as a basis for future studies for museum and heritage professionals, who can use this research to understand the government system that influenced Koreans attitudes towards museums and heritage experience.

8.4 Recommendation and Direction for future research

The research pointed out that historical and cultural museums, in Korea particularly, have become weak instruments in maintaining and developing national identity. Regarding the formation of the museum and the creation of cultural heritage in Korea, this research focused on the conceptualisation of the intangible cultural heritage in museums and

suggested how contrasting ideas exist in a dissonant manner in the museum, eventually weakening its function in developing and maintaining the national identity.

Consequently, with a comprehensive understanding of Korean museums and their intangible cultural heritage, the role of museums and their relationship to that heritage can be expanded within a future study by questioning how they will melt down frozen history - the reconstructed and reinvented tradition - to connect the past, present, and future. The research recommends that the museum needs to change its method of visitor engagement to an in-depth approach as stepping back from its position of dispassionate authority and observing how audiences are looking and enjoying the exhibition. This is basically because visitors' responses were not with what the museum is showing; they were asking the museum to show them how important it is for them to not only remember but also to continue it and something that could be relatable to their contemporary culture. In this vein, the roles of the museum should expand to meet the need of the public needs; it is necessary for the museum to make and reconstruct the narratives of Korean material culture. In this vein, the museum should take an active role in terms of showing the history, tradition, and culture of the nation in a way that provides visitors with some link between the past and present. For instance, considering visitors felt detached from its heritage with an idea of 'old' and 'past', the museum should try to re-define the word heritage as it should not only be used to prove the nation's existence but also its energetic and dynamic present which draws on the past and looks to the future. Even though, heritage promoted the attitude of pride towards the past, it also led to the rejection of those who had different ideas about heritage. Hence, the museum should be active in reconsidering the term heritage as a process rather than a tangible thing for a political act. The museum should capture the culture, which is constantly undergoing change and being reinvented as it is assigned new and different purposes, values and meanings over time. [401] Their active action will include accepting reinvented past that reflects the present by working closely to Living Human Treasures as they are the ones who are currently and voluntarily taking an active role in preserving and promoting the traditional culture of Korea. When the 'Special educational programme for restoration and research into traditional craft skills'

[401] Kreps Christina (2015) Cultural Heritage, Humanitarianism and Development, Critical Links, in Museums Heritage and International Development (eds.) Paul Basu and Wayne Modest, Routledge, p.250

was conducted by the National Intangible Heritage Centre, the nationals and the private museums were 'unsure' about their engagement with Living Human Treasure at first. But that attitude was based on their concern of not knowing much about what Living Human Treasures do and who they are, basically what intangible cultural heritage is. Thus, one of the most crucial things that should be considered in the relationship between the museum and Living Human Treasures is that it is not about dividing roles but involves teamwork. It is important for the museum not to ask what Living Human Treasures should do in the museum or judge if their demonstrations are authentic. The museum's role is to help Living Human Treasures also continue its practices by discovering how the tools, skills and materials changed over time and find how the museum can be the one that preserves the past but also represent the nation's past continuation. Museums and intangible cultural heritage have an unconventional relationship. The relationship requires a more dynamic approach to present the heritage and engage Living Human Treasures and visitors.

The role of intangible cultural heritage is linked to the point of how, or indeed whether, museums will accept social history and memory. It can be discussed from an administrative perspective by reconsidering the policy or from a methodological way by changing the exhibition design. The so-called 'top-down' process of heritage system in Korea has been criticised in various aspects as many researchers in Korea have argued about the need for revisioning the protection act.[402] However, still, we can find that they tend to miss out the fundamental problems as they are busy criticising the effectiveness of the current policy. Indeed, consistent criticisms of the policy have evolved the system to consider heritage in detail. However, as this research explored, discussions of the effects or consequences of the policy easily justified the fact that heritage is for the nation rather than deepening down the question of whose heritage it is; what heritage for is. In fact, these questions reveal the inconsistency of Korea's heritage system, which has been promoted for the purpose of protecting the national objects. It also showed the role of intangible cultural heritage today, why it is difficult for museums to understand the

[402] Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술학회), Vol. 34, pp. 295- 320; Jung Soo-Jin (2008) The birth of Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재의 탄생), Yucksawabipyung (역사와 비평), p.48

intangible cultural heritage, and how importantly the people, whoever is active or inactive in the process of heritage, should be considered in presenting the nation's culture in Korean museums.

The most challenging part of the research was probing matters of common sense in Korean society. Creating questions about facts that are taken for granted was the answer to a constant question of 'why'. For instance, since Koreans have a passive attitude towards the past, tradition and history, the research had to ask not only why or how this developed but also why it is still an acknowledged fact that the public is passive and what influences the public has. Qualitative answers from interviewees to understand personal responses to the exhibition were difficult as questions asking for personal opinions made visitors uncomfortable. In this case, this can be improved in future research by approaching visitors and the museum in a specific context with a focus group, discovering and comparing different types of museums, and understanding other factors or reasons that this research did not include. It can focus on the visitor's perspective, which this research suggests as an important factor influencing the understanding of heritage nowadays. The dilemma of the museum will be how to balance their desire to display objects with their desire to create spaces to tell stories. In this sense, the research can also constitute an in-depth perspective on a specific element of the intangible cultural heritage and expand the discussion of the relationship between the tangible and intangible in the museum.

Appendix

A. Ethics Approval Letter

University Ethics Sub-Committee for Science and Engineering and Arts Humanities

13/05/2016

Ethics Reference: 4250-gsh7-museumstudies

TO:
Name of Researcher Applicant: Gee Sun Hahn
Department: Museum Studies
Research Project Title: Relationship between national cultural institutions and understanding visitor impact

Dear Gee Sun Hahn,

RE: Ethics review of Research Study application

The University Ethics Sub-Committee for Science and Engineering and Arts Humanities has reviewed and discussed the above application.

1. Ethical opinion

The Sub-Committee grants ethical approval to the above research project on the basis described in the application form and supporting documentation, subject to the conditions specified below.

2. Summary of ethics review discussion

The Committee noted the following issues: approved

3. General conditions of the ethical approval

The ethics approval is subject to the following general conditions being met prior to the start of the project:

As the Principal Investigator, you are expected to deliver the research project in accordance with the University's policies and procedures, which includes the University's Research Code of Conduct and the University's Research Ethics Policy.

If relevant, management permission or approval (gate keeper role) must be obtained from host organisation prior to the start of the study at the site concerned.

4. Reporting requirements after ethical approval

You are expected to notify the Sub-Committee about:

- • Significant amendments to the project
- • Serious breaches of the protocol
- • Annual progress reports
- • Notifying the end of the study

5. Use of application information

Details from your ethics application will be stored on the University Ethics Online System. With your permission, the Sub-Committee may wish to use parts of the application in an anonymised format for training or sharing best practice. Please let me know if you do not want the application details to be used in this manner.

Best wishes for the success of this research project.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Paul Cullis
Chair

B. Project Information Sheet for Participants

Project Title: < National museum's role of cultural heritage and visitor impact in South Korea>

Email Address: <gsh7@leicester.ac.uk>

Date: <May 2016>

I would like to tell you more about the nature of the project, who I am and why I am undertaking this research, and how you were selected for the project. I would also like to inform you about how your data will be used and the protections of your privacy and confidentiality that are in place.

Who is doing the survey?
My name is Gee Sun Hahn and I am a second year post graduate researcher in School of Museums Studies in University of Leicester.

What is the project/survey for?
This research is to understand visitor impact on Korean cultural heritage in National Folk Museum of Korea.

How you were selected
Participants are selected based on the visitors who enter the museum.

Your role in completing the project/survey
Interview will take around 20 – 30 minutes, and 5 - 10 questions will be based on your visit.

Your rights
Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw from the project at any time. If you are uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of your participation, please contact the researcher listed at the top of this letter to discuss your concerns or request clarification on any aspect of the study.

Protecting your confidentiality
Any information you supply will be treated confidentially. Through anonymizing of respondents in any written assignments or publications, secure storage or paper and or email- based interview data and notes, etc.

If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research, please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Dr Giasemi Vavoula, on gv18@le.ac.uk.

Thank you,



Gee Sun Hahn

C. Research Consent form

I agree to take part in the < National museum's role of cultural heritage and understanding visitor impact in South Korea > study which is research towards a <School of Museum Studies> at the University of Leicester.

I have had the research project explained to me and I have read the Information sheet about the project which I may keep for my records.

I understand that this study will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics which can be viewed at http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice

Material I provide as part of this study will be treated as confidential and securely stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I have read and I understand the information sheet	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
I agree to the interview being recorded and my words being used in a student assignment	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
I agree to my words being used in related academic publications, including on the Internet	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
I give permission for the following personal details to be used in connection with any words I have said or information I have passed on:				
My real name	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
My age	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
My institutional affiliation	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪
I request that my real name is acknowledged in any publications that references the comments that I have made	Yes	❑▪	No	❑▪

Name [PRINT] …….

D. Korean, Research Consent form to the National Folk Museum of Korea

안녕하세요,

처음 뵙겠습니다. 저는 영국 레스터 대학교 박물관학과 박사과정에 재학중인 한지선이라고 합니다.

저는 현재 한국의 (무형)문화재를 중심으로 국립박물관의 역할과 관람객과의 관계에 관한 연구를 진행 중입니다. 간략히 말씀 드리면 국립박물관의 사회적 역할 및 목적을 박물관을 이용하는 관람객을 통하여 재조명하는 것입니다. 그 중에서도 박물관에 전시되어있는 무형유산 관련한 컨텐츠를 관람객은 어떻게 받아들이고 활용하는지 그리고 이러한 박물관 활동이 관람객에게 주는 영향은 무엇인지 답하고자 하는 연구입니다.

이러한 이유로 현재 국립민속박물관을 방문하는 성인 관람객을 중심으로 인터뷰를 진행하고자 합니다. 예상 질문은,

1. 박물관을 방문한 목적
2. 관람하면서 가장 기억에 남는/ 인상 깊었던 부분은 무엇인가?
3. 박물관을 관람하면서 어떠한 느낌을 받았는가?
4. 전시된 유물들이 한국 문화의 일부라고 생각하는가?
5. 박물관 전시 내용 측면에서) 응답자의 삶과 관련이 있는가?

위의 예상질문들을 바탕으로 인터뷰는 25 명의 성인 관람객 (내국인) 을 대상으로 15 분간 진행 될 예정입니다. 전시 관람을 마친 관람객을 중심으로 진행되어 다른 방문객에 방해가 되지 않을 것으로 예상합니다. 또한 관람객 인터뷰 동의 의사와 함께 진행 될 것임을 미리 알려드립니다.

국립민속박물관 방문객을 대상으로 진행하는 위의 인터뷰가 가능한지 다시 한번 여쭙고자 합니다.

첨부파일은 영문판으로 관람객들에게 제공되는 인터뷰 설명서입니다.

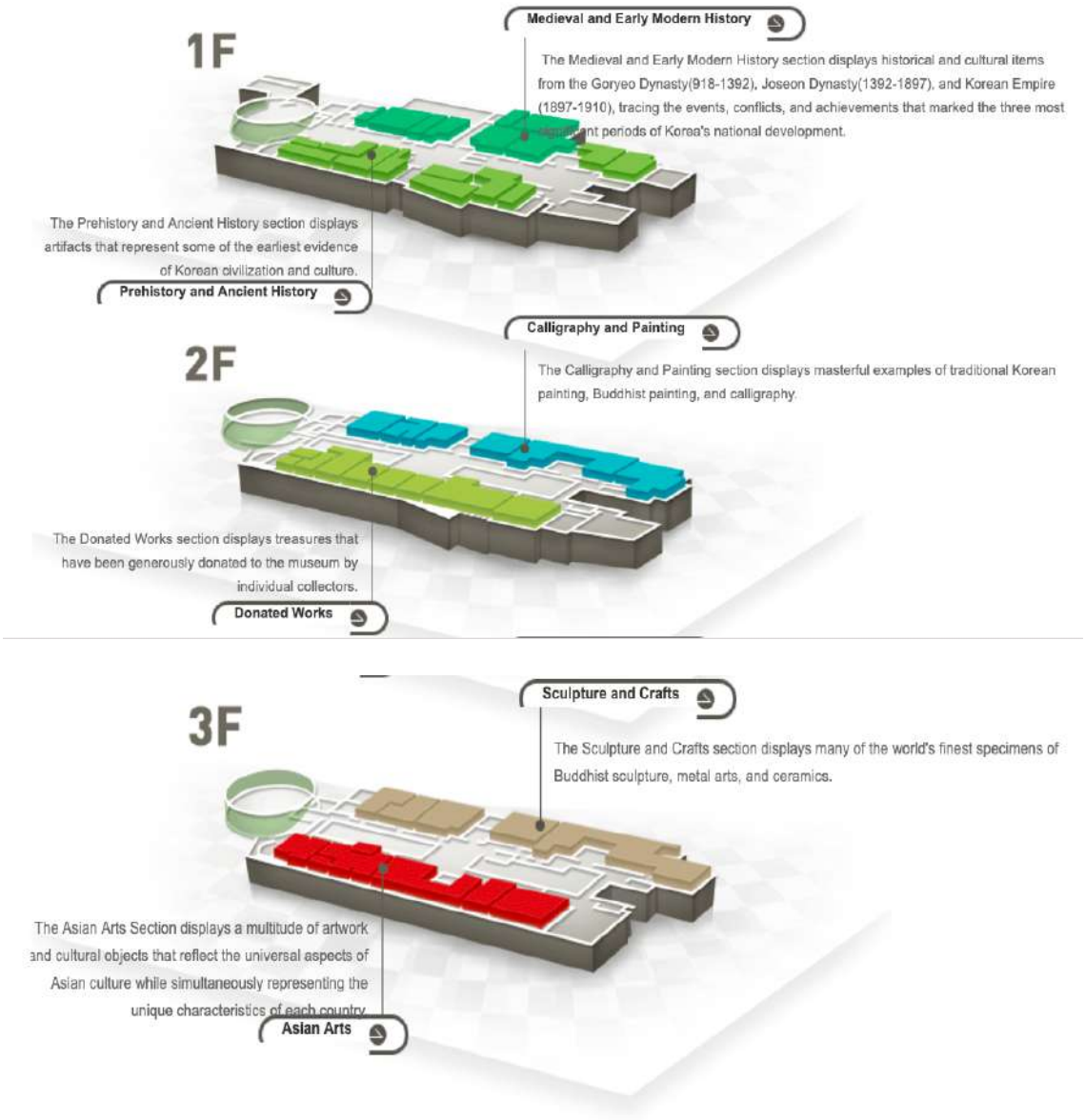
감사합니다.

E. State-designated heritage

National Treasure	Heritage of a rare and significant value in terms of human culture and with an equivalent value to 'Treasure' described below.
Treasure	Tangible cultural heritage of important value, such as historic architecture, ancient books and documents, paintings, sculpture, handicraft, archeological materials, and armory.
Historic Site	Places and facilities of great historic and academic values that are specially commonable (e.g., prehistoric sites, fortresses, ancient tombs, kiln sites, dolmens, temple sites and shell mounds)
Scenic Site	Places and facilities of great historic, artistic, or scenic values, which feature distinctive uniqueness and rarity originated from their formation processes.
Natural Monument	Animals, plants, minerals, caves, geological features, biological products and special natural phenomena, carrying great historic, cultural, scientific, aesthetic or academic values, through which the history of a nation or the secrets to the creation of the earth can be identified or revealed.
National Intangible Cultural Heritage	Intangible cultural heritage such as drama, music, dance, and craftsmanship, carrying great historic, artistic or academic values.
National Folklore Cultural Heritage	Clothing, implements and houses used for daily life and businesses, transportation and communications, entertainment and social life, and religious or annual events, that are highly valuable for the understanding of the transition in people's lifestyles and more.

(Source: http://english.cha.go.kr/html/HtmlPage.do?pg=/classfication/classification.jsp&mn=EN_02_01)

F. The National Museum of Korea floor plan that shows the categorization of exhibition space



(Source: http://www.nihc.go.kr/nihchome/html/HtmlPage.do?pg=/KO/heritage/sub_02_04_01.jsp&mn=KO_02_04)

Bibliography

Abbott, H (2013) The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative: 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Anderson Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso

Anico, Marta and Elsa Peralta (2009) *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World*, New York: Routledge

Alford C. Fred (1999) *Think No Evil: Korean Values in the Age of Globalization, Ithaca,* NY: Cornell University Press

Ashworth Gregory. J (2002) Senses of Place: Sense of Time, Routledge

(2012) From History to Heritage: From Heritage to Identity: In search of concepts and models in *Building a New Heritage Tourism, Culture and Identity in the New Europe* (eds) Gregory Ashworth and Peter Lackham, Taylor & Francis Group

Assi Peräkylä (2004) Conversation Analysis, in Qualitative Research Practice (eds.) Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman, SAGE Publications

Assmann Jan and Czaplicka John (1995) Collective Memory and Cultural Identity, New German Critique, No. 65, pp. 125- 133

Assmann Jan (2008) *Communicative and Cultural Memory,* Cultural Memory studies, An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook, Berlin, New York, pp. 109-118

Alivizatou Marilena (2006) Museums and Intangible Heritage: The Dynamics of an 'Unconventional' Relationship, Institute of Archaeology, 17, pp. 47-57

(2012b) Intangible Heritage and the Museum: New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation, UCL Institute of Archaeology Critical Cultural Heritage Series 8

Bae Bong Kyun (2005) Field trips to museums in elementary schools, in the Museum Education and Exhibition, The Gyonggi Museum Council

Bae Kidong (2012) Preservation of Intangible Heritage and Role of Museum, in International Conference on Museum and Intangible Heritage, pp. 10- 13

Barrett Jennifer (2012) Museums and the Public Sphere, Wiley-Blackwell

Basu Paul and Modest Wayne (2015) Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation, in *Museums, Heritage and International Development: A Critical Conversation* (eds.) Paul Basu and Weyne Modest, Routledge, pp. 1-32

Baxandall Michael (1991) Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects, in Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display (eds.) Ivan Krap and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution, pp. 33-41

Bechhofer Frank and McCrone David (2009) National identity, Nationalism and Constitutional Change, Palgrave Macmillan

Bennett Tony (1995) *The birth of the museum, history, theory, politics*, Routledge: London and New York, p.102

(2004) *Past Beyond Memory, Evolution*, Museums, Colonialism, Routledge

Boylan Patrick J. (2006), The Intangible Heritage: a Challenge and an Opportunity for Museums and Museum Professional Training, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 1, pp. 54-65

Breen Michael (2017) The New Koreans, The Business, History of People of South Korea, Macmillan

Brown M. F (2005) Heritage Trouble: Recent Work on the Protection of Intangible Cultural Property, Intangible Journal of Cultural Property 12(1), pp. 40-61

Burden Matilda (2007) Museums and the Intangible Heritage: the case study of the Afrikanns Languages Museum, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 2-7

Carey Malcolm (2012) Qualitative Research Skills for Social Work: Theory and Practice, Taylor & Francis Group

Catherine M. Wood (2018) Visitors Trust When Museums Are Not Neutral, University of Washington, MA dissertation

Charmaz, K (1999) 'Discovering' chronic illness: Using grounded theory. Social Science and Medicine, 30, 1161-1171

Choi Gongho (2004) Uncultured environment of cultural property (비문화적인 문화재 환경), Kukmin News, Available at

(http://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LSD&mid=sec&sid1=110&oid=005%aid=0000159655) [Assessed 15 June 2015]

Choi Seok-Young (2001) Korea Modern Fairs and Museum (한국 근대 박람회, 박물관), Seokyongmunhwasa (서경문화사)

(2006) How to view Korean modern museum as colonial heritage (식민지 유산으로서의 한국근대박물관을 어떻게 볼 것인가), 2006 Select Professional Training (2006 년 공무원연수 선택전문교육), National Folk Museum of Korea

(2011) The history of Korean Museums and the Prospect of Museum Policy (한국박물관 역사와 박물관정책의 전망), lecture notes, National Assembly Research Service, delivered 28 April 2011

Choi, Sung-hee (2011b) Re- thinking Korean Cultural Identities at the National Museum of Korea, in *National Museums, new studies from around the word* (eds.) Simon J. Knell, Aronsson. Peter an et, Routledge, London, pp. 290- 301

Chun, Kyung-soo (1998) Representing Colonialism and Nationalism in the Korean Museum (한국박물관의 식민주의적 경험과 민족주의적 실천 및 세계주의적 전망), Jibmundang (집문당)

(2000) Representing Colonialism and Nationalism in the Korean Museum: De-contextualization, Re-contextualization (한국박물관의 식민주의적 경험과 민족주의적 실천 및 세계주의적 전망: 탈맥락화, 재맥락화, 원맥락화), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol. 3, pp. 159-201

Chung Seung-Jin (2015) East Asian Values in Historic Conservation, Journal of Architectural Conservation, 11:1

Cohen, Erick (1988) *Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism*, Annals of Tourism Research 15, pp. 371- 386

Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K. (2007), Research in Methods in Education, 6th edition, London, Routledge

Daniel Grant (2010) Is an Artist Only Appreciated After He Dies?, Huffpost, 25 May 2010, Available from: https://www.huffpost.com/entry/is-an-artist-only-appreci_b_512932 [Accessed 28 June 2020]

Debary Octave (2004) Deindustrialization and Museumification: From Exhibited Memory to Forgotten History, ANNALS< AAPSS, 595

D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman (2009) From Tangible to Intangible Heritage, in *Intangible Heritage Embodied* (eds) D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman, Springer

DeWalt, Kathleen M. & DeWalt, Billie R. (2002) Participant observation: a guide for fieldworks. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Duncan F Cameron (1972) The Museum: A Temple or the Forum, Journal of World History, Vol. 14, No.1 Pinna

Dudley Sandra (2009) Museum Materialities: Objects, Sense and Feeling, in *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (ed.) Sandra Dudley, Routledge, pp. 1-18

Em Henry H (1999) Nationalism, Post-Nationalism, and Shin Ch'ae-ho, Korea Journal

Eom So-Yeon (2008) Connotation of a Museum Exhibition and Its Social Contexts, An analysis of the exhibition of the five-blessings-symbol woodcrafts from the Joseon Period (박물관 전시와 사회적 맥락의 함의관계, 조선시대 오복(五福) 상징 목칠공예품의 전시분석), 민속학 연구 (Folklore Research), Vo. 22. Pp. 109-136

Falk John H. and Dierking Lynn D. (2012), The Museum Experience Revisited, SAGE Journals

Gang Haelan (2021) Ranking National Treasures No.1 Sungnyemun from Japan 87 years will disappear (87 년전 일제가 매긴 랭킹 … 국보 1 호 숭례문서 '1 호' 뺀다), JoongAng Ilbo (중앙일보) 28 June 2021, Available from: https://news.joins.com/article/24092690#:~:text='1%ED%98%B8%20%EC%88%AD%EB%A1%80%EB%AC%B8'%EC%9D%80%201934,%EC%84%9C%EC%9A%B8%204%EB%8C%80%EB%AC%B8%20%EC%A4%91%EC%8B%AC%EC%9D%B4%EC%97%88%EB%8B%A4. [Accessed 7 July]

Gang Jungwon (2015) The topology of the folklore archive and the folklore museum of Korea (민속아카이브와 민속박물관의 위상, 국가의 민속 이념과 민속 정책 분석을 기반으로), Journal of Museum Studies, Vol.28, pp. 97-127

Gillham B (2000) Case Study research methods, New York; London, Continuum

Graham J. Ashworth (2002) *Senses of Place: Senses of Time*, Routledge

Gellner Ernest (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell

Ha Kye-Hoon (2008) Prospective Role of Art History in the Context of the History of Korean Museums (한국 박물관 역사를 통해 본 미술사의 역할과 전망), Journal of the Association of Western Art History (서양미술사학회논문집) 29, pp. 315-342

Hafstein, V. (2004) The Making of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Tradition and Authenticity, Community and Humanity, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. Hafstein, V., and R. Bendix

Hahn Christine Y. (2012) Unearthing Origins: The Use of Art, Archaeology, and Exhibitions in Creating Korean National Identity, 1945-1962, Visual Resources, Vol. 23 (2), pp. 138-170

Hahm Han-hee, (2012) Representation of Intangible Cultural Heritage in museum, In International Conference on Museum and Intangible Heritage, pp. 120- 139

Hall, Stuart. (1996) The Question of Cultural Identity, in *Modernity: An introduction to modern societies*, (eds.) Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 595-634

(1997) Introduction, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (ed.) Stuart Hall, SAGE, pp. 1- 12

Han Jeong- Hoon (2012*)* Review on Restoration and Multiplicity of Marginal Recollection Discourse of Intangible Cultural Properties- Focusing on Recollection Discourse near Gwnagju Chilseok-dong Gosssamunori *(*무형문화재의 주변화된 기억담론 복원과 다중성 고찰), 비교민속학 Vol. 50, pp. 263- 295

Harrison Rodney and Hughes Lotte (2010) Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism, in *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, The Open University

Harrison. R and Rose D (2010) Intangible Heritage, in *Understanding heritage and memory,* (ed.), Tim Benton, Manchester University Press pp.238-276

Harrison Rodney (2010) What is heritage? In *Understanding the politics of heritage* (ed.) Rodney Harrison, Manchester University Press, pp. 5-42

(2012) Heritage: Critical Approaches, London: Routledge

Harvey David C. (2018) Temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies, in A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage (Eds.) Sheila Watson, Amy Jane Barnes and Katy Bunning, Leicester Readers in Museum Studies

Hassard Frank (2009) Intangible heritage in the United Kingdom, The dark side of Enlightenment, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) Laurajane Smith and Nastuko Akagawa, London: Routledge, pp. 270-288

Hein Hilde. S (2000) The Museum in Transition, A philosophical perspective, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London

Hobsbawm Eric (1983) Introduction: Inventing Traditions, in *The Invention of Tradition* (eds.) Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-14

Hoelscher, S. (2006) "Heritage", in *A Companion to Museum Studies* (ed.) S. Macdonald, Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA, pp. 198-217

Hooper-Greenhill Eilean (1992) *Museums and the shaping knowledge*, London: Routledge

(1994) Learning from learning theory in museums, in *The Educational role of the Museum: Second Edition* (ed.) Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, Routledge, pp, 137-146

(2000), *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*, New York: Routledge

Hwang, Hee-Jeon and Park, Chang-Hwan (2015) Utilization of Cultural Assets; Is It a Realization of Authenticity? Or a Damage to Authenticity?,관광연구논총, Vol. 4, pp. 3-26

Huh, Dong-hyun (2009) A Study on the Historical Formation Process of the Myth on the Ethnic Homogeneity in Modern Korea (한국 근대에서 단일민족 신화의 역사적 형성 과정), North-east Asian History Collection (동북아역사논총), Vol. 23 pp. 7- 35'

Ito Nobuo (2003) Intangible cultural heritage involved tangible cultural heritage, ICOM General Assembly and International symposium, 27-31, Zimbabwe

Janes Robert. R and Sandell Richard (2019) Posterity has arrived: The necessary emergence of museum activism in Museum Activism (eds.) Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell, Routledge, London and New York

Jang Ju-guen (1996) History and Task of the National Folk Museum of Korea (국립민속박물관의 역사와 과제), The National Folk Museum Symposium

Jang Sang-hoon (2015) A representation of nationhood: The National Museum of Korea, PhD Thesis, University of Leicester

(2016) Cultural diplomacy, national identity and national museum: South Korea's first overseas exhibition in the US, 1957 to 1959, Museum & Society, November 2016. 14 (3), pp. 456-471

Jeon Jae-ho (2005) Changes, in the Korean Identity in the Globalization Era, Korea Focus

Johnstone C (1998) 'Your granny had one of those!', in J. Arnold, K. Davies and S. Ditchfield (eds) History and Heritage: Consuming the Past in Contemporary Culture, Dorset: Donhead Publishing Ltd, pp. 67-77

Jo Jeong-woo (2002) Formation of ethnic nation and 'making history'- Focusing on establishment and development of folk museum (민족국가 형성과 '역사 만들기'– 민속박물관의 설립과 전개를 중심으로), The Korean Sociological Association (한국사회학회), pp. 45-64

Jo Sung-Sil (2015) The Meanings of Source Communities in Intangible Cultural Heritage Exhibition- A focus on Special Exhibition Arirang of the National Folk Museum of Korea *(*무형문화유산 전시에서 소스커뮤니티가 갖는 의미 국립민속박물관 특별전 '아리랑' 사례를 중심으로*)*, The Society of Practice Folkloristics Vol. 25 pp. 415-451

Jung Soo-Jin (2008) *The birth of Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재의 탄생),* Yucksawabipyung (역사와비평)

(2013) From the Intangible Cultural Property to the Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형문화재에서 무형문화유산으로, 글로벌시대의 문화 표상), Journal of East Asian Culture (동아시아문화연구), Vol. 53, pp. 91-116

Juwen Zhang and Xing Zhou (2017) Introduction: The Essentials of Intangible Cultural Heritage Practices in China: The Inherent Logic and Transmission Mechanism of Chinese Tradition, Western Folklore, Vol.76, No. 2, Special Issue: Intangible Cultural Heritage in China, p. 133-149

Kaeppler, Adrienne L (1994) Paradise regained: the role of Pacific museums in forging national identity, in *Museums and the Making of Ourselves: The Role of Objects in National Identity*, London: Leicester University Press

Kang Shin-young (2013) Authenticity in Heritage Festivals in South Korea: A Comparison of the Gangneung Danoje and Baudeogi Festivals, University of Exeter PhD Thesis

Kaplan, F. E. S. (1981) Interdisciplinarity in museology. *Museological Working Papers*, 1/1981. Paris and Stockholm: UNESCO

(2011) Making and Remaking National Identity, in Companion to Museum Studies (ed.) Sharon Macdonald, John Wiley &Sons, Incorporated, pp. 347-384

Kakiuchi Emiko (2014) Cultural heritage protection system in Japan: current issues and prospects for the future, GRIPS (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies) Discussion Paper

Karp Ivan and Lavine Frederik (1991) Exhibiting cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display, Washington, D.C.: London: Smithsonian Institution Press

Kim Chea-won (1957) Masterpieces of Korean Art in America, Artibus Asiase, Vol. 20, No. 4, pp. 296-299,301,302

Kim Joung-jin (2018) 10 years of Sungnyemun Fire… More awareness of disaster prevention (숭례문 화재 10 년…防災의식 더 다져야) 2 February 2018, Available at http://www.munhwa.com/news/view.html?no=2018020201033711000001, Assessed 12 December 2018

Kim Ji-yoon (2014) National Identity under Transformation: New Challenges to South Korea, The ASAN Forum, Vol. 3, No. 5

Kim Kwanghe (2015) Understanding and Utilisation of Intangible Cultural Heritage (무형유산의 이해와 활용), BookKorea, p. 178

Kim Kyuwon (2021) The fasciation of local content awakened by haenyeo and the region, Koreas Art Management Services (예술경영지원센터),Vol. 471

Kim Sang-un (2016) The administration of heritage which become to a 'politician maid' should be fundamentally repaired
(정치의 시녀로 전락한 문화재 행정 근본적으로 손봐야), Available
at https://www.donga.com/news/Culture/article/all/20160727/79419648/1

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett Barbara (1998) *Destination Culture, Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, University of California Press

(1990), Objects of Ethnography, in Exhibiting Cultures, The Poetics and Politics of Museums Display, (eds.) Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, Smithsonian Institution Press Washington and London, p. 386-443

(2004) Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production, Museums International, 2004 (1-2), volume 56, p.52-65

Knell Simon J. (2011) National museums and the national imagination in *National Museums, new studies from around the world* (eds.) Simon J. Knell, Aronsson. Peter and et, Routledge, London. pp. 3- 28

(2012) The Intangibility of things, in *Museum Objects: Experiencing the Properties of Things*, (ed.) Sandra H. Dudley, Routledge, pp. 324-335

Kockel U. and Craith, M.N. (2007) (eds) Cultural Heritages as Reflexive Traditions, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmiliam

Kodi R. Jeffery-Clay (1998) Constructivism in Museums: How Museums Create Meaningful Learning Environments, The Journal of Museum Education, Vol.23, No.1, Understanding the Visitors Experience: Theory and Practice Part 2

Kook Sung-ha (2003) The Education significance of the Museum under the US Military Administration (미군정기 박물관의 교육적 의미), Hangukkyoyuksahak (한국교육사학), Vol. 25, No.1, pp. 7-31

(2007), The History of and Education of Korean museum (우리 박물관의 역사와 교육), Yeonsegughagchongseo (연세국학총서) 87

Konard Kalicki (2009) Ethnic Nationalism and Politic Community: The Overseas Suffrage Debate in Japan and South Korea, Asian Studies Review, Vol. 33: 2, pp. 175- 195

Kreps, Christina F (2003) Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural perspective on museums, curation and heritage preservation, Routledge

(2006) *Non-Western Models of Museums and Curation in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, in Companion in Museum Studies, (ed.) Sharon Macdonald, London: Blackwell. pp. 457- 472

(2009) Indigenous curation, museums, and intangible cultural heritage, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) L. Smith and N. Akagawa, London: Routledge, pp. 193- 208

(2015) Cultural Heritage, Humanitarianism and Development, Critical Links, in *Museums Heritage and International Development* (eds.) Paul Basu and Wayne Modest, Routledge, p. 250-271

Kwan GuSung (2017) Breathe into a cultural asset (바라만 보던 문화재에 숨을 불어 넣다), Sagaeilbo (세계일보) Available at http://www.segye.com/newsView/20170728002628 [Assessed 15 October 2017]

Kwon, Hyeok-Hui (2014) *The Discover and Extension of Folklore in the National Story*, (내셔널 스토리 속 민속의 발견과 확장, 국립민속박물관 전시 내러티브 구조), Human Contents of Association (인문콘렌츠), Vol. 33, p. 9- 27

Kwan Hyuk-san (2016) Construction and Service of DB for Collection Information of Museum, (박물관의 소장품 정보 DB 구축과 서비스) Museum News, Available at https://museumnews.kr/165dbemuseum/

Kwon Yonung (2000) Korean Historiography in the 20th Century: A Configuration of Paradigms, Korea Journal

Kurin, Richard (2004) *Museums and Intangible Heritage: Culture Dead or Alive*?, ICOM News, 2004 (4), p.7-9

Labi, Kwame Amoah (2009) Reading the intangible heritage in tangible Akan art, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 4-3

Laurel Kendall (2014) Intangible Traces and Material Things: The Performance of Heritage Handicraft, ACTA KOREAN, Vol.17, No.2, pp. 537-555

Lee Hong-Jik (1965) What is cultural heritage (문화재, 文化財), Cultural Heritage, the Office of Cultural Properties (*Munhwajae Kwalliguk*)

Lee In-Bum (2002) The Origin and Characteristic of Korean museum system: From nationalism and beyond nationalism (韓國 博物館制度의 起源과 性格: 국민국가주의에서 그 너머에로), 미술사 논단, vol. 14, pp. 35- 63

Lee Kwang-Rin (1986) The Rise of Nationalism in Korea, Korean Studies, Vol. 10, pp. 1-12

Lee Kunwook (2012) Experiments of Exhibit Things that are Intangible – An Example Study of Special Exhibitions: Arirang and Multiculture (무형의 것들이 주제가 된 전시에 대한 실험), International Conference on Museums and Intangible Heritage (박물관과 무형유산 국제학술대회 발표 논문집), The National Folk Museum of Korea, p.68- 73

Lee Sujeong (2007) Conservation of Religious Buildings in Use: Comparative Research into some Philosophical, Legal and Management Aspects of the Conservation of English Churches and Korean Buddhist Temples, PhD Thesis University of York

Lie John (2012) What is the K in K-pop? South Korean Popular Music, the Culture Industry, and National Identity, KOREA OBSERVER, Vol. 43, No.3, Autumn

Lim Jae-hae (2014) Necessity and future value of intangible cultural heritage research (무형문화유산의 조사 필요성과 미래가치), Status and Plan of Intangible Heritage

Research (무형유산 조사 현황과 방안), Intangible Cultural Centre Conference (국립무형유산원 학술대회), p. 7-52

L.P. Hartley (1953) *The Go-Between*, Hamish Hamilton

Macdonald Sharon (1992) Cultural imagining among museum visitors: A case study, *Museum Management and Curatorship,* 11(4), pp.401- 409

(2006) Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 12:1, pp. 9-28

Manuel Castells (2010) *Globalization and Identity*, p. 89-98

Mason, R. (2005) Museums, galleries and heritage: sites of meaning-making and communication, in F. Corsane (ed.) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries*, Abingdon: Routledge, p. 206- 207

Marshall, Catherine & Rossman, Gretchen B. (1989) Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

McCurry Justin (2019) South Korean boycott of Japanese goods hits beer and car makers, The Guardian, Available at https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/04/south-korea-boycott-japanese-goods-beer-car-sales [Accessed 3 August 2020]

Mok, Soo-Hyun (2000) The Genesis of the Museum of Korea during the Japanese Imperium (일제하 박물관의 형성과 의미), Seoul National University, Master Thesis

Monson Rhiannon (2005) Museums, Galleries and heritage sites of meaning-making and communication, in Gerard Corsane (ed), Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader, Routledge: London and New York, pp. 200-214

Na Kyung-so (2020) Approach on Difference of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Folklore (무형문화재와 민속학의 거리), Korea Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vo.8

Norman Fairclough (2003) Analysing Discourse, Textual analysis for social research, Routledge

Pai Hyung-Il (1994) The Politics of Korea's past: the legacy of Japanese colonial archaeology in the Korean Peninsula. East Asian History, Issue 7

(2013) Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity, University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA

Palmer C. (2009) Preface, in Council of Europe, Heritage and Beyond, Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, p, 7-8

Patrick Wright (1985) On Living in an Old Country: The National Past in Contemporary Britain, London and New York, Verso.

Park Carey (2012) Intangible Cultural Heritage Safeguard system of East Asia and the UNESCO Convention (동아시아무형문화유산 보호제도와 유네스코 협약), Art History Association of Art (미술학회), Vol. 34, pp. 295- 320

Park Chan-Seung (1999) Should Korean Historiography Abandon Nationalism?, Korea Journal

Park Hyung-yu (2010b) Heritage Tourism, Emotional Journeys into Nationhood, Annuals of Tourism Research, Vol. 37, No. 1, p. 116-135

(2011a) Shared national memory as intangible heritage: re-imagining two Koreas as one nation, Annals of Tourism Research, Vol.38, No.2, p. 520-539

Park Jungho (2014) 'Cultural Keeps' Heritage conservator – understanding public property ('문화재 지킴이' 문화재 수리기술자 – 공공재에 대한 이해) Hankyoung News (한경 뉴스) Available from: https://www.hankyung.com/news/article/2014052270481

Park Sang-me (2010b) The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965- Present, Journal of Korean Studies, Vol. 15. No. 1. pp. 67- 93

Park Youha (2002) Imagined aesthetics and national identity – Yanagi Muneyoshi and self-organisation in modern Korea (상상된 미의식과 민족적 정체성 – 야나기 무네요시와 근대 한국의 자기 구성), in *Struggle between memory and history (기억과 역사의 투쟁)*, Dangde, pp. 347-368

Park Yun-Ok (2015) The change of Museum role in 21st Century, Museum News

Parry Ross (2007) *Recoding the Museum: digital heritage and the technologies of change*. London: Routledge

Pearce Susan M (1989) Museum Studies in Material Culture, London: Leicester University Press

(1992) *Museums Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*, Leicester University Press, Leicester and London

Peckham, R.S (2003) Introduction: the politics of heritage and public culture, in *Rethinking Heritage, Cultures and Politics in Europe (ed.)* R. S Peckham, London: I. B. Tauris

Portal Jane (2000) Korea, Art and Archaeology, British Museum Press

Prats, Llorenc (2008) Heritage according to scale, in *Heritage and identity, Engagement and Demission in the Contemporary World* (eds.) Marta Anico and Elsa Peralta, Routledge, p. 76- 90

Prosler Martin (1996) Museums and Globalization in *Theorizing Museums* (eds.) Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, Blackwell Publishers, pp. 21-44

Rhiannon Mason (2006) Cultural Theory and Museum Studies in *A Companion to Museum Studies* (ed.) Sharon Macdonald, Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Richard Simon (2018) Weighing up intangible heritage, A view from Ise, in A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage (eds.) Sheila Watson, Amy Jane Barnes, Katy Bunning, Leicester Readers in Museum Studies

Saeji, Cedarbough. T (2014) The Republic of Korea and curating display of Koreaness: Guest Editor's introduction, ACTA KOREANA, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 523-536

Schildkrout Enid (1995) Museums and Nationalism in Namibia, Museum Anthropology, 19(2), American Anthropological Association, pp. 65-77

Schmid Andre (2002) Korea between Empires, 1895- 1919, New York: Colombia University Press

Sennett Richard (2008) The Craftsman, Penguin Books

Sheon Aaron (1969) Museums and Cultural Resources Utilization, The Journal of Developing Area 3, pp. 539-548

Sim et al (2011) Living Folklore: An Introduction of the Study of People and Their Traditions (2nd Edition), Utah State University Press

Shin Gi Wook (2006) *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics and Legacy,* Stanford: Stanford University Press

Shin Gi-wook, Freda James and Yi Gi-hong (1999) *The politics of ethnic nationalism in divided Korea*, Nationals and Nationalism, Vol 5: 4, pp. 465- 484

Skounti, Ahmed (2009) *Authenticity illusion*, Intangible Heritage (ed.) Laurajane Smith and NatsukoAkagawa, Routledge, p. 74-92

Smith, Anthony D (1990) Towards a Global Culture? in Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalisation and Modernity, (ed.) Mike Featherstone, SAGE Publication, pp. 171-195

(1991) *National Identity*, London: Penguin Books

(1995) Nations and Nationalism in A Global Era, Polity

(1996) Culture, Community and Territory: The Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism, International Affairs, Vol.72, No.3, p. 450-453

(1999) History and modernity, Reflections on the theories of nationalism, in *Representing the nation: A reader- Histories, heritage and museums* (eds.) David Bowell and Jessica Evans, Routledge, pp. 45- 60

(2008) *The Cultural Foundation of Nations, Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic*, Blackwell Publishing

(2013) The land and its people: reflections on artistic identification in an age if nations and nationalism, Nations and Nationalism, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 87- 106

Smith Charles Saumarez (1989) Museums, Artefacts and Meanings, in *The New Museology* (ed.) Peter Vergo, Reaktion Book, pp. 6-21

Smith Laurajane (2006) *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge

(2016) Changing Views? Emotional Intelligence, Registers of Engagement, and the Museum Visit in *Museums and the Past: Constructing Historical Consciousness* (eds.) Livingstone, Phaedra, Gosselin, Viviane, Vancouver, pp. 101-121

Smith Laurajane and Waterton Emma (2009) 'The envy of the world?' Intangible heritage in England, in *Intangible Heritage* (eds.) Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, London: Routledge pp, 289- 306

Staiff Russell (2014) Re-imagining heritage interpretation: enhancing the past-future, Farnham: Ashgate

Stanley Fish (1980) Is there a text in this class? The authority of interpretive communities, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England

Street., B. (1993). Culture is a verb: Anthropological aspects of language and cultural process, in *Language and culture* (eds.) D. Graddol, L. Thompson, & M. Byram, pp. 23-43

Stephanie Taylor (2013) *What is Discourse Analysis?* Bloomsbury Academic

Tae Ji-ho and Jung Heon-joo (2014) <National Museum of Korean Contemporary History> as Cultural Practice of Public Memory: "Imagines" Growth and Politics of Memory (공적 기억의 문화적 실천으로서 <대한민국역사박물관>– "상상된" 경제성장과 기억의 정치학), The Journal of Asiatic Studies (아세아연구), Vol. 57 (3), pp. 146-179

Terzic Aleksandra (2015) *Common Histories, Constructed Identities: Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Rebranding of Serbia*, International Journal of Intangible Heritage, Vol. 10, p.101-120

Tilley Christopher (2006) Introduction: Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage, Journal of Material Culture, Vol. 11 (1/2)

Urry John (1990) The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies, London, Sage

(1996) How Societies Remember the Past, in *Theorising museums: representing identity and diversity in a changing world*, (eds.) Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe, Oxford: Blackwell

(1999) Gazing on History, in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (ed.) Stuart Hall, SAGE, pp. 208-232

Veldkamp Elmer (2014) Keeping in real: The exhibition of artefact replicas in National Museum of Korea, ACTA KOREANA, Vol.17, No.2, December, pp. 557-581

Walsh Kevin (1992) The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World, Taylor & Francis Group

Wang Ning (1999) Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience, Annual of Tourism Research, Vol.26, No.2

Watson Iain and Jeong Hyoung-wook (2010), *Culture and Democratic Identity in South Korea: Contemporary Trends*, Pacific Focus (Inha Journal of International Studies), Vol. 25, No. 3 pp. 376- 395

Watson, Jini Kim (2007) 'Imperial mimicry, modernisation theory and the contradictions of postcolonial South Korea', Postcolonial Studies, 10:2

Watson Sheila (2015), Emotions in the History Museum, in *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory, First Education* (eds.) Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message, John Wiley & Sons, pp. 283- 301

(2019) Introduction part 2: Authenticity and Tourism, in *A Museum Studies Approach to Heritage* (ed.) Sheila Watson, Routledge

(2020) *National Museums and the Origins of Nations, Emotional Myths and Narratives*, Routledge

Wengraf, T. (2001) Qualitative research interviewing: Biographic narrative and semi-structured method, London: Sage

Woodward Kath (1997) *Identity and Difference*, SAGE Publishing

Yang Hyne-Mee (2001) Museum Studies and Museum Policy, A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studied and Museum Policy for the viewpoint of Cultural Studies,
(박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책), Hongik University Doctor Thesis

Yang Jong-sung (1994) Folklore and Cultural Politics in Korea: Intangible Cultural Properties and Living National Treasures, Indiana University PhD Thesis

Yoshida Kenji (2004) The Museum and Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museum International No. 221-222 (Vol. 56. 1-2), Blackwell

(2012), *The Museum, a platform for the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, In International Conference on Museum and Intangible Heritage, pp. 184- 191

Yi Kun-Moo (2015) The Significance of the National Museum of Korea's Reconstruction and Opening to the Public in Yongsan and Tasks Ahead, in The Future of Museums and Participation, International Symposium: 10th Anniversary of the National Museum of Korea's Reconstruction and Opening to the Public

Yili Lu (2010), Position and role of museums in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, University of Leicester Museum Studies MA dissertation

Yun Jung-gang (2014), Twenty- first century Intangible cultural heritage, Event or Masterpiece? (21 세기의 무형문화재, 종목이냐, 작품이냐?), Culture Space (문화공간), 세종문화회관 문화예술전문지, Available at http://navercast.naver.com/magazine_contents.nhn?rid=1526&contents_id=60611 [Assesses 14 August 2015]