

**Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation:
The Development of South Korea's Cultural Diplomacy and Korean Exhibitions
in 'Universal' Museums**

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

by
Sumi Kim

School of Museum Studies
University of Leicester

2020

Abstract

Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation: The Development of South Korea's Cultural Diplomacy and Korean Exhibitions in 'Universal' Museums

Sumi Kim

Since the establishment of the nation of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1948, the South Korean government has developed its cultural diplomacy to promote Korean culture and national identity. The development of South Korean cultural diplomacy has a considerable relationship with international curatorial practice, via the construction of cultural identity by using and exhibiting Korean cultural materials overseas. The analysis of the developmental stages of South Korean cultural diplomacy in relation to international museum exhibitions is largely an unexplored field despite its interdisciplinary contributions to cultural policy and museum studies.

This thesis posits three major aspects to understanding the transformation of South Korean cultural diplomacy and its relations with the representation of Korean culture in 'universal' museums (the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum) through time. First, the thesis explores social, political and economic factors and their impact on three stages of the development of South Korea's cultural diplomacy, which are 'public diplomacy' during the Cold War, 'cultural diplomacy' in the 1990s and 'cultural relations' since the 2000s. Second, this thesis articulates the ways in which particular curatorial processes have used Korean materials to construct and interpret cultural identity through international exhibits, particularly two major travelling exhibitions, the establishment of Korean galleries and special thematic exhibitions. Third, this thesis examines the role of 'universal' museums in cultural diplomacy which represents a particular (Korean) culture in a global space. Ultimately, this thesis suggests taking a critical and empirical approach to the analysis of the inter-connective and shifting cultural diplomacy policies and museum practice.

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to all the people who supported me throughout my PhD journey.

Firstly, I would like to express my particular appreciation for my supervisor, Professor Lisanne Gibson. This research project would not have been possible without her encouragement and academic support which guided my PhD study from its inception to this last stage.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to my panel reviewers, Dr Sheila Watson, Dr Stacy Boldrick, Professor Sandra Dudley and Dr Yunci Cai, for their insightful and inspiring feedback. Thanks are also due to my second supervisor, Dr David Unwin, and our school's administrative staff, Christine Cheeseman and Gurpreet (Bob) Ahluwalia.

I am also grateful to the College of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities for the Postgraduate Research International Excellence Scholarship and Fund for my PhD study.

I carry warm memories of the brilliant people in the School of Museum Studies community – all my PhD office colleagues, PGR reps 2018/19, Dr Yonjai Kim for mentoring my academic life, all my Korean colleagues of course, and Dr Åshild Brekke for providing me with professional peer reviews. ICCPR 2018 in Estonia was also a meaningful moment in my PhD journey; I appreciate professors I met there who took the time to share their inspiring stories of research and life.

A special appreciation is felt for each interviewee for sharing their experiences and work-life stories, which contributed to completing this puzzle. I would also like to officially express my thanks to the institutions that provided me with significant historical archival materials: the National Archives of Korea, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (James Moske of Museum Archives), and the British Museum (the Department of Asia and Central Archive).

My heartfelt thanks also go to my family for their unconditional support and love.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Research Aim and Objectives	7
1.2. Cultural Policy and Cultural Diplomacy	13
1.2.1. The Uses of Culture	13
1.2.2. The Instrumental and Institutional Roles of Culture and Institutions	15
1.2.3. Cultural Diplomacy	17
1.3. Museum Studies	21
1.3.1. Museums, International Exhibitions and Curatorial Process	22
1.3.2. ‘Universal’ Museums	24
1.4. Qualitative Research Methodology	26
1.4.1. Case Studies	27
1.4.2. Archival Research	33
1.4.3. Semi-structured Interviews	37
1.4.4. Field Observation	41
1.5. Thesis Organisation	42
1.6. Conclusion	44
CHAPTER TWO: UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL DIPLOMACY OF SOUTH KOREA	46
2.1. ‘Public Diplomacy’: Culture during the Construction of the Nation	49
2.1.1. Political Ideology and Subjecthood: 1960s	52
2.1.2. Cultural Plans to Construct a Unique Identity: 1970s	57
2.1.3. Fundraising for International Cultural Exchange: 1980s	61
2.2. ‘Cultural Diplomacy’: Culture into International Society	64
2.2.1. The Ministry for Culture: 1990	68
2.2.2. The Two Institutions of Cultural Diplomacy 1990s	70
2.2.3. The Vision of Culture for the New Century	74

2.3. ‘Cultural Relations’: Culture for Mutual Understanding	78
2.3.1. Cultural Industry Development	78
2.3.2. The National Museum of Korea: 2000s	83
2.3.3. The Korean Wave and Korean Cultural Centres: 2010s	85
2.4 Conclusion	87
 CHAPTER THREE: ‘PUBLIC DIPLOMACY’ AND CONSTRUCTING A UNIQUE CULTURAL IDENTITY	 90
3.1. The Two Travelling Exhibitions on Korean Art during the Cold War	93
3.2. South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Practitioners’ Understanding of ‘Public Diplomacy’	100
3.3. <i>Masterpieces of Korean Art</i> (1957–1962)	103
3.3.1. Initiation and Support of the USA Government	103
3.3.2. Construction of Korean Cultural Uniqueness	110
3.3.3. The Travelling Exhibition in European Nations	115
3.4. <i>5000 Years of Korean Art</i> (1976–1985)	117
3.4.1. The Largest Exhibition of Korean Art and its Impact	119
3.4.2. A Sustained Korean Cultural Identity in the USA	122
3.4.3. The Last Travelling Exhibition of the Cold War	132
3.5. Conclusion	134
 CHAPTER FOUR: ‘CULTURAL DIPLOMACY’ AND NEGOTIATING THE SPACE	 137
4.1. Soft Power, Cultural Diplomacy and the Korean Gallery	140
4.2. South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Practitioners’ Understanding of ‘Cultural Diplomacy’	143
4.3. The Arts of Korea Gallery in The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1998	146
4.3.1. A Korean Gallery for the ‘Universal’ Masterplan	147
4.3.2. The Process of Establishment	149
4.3.3. Representing Korea	155
4.4. The Korea Foundation Gallery in The British Museum 2000	161
4.4.1. A Korean Gallery as Part of a Designed Project	161
4.4.2. The Process of Establishment	166
4.4.3. Representing Korea	170
4.5. Conclusion	175

CHAPTER FIVE: ‘CULTURAL RELATIONS’ AND REINTERPRETING CULTURE	179
5.1. Globalisation and Glocalisation: Korean Culture in Universal Museums	182
5.2. South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Practitioners’ Understanding of ‘Cultural Relations’	185
5.3. Korean Culture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art	189
5.3.1. <i>Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600</i> (2009)	190
5.3.2. <i>Poetry in Clay</i> (2011)	195
5.4. Korean Culture in the British Museum	200
5.4.1. <i>Object in Focus: The Korean Moon Jar</i> (2007)	203
5.4.2. <i>A Korean Object in History of the World in 100 Objects</i> (2012)	208
5.4.3. Popular Culture and the Museum Sector	211
5.5. Conclusion	213
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION	217
6.1. Three Stages of South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Development	218
6.2. The Use of International Exhibitions and Curation of Korean Culture	221
6.3. The Role of ‘Universal’ Museums in Cultural Diplomacy	225
6.4. Limitations, Reflection and Further Study Development	228
6.5. Conclusion	231
APPENDIXES	232
Appendix 1. Letter of Interview Invitation	232
Appendix 2. Research Consent Form	234
Appendix 3. The Semi-Structured Interview Routine	235
Appendix 4. Full List of Interviews	236
Appendix 5. The Development of Cultural Diplomacy and the Relevant Ministries and Institutions	239
Appendix 6. The Development of South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Policy and Museum Practice	240
BIBLIOGRAPHY	241

List of Tables

Table 1: Location of Korean cultures in overseas museums at the intersection of cultural policy and institutional practice	12
Table 2: The comparison between traditional and contemporary cultural diplomacy in cultural diplomacy studies	19
Table 3: Overseas museums in relation to the representation of Korean culture	28
Table 4: List of interviewees and key topics	39
Table 5: Terms for cultural diplomacy in different domains	47
Table 6: Time and places of the two travelling exhibitions in the Cold War	98

List of Figures

Figure 1: Korean Pavilion: inside in 1900 Paris Universal Exposition	2
Figure 2: Korean Pavilion illustration in 1900 Paris Universal Exposition	3
Figure 3: Exhibition on Korea at the 1910 Japan–British Exposition in London	4
Figure 4: The Arts of Korea Gallery space in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, opened in 1998	32
Figure 5: The Korea Foundation Gallery of the British Museum, opened in 2000	32
Figure 6: UN army passing Suwon Castle destroyed during the Korean War, 1950	51
Figure 7: South Korea in UNESCO conference, 1963	51
Figure 8: National Culture Centre ground-breaking ceremony, 22 November 1966	56
Figure 9: Seoul Olympics 1988 opening ceremony	65
Figure 10: The National Museum of Korea opened through the reconstruction of former Japanese Government-General building, 21 August 1986	73
Figure 11: The National Museum of Korea in Yongsan area, 2005	84
Figure 12: The exterior banner of <i>Masterpieces of Korean Art</i> on the central wall of the main building of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957	110
Figure 13: The display of ceramics and paintings in <i>Masterpieces of Korean Art</i>	113
Figure 14: The display of gold crowns and Buddhist status in <i>Masterpieces of Korean Art</i>	113
Figure 15: The display of Koryo celadon in <i>5000 Years of Korean Art</i> in the Metropolitan Museum of Art	125
Figure 16: Celadon-glazed Wine Pot	126
Figure 17: A display of Silla Golden Crown in <i>5000 Years of Korean Art</i>	127
Figure 18: Silla Golden Crown (Korean National Treasure No. 191)	128
Figure 19: Pensive Bodhisattva (Korean National Treasure No. 78)	129
Figure 20: The display of Pensive Bodhisattva in <i>5000 Years of Korean Art</i> in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (right side of photo)	130
Figure 21: Pensive Bodhisattva (Korean National Treasure No. 83)	130
Figure 22: Aerial view of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1991 after the reconstruction	148
Figure 23: Signing of the Agreement on the Arts of Korea Gallery, 24 October 1995	152
Figure 24: South Korea's President at opening ceremony of the Arts of Korea Gallery	155
Figure 25: The Arts of Korea Gallery space in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1), 1998	156
Figure 26: The Arts of Korea Gallery space in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2), 1998	157
Figure 27: The exhibited Pensive Bodhisattva (right display case) in the corner of Buddhist objects display	159
Figure 28: The Director's visit to the Korean Minister of Culture, 1991	164
Figure 29: <i>Sarangbang</i> space in the Korea Foundation Gallery	172
Figure 30: Crafted furniture and objects in <i>Sarangbang</i>	172
Figure 31: Full Moon Jar	174
Figure 32: Photos of the exhibition <i>Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600</i> in the Arts of Korea Gallery, 17 March–21 June 2009 (1)	191

Figure 33: Photos of the exhibition <i>Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600</i> in the Arts of Korea Gallery, 17 March–21 June 2009 (2)	191
Figure 34: ‘Mother Dog and Puppies’ Yi Am (1507–1566)	194
Figure 35: The exhibition photo of <i>Poetry in Clay</i> in the Arts of Korea Gallery	196
Figure 36: Buncheong with Iron-painted Design	198
Figure 37: The display of Buncheong with contemporary paintings	199
Figure 38: A display case on North Korean objects at the British Museum	202
Figure 39: ‘Samramansang, Moon Jar #1 (All Things in Nature)’, 2010–2013	205
Figure 40: Contemporary artworks of the Moon Jar	207
Figure 41: A display of ancient archaeological objects in the Korea Foundation Gallery	210
Figure 42: Performance: K-Pop dance workshop at Great Court as celebrating Chuseok	213

Chapter One: Introduction

As long as museums and galleries remain the repositories of artefacts and specimens,
new relationships can always be built, new meanings can always be discovered,
new interpretations with new relevance can be found,
new codes and new rules can be written.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 1992 ¹

Rejecting a singular and fixed interpretation of a specific culture, contemporary museum studies has emphasised the importance of exploring the meaning-making process of cultures within specific contexts.² As the historical contexts comprise layers of every different moment and space, it is inevitable that the representation of culture changes over time and should thus be discussed within each context. Therefore, it is important to understand the identity of a particular culture in light of ‘historical specificity’,³ by looking at the process of its creation. Particularly, how a specific culture is exhibited on the international stage has an inextricable relationship with cultural diplomacy in relation to the process of interpreting and curating cultural identity.

¹ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 215.

² Sharon J. Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds), *Theorising Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Tony Bennett et al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2005); Simon J. Knell, ‘National Museums and the National Imagination’, in Simon J. Knell et al. (eds), *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 3-28; Seok-yeong Choe, *History of Korean Museums* (한국박물관역사와전망) (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2012).

³ Hooper-Greenhill, ‘What is Museum?’, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, pp. 1-22 (p. 22).

The representation of Korean culture overseas underwent significant changes with shifting historical periods and the political inclinations of key agencies when interpreting Korean cultural materials. Two Korean pavilions in the two Great Exhibitions in Paris in 1900 (see Figures 1 and 2) and London in 1910 (see Figure 3) show how different political agencies affected the construction of an image of the Korean nation.



Figure 1: Korean Pavilion: inside in 1900 Paris Universal Exposition
© Courtesy of Seoul Museum of History ⁴

⁴ Image from the published exhibition catalogue, *Jeongdong 1900* (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012), p. 118.



Figure 2: Korean Pavilion illustration in 1900 Paris Universal Exposition
Le Petit Journal, 16 December 1900 © Courtesy of Seoul Museum of History ⁵

⁵ Ibid, p. 39. The illustration is included in the collection (No. Seo13810) of the Seoul Museum of History.



Figure 3: Exhibition on Korea at the 1910 Japan–British Exposition in London

© Roh Junia ⁶

According to Bennett, culture was used as a tool for forging the modern nation and for shaping citizens' knowledge during the imperial periods, from the nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century.⁷ Knowledge of how Korean culture was represented in the modern Great Expositions is useful for comprehending the relationship between the shift of the image of a nation and the curatorial intention. In the nineteenth century, the Great Exhibition was aimed at showing off imperial power, with one of its objectives being the education of the public.⁸ The image of Korea until the nineteenth century was that of an unknown nation called the 'Hermit Kingdom' or regarded as a 'backward, unmodernised' country.⁹ It was when Japanese imperial power emerged in Northeast

⁶ This image is from Roh's article. Roh found the image in the Hammersmith & Fulham Archives and Local History Centre, which preserves the Great Exposition material held in Great White City between 1908 and 1914.

⁷ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 80-81.

⁸ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*.

⁹ Portal, 'Korean Ceramics in the British Museum: A Century of Collecting', p. 57.

Asia and the United States of America (USA) started to culturally influence Korea through missionaries that the country became known.¹⁰ Even though diplomatic relationships were established with the USA and the United Kingdom (UK),¹¹ international cultural exchange rarely occurred despite the existence of high-quality Korean materials such as paintings, sutras, screens, ceramics, lacquer, and so on. Korean cultural collections were relatively unknown compared to those of other East-Asian cultures, such as Chinese oriental materials or Japanese modern art collections, which were fashioned after Western art.¹² The first official exhibition of Korean culture overseas was made possible by the Korean government's participation in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, and it was recorded as a successful international debut of Korean traditional materials (see Figures 1 and 2).¹³ According to the exhibition record, the Korean pavilion which represented the Korean Palace elicited a very positive response.¹⁴ However, when Japan annexed Korea in 1910, a decade after the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition, the scale of the display of Korean materials in the Japan–British Exposition (1910, held in London) was reduced, and only materials that showed Korea as an uncivilised culture in a contrast to Japanese culture were chosen.¹⁵ It was a visual justification for Japanese colonisation,¹⁶ further, the Japanese-style fabric draped on the

¹⁰ Derek McDougall, 'Korea', in *Asia Pacific in World Politics* (Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), pp. 179-197; Jane Portal, 'Korean Ceramics in the British Museum: A Century of Collecting', Paper delivered in the lecture at The Oriental Ceramic Society (2 April 1996). As Portal (1996) notes, Korea was referred to as the 'Hermit Kingdom' (1882) and the 'Land of the Morning Calm' (1886) by foreign authors and missionaries due to its 'closed door policy' toward foreign countries during the late nineteenth century.

¹¹ These agreements include the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation, signed with the US in 1882, and the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, signed with the UK in 1883.

Source: Yong-ho Kim, *Expanding Diplomatic Territory: Diplomatic History of Korea* (외교영토넓히기: 대한민국의 수교역사) (Seoul: the National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, 2016), p. 24.

¹² Youngna Kim, 'East Meets West: The Collection and Display of the Arts, 1850-1930', *Journal of Art History*, vol. 23 (2009), pp. 171-189; Sangchel Shin, 'Source of Japonisme and Exposition Universelle of 1867 in Paris: Reception and exhibition of Japanese art during the formation period of French modernism', *Journal of the Association of Western Art History*, vol. 40 (2014), pp. 63-90.

¹³ Seoul Museum of History, *Jeongdong 1900*.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Junia Roh, 'Korea at the Japan–British Exhibition of 1910: Propaganda of the Japanese Empire and the Image of Colony Joseon', *Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary Art History*, vol. 28 (2014), pp. 179-210.

¹⁶ Carter J. Eckert et al. (eds), *Korea, Old and New: A History*; Sung-ha Kook, 'Study of the Educational Characteristics of Exposition (1889–1940)', *Yonsei Review of Educational Research*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2003), pp. 191-215 (pp. 198-199).

gate of the traditional Korean-style architecture (see Figure 3) symbolised the ‘occupation’ according to Roh (2014).¹⁷ Located in the Palace of the Orient, which was initially named the Palace of Japanese Colonisation,¹⁸ the Korean pavilion was a representation of Japan’s colonial power.

At present, over a hundred years after the 1910 Japan–British Exposition, the presence of Korean culture across the globe is apparent. In particular, the influence of K-Pop has generated an interest in young people to delve into the diverse expanse of Korean culture and communicatively share their experiences of Korean culture and discovery of Korean history with an increased use of social media. In *K-Pop: Korea’s Secret Weapon*,¹⁹ the BBC broadcasts a scene where the South Korean military plays K-Pop songs towards North Korea in the military demarcation zone. The show analysed the contemporary impact of K-Pop in comparison with the South Korean nation’s economic endeavours and concluded that South Korea’s ‘soft’ power is now more influential than its economic power. The political sector uses this phenomenon to promote diplomatic friendship; thus, there is a strong relationship between culture and politics. An example is the South Korean president’s gift of signed K-Pop albums to other nations’ presidents during their official visits or while attending K-Pop concerts.

Over the past fifteen years, my academic and professional background has allowed me to experience and perceive the gaps between Korean cultural representation within the national and international arenas. While studying and investigating the representations of Korean culture beyond the Korean national boundaries in the USA (for Bachelor of Arts degree) and UK (for Master of Arts degree) museums and society, I realised that overseas cultural representations cannot be analysed without an understanding of the cultural-diplomacy of the originating nation and the curatorial relationships with represented museums. While my perception is that Korean culture in overseas museums is under-represented, there have been positive changes in Korean cultural images. This viewpoint was developed while working in curatorial fields in South Korea. When

¹⁷ Roh, ‘Korea at the Japan–British Exhibition of 1910’, p. 191.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 186, cited from Jung-taek Lee, ‘Korean Artefacts Donated to the British Museum by Ogita Etsuzo in 1910’, *Orientations*, vol. 41, no. 8 (2010), p. 78.

¹⁹ BBC Radio 1, *K-Pop: Korea’s Secret Weapon?*, 18 January 2018

<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=clXOslwjPrc>> [accessed 19 January 2018].

experiencing the complete process of curating culture and history, I recognised that cultural representation is inter-related with (cultural/diplomatic, museum) policy and curatorial work. These academic and professional backgrounds shaped my research aim to investigate how curatorial practice in representing Korean culture in overseas museums has changed according to cultural diplomatic policy transformations.

Even though it is called ‘Korean culture’, it is perhaps more properly called ‘South Korean culture’, as it has been shaped by South Korean cultural policies over the last 70 years since the division of Korea. Although the Korean people were ‘ethnically and linguistically homogeneous’ before the division, vastly different social, political, and economic changes between South and North Korea have occurred since then.²⁰ Therefore, the international representation of Korean culture is relevant to the South Korean cultural policy and diplomacy, since one of its ultimate aims is to spread and promote a beautified/good image of the nation.²¹ The image of the Korean nation overseas has seen a wide shift, namely because of taking into consideration the historical context of South Korean national and cultural diplomacy development. Understanding the representation of Korean culture calls for an examination of how Korean culture is interpreted and discussed in relation to the development of cultural policies and curatorial practices.

1.1. Research Aim and Objectives

This thesis will analyse how the representation of Korean culture in ‘universal’ museums has changed with the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy from 1948 to the present. Focusing on the transformation of the nature of cultural diplomacy policies in relation to specific historical moments, the study seeks to contextually analyse the relationship between cultural diplomacy and curatorial practices. This requires the implementation of interdisciplinary and comprehensive research approaches; nevertheless, the two fields have been separately explored in academic

²⁰ Haksoo Yim, ‘Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2002), pp. 37-48 (p. 39).

²¹ Tim Rivera, *Distinguishing Cultural Relations from Cultural Diplomacy: The British Council’s Relationship with Her Majesty’s Government* (University of Southern California Centre on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2015), p. 12.

contexts and practices of politics and museums, yet an investigation of the interaction and relationship between cultural diplomacy policy and museum practices empirically based on the academic discussion²² has not been undertaken. This thesis, therefore, aims to conduct a critical analysis of museum studies based on cultural policy studies while simultaneously examining cultural diplomacy policy to empirically understand cultural-politics.

The Korean nation has experienced several dynamic historical shifts in the twentieth century with the transformation of cultural policy in South Korea during the last half of the century being closely related to the development of a nation and a nation's identity. The primary historical contexts of the first half of the century – the Japanese Occupation (1910–1945), the United States military regime (1945–1948), the general (national) election and the establishment of the South Korean government (1948), and the Korean War (1950–1953) that divided Korea geographically and ideologically into the two nation states of South Korea and North Korea²³ – are key moments that shaped the advent of the new South Korean nation state. Since South Korea legislated the first cultural heritage relevant act, Cultural Heritage Protection Act (1962), cultural policies have played an instrumental role in advancing the ‘imagined community’ of the independent and liberal (anti-communist) nation.²⁴

The cultural policies of South Korea have witnessed remarkable progress over a relatively short period, and a brief illustration can help with understanding the overall context. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the nation constructed its social and economic infrastructure whilst simultaneously achieving rapid economic growth and civil society development through the democratisation movement. The advancement of the Information and Communication Technology (ICT) industry and the global spread of Korean popular culture since the 1990s²⁵ are also elements that contributed to a

²² Tony Bennett, *Culture: A Reformer's Science* (London: SAGE, 1998).

²³ Carter J. Eckert et al. (eds), *Korea, Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchogak Publishers with Harvard University Press, 1990).

²⁴ Choe, *History of Korean Museums*, pp. 82-83.

²⁵ Yim, ‘Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea’; Dal Yong Jin, ‘Socio-economic Implications of Broadband Services: Information Economy in Korea’, *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 8, no. 4 (2005), pp. 503-523; Jinwung Kim, *A History of Korea: From ‘Land of the Morning Calm’ to States in Conflict* (Indiana University Press, 2012); Hye-kyung Lee, ‘Cultural Policy and the

change in the nature of South Korean cultural development. The 1990s, arguably, constituted a turning point for the South Korean nation with respect to its entry into the international social and political arenas, which opened a wider space for engagement with the cultural sector. The moment of hosting the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988 created a crucial opportunity for South Korea to advance its international engagement of cultural representation. Economically, South Korea's GDP increased by more than 10% each year in the three years preceding the Olympic Games.²⁶ Additionally, faced with globalisation, strategic and long-term cultural policies were on the rise. The Korean Ministry of Culture launched the Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development in 1991, and the budget for international cultural exchanges was increased tenfold from that of the previous year (16.3% of the total cultural budget).²⁷ Further, since the 2000s, South Korean cultural policy and institutions have increasingly promoted a diverse range of cultural programmes. As the above stated historical context of the development of cultural diplomacy policies alludes, the making of Korean cultural identity through international exhibitions should be analysed in a contextual way.

This study aims to bridge and integrate the investigations of two core aspects:

- **Cultural Policy:** To critically analyse the stages of development of South Korea's cultural diplomacy from the Cold War era to the present (*time*), focusing on how cultural diplomacy develops through cultural policy, and the utilisation of culture as a means of achieving cultural diplomacy aims through a range of agencies.
- **Museum Practice:** To empirically understand the use and curation of international Korean exhibitions in 'universal' museums (*space*) by analysing

Korean Wave: From National Culture to Transnational Consumerism', in Youna Kim (ed.), *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 185-198.

²⁶ World Bank, *GDP Growth Rates and Civil Servants Growth Rates in Korea (from 1966 to 2011)*, 2016 <<http://databank.worldbank.org>> [accessed 1 October 2016].

²⁷ National Archives of Korea: Cultural Policy Bureau of Ministry of Culture, DA0351272, 'The Minister's Report on Cultural Plan to the President', 21 June 1990.

the curatorial processes associated with key historical travelling exhibitions, the foundation of permanent Korean galleries and special exhibitions.

The following section details the objectives of the study and their link with the research aims:

The development of cultural diplomacy of South Korea

- To understand the development of cultural diplomacy, its conceptual variations and the ways in which it has been constituted within South Korea's cultural politics by reviewing archival documents including official presidential speeches, principal social and economic development plans, and cultural acts and laws produced between the 1960s and the present.

Roles of cultural institutions in cultural diplomacy

- To identify the changes in the organisational structure of the relevant cultural diplomatic institutions that belonged to or are affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture — the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea, and the Overseas Korean Cultural Centres — as well as their roles in the representation of Korean culture overseas by researching the national archives.
- To investigate how and why these institutions have supported and collaborated with overseas museums, by analysing archival documents including annual reports produced by the two ministries and relevant institutions as well as interviews with the staff involved.
- To explore South Korean cultural diplomatic institutions' involvement with overseas museums ('universal' museums in particular), such as object loans for exhibitions and international cultural activities, by analysing both the processes of and the discourses informing object selection for display through archival research on correspondence, in addition to conducting interviews with relevant staff members.

Processes of negotiation and curation

- To analyse the negotiation process that resulted in travelling exhibitions and the establishment of permanent Korean galleries²⁸ in two ‘universal’ museums²⁹ — the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum — and special exhibitions, by discovering who initiated them and why. This will be analysed through the examination of archival materials, such as trustee records, correspondence, internal reports and interviews with the staff members of ‘universal’ museums.
- To articulate the changes in the curatorial relationships between the curatorial staff of Korean cultural (diplomatic) institutions and the two ‘universal’ museums, focusing on which objects were selected and how they have been interpreted, by exploring exhibition reports and correspondence, conducting interviews with curators and field observations to discover the discourse of curating Korean culture.

With the above objectives in mind, this study attempts to contribute to the interdisciplinary field of cultural policy and museum studies by undertaking a critical analysis of the contextual changes while attending to the specifics of development in practice (Table 1). The purpose of this study is to gain an in-depth understanding of South Korea’s cultural diplomacy policy and the cultural institutions’ practice. Defining and analysing the cultural diplomacy in South Korea within a cultural policy framework and connecting it to the ‘universal’ museums in a museological context will help illustrate the unexplored case in both academic and practical fields.

²⁸ In this thesis, ‘Korean gallery’ implies a space where a comprehensive and substantial Korean collection has been permanently displayed in an independent space.

²⁹ See Section 1.3.2. for the discussion on ‘universal’ museums.

See the museum’s statement for the public in: The British Museum, *Towards 2020: The British Museum’s Strategy* (2012); The Metropolitan Museum of Art Webpage, 2018 <<https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

Table 1: Location of Korean cultures in overseas museums at the intersection of cultural policy and cultural institutions' practice

Cultural Policy	Cultural diplomacy	Korean cultures in overseas museums	Museum practice	Cultural Institutions' Practice
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · The nation's cultural development plan · Social and economic development plans · Cultural acts and laws · Museum's cultural diplomatic strategy · Museum development plan 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Ministry of Culture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Overseas Korean Cultural Centres - National Museum of Korea · Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Korea Foundation · Overseas museums · Samsung Foundation for Culture

This thesis contributes to the existing body of knowledge via two channels: First, the research will add to academic theories of cultural diplomacy studies through empirical examination of the South Korean case. Second, the project will contribute to museum studies by expanding the understanding of how diverse cultural agencies have implemented international Korean exhibitions in 'universal' museums and have played their roles in cultural diplomacy.

The next three sections pertain to the theoretical conceptions and contexts of this research and present the research methods and analysis. Section 1.2. discusses the theoretical concepts that are used to understand the relationships between culture and governance and the roles played by cultural institutions in the development of cultural diplomacy. Section 1.3. provides a discussion on the analytical approach of this thesis to 'universal' exhibitions and museums where national identity is constructed through the curatorial intention. Section 1.4. discusses the qualitative research methodology employed in this study, encompassing a description and justification of the methods: case studies (1.4.1.), archival research (1.4.2.), semi-structured interviews (1.4.3.) and field observation (1.4.4.). Section 1.5. contains a brief outline of each chapter and Section 1.6. concludes Chapter One.

1.2. Cultural Policy and Cultural Diplomacy

The cultural policy studies approach in this thesis is important for analysing the relationship between culture, government and cultural institutions. This analysis is useful for understanding the use of international Korean exhibitions as a means of implementing cultural diplomacy. Comprehending how culture has been governed is best viewed with the help of Tony Bennett's studies on the development of cultural institutions in relation to the governance of culture. Bennett (1998) provides an analytical view of how culture is governed by the government through cultural institutions.³⁰ Despite the fact that Bennett's studies on culture and governance focus on Australia in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, they allow considerable room to discuss the instrumental use of culture in cultural policy studies through contemporary times. Particularly, the conception of the government's use of culture in different historical moments is useful for understanding the South Korean government's deployment of culture and international exhibitions in shaping and promoting the national identity. Section 1.2.1. outlines how Korean culture has been used to promote South Korean national identity in each key historical moment. Section 1.2.2. examines the roles of cultural institutions in cultural diplomacy through the concept of 'instrumentality'. This concept of 'instrumentality' and involvement of different cultural values in accordance with the shift of cultural policy aims has a significant connection to the development of cultural diplomacy, which Section 1.2.3. discusses.

1.2.1. The Uses of Culture

Bennett's (1998) analysis of the role of culture in the production of the citizen in a liberal democracy is especially applicable for understanding the uses of culture in relation to historical specificity. According to Bennett, the government implements culture as a means to achieve political aims and to manage culture and society.³¹ Bennett's conception of the political use of culture is effective when analysing the South Korean government's systemic implementation of culture in the shaping of South Korean citizens in the last half of the twentieth century. Regardless of the historical

³⁰ Bennett, *Culture: A Reformer's Science*, pp. 17-20.

³¹ Bennett, *Culture: A Reformer's Science*.

reality, the South Korean government's willingness and intention to build a liberal democracy reflects a historical specificity of cultural policy. At the start of the Cold War, after WWII, the South Korean political position was under the USA military government (1945–1948), which considerably influenced the nation's political ideology of liberal democracy.³² In the establishment of the South Korean national identity, the South Korean government was supported by the USA government in advancing the nation's cultural development and holding international travelling exhibitions of Korean art. The two travelling exhibitions of Korean culture were intended to shape Korean national and cultural identity with its unique features and distinguish itself from the culture of China, a communist regime, and Japan, the former coloniser of Korea. Through the theoretical lens established by Bennett, we can understand these as illustrations of the ways in which the government implements culture in the shaping of its citizens and national identity.

Soon after the first cultural heritage policy (Cultural Heritage Protection Act) was legislated in 1962, the South Korean President Park Chung-hee, in his inaugural speech, referred to culture as the means to modernise the nation and revive the national identity by cultivating people's 'subjecthood'.³³ President Park's official speech in 1967 addressed the government's emphasis on the role of culture in national development:

There has been a great progress in the development of national culture. [...]
For the overall social and cultural education, I will strengthen the driving force
of the modernisation of the nation.³⁴

South Korean citizens were regarded as subjects who needed to be educated to support the modernisation and development of the South Korean nation through culture as part of the process of economic and social development until the 1970s.

³² McDougall, 'Understanding Asia Pacific International Politics', pp. 1-27.

³³ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Fifth President's Inaugural Address* (제5대 대통령 취임사), 17 December 1963 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

³⁴ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly 1967* (1967년 대통령 연두교서), 17 January 1967 <http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index04_result.jsp> [accessed 17 July 2017].

In the period of globalisation, the South Korean government's cultural policy aimed to deploy its citizen fit into a changing society. When preparation was underway for the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the government promoted its citizens' active participation in the international cultural exchange activities.³⁵ From the 1990s, 'all citizens' were respected for enjoying culture and arts in their everyday lives³⁶ and were considered to be transforming to fit the mould of the 'global citizen'³⁷ who can play a role in promoting the nation's status in the international arena. Culture and citizens' participation in the cultural sector, therefore, can be understood as the means to achieve the nation's specific political goals at particular moments.

1.2.2. The Instrumental and Institutional Roles of Culture and Institutions

In order to examine how culture has been used to attain cultural policy aims, it is important to understand the concept of 'instrumentality'. A significant investigation in cultural policy studies in relation to the governance of culture is the study of the cultural institutions' roles. First, the instrumental role of cultural institutions is related to the use of culture in cultural policy. Normally, the government's production of cultural policy that explicitly states measurable outcomes such as social impact and economic benefits³⁸ is an implication of the embedded political nature of the roles of cultural institutions. Bennett's (2015) conceptualisation of museums (as cultural institutions) as 'governmental assemblages' highlights the pivotal conception of museums' embedded instrumental roles in the power relationships³⁹ at any historical moment. Contemporary cultural policy studies supplemented a nuanced approach to the instrumentality,

³⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1986* (1986 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정연설문), 12 October 1985

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 August 2017].

³⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1994* (1994 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정연설문), 25 October 1993

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 September 2017].

³⁷ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The 26th Radio and Internet Speech, 'The Age of Culture Economy and Economic Culture'* (제 26 차 라디오 인터넷 연설, '문화가 경제이고 경제가 문화인 시대'), 19 October 2009

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 6 October 2017].

³⁸ John Holden, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (London: DEMOS, 2006), p.16.

³⁹ Tony Bennett, 'Thinking (With) Museums: From Exhibitionary Complex to Governmental Assemblage', in Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message (eds), *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley/Blackwell, 2015), pp. 3-20 (p. 16).

informing the intrinsically political nature of cultural institutions' contemporary practice.⁴⁰

Second, the institutional nature of cultural institutions encourages a more active role in carrying out cultural diplomacy. Their institutional nature means that cultural institutions are not simple 'mediators between politicians and the public', but rather active diplomatic agents.⁴¹ A theoretical analysis of 'instrumentality' is useful in considering both the political nature and the institutional roles of museums in contemporary cultural diplomacy. According to Gibson (2008), 'the reality' of practice is that some cultural institutions pay 'lip service to the political imperative' for the engagement of the practice.⁴² At the same time, this political imperative requires museums to play their instrumental roles by becoming more representative in their collections and to uniquely perceive the ways in which material cultures are displayed. The National Museum of Korea has had the responsibility of being a representative of national museums and to globally represent Korean culture through international cultural exchange.⁴³

Simultaneously, divergent discourses are happening in contemporary institutional practice and are producing 'intrinsic' cultural value that Holden (2006) defines as a subjective experience, such as personal testimony and qualitative assessments.⁴⁴ Thus, the identification of 'what is happening in practice'⁴⁵ is needed. Since the contemporary museum not only delivers cultural policy aims but also generates wider social impacts, empirical studies of the instrumentality of the cultural institution⁴⁶ and subjective cultural values are needed. South Korea's cultural diplomatic institutions, such as the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea, and the Korean Cultural Centres,

⁴⁰ Gibson, 'In Defence of Instrumentality', *Cultural Trends*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2008), pp. 247-257; Melissa Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism: An Empirical Study of Cultural Diplomacy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 19, no. 5 (2013), pp. 557-575.

⁴¹ Holden, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p. 18.

⁴² Gibson, 'In Defence of Instrumentality', p. 254.

⁴³ The National Museum of Korea, 'National Museum, Vision 2020' in *Annual Report 2006* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 2007), pp. 12-18.

⁴⁴ Holden, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p.14.

⁴⁵ Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism'.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

are integral in the representation of Korean culture in overseas locations, suggesting that their institutional role should not be underestimated. This research engaged politicians and professionals in South Korean cultural institutions, to analyse how they practiced the institutions' roles in cultural diplomacy. This theory-based empirical approach pursues the 'pragmatics of analysis',⁴⁷ which seeks to analyse cultural policy and institutional practice not only critically but also practically.⁴⁸

1.2.3. Cultural Diplomacy

There is no clear definition of the term 'cultural diplomacy' or a manifest division between its developmental stages. Nevertheless, a study of the transformation of the concepts through relevant terms such as public diplomacy and cultural relations⁴⁹ is useful for analysing the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy. The aim of analysing the term's variation of concept is not to question what cultural diplomacy is but to comprehend its transformation through context and time.

The shift of cultural diplomacy can be articulated in accordance with the level of governmental engagement and 'instrumental' approach to culture as historical contexts change. An American diplomat, Edmund Gullion, first applied the term 'public diplomacy' in 1965 to the use of propaganda.⁵⁰ Recently described as the 'late twentieth-century's term for propaganda'⁵¹ or 'a euphemism for propaganda',⁵² the term 'public diplomacy' (or traditional cultural diplomacy) is more commonly used to discuss diplomatic practices in the Cold War period (post-WWII–1990). A coherent understanding of the political relationship between USA political elites and foreign

⁴⁷ Lisanne Gibson, 'Tony Bennett, Culture: A Reformer's Science', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2010), pp. 29-31 (p. 29).

⁴⁸ Gibson, 'In Defence of Instrumentality'.

⁴⁹ A wide range of studies on cultural diplomacy has been centrally carried out by the University of Southern California's Centre on Public Diplomacy, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

⁵⁰ Nicholas J. Cull (ed.), *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* (University of Southern California Centre on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009).

⁵¹ Geoff R. Berridge and Alan James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 215.

⁵² Jan Melissen, 'Public Diplomacy', in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds), *Diplomacy in a Globalising World: Theories and Practices*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 199-218 (p. 205).

policies and the South Korean president, as an allied nation against the Communist allies (North Korea and China), is significant for understanding South Korea's first stage of cultural diplomacy ('public diplomacy') development.

The evolved notion of 'cultural diplomacy' encompasses the mid-stage of embracing the aim to promote national strategic interests ('public diplomacy')⁵³ and the pursuit of greater mutual understanding between nations ('cultural relations'). Indeed, the process of defining the term 'cultural diplomacy' has been described as an 'endless tussle'⁵⁴ due to the transforming nature of and perspective towards diplomacy. Table 2 outlines the diverse standards of the level of government engagement through institution management, characteristics of aims and objectives, approaches and strategies, value priorities, use of culture, target audiences and properties.⁵⁵ This academic discussion of cultural diplomacy helps to identify the concept's development by comparing traditional and contemporary standards. Table 2 is based on a binary understanding of Cold War versus twenty-first century's cultural diplomacy; the characteristics of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s is a transitional period where the traditional standards morph into the contemporary standards.

⁵³ Melissen, 'Public Diplomacy', p. 205.

⁵⁴ Cull, 'Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for its Future from its Past', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2010), pp. 11-17 (p. 14).

⁵⁵ Cull (ed.), *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*; Patricia M. Goff, 'Cultural Diplomacy', in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine and Ramesh Thakur (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Tim Rivera, *Distinguishing Cultural Relations from Cultural Diplomacy: the British Council's Relationship with Her Majesty's Government* (University of Southern California Centre on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2015).

Table 2: The comparison between traditional and contemporary cultural diplomacy in cultural diplomacy studies⁵⁶

	Traditional cultural diplomacy (‘public diplomacy’)	Contemporary cultural diplomacy (‘cultural relations’)
Institution management	Funded, designed and delivered by the government	Non-governmental public institutions (e.g., the British Council)
Aims and objectives	Short to medium term	Long term
Approach	Traditional public diplomacy: ⁵⁷ unilateral with an emphasis on explaining policies to others or advocacy utilising cultural content ‘More acceptable term for propaganda’ during the Cold War Cultural diplomacy: bi- or multi-lateral with an emphasis on mutual recognition (Goff 2013, p. 4)	Mutuality (more in-depth than advocacy): listening and hearing what other people are saying rather than telling them what the institution thinks they need to know (Rivera 2015, p. 13)
Strategy statement	Explicit > Implicit	Explicit < Implicit
Value priority	Results-driven: national interest, foreign policy outcomes, commercial (cultural industry) and political advantage Instrumental > Intrinsic	Process-driven: mutual exchange, trust, understanding, relationships and cultural diversity Instrumental < Intrinsic
Culture	Medium of governance	Medium of interaction
Target audience	Individual citizens or groups of nations	Members of the public, without government intervention
Properties	Undertaken in a formal manner by diplomats (traditional public diplomacy) or institutions serving national governments, aiming to shape and channel the natural flow of interchange to advance national interests	Can support national interests but only as an indirect by-product of trust, understanding and relationships developed through cultural relations

⁵⁶ This table is from the unpublished conference paper: Sumi Kim, ‘South Korea’s Cultural Diplomacy: “Instrumental” and “Intrinsic” Cultural Values in Practice’, *A paper presented at the 10th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR)* (Tallinn University: Estonia, 21-25 August 2018). The content is composed from the following sources: Nicholas J. Cull (ed.), *Public Diplomacy*; Patricia M. Goff, ‘Cultural Diplomacy’; Tim Rivera, *Distinguishing Cultural Relations from Cultural Diplomacy*; Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds), *Diplomacy in a Globalising World*.

⁵⁷ The term ‘public diplomacy’ was coined by Edmund Asbury Gullion, an American diplomat, in 1965. See Cull, ‘Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for its Future from its Past’.

In South Korean cultural diplomacy, there is a lack of interconnection between cultural diplomacy practices in different ministries (and cultural diplomatic institutions). Existing research in South Korea has developed the notion of cultural diplomacy in line with the institutions' organisational affiliation to the government, whether it is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Culture.⁵⁸ For instance, the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs' conferences and seminars on 'public diplomacy'⁵⁹ pay attention to the activity and engagement of the participants of its practice. Furthermore, research on art, museum, cultural (diplomatic) policy and administrations has been mostly undertaken by former government officials⁶⁰ or the research institutes of the Ministry of Culture. In practice, two ministries have played different roles in developing the stages of Korean cultural diplomacy by approaching the idea of cultural diplomacy from different points of view.⁶¹ Therefore, inter-relating the cultural diplomacy practices of the cultural institutions of the two different ministries and investigating how they cooperatively practice cultural diplomacy is crucial for performing a comprehensive analysis of South Korean cultural diplomacy.

⁵⁸ Ki-won Hong, 'Cultural Diplomacy from a Cultural Policy Perspective: Some Contestable Issues' (문화정책의 관점에서 문화외교의 논쟁적 요소들에 대한 고찰), *Journal of Arts & Cultural Management*, no. 18 (2011), pp. 67-93.

⁵⁹ According to my findings from archival research and interviews, the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs refers to and uses the term 'cultural diplomacy' as an evolved version of public diplomacy, 'public diplomacy 2.0', and calls 'cultural relation' as 'public diplomacy 3.0'. This analysis will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

⁶⁰ The comprehensive history of South Korea's cultural policy and cultural diplomacy are in: Boo-Keun Cho, *Cultural Industry and Cultural Exchange in Global Age* (글로벌시대의문화산업과문화교류) (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2009); Kwang-moo Park, *Korean Cultural Policy* (한국문화정책론) (Seoul: Gimyoung Publishers, 2013).

The comprehensive history of Korean museum policy is in Hyun-Mee Yang, 'Museum Studies and Museum Policy: A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studies and Museum Policy from the Viewpoint of Cultural Studies (박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Seoul: Hong-ik University, 2001).

⁶¹ Organisational changes of each involved cultural institution made to Korean exhibitions, galleries, and cultural programmes will be analysed in Chapter Two, and their cooperation and independent roles in the overseas museum practice will be discussed in Chapter Three to Chapter Five.

1.3. Museum Studies

The space of representation constituted by the exhibitionary disciplines, while conferring a degree of unity on the exhibitionary complex, was also somewhat differently occupied – and to different effect – by the institutions comprising that complex [...] in relation to the more immediate ideological and political exigencies of the particular moment.

Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 1995 ⁶²

As Bennett argues, exhibitions contain and convey a political message and intention; according to him, the ‘exhibitionary complex’⁶³ refers to governing culture by visualising the invisible laws of society. Bennett’s (1999) study of museums’ power relations posits that the exhibited culture cannot be fully understood through only the shown text, but additionally require an analysis of the political factor.⁶⁴ Hooper-Greenhill (2000) suggests looking behind the scenes of the museum space to see where knowledge is produced.⁶⁵ Thus, understanding the meaning-making process in curation is important in determining how exhibitions come up with particular political messages.

The following sub-sections analyse the roles of museums and international exhibitions in building the South Korean national identity in relation to the curatorial process of representing specific cultures in overseas. In Korean museum studies, recent investigations of subjects related to cultural diplomacy and international cultural exchanges of Korean museums have been undertaken; still, an analysis connecting the two fields of cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice is absent and there is no literature on the subject other than a few unpublished theses.

⁶² Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*; Gibson, *The Uses of Art: Constructing Australian Identities*; Knell, ‘National Museums and the National Imagination’.

⁶³ Bennett, ‘Thinking (With) Museums: From Exhibitionary Complex to Governmental Assemblage’.

⁶⁴ Tony Bennett, ‘Useful Culture’, in David Boswell and Jessica Evans (eds), *Representing the Nation: A Reader: Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 380-391.

⁶⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

The relevant studies are limited to chronological examinations of the representation of the material culture of Korea since ancient times and brief references to the installation of Korean galleries in overseas museums (Kim 2005).⁶⁶ They analyse the history of Korean national museums' international cultural exchanges, referring to past travelling and special exhibitions and Korean galleries overseas based on objective data analysis and media reports (Yoon 2014). They also explore the developmental stage of the National Museum of Korea as a representation of Korean nationhood, focusing on how Korean cultural identity has been constructed and interpreted with a focus on the internal resources of the museum (Jang 2015).⁶⁷ This thesis examines the use of international Korean exhibitions and the roles of cultural institutions in the creation of a national identity in relation to the development of cultural diplomacy policy. Section 1.3.1. discusses the museum's role in constructing a national identity using Hooper-Greenhill's (1992) concept of meaning-making process, which leads to a discussion about how diverse agencies are responsible for the making of Korean cultural identity. Section 1.3.2. suggests that meaning-making processes were used as a way of understanding, and thus representing, a specific culture in 'universal' museum spaces.

1.3.1. Museums, International Exhibitions and Curatorial Process

As discussed in Section 1.2. on cultural policy studies, culture plays a significant role in delivering political ideology; museums and international exhibitions embody cultural diplomacy policy aims.⁶⁸ Bennett's (1995) analysis of the relationship between the museum and nation building proved the museum's work of rationality in constructing a national identity.⁶⁹ The development of British museums in the nineteenth century, for instance, evidenced museums' social and political role in

⁶⁶ Koni C. Kim, 'Korea as Seen through its Material Culture and Museums' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester: The University of Leicester, 2005).

⁶⁷ Keum-jin Yoon, 'An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums: Focused on National Museums (한국박물관 국제교류 변천 연구: 국립박물관을 중심으로)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Seoul: Hanyang University, 2014); Sang-hoon Jang, 'A Representation of Nationhood: The National Museum of Korea' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester: The University of Leicester, 2015).

⁶⁸ Lisanne Gibson, 'Piazas or Stadiums: Toward an Alternative Account of Museums in Cultural and Urban Development', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research 1* (2013), pp. 101-112.

⁶⁹ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.

shaping the citizen in specific historical moments. Simon Knell (2011) theorised the concept of national museums as spaces for instilling national identity and that ‘unseen’ political discourses are immersed in the material culture displayed.⁷⁰ Therefore, looking at how the South Korean government and cultural institutions, including the national museum, curated Korean cultural identity is important because of its relationship with the shaping of the national identity.

To examine how South Korea has implemented international exhibitions using Korean cultural materials, this thesis questions the curatorial process advanced by Hooper-Greenhill (1992)⁷¹ that questions the curatorial processes in rational reasons. The primary questions for analysing these are: How are material things constructed as objects within a museum? What is the relationship between time, space, subject and object? These are useful to relocate knowledge shaped in different historical periods, and to debate the fixed interpretation of a culture’s identity,⁷² as the museum is a progressive space for cultural representation.⁷³

These questions of the curatorial process invoke a need to identify the main agencies of curation of Korean culture and their curatorial intent at each stage of cultural diplomacy. Different agencies have played key roles in the interpretation of Korean materials in different times and spaces, including the South Korean government during the Cold War, cultural institutions in the 1990s and curators in the twenty-first century. The different curatorial intentions and processes of these diverse agencies are related to the change of the main actors during each period. During the Cold War, the government-held international exhibitions were a means to construct and express South Korean national identity as well as Korean cultural identity. The process of the establishment of permanent Korean galleries in the 1990s reveals South Korean and ‘universal’ museums’ cooperative practice of cultural diplomacy against the backdrop of globalisation. Increased roles of curators in reinterpreting Korean culture in overseas

⁷⁰ Knell, ‘National Museums and the National Imagination’, pp. 3-28.

⁷¹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*.

⁷² Ibid.; Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds), *Theorising Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996); Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*.

⁷³ Beth Lord, ‘Foucault’s Museum: Difference, Representation, and Genealogy’, *Museum and Society*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1-14 (p. 3).

museums from the 2000s indicate their collaboration with South Korean institutions. The diverse nature of agencies that are mainly involved in the curation of Korean culture and international exhibitions has to do with cultural diplomacy development, which changes according to historical moments.

1.3.2. 'Universal' Museums

It is not a matter of composing a *global history*
– which would regroup all its elements around one principle or one form –
but rather of opening out a field of *general history* within which one could describe the
singularity of practices, the play of their relations, the form of their dependencies.

Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Effect*, 1991 ⁷⁴

A 'universal' museum is a museum that considers its mission to present world cultures to global audiences through universal collections across all times and cultures.⁷⁵ Due to their 'universal' characteristic, which gathers diverse world cultures in an individual museum, such museums have the potential to create cultural hierarchies by educating world culture in the space of 'seeing the already said'.⁷⁶ Thus, the 'universal' museum can demonstrate the museum's political use of knowledge in the display of cultural materials involving political intentions in curatorial interpretations and for shaping cultural identity and image. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the way specific cultures are interpreted and represented in relation to 'universal' museums' 'universality' by checking that there is no unconditional shape of knowledge.

⁷⁴ Michel Foucault, 'Politics and the Study of Discourse', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and An Interview with Michel Foucault* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 53-72 (p. 64).

⁷⁵ See more discussions on the notion of 'universal' museums: Geoffrey Lewis, 'A Debated Museum Concept: Partnership in Universality', *Museum International*, vol. 56, no. 4 (2004), pp. 40-45; Sloan Kim, 'Aimed at Universality and Belonging to the Nation: The Enlightenment and the British Museum', in Sloan Kim and Andrew Burnett (eds), *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2013), pp. 12-25 (pp. 13-14); John Miniotis, 'Defining the Characteristics of the Universal Museum: Mission, Collections, and Size' (Master of Arts thesis, University of Washington, 2014).

⁷⁶ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*.

The relationship between the representations of Korean culture and ‘universal’ museums implies two main elements of South Korean cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice. First, the exhibitions of Korean culture in ‘universal’ museums invite the question of the construction of cultural identity beyond the ‘national boundaries’.⁷⁷ Korean culture as a particular culture in the space for world cultures and understanding how Korean culture is represented is related to the South Korean cultural diplomacy practice. To ask, ‘how have we been represented’ and/or ‘how might we represent ourselves’ as cultural ‘otherness’⁷⁸ is essential to discerning cultural identity, as Hall (1992) puts it. Hence, understanding the process of representing Korean culture in ‘universal’ museums is a method of comprehending the practice of South Korean cultural diplomacy.

Second, the representation of Korean culture in ‘universal’ museums counterposes the fixed interpretation of a specific culture. In comparison with the Great Exhibition that accumulated all kinds of materials and peoples from around the world in one space,⁷⁹ ‘universal’ museums exhibit one particular culture in a certain way in a permanent space. The curatorial processes and the ways of constructing Korean cultural identity have evolved in the different cultural diplomacy contexts of the Cold War, the 1990s and the twenty-first century. There is no absolute curatorial authority in interpreting and representing specific cultures; therefore, the exhibitions of Korean culture should be analysed in the framework of South Korean cultural diplomacy development.

As Bennett (1998) put it, the universal exhibition is not ‘to globalise superior culture’ made by ‘intellectuals’ such as constitutively instrumental modern public museums; rather, he cites the concept of postmodernism as the way to endow an ‘interpreter’ without standards, in order to ‘secure communication and mutual understanding

⁷⁷ Lewis, ‘A Debated Museum Concept: Partnership in Universality’, *Museum International*, vol. 56, no. 4 (2004), pp. 40-45 (p. 41).

⁷⁸ Stuart Hall, ‘Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies’, in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler (eds), *Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 277-286 (p. 277).

⁷⁹ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*.

between cultures'.⁸⁰ Contemporary cultural practice is indeed 'highly variegated',⁸¹ as complex concepts of cultural identity, representation and globalisation are intertwined with it. As South Korea has experienced a certain historical shift during the last few decades, its cultural representation has also developed; hence, to comprehend the ways in which Korean cultural representations managed those changes, understanding the discourse embedded in the curatorial process is important. As Lord (2006) puts it:

Discourses are not groups of words that refer to things but are rather the systems of rules that enable words and things to hold together at all: they are the systems of representation between words and things. The point of the analysis of discourses is to reveal those systems of rules, to put systems of representation themselves on display, to determine the 'contingent' ways in which things have been conceptually ordered.⁸²

The basis of the subject of curation and tracing how Korean objects are 'selected, put together, and written or spoken'⁸³ in 'universal' museums is noteworthy, therefore, for understanding discourses. The (international) transformations and the contemporary representations are significant in finding meaning in the roots of cultural originality of objects and exhibitions; they are equally significant for articulating the 'whole' context preventing 'blind history'.⁸⁴

1.4. Qualitative Research Methodology

This thesis employs qualitative research methodology to analyse particular 'social process[es], discourses or relationships'⁸⁵ of cultural diplomatic institutions in making international Korean exhibitions and cultural identity. An investigation of the cultural

⁸⁰ Bennett, *Culture: A Reformer's Science*, p. 102. Bennett cites Zygmunt Bauman, *Intimations of Postmodernity* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 102.

⁸¹ Vincent Pouliot and Jérémie Cornut, 'Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomatic Practices', in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds), *Diplomacy in a Globalising World*, pp. 185-198 (p. 189).

⁸² Lord, 'Foucault's Museum: Difference, Representation and Genealogy', p. 10.

⁸³ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, p. 148.

⁸⁴ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p. 8.

⁸⁵ Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 2nd edn (London: SAGE, 2002), p. 1.

sector and cultural phenomenon cannot be carried out using one objective method⁸⁶ due to its constantly shifting and diverse characteristics resulting from its socio-political circumstances.⁸⁷ Therefore, to understand the shift of South Korean cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice in a given context, this thesis deploys a range of research methods: case study, archival research, semi-structured interviews and field observations. Each research method attempts to establish a connection between cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice, as outlined below:

- Archival research into national development plans and relevant institutions' annual reports, correspondence and other grey literature
- Semi-structured interviews with key staff members involved in cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice
- Field observation in two case study museums and other relevant Korean museums to help in understanding the relationships of cultural representations at national and international levels

The whole process of setting case studies, researching archival documents, conducting semi-structured interviews and field observations enabled the identification of a changing discourse⁸⁸ of the South Korean cultural diplomacy and the shifts in museum practice step-by-step. The following sub-sections provide a justification, a description of the procedure and the result of each research method.

1.4.1. Case Studies

At the initial research phase, I selected case study as a research method for the 'holistic, contextual and in-depth investigation'.⁸⁹ Regarding case study as a research method, Yin (2009) raises questions regarding the irrationality of the generalisation of a single

⁸⁶ Holden, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy*, p. 16.

⁸⁷ Marianne W. Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Methods* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), p. 63.

⁸⁸ Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Methods*, p. 11.

⁸⁹ See case study research method: Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th edn (California: SAGE Publications, 2009).

(or a few) case studies in analysing the whole society;⁹⁰ However, if a few case studies selected with justifiable reasons are pivotal and relevant to discuss the whole context and provide key examples of the study, the quantity of case studies does not affect the rationality of the analysis.

As the main driver of this thesis is the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy, case studies must relate to the change in representation of Korean culture in accordance with the development of cultural diplomacy policy; to this end, two ‘universal’ museums — the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum — were selected as case museums (see Table 3) for three reasons.

Table 3: Overseas museums in relation to the representation of Korean culture

Museum	Exhibitions / Presence of Korean culture				
	<i>Masterpieces of Korean Art (1957–1962)</i> ⁹¹	<i>5000 Years of Korean Art (1976–1985)</i> ⁹²	Universal museum ⁹³	Korean gallery (1990s) ⁹⁴	Special exhibitions (since 2000s) ⁹⁵
National Gallery of Art, Washington	○				
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	○	○	○	○ (1998)	○
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	○	○	○	○ (1982)	
Seattle Art Museum, Seattle	○	○		○ (1992)	
Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis	○				

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 21.

⁹¹ Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, pp. 96-100. The mark indicates a museum held the specified exhibition.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ ICOM, ‘Declaration on the Importance and Value of the Universal Museums 2002’, *ICOM News*.

⁹⁴ The mark indicates Korean galleries that were established with the support of South Korean cultural institutions, particularly the Korea Foundation. Tokyo National Museum has a Korean gallery in place, however, the Korean gallery was established by the Tokyo National Museum itself.

Source: Korea Culture & Tourism Institute, ‘Research on Development Method of Korean Gallery in Overseas Museums (해외박물관한국실종합발전방안수립연구)’, 2017, pp. 158-162.

⁹⁵ The mark indicates the museums in which Korean special exhibitions have been held in collaboration with the National Museum of Korea.

Source: Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, pp. 96-100.

Museum	Exhibitions / Presence of Korean culture				
	<i>Masterpieces of Korean Art (1957–1962)</i> ⁹¹	<i>5000 Years of Korean Art (1976–1985)</i> ⁹²	Universal museum ⁹³	Korean gallery (1990s) ⁹⁴	Special exhibitions (since 2000s) ⁹⁵
California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco	○				
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles	○		○	○ (1978)	
Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu	○			○ (1960)	
The Victoria and Albert Museum, London	○			○ (1992)	
The Municipal Museum of the City, Hague	○				
Museum of the Asian Arts, Paris	○				
Museum of Arts and Crafts, Frankfurt	○				○
Museum of Ethnology, Vienna	○				
Kyoto National Museum		○			
Fukuoka Akarenga Cultural Center		○			
Tokyo National Museum		○		(○) (1968)	○
The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco		○		○ (1991)	○
The Art Institute of Chicago		○	○		
Cleveland Museum of Art		○	○		
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City		○			
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute		○		○ (2007)	
The British Museum		○	○	○ (2000)	○
Museum of Art and Design, Hamburg		○		○ (1997)	
Museum for East Asian Arts, Cologne		○		○ (1995)	

First, these cases provided considerable space for analysing the transformation of the curation of international Korean exhibitions from the earliest cultural exhibitions to the present ones. The first stage of the South Korean government's sending of Korean objects for exhibition in overseas museums involved the support of the USA government and the construction of the 'unique' identity of Korean culture. Despite the fact that the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean collection was of a relatively small

size compared to those of other major museums in the USA or the British Museum,⁹⁶ its inclusion was essential for discussing the Cold War period (post World War II to 1990). Curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art were involved in the principal construction of the Korean cultural identity⁹⁷ in *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962), the first travelling exhibition from Korea. The second historical travelling exhibition — *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) — was held in both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum. It was initiated and implemented by the South Korean government and the National Museum of Korea. The exhibit in the British Museum in 1985 is significant because it contributed to the British Museum’s revaluation of Korean artefacts⁹⁸ as the last stage of the travelling exhibition in the Cold War.

Second, as the two ‘universal’ museums established permanent Korean galleries during the 1990s, the case studies are useful to discuss the cultural diplomacy practice of the 1990s. The Korean institution for cultural diplomacy — the Korea Foundation — which was established in 1991, played a major role in negotiating and funding the gallery spaces in the three museums across the globe. In 1992, the Korea Foundation announced its plan to establish permanent Korean gallery spaces in three of the world’s

⁹⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Korean collection consists of around 500 objects, and the National Museum of Korea and Samsung Foundation for Culture has loaned 21 objects for the opening of the permanent gallery.

Source: National Archives of Korea, CA0014750, ‘Loaned Exhibition to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, US: Arts of Korea 1997–1999’.

The British Museum’s Korean collection consists of around 4,000 objects (in 2016) that were donated by the British Library and Korean private collectors (mostly by Gwang-ho Hahn) and loaned by the National Museum of Korea; the museum’s purchase of contemporary Korean artworks has increased recently.

Source: Eleanor Soo-ah Hyun, Interview by the author, phone recorder, London, 27 September 2018, The British Museum: Asia Department Curator’s Office.

Note: This will be discussed in Chapter Four.

⁹⁷ The first Korean overseas travelling exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, was held in eight museums of the USA (14 December 1957–7 June 1959), including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and was invited to five European nations of the UK, the Netherlands, France, Austria, and Germany (23 March 1961–1 July 1962). This exhibition is aided by the USA and is related to the USA’s public diplomacy to present Korea’s independent status and cultural uniqueness by distinguishing it from Chinese and Japanese arts. For the Korean side, the intention was also to show Korea’s long history and political legitimacy during the Cold War period through large-scale internationally travelling exhibitions. Note: This will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

⁹⁸ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, ‘News Release: Major Donation from Korea: A New Permanent Gallery of Korean Art’, May 1992.

leading museums to promote Korean culture on a global stage: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the British Museum, and the Guimet Museum in Paris.⁹⁹ Among the three premier museums, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum commonly uphold ‘universality’. As mentioned in the ‘Declaration on the Importance and Value of the Universal Museums 2002’¹⁰⁰ and as holders of world cultural collections, the museums claim to have roles as global citizens. The Korean materials and exhibition cases are related to South Korean cultural diplomacy policy. At the same time, from the points of view of two ‘universal’ museums, Korean galleries have been regarded as the spaces of their cooperative practice with South Korean cultural institutions. The Arts of Korea Gallery (Figure 4) was established to accomplish the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s ‘millennial blueprint’.¹⁰¹ The establishment of the Korea Foundation Gallery (Figure 5) in the British Museum was also related to the museum’s recognition of South Korea’s rise as a ‘major player in the world economy’.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ The Korea Foundation, ‘Chapter 2: Present Condition of the Foundation’, in *10 Years History of the Korea Foundation 1992-2001*, pp. 34-46 (pp. 35-36).

Note: The present shape of the Korean gallery in the Guimet Museum (Musée Guimet) was also constructed in the 1990s and opened in 2001. The Guimet is a museum of Asian Art in Paris and was established in 1889 and re-located Louvre’s Asian art collections to the Guimet Museum in 1945. Since the defined notion of ‘universal’ museums that will be discussed in this thesis involves the presentation of ‘the world cultures’, the Guimet Museum’s Korean cultural representation and gallery space can sit in a different context.

Reference of Guimet Museum: ASEMUS (Asia-Europe Museum Network), ‘Guimet Museum of Asian Art, France’, 2018 <<http://asemus.museum/museum/musee-national-des-arts-asiatiques-guimet/>> [accessed 20 October 2018]; Official webpage of Musée Guimet, 2019 <<http://www.guimet.fr/>> [accessed 30 March 2019].

¹⁰⁰ ICOM, ‘Declaration on the Importance and Value of the Universal Museums 2002’, *ICOM News*; Geoffrey Lewis, ‘The Universal Museum: A Special Case?’, *ICOM News*, no. 1 (2004), p.3; Mark O’Neill, ‘Enlightenment Museums: Universal or Merely Global?’, *Museum and Society*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2004), pp. 190-202.

¹⁰¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Met and the New Millennium: A Chronicle of the Past and a Blueprint for the Future* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1994), Summer vol. I, II, no. 1, p. 44 and p. 71.

¹⁰² The British Museum, *The British Museum Review 2001* (London: the British Museum, 2001), p. 12.



Figure 4: The Arts of Korea Gallery space in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, opened in 1998
 © Photo by the author, 4 April 2018, Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



Figure 5: The Korea Foundation Gallery of the British Museum, opened in 2000
 © Photo by the author, 4 May 2016, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Finally, the two museums' different approaches to the curation of Korean culture since the 2000s provides examples of the change of curatorial relationships and management of a particular culture in the 'universal' museum space. The management of Korean culture through special thematic exhibitions and cultural programmes in two case study museums relate to the increased roles of curators in the interpretation of Korean culture

in collaboration with a range of institutions. The curators of the two museums have developed different approaches to the representation of Korean culture since the 2000s. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's close relationship with the Samsung Foundation for Culture has resulted in more thematic exhibitions and the British Museum's relatively close relationship with the Korean Cultural Centre in the UK has resulted in more popular cultural programmes; these approaches attest to the different forms of management of the two museums.¹⁰³ The shift of curatorial practices in different cultural diplomacy developmental frames, therefore, proves the never-fixed and ever-changing cultural representation, and that this can be explored through the two case study museums.

1.4.2. Archival Research

The archival research method is the first step when undertaking the research. Document analysis is used for investigating the cultural diplomacy initiative and the aims of cultural diplomacy practice.¹⁰⁴ I started archival research in South Korea to build a primary axis of research on cultural policy before conducting the fieldwork for the case studies in New York and London. The specific procedures obtained materials and analytical methods are outlined below.

In **South Korea**, I collected documents related to cultural diplomacy policy from various places, including the government's official and internal reports, starting with the National Archives of Korea as this is the hub repository of political records. I first accessed the inaugural addresses and annual speeches on key national policies delivered by presidents of South Korea between 1948 and 2012 (1st to the 17th government administration). South Korea uses the presidential system: the presidents' addresses present the key strategies of government policies that signal national policies and the

¹⁰³ This will be analysed in Chapter Five.

¹⁰⁴ See the document analysis discourse method: Jonathan Hammond and Imelda McDermott, 'Policy Document Analysis', *Methods@Manchester*, University of Manchester, 2015
 <<https://www.methods.manchester.ac.uk/themes/qualitative-methods/policy-document-analysis/>>
 [accessed 16 December 2016]; Lindsay Prior, 'Doing things with Documents', in David Silverman (ed), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (London: SAGE, 2004), pp. 76-94; Jørgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Methods*.

direction of economic, social and cultural policies.¹⁰⁵ Archival research of presidents' cultural diplomacy-related speeches, therefore, facilitated the understanding of governments' recognition and perception of culture and cultural diplomacy. Hence, the speeches were analysed by concentrating on terms mentioned that are relevant to cultural diplomacy, including 'public diplomacy', 'cultural diplomacy', 'international cultural exchange', 'international (cultural) relations' and so on, with the purpose being to comprehend the ways in which each South Korean government administration recognised cultural diplomacy. This data was then outlined as the initial framework of working fieldnotes, in accordance with the timeline of each government administration.

This framework formed the basis for the research pertaining to key national plans, such as social and economic development plans and the government's strategies and provided insights into the government's approach to cultural diplomacy. The material included official governmental reports that outlined the plans for international cultural exchange as well as the meeting minutes produced by two ministries (Culture and Foreign Affairs) in relation to cultural diplomacy and Korean exhibitions overseas. The relevant content of the national fundamental development plans and the quotations about the cultural aspects were specifically included in the timeline to analyse how the relevant ministries carried out cultural diplomacy. More importantly, I identified the relevant cultural institutions involved in the practice of cultural diplomacy. The three historical periods encompassed the time when culture was a means for the nation's social and economic development, enhancing its status overseas and pursuing a mutual understanding of world culture. Consequently, the three analysed periods of variations in cultural diplomacy — 'public diplomacy', 'cultural diplomacy' and 'cultural relations' — were examined in the South Korean context with academic literature, as discussed in Section 1.2.3.

After outlining the primary conception of the government's cultural diplomacy initiative, I investigated cultural acts and laws using the archive of the Ministry of Government legislation to identify the specific context of cultural policy development. This analysis focused on cultural acts and laws underpinning the initial legislation and

¹⁰⁵ During fieldwork research, it was found that archival documents had been preserved up until 2012 (the 17th presidential administration), and the major policy texts discussed in this work date to that time.

amendments pertaining to cultural heritage, international cultural exchanges, public diplomacy and museum policy. The analyses were focused on how the document stated the purpose and the development of the government's cultural policy, as a policy document 'serves a purpose and creates a particular version of reality'.¹⁰⁶ The quotations about the main purpose of cultural acts and laws, along with initial analyses, were noted in the working fieldnotes, next to the pertinent year.

The subsequent stage of archival research in Korea concentrated on finding materials related to museum practice that focused on the two major travelling exhibitions,¹⁰⁷ the process of establishing overseas Korean galleries (in general and in two case studies in particular) during the 1990s, special exhibitions and cultural activities (focused on case museums) since the 2000s. The material included annual reports, exhibition reports, archived publications, exhibition catalogues and news clippings produced by the National Museum of Korea, the Korea Foundation and the Korean Cultural Centre. The data was collated at the National Library of Korea and the Library of the National Museum of Korea. Digitised news clippings were also collected through news archives preserved in the National Assembly Library of Korea. This material provided a brief summary of the exhibitions (such as visitor numbers, exhibition dates, list of objects, brief report on the curatorial process and summary of outcome) from the perspective of the South Korean government and institutions (such as funding or budgets, a brief process of the negotiation, the scale and the number of Korean collections in overseas museums). This stage of the research connected cultural diplomacy policy to museum practice. Through analysing the collected data, the individual interview questions could be more specifically formulated before moving forward with the semi-structured interviews.

After completing archival research in Korea, the research fieldwork for the first case study museum was conducted at the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 28 March to 15 April 2018 in **New York**. Visiting the museum archives with a permit provided access to archival material on Korean exhibitions, such as budget and expenditure plans, the correspondence between South Korea and the USA museums (the Metropolitan

¹⁰⁶ Jonathan Hammond and Imelda McDermott, 'Policy Document Analysis'.

¹⁰⁷ *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) and *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985).

Museum of Art as the representative museum of the participating USA museums in the Korean travelling exhibition), news clippings and press releases from the historical travelling exhibitions. Moreover, I obtained press releases and other materials published by the museum regarding the Korean gallery and contemporary special exhibitions. The museum's masterplan and additional publications were found in the digital collection at the Thomas J. Watson Library, which included the specific procedure for opening a travelling exhibition, led by the USA government and the Metropolitan Museum of Art's curatorial staff. In particular, the correspondence between the Korean government, the USA government, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art facilitated a comprehensive understanding of the construction of Korean cultural identity in a specific period.¹⁰⁸ After reading the material, I copied or photocopied the relevant parts of these documents to obtain a copyright from the archivist. The data was quoted and used as a reference to describe the process and analyse the ways in which Korean culture has been constructed by the people who played a vital role in the process.

The research continued at the British Museum for the second case study in **London** between 16 April–12 June and 8 August–1 September 2018. First, archival material, which included exhibition photography, leaflets, a copy of the design plan and news clippings on special exhibitions, was gathered and studied from the museum's central archives. The reels of Record of Trustee Minutes were also viewed. Any mentions of Korean exhibitions and galleries in the documents were noted, although content about Korea was limited to a few parts or sentences. Second, specific records, such as correspondence between the South Korean government and museums, were obtained from the Department of Asia, particularly pertinent to the process of founding the Korea Foundation Gallery.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, access to the reports of the former curator of the Korean gallery on a visit to Korea, correspondence with the Korean government and the National Museum of Korea and the stories behind the negotiation that are unavailable in Korea enabled a deeper analysis.¹¹⁰ The confidentiality of the documents was ensured

¹⁰⁸ This material will be mainly discussed in Chapter Three: 'Public Diplomacy and Constructing a Unique Cultural Identity'.

¹⁰⁹ Archival research at the Department of Asia requires an independent scheduling with the curator of the Korean gallery, and it was conducted by visiting a few more days in September and October 2018, followed by the administration of semi-structured interviews at the British Museum.

¹¹⁰ These materials will be presented in Chapter Four: 'Cultural Diplomacy and Negotiating the Space'.

with the permission to use the selected data for the thesis, and the archival research processes were completed as planned.

The two archival research undertakings were significant in connecting the national cultural diplomacy agenda with international museum practices. The data obtained in the museums was used to analyse the differences in cultural diplomacy practice in the museums. The material from the Metropolitan Museum of Art is particularly important for analysing the politics of national identity formation during the Cold War (post World War II–1990) and the close political relationship between the USA and South Korea. The British Museum’s archival materials were essential to understanding the ‘cultural diplomacy’ of the 1990s. This field material has not been used in any relevant studies that have been conducted until now. The research findings, therefore, bridge the gap between the national (Korean) and the international (overseas museums) material and studies existing on this subject.

1.4.3. Semi-structured Interviews

Considering Bennett’s (1998) advocacy for raising the ‘practicality’ of research from his criticism on the ‘exclusively unfettered’ academic critiques on cultural institutions,¹¹¹ I undertook semi-structured interviews with interviewees who have worked in South Korean cultural diplomatic institutions and Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums. This method is important in connecting critically analysed cultural policy with the practice field and academic studies with the institutional practice for the empirical analysis.

The focus group of the interviewees constituted an ‘elite’ group that indicated who formerly occupied and currently occupy senior management in ‘board level positions’ in public cultural institutions. As ‘key influential decision makers’ with ‘considerable knowledge and experiences’, these individuals held or now hold ‘responsibility for important areas of work and [the] strategic direction of organisation’ with contributions to the international cultural exchanges in the 1990s. They were or are powerful

¹¹¹ Lisanne Gibson, ‘Tony Bennett, Culture: A Reformer’s Science’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2010), pp. 29-31 (p. 29).

members of a ‘broad network of relationships’,¹¹² mostly in the directorial or senior-level positions in cultural institutions or academia, and they added significant meaning to overseas Korean galleries and representations of Korean culture.

Invitation letters were first sent to identify interviewers; the invitation letter included the introduction of this project and its objectives, the proposed interview questions (both general and personal), the researcher’s initial analysis and the researcher’s working experience in Korean national museums. The subsequent interviews provided details on the practitioners’ points of view and contributed to the empirical analysis and comprehensive understanding of Korean cultural diplomacy and its relationship with museum representations.

Interviewing the relevant museum staff offered crucial insights about behind-the-scenes happenings and individuals’ perspectives on cultural diplomacy, which could not be discerned from written official documents or the researcher’s observations. As opposed to a rigidly structured and fixed questionnaire that is very controlled, a semi-structured interview was conducted to allow a ‘narrative’, ‘thematic’, ‘topic-centred and contextual’ conversation.¹¹³ Therefore, this research adopted a one-to-one interactive semi-structured form of interview. The interviewees included high-ranking governmental officials, academics, directors and curators of cultural diplomatic institutions (the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea) in South Korea. Further, I interviewed the former and current curators of the Korean galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum during the fieldwork (see Table 4 for the list of interviewees and key interview topics).¹¹⁴ These interviews afforded the researcher the time to obtain an in-depth understanding of the dialogue between cultural politics and museum practices by hearing stories from and also discussing issues with the practitioners.

¹¹² Neil Perkins, ‘Interviewing “elite” groups’, *Methods@Manchester*, University of Manchester, 2015 <<https://www.methods.manchester.ac.uk/themes/qualitative-methods/interviewing-elite-groups/>> [accessed 16 May 2017].

¹¹³ Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, p. 62.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 4 for a complete list of information about the interviewees and key topics.

Table 4: List of interviewees and key topics

Day/month/year	Name of interviewee	Key topics
21/09/2016	Dong-ho Kim	Historical development of South Korean cultural policies and cultural programmes overseas
24/11/2017	<i>Anonymous</i>	Management of overseas Korean galleries
13/12/2017	Jong-seok Kim	Korean National Museum's participation in ICOM and UNESCO
15/01/2018	Sang-hoon Jang	The overseas Korean gallery management of the National Museum of Korea
23/01/2018	Jong-seok Kim	Practice of international relations with overseas museums
30/01/2018	Keum-jin Yoon	The Korea Foundation's support of overseas Korean galleries
02/02/2018	Seok-yeong Choe	Korean museums' history of cultural representations
23/02/2018	Ji-yoon Jo	Samsung Museum of Art – Leeum's collaboration with the Metropolitan Museum of Art concerning the latter's Korean exhibition
27/02/2018	Ki-won Hong	Cultural diplomacy studies in Korea
06/04/2018	So-young Lee	The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean gallery management
04/05/2018	Hoseong Yong	Legislation of cultural acts, management of the Korean Cultural Centre UK and collaboration with UK institutions and the British Museum's Korean gallery
05/07/2018	Hong-nam Kim	Stories of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean gallery and the development of the National Museum's international cultural exchange and curatorial methods
06/07/2018	Byeong-mo Kim	Hosting ICOM Seoul 2004 and the significance of cultural diplomacy and a macro-level approach to museums
11/07/2018	Byeong-mo Kim	Reinterpretation of Korean archaeological objects
12/07/2018	Seok-yeong Choe, Jong-seok Kim	Relationship between cultural policy and Korean material culture, popular culture and museums
27/07/2018	Keum-jin Yoon	Specific stories on Korean galleries in two case studies on museums
06/08/2018	<i>Anonymous</i>	Experience of the exchange curator at the British Museum
27/08/2018	Jane Portal	Curatorial experiences of collecting and exhibiting Korean culture in the British Museum and the USA
27/09/2018	Eleanor Hyun	The British Museum's Korean gallery management
08/10/2018	Eleanor Hyun	The British Museum's Korean cultural programme and reinterpretation of contemporary Korean artworks
12/10/2018	Charlotte Horlyck	Comparison of curating Korean culture in the Victoria and Albert Museum with the British Museum and the development of Korean studies in the UK

Maintaining ethical standards was considered a top priority as interview content could include discussion of sensitive issues, including tensions between 'exposure and

withholding' of museum transparency.¹¹⁵ Contextualising and relating interviewees' words to practices was essential. Without this understanding, researcher's critics might produce interpretations that are not empirically robust and come to unethical research findings. To ensure that the research is conducted ethically, the interview included a Letter of Interview Invitation (see Appendix 1) and Research Consent Form (see Appendix 2) that were approved by the university. The entire interview stage was significant for the 'reconstruction of knowledge' through 'co-production'¹¹⁶ by the researcher and the interviewees. The interview routine (see Appendix 3) captures the entire process of first drafting common/individual questions, then inviting and interviewing the interviewees, and, finally, analysing the interviews.

Positioned between archival research and field observation, semi-structured interviews are not only formal but also personal, as they involve interactions and communication between the researcher and interviewees. The process of interviews, from the initial contact by sending an invitation letter to conduct the interviews (and follow-up interviews) to the final analysis was aided by my curatorial experience. I conducted conversations based on my working experiences in Korean national museums and brought an insider's understanding of the process of curating international exhibitions and carrying out cultural programmes in relation to the museum's institutional relationship with the government. This enabled a deeper understanding of the practicing of cultural diplomacy. I also conducted follow-up interviews with some interviewees, and as the interview continued, the topic moved from broad to more specific issues and delved into deeper discussions regarding both cultural diplomatic policy and curatorial practice.

The interviewees revealed not only the roles of their institutions in Korea's cultural diplomacy but also their personal viewpoint on cultural practices during the interviews. The conversations constructed the concept of Korean cultural diplomacy in an empirical manner from an experiential perspective. Particularly, the interviewees' ideas about

¹¹⁵ Janet Marstine, 'Situated Revelations: Radical Transparency in the Museum', in Janet Marstine, Alexander A Bauer, Chelsea Haines (eds), *New Directions in Museum Ethics* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-23.

¹¹⁶ Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, pp. 62-63.

institutional practice and their interpretations of the concept of ‘cultural diplomacy’, as compared to ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’, added a practical approach to the critical analysis. In Chapters Three to Five, the interview content pertaining to the definition of the three stages of the development of cultural diplomacy will add an empirical characteristic to the analysis of the discourse, policy and practice of ‘public diplomacy’, ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’.

1.4.4. Field Observation

Field observation is the qualitative data collection method that enables a researcher to conduct ‘reflective analysis’¹¹⁷ and flexibly immerse themselves in data collection. In order to delineate the researcher’s analytical interpretation reflectively, field observations at the museums were adopted as a research method. This method required the ‘setting’ of an appropriate location and a method for ‘how’ questions would be recorded during observation before they began.¹¹⁸

For field observation in Korea, I visited the National Museum of Korea frequently to compare how Korean objects were displayed and interpreted on the national stage at overseas and case museums.¹¹⁹ When visiting case study museums, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum, I took field notes and photographs of the objects on continuous loan and that were on display, including their text panels and labels. I referenced older text panels and labels, pictured in previous fieldwork as far back as the 2010s when I started my Master of Arts degree to identify changes in interpretations over time from the researcher’s viewpoint. Fieldwork was also conducted in the Samsung Museum of Art–Leeum to learn about the details of the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s co-curation with Leeum in the special exhibition, *Poetry*

¹¹⁷ Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, p. 97.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 90-91.

¹¹⁹ These are identified through archival research (exhibition catalogue and reports). They include the Buddhist status from the Three Kingdoms period (BC 18–660), the gold crown of Silla (BC 57–935), ceramics of Goryeo (918–1392), the full moon jar and paintings from the late Joseon Period (1392–1910). They are regarded as the national treasures of Korea.

in Clay, held in 2011,¹²⁰ owing to the Samsung Foundation for Culture's close involvement in past loan exhibitions and the establishment of the permanent gallery.

Focused on knowledge about the administrative and institutional characteristics of museums, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum were compared during the fieldtrips to New York and London. The factors analysed included the highlighted objects, ways of describing objects and Korean history, engagement in cultural programmes, and locations of the galleries, among others. I acquired different interpretations of the same kind of objects formerly on display by conducting archival research of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Arts of Korea Gallery space.

Undertaking fieldtrips to the British Museum's Korea Foundation Gallery in 2011–2012 (while pursuing a Master's degree in the UK) and several times from 2015 onwards enabled me to analyse the change in the exhibition design, interpretation and display. I used the photographs and field notes from these past visits to understand the change in contemporary gallery interpretations of Korean objects in the same place at different points in time.

The four fieldwork methods — case studies, archival research, semi-structured interviews and field observation — applied in this research enabled the contextual research analysis across South Korean cultural diplomacy policies and international Korean exhibitions.

1.5. Thesis Organisation

Including Chapter One, the thesis is divided into six chapters that investigate the transformation of South Korean cultural diplomacy policy and curatorial practices. The structure of the thesis is thus intended to facilitate the tracing of historical development and address cultural policy and museum practice in the context of different time periods.

Chapter Two, 'Understanding Cultural Diplomacy of South Korea', articulates the three stages of development of the South Korean cultural diplomacy and the involvement of Korean cultural diplomacy agencies and the national museum in the museum practice,

¹²⁰ The discourse of special exhibitions will be discussed in Chapter Five: 'Cultural Relations and Re-interpreting Culture'.

from the establishment of the first South Korean government in 1948 to the present. Referred to as ‘public diplomacy’, ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’, the three stages of cultural diplomacy development are identified based on the ways in which the South Korean government used and promoted Korean culture overseas in a purposeful way for purposes of national development.

Chapter Three, ‘Public Diplomacy and Constructing a Unique Cultural Identity’, draws on the concept of ‘public diplomacy’ as the first stage of cultural diplomacy development that occurred during the Cold War (post-WWII–1990). This chapter explores the two travelling exhibitions, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) and *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) and focuses on the ways adopted to build the ‘uniqueness’ of Korean culture. The politically intimate relationship between the USA and the South Korean governments and political elites in the 1950s and support of the USA government for South Korean cultural development is an important piece of historical context to fully understand the cultural diplomacy of the Cold War. The *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) played an instrumental role in promoting South Korea’s political ideology of liberal democracy and Korean culture’s uniqueness. Moreover, the establishment of the cultural heritage acts and laws in the 1960s and the achievement of a considerable degree of social and economic development through the 1980s reflect how museum practice is related to the cultural policy context. *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985), which is curated by the South Korean government and the National Museum of Korea, presents not only the continuous interpretation of Korean culture but also the relatively enhanced cultural–political role of international exhibitions.

Chapter Four, ‘Cultural Diplomacy and Negotiating the Space’, examines the middle stage known as ‘cultural diplomacy’ and the processes of establishing permanent Korean galleries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum in the 1990s. The notion of ‘soft power’ is discussed in relation to these Korean galleries in the context of globalisation. This chapter positions this period as a pivotal point for the cultural diplomacy of South Korea — a period where significant cultural acts and laws were amended, and long-term cultural development plans were established. This chapter presents a discourse analysis of Korean galleries in two ‘universal’ spaces, focusing on the stories and processes in the specific cultural gallery space related to negotiation,

fundraising, collection and object loans. This chapter also traces the reason behind Korean institutions and the two museums' acknowledgement of the need for permanent Korean galleries. The process compares the different types and processes of negotiations that have been made between the two 'universal' museums.

Chapter Five, 'Cultural Relations and Reinterpreting Culture', encompasses the contemporary cultural diplomacy policy of 'cultural relations' and the different approaches to curatorial practice in the two 'universal' museums from the 2000s to the present. Analysing the notion of 'glocalisation', the chapter considers the ways the two 'universal' museums have managed Korean culture. The rise of curators' professionalism and collaborative works between South Korean cultural (diplomatic) institutions and 'universal' museums are the key characteristics to understanding museums' cultural diplomacy practice in the new century. Along with the special thematic exhibitions that highlight arts in specific periods or genres and contemporary cultural programmes, the case studies illustrate the divergent curatorial practice and representation of Korean culture from the 2000s.

Chapter Six, 'Conclusion', summarises the research findings along with the academic and practical contributions to the fields of cultural diplomacy and museum studies. The thesis concludes with a discussion on the three stages of South Korean cultural diplomacy development, the use of international exhibitions and the curation of Korean culture and the role of 'universal' museums in cultural diplomacy. The research outcome recommends an empirical approach of cultural diplomacy and policy studies to museum studies; additionally, it relates South Korea's cultural diplomacy policy to the representation of Korean cultural identity in overseas museums.

1.6. Conclusion

The focus of this research is South Korean cultural diplomacy and the representation of South Korean culture in 'universal' museums. This chapter has outlined how this case will be understood by a close analysis of South Korean cultural policy as well as by understanding particular museum practices. The next chapters present an analysis of the way South Korean cultural diplomacy has been deployed in overseas ('universal') museums, focusing on the main agencies, curatorial processes and object interpretations

involved in the special exhibitions and permanent galleries. For the analysis, Chapter Two commences by articulating South Korea's cultural diplomatic policies to contextually build the framework for the three stages of development of the South Korean cultural diplomacy policy and practice.

Chapter Two: Understanding Cultural Diplomacy of South Korea

An historical event occurs at a specific moment in time and in a specific context. Because of this, one should not analyse historical specificity with a ‘universal eye’, and understanding the context is important for the historical analysis.¹²¹ This chapter investigates the development of the cultural diplomacy of South Korea in a historical context by taking into account the national cultural policies and relevant institutions’ practices at the time. This chapter sets the framework for the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy through an attempt to distinguish the three developmental stages of cultural diplomacy in accordance with historical periods and, thus, analyse the transformation of curatorial practices in relation to these stages. Although the characteristics of each stage can co-exist and have no clear division, the notable features in cultural (diplomacy) policy documents and cultural institutions’ involvement in each historical moment contribute to the analysis of three distinct cultural diplomacy stages: ‘public diplomacy’, ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’. The stated three terms are all used to describe cultural diplomacy; thus, this thesis has adopted the stated terms to represent three developmental stages as together they reference the understanding of cultural diplomacy shift in cultural policy studies and Korean cultural diplomacy ministries (see Table 5).

¹²¹ James D. Faubion (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984* (London: Penguin, 2002), vol. 3. xxiv-xxv.

Table 5: Terms for cultural diplomacy in different domains¹²²

	Cold War	1990s	2000s–2010s
Cultural policy studies	(Traditional) Public Diplomacy	Cultural Diplomacy (<i>New Public Diplomacy</i>)	Cultural Relations
Foreign policy (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	Public Diplomacy 1.0	Public Diplomacy 2.0	Public Diplomacy 3.0
Cultural policy (Korean Ministry of Culture)	Public Information	Cultural Diplomacy	International Cultural Relation/Exchange
This thesis	‘Public Diplomacy’	‘Cultural Diplomacy’	‘Cultural Relations’

As discussed in Chapter One, studies on cultural diplomacy identify its evolution based on key historical moments, such as the Cold War, the 1990s and the 2000s to the present as distinguished above. The two Korean ministries that have legislated and practised cultural diplomacy use the terms for cultural diplomacy stated in the table, reflecting the change of its character according to the historical moment. Therefore, comprehensively considering the relevant terms, this thesis uses ‘public diplomacy’, ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’ to reference cultural diplomacy during the three historical moments. The key traits and the nature of each stage are briefly summarised below.

First, ‘public diplomacy’ instrumentally used culture as a means of promoting national identity during the Cold War, and it was defined as ‘doing something with/for culture through its official cultural administration’.¹²³ During the Cold War, the South Korean government deployed Korean museum exhibitions internationally to promote Korean cultural identity. Section 2.1. investigates these aspects of the use of culture for the construction of the South Korean nation-state. This section discusses the early South Korean government’s implementation of cultural policy from the 1960s to the 1970s, with the aim of creating a unique cultural identity and the subjecthood of South Korean people. The last part of this section analyses the government-led fundraising for

¹²² See Appendix 5 for the structural change of relevant ministries and institutions in each development stage of South Korean cultural diplomacy.

¹²³ Jeremy Ahearne, ‘Cultural Policy Explicit and Implicit: A Distinction and Some Uses’, *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2009), pp. 141-153 (p. 144).

international cultural exchange from the late 1980s, which substantiates an enhanced involvement of the government in implementing cultural diplomacy policy.

Second, ‘cultural diplomacy’ in the 1990s can be characterised by the cultural diplomatic institutions’ active engagement in cultural diplomacy practice and the establishment of a long-term cultural diplomacy policy. The analysis of the ways in which South Korean cultural institutions have played roles in cultural diplomacy are important for understanding the development of cultural diplomacy during the 1990s. Although the priorities of government funding are still focused on key national economic and social aims,¹²⁴ the institutions’ increased involvement in cultural diplomacy practice is a distinctive trait in the last decade of the twentieth century. The cultural diplomatic institutions established a permanent Korean exhibition space in overseas museums, intending to globally promote Korean culture in the 1990s; therefore, Section 2.2. discusses the development of the cultural institutions involved in negotiation, exhibitions and cultural programmes in overseas museums, such as the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea and the Korean Cultural Centre, and their responsibilities in delivering cultural diplomacy aims. This section also analyses the South Korean government’s designation of the new vision of the role of culture in the twenty-first century.

Third, the most recent form of cultural diplomacy from the 2000s to the present, ‘cultural relations’, can best be discussed alongside the notion of mutual understanding that views cultural value itself as a priority rather than economic or diplomatic benefits.¹²⁵ The South Korean government’s cultural policy and the cultural institutions’ drafting of the new vision for representing Korean culture overseas started to be concerned with and pursue mutual understanding between cultures. In overseas museums, curators of Korean culture have curated thematic exhibitions and cultural programmes on specific aspects of Korean culture based on cross-cultural perspectives. Section 2.3. demonstrates how this shift in cultural diplomacy policies are significant for discussing cultural diplomacy in the twenty-first century.

¹²⁴ Gray, ‘Instrumental Policies: Causes, Consequences, Museums and Galleries’.

¹²⁵ Ahearne, ‘Cultural Policy Explicit and Implicit’, pp. 141-144.

This chapter's discussion is grounded in data generated by South Korean presidents' official speeches and national development plans, including budget plans drawn up by two ministries: the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹²⁶ The parts of those archival records which have certain relevance to cultural diplomacy policies are the key materials discussed. Additionally, the institutions' annual reports provide robust complementary evidence of the articulation of the three stages of the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy.

2.1. 'Public Diplomacy': Culture during the Construction of the Nation

South Korean cultural diplomacy starts with the establishment of the first South Korean Government in 1948 which had an explicit aim to build the nation. The first president of South Korea, Rhee Syngman,¹²⁷ in his first official presidential speech, expressed his strong willingness to construct the nation. He pointed out Korea's past under-development as a factor causing fewer opportunities for developing international exchanges.¹²⁸ Although culture was not directly referred to, his speech presented a new spirit and behaviour as a way of restoring the nation-state:

We will promote peace and enjoy an equal benefit from diplomatic trade by promoting a friendly relationship with all the countries of the world [...] People should make a new way and go forward with new spirit and new behaviour, and this nation will have those lost forty years [during the Japanese Occupation] restored and will compete with world civilisation.¹²⁹

In the beginning, the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs (established on 17 July 1948) regarded cultural diplomacy matters as the subsidiary work of ambassadors. The

¹²⁶ The names of the two ministries have changed over time. See Appendix 5 for the changes. The general names of 'Ministry of Culture' and 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs' are used in this thesis.

¹²⁷ Rhee Syngman (이승만 李承晩, 1875–1965) was the first and third president of South Korea; the period of his government administration was 1948–1960.

¹²⁸ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President's Inaugural Address* (대통령 취임사), 24 July 1948 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 28 July 2017]. Note: All files of presidential speeches are digitally archived in the National Archives of Korea's Presidential Archives page and have the same URL address.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

Ministry's primary roles were diplomacy, external economic policy, responsibility for overseas Korean nationals and the analysis of international situations and overseas promotional affairs — a propaganda role held by the Cultural Division of Information Bureau.¹³⁰ This public propaganda activity had the expectation of helping South Korea's international relations efforts at the time by building a closer relationship with the USA in spreading anti-communist sentiment.¹³¹

The need for cultural promotion abroad through cultural propaganda institutions was first asserted by President Rhee. In his official speech, President Rhee mentions the Japanese case, as the Japanese government increased the amount of funding to culture to 'soften' anti-Japanese sentiment caused by colonialism and imperialism:¹³²

Japan made an effort to produce overseas propaganda through its institutions. Because of it, Korea and the Korean people are painted as extremely bad, and so I think establishing Korea's institution for propaganda is the most urgent matter whenever there is an opportunity.¹³³

This was the first Korean president's recognition of the importance of promoting South Korea's place within the international world, however, it was interrupted by the outbreak of the Korean War (1950–1953). The War destroyed the country and Korean cultural heritage (see Figure 6); thus, joining and participating in activities of international organisations such as UNESCO (see Figure 7) and the World Bank was the South Korean government's sole route to obtaining aid for national reconstruction.

¹³⁰ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *60 Years of Korea Diplomacy* (Seoul: Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009), p. 333.

¹³¹ Keum-jin Yoon, 'An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums', p. 71.

¹³² Koichi Iwabuchi, 'Pop-culture Diplomacy in Japan: Soft Power, Nation Branding and the Question of International Cultural Exchange', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 2015, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 419-432.

¹³³ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Regarding Cultural Propaganda Works* (선전문화산업에 대하여), May 1950 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 28 July 2017].



Figure 6: UN army passing Suwon Castle destroyed during the Korean War, 1950

© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea



Figure 7: South Korea in UNESCO conference, 1963

© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea

It was not just South Korea's wish to be involved with international organisations; South Korea also aspired to become involved in international politics during the Cold War. Supporting South Korea's post-war reconstruction was an element of UN policy

against the communist threat in the Asia Pacific region.¹³⁴ In particular, the promotion of USA policies in South Korea was a means of linking East Asia to American influence in the post-war period. This was significant in making Japan and South Korea allies in the struggle against the Soviet Union and China.¹³⁵

In this context, South Korea's social, educational and economic construction during the post-war period was fundamentally supported by UNESCO (which South Korea joined in 1950) and the World Bank. The support from UNESCO came in 1954 when they provided \$100,000 to the Korean government for the development of national textbooks, printing equipment and facilities.¹³⁶ The illiteracy rate reduced dramatically from 77.7% of the population in 1930, to 22.1% in 1959 and then again to 7% in 1970.¹³⁷ Joining the World Bank as its 58th member, South Korean high-level government officials participated in the courses offered by the Economic Development Institute.¹³⁸ Technically and financially assisted by the World Bank, South Korea initiated dramatic economic development through an infrastructural shift. The country switched from agricultural to manufacturing industries in the 1960s and to heavy and chemical industries in the 1970s; as such, its economic competitiveness in the world market improved greatly.¹³⁹ The Rhee government's public propaganda background to the first South Korean government's public propaganda initiative and its involvement in international governance bodies and organisations was a precursor to the national context of the development of South Korea's cultural policies in supporting liberal democracy.

2.1.1. Political Ideology and Subjecthood: 1960s

¹³⁴ McDougall, 'Understanding Asia Pacific International Politics', *Asia Pacific in World Politics*, pp. 1-27.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 1.

¹³⁶ Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 'Education Programme', *Value and Impact of UNESCO Activities in Korea* (Seoul: 2015), pp. 177-183 (p. 177).

¹³⁷ *Ibid*.

¹³⁸ World Bank Group, *World Bank Group and Republic of Korea: 60 Years of Partnership* (Incheon: World Bank Group Korea Office, 2015), pp. 3-4.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*.

A period of rapid construction and development of the South Korean nation took place over two decades through the 1960s and the 1970s, during which instrumental cultural policies were heavily promoted. It is noteworthy that the term ‘culture’ was first mentioned alongside its role as a means of constructing the subjecthood of South Korean people for modernisation in President Park Chung-hee’s inaugural address in 1963.¹⁴⁰

It is our homeland which grew up into a brilliant *culture* and which has a history going back 5000 years. [...] The certain task of history for our generation in the 1960s is to promote the modernisation of the motherland in all fields, including politics, the economy, society and culture. [...] The nation must cultivate self-consciousness of *subjecthood* and establish self-reliance [author’s italics].¹⁴¹

During this time, President Park Chung-hee interpreted the pre-modern period’s social characteristics as ‘irrational’ matters to be overcome ‘urgently’ through politics;¹⁴² this interpretation continued until his regime ended in the late 1970s. To develop culture anew, the government’s support for arts and culture propelled the realisation of a ‘national revival’, rooted in Korean history, tradition and culture¹⁴³ implemented through the establishment of a fundamental governmental institution for culture in 1961 and having a public information role.

The main ministry in cultural diplomacy did not exist in the 1960s, however, established in 1961, the Ministry of Public Information had a responsibility to play a propaganda-

¹⁴⁰ Park Chung-hee (박정희 朴正熙, 1917–1979) was the fifth and ninth president of South Korea during the two decades of government administration spanning 1962–1979.

¹⁴¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Fifth President’s Inaugural Address* (제5대 대통령 취임사), 17 December 1963 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

¹⁴² National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Sixth President’s Inaugural Address* (제6대 대통령 취임사), 1 July 1967 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

¹⁴³ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Ninth President’s Inaugural Address* (제9대 대통령 취임사), 27 December 1978 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

related role. Because an independent cultural ministry did not exist, cultural affairs such as art, film and performance fell in the remit of the Ministry of Education;¹⁴⁴ the Ministry of Public Information, on the other hand, concentrated on public propaganda and promotion activities. As the government made the organisational structure for public propaganda, it can be inferred that culture itself was not regarded as a pivotal piece of cultural diplomacy, rather, culture and diplomacy were separately recognised by the government.

President Park outlined the broad strategic concepts of the national plan in his annual message to the National Assembly in 1965, which is when the term ‘cultural exchange’ first appeared with regard to public activities. The section of his message on diplomacy and national defence included the diplomatic activities to ‘dispatch ambassadors to establish diplomatic missions’ and ‘to promote cultural propaganda’.¹⁴⁵ Additionally, in the section on education and society, the instrumental role of cultural activities in maintaining and developing good relationships with ‘allied nations’ and liberal democracy was explicitly expressed:

We will harmoniously promote and develop foreign culture on the traditional basis of nationality and national culture [...] In particular, we will actively promote *anti-communist* activities and strengthen our belief in *liberal democracy*. We will do our best to improve cultural exchange and cooperation with friendly/allied nations *by strengthening overseas public activities* [author’s italics].¹⁴⁶

As the president’s annual message of 1965 indicates, overseas public activities had the aim of delivering public propaganda while the government continued to develop the South Korean nation. The term ‘cultural diplomacy’ was first used in relation to diplomatic activities in a letter sent from President Park to the mission chief of the Overseas Information Centres (currently known as the Korean Cultural Centres). The

¹⁴⁴ National Law Information Centre, Cabinet Decree, No. 21.

¹⁴⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President’s Annual Message to the National Assembly (1965 년도 대통령 연두교서)*, 16 January 1965

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 August 2017].

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

letter stressed that the role of the mission chief was to enhance and promote friendship with the host nations ‘to enhance national prestige’.¹⁴⁷ The year of 1965 was also crucial to the relationships among the USA, Japan and South Korea. Formal diplomatic relations between South Korea and Japan were normalised in 1965; as a result, the former strategic disadvantage the USA had in being diplomatically stuck between South Korea and Japan resolved and Japan’s investment in South Korea became essential to helping the speedy economic development of both Japan and South Korea.¹⁴⁸ As such, external circumstances shaped the South Korean government’s demand for cultural diplomacy in the context of anti-communist political endeavours.

The specific cultural institutions (National Cultural Centre) implemented during this period included the construction of the South Korean nation’s political ideology and national identity. At the ground-breaking ceremony for the building of a comprehensive national cultural cluster in 1966 (presently the National Theatre of Korea) (see Figure 8), President Park clearly indicated the mission of such a national cultural institution:

It will serve not only as an exhibitionary display to collect and display cultural objects of ancestors, but also as a tool to find and distribute scattered or buried cultural properties and to develop a *new national culture* and to encourage people to become the centre of the study of true national cultural history that *promotes a sense of subjecthood* of the nation [author’s italics].¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President’s Annual Message to the National Assembly* (*해외 공관장에게 보내는 친서*), 1 January 1967

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 3 August 2017].

¹⁴⁸ Richard H. Immerman and Goedde, Petra (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of The Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 293-294.

¹⁴⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President’s Annual Message to the National Assembly* (*1967 년 대통령 연두교서*), 17 January 1967

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 3 August 2017].



Figure 8: National Culture Centre ground-breaking ceremony, 22 November 1966
© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea

At the same moment that the government was shaping South Korean citizens' subjecthood, the National Museum became the mechanism with which to create a national cultural identity. The opening of the National Museum was in 1945, however, it wasn't until the mid to late 1960s that the museum started to deliver on its role in the government's cultural policy aim. In the 1960s, the National Museum's institutional affiliation transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Public and Culture Information (established in 1968) and it changed its name to the National Museum of Korea in 1972. When the Ministry of Public Information took over responsibility of the cultural sector, the role of the National Museum was stated as being to educate (South) Korean people on nationhood through the promotion of 'unique traditional culture'¹⁵⁰ and to politicise Korean history and culture nationally and internationally.¹⁵¹ It was important for the Korean state to make its populace internalise a national consciousness and mobilise them for national economic and social development¹⁵² to create the nationalistic subjecthood¹⁵³ of the South Korean people.

¹⁵⁰ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1968* (1968 년도 예비안 지출에 즈음한 시정연설), 16 October 1967

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 3 August 2017].

¹⁵¹ Choe, *History of Korean Museums*, p. 11.

¹⁵² Ibid, pp. 82-83.

¹⁵³ Haksoo Yim, 'Ex-president Park Chung-hee's Awareness of the Cultural Policy (박정희 대통령의 문화정책 인식 연구)', *Journal of Art Management*, vol. 21 (2012), pp. 159-182.

2.1.2. Cultural Plans to Construct a Unique Identity: 1970s

The structure of the government organisation that has relevance to cultural diplomatic work was implemented in the 1970s. The Ministry of Public Information was restructured and changed its name to the Ministry of Culture and Public Information in 1968¹⁵⁴ as part of the integration of the Ministry of Education's responsibility for culture. According to the president's speech, the aim of this organisational change was to systematically promote the development of the cultural sector and, in turn, promote the South Korean nation.¹⁵⁵ Accordingly, it is notable that a separate Culture Division was established at this time, which was responsible for the international exchange of culture and arts. The Public Information Division continued to work in a propaganda role with activities such as investigation and analysis of overseas political situations, the planning of cultural promotion and overseeing directors of overseas public information centres; in addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Public Information and Culture Division oversaw international negotiation for cultural exchange. Therefore, as the restructured Ministry of Culture and Public Information alludes, culture came to be another important piece, along with the role of public information, in cultural diplomacy.

It is notable that the anti-communist ideology was softened in comparison to the period soon after the Korean War; this is because cultural exchange was expected to 'gradually expand the scope of contact with non-hostile communist countries'.¹⁵⁶ To implement public propaganda practice, the Korean Overseas Information Service was officially

¹⁵⁴ The Ministry of Interior [Internal Affairs], *History of Government Organisation Change* (Seoul: The Ministry of Interior, 1998).

¹⁵⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1969* (1969년도 예산안 지출에 즈음한 시정연설), 3 September 1968
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 4 August 2017].

¹⁵⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1973* (1973년도 예산안 지출에 즈음한 시정연설문), 2 September 1972
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 7 August 2017].

inaugurated;¹⁵⁷ additionally, the Korea Association of International Culture¹⁵⁸ was founded in 1972 to undertake cultural exchange practice. These decisions set a new direction for the international cultural exchange policy under the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. The South Korean government pushed forward its position on culture and cultural policy with the aim of achieving cultural diplomacy so as to introduce the ‘excellence’ of Korean culture, stating that ‘cultural diplomacy will also be expanded to introduce the originality and excellence of our culture abroad’.¹⁵⁹ With regard to achieving cultural development, a number of measures were mentioned, namely, systematic research on traditional culture, the scientific preservation of cultural heritage, the expansion of cultural facilities and the promotion of international cultural exchanges.¹⁶⁰

While there was a significant change in the organisational structure of cultural diplomacy in the mid-1970s, culture was still regarded as a means of constructing a good relationship with other nations. For economic promotion:

Economic/cultural diplomacy means securing resources for the economic construction of our country or promoting economic development by promoting trade, promoting our economic development, and cultivating national strength or mutual friendships and relationships through culture, arts and sports.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ National Law Information Center, *Organisation of Korean Overseas Information Service*, Presidential Decree, No. 5934, 31 December 1971.

This built a diplomatic system with 34 overseas public information officials in the US, France, Japan and Vietnam to promote national policy development.

¹⁵⁸ This institution’s role was transferred to the Korea Foundation in 1991.

¹⁵⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1975* (1975년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 4 October 1974

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 8 August 2017]; National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1976* (1976년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 4 October 1975

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 8 August 2017].

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President’s Annual Message to the National Assembly 1974* (1974년도 연두 기자회견), 18 January 1974

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 7 August 2017].

In the mid-1970s, the South Korean government began its first mid- to long-term cultural development plan, known as the First Five-Year Plan for Culture and Arts Revival, which states an aim to create new national arts and to improve people's cultural lives.¹⁶² The main initiatives are to revive Korean culture (especially traditional culture) and raise strong nationalistic sentiment in the minds of Korean people; thus, this plan is primarily inward-looking.¹⁶³ In the process of drafting this plan, one of the justifications mentioned was that 'the national spirit is the mother of forming culture being developed further by the produced culture, and arts' creation of culture and national spirit on the same line'.¹⁶⁴ The vision was to construct a national identity using culture; as the president argued, 'without the development of spiritual culture, we cannot expect that we will come to the era of long-awaited national rejuvenation only by material growth'.¹⁶⁵ The government deemed it necessary to develop the cultural sector after having achieved substantial social and economic development.

While evoking Korea's 'unique' cultural identity by emphasising its differences from Chinese culture as a communist bloc in the Cold War, the South Korean government's point of view on the selective acceptance of foreign cultures is well reflected in the following statement of 1977:

We are very influenced by Chinese culture, but we are proud to say that Chinese and Korean culture are undoubtedly different from one another, and that our culture has a creativity that is completely distinct from Chinese culture. [...] It seems that unconditional rejection of foreign culture is the disappearance of the achievement of our culture itself, our culture becoming intolerant.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² National Archives of Korea, The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, *BA0136105*, 'The First Five Year Plan for Culture and Arts Revival 1974–1978', June 1973.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly* (대통령 연두교서), 19 January 1979

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 August 2017].

¹⁶⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly 1977* (1977 년 연두 기자회견), 12 January 1977

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 August 2017].

In this regard, President Park put an emphasis on the role of the National Museum to build and promote Korean cultural identity. The annual message in 1978 effectively put forth a strong encouragement for South Korean people to participate in the museum sector, insisting that it was necessary for its citizens' construction of nationhood:

After the exhibition [5000 Years of Korean Art] in Japan, these objects came back and are exhibited in our National Museum; I heard that many people visited and admired and praised them all. By the way, the cultural properties displayed there are not the first ones that were hidden in our museum in the past. It means that people think our cultural property is good when others praise them. I think that we should reflect on the fact that our Korean people have certainly not been able to recognise the true value of our traditional and unique culture.¹⁶⁷

As the annual messages of the president in the late 1970s demonstrated, the South Korean government continued to use culture for the construction of the people's identity. It was not until the late 1970s that the government recognised that sustainable and long-term funding for arts and culture was essential for the national revival. According to the Second Five-Year Plan for Culture and Arts Revival, a fundamental policy text/plan that worked as a basis for cultural policy making in late 1970s, the government wanted to raise the nation's international competitiveness by the 1990s:

In the late 1990s when the plan is completed, our nation's culture and arts will showcase our independence. [...] And as a result of increased political and economic exchanges and active overseas promotion, Korea's image as a nation of culture will be understood by international society.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly* (대통령 연두교서), 18 January 1978

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 8 August 2017].

¹⁶⁸ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, BA0136110, 'Fundamental Material of Policy-Making', June 1978, p. 3.

The budget for the above-mentioned cultural plan included a specific clause regarding the National Museum's role in international cultural exchange. An investment of around 40 million Korean Won was planned for the expansion of the National Museum and the consolidation of its management.¹⁶⁹ International cultural exchanges through the museums were specifically developed to increase the chances of hosting the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Asia in 1979. The aim was to introduce a Korean museum and cultural property policy and to open a major travelling exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art*, in the USA and European nations;¹⁷⁰ thus, Korean culture's unique identity, imposed during the 1960s, was more systemically emphasised through the development of national cultural plans and through the role of the National Museum of Korea in international cultural exchange in the 1970s.

2.1.3. Fundraising for International Cultural Exchange: 1980s

In the 1980s, the government's investment in and support for the cultural sector and international cultural exchange dramatically increased. The Meeting Report of the Second Five-Year Plan for Culture and Arts Revival Council, which was led by Prime Minister, Kyu-hah Choi,¹⁷¹ presented a budget and fundraising plan for supporting cultural development. Seok-ki Yeo, a committee member, who was a theatre critic, argued that 'a systemic component should be considered in the national policy for a balanced development of the economy and spiritual culture'; remarkably, he suggested that 1% of the national budget be set aside for cultural development.¹⁷² The aim of the investment and fundraising proposal was to implement cultural policies by researching and developing new national culture and arts based on traditional culture. For the promotion of the international exchange of culture and arts, the proposed budget was doubled from that of the previous year, 1978.¹⁷³ The government encouraged loans of

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, *BA0240799*, 'First Draft of the Second Five Year Plan of Culture and Arts Revival', 18 May 1977.

This will be specifically discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁷¹ The twelfth prime minister of South Korea during the period spanning 1976–1979.

¹⁷² National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, *BA0136110*, 'Meeting Record of the Committee of Culture and Arts Promotion', 4 April 1977.

¹⁷³ Keum-jin Yoon, 'An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums', p. 47.

cultural objects between the National Museum of Korea and overseas museums; further, the government supported the National Museum's purchase of cultural property to expand displays in overseas museums that did not have substantial Korean collections. The first and best supported museum was the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1979 with 45 objects.¹⁷⁴ In the same year, Korean Cultural Centres were established overseas in Tokyo, New York and Los Angeles with Paris following in 1980. These establishments further developed diplomacy through cultural means.

In the early- to mid-1980s, President Doo-hwan Chun¹⁷⁵ introduced four key national strategies which included a cultural element: incorporation of democracy, construction of a welfare society, implementation of social justice and, finally, educational innovation and cultural promotion.¹⁷⁶ President Chun noted, 'I am convinced that such a democratic, welfare-led and just society can only be achieved through educational innovation and the promotion of national culture'.¹⁷⁷ This notion was a continuation of the previous government's stance towards cultural development; however, although the government used culture and arts to construct national security, the significant change is that culture was recognised as a principal sector of national policy, not a subsidiary part.

As a result, the government's national and international cultural funding and support to promote Korean culture in the 1980s followed. First, the government's fundraising for cultural diplomacy encouraged major companies to participate by using a cultural foundation to promote traditional culture, popular culture, art and Korean Studies.¹⁷⁸ The Ho-am Museum of Art by Samsung, which is the largest private art museum in Asia,¹⁷⁹ started to pursue social activity and 'corporate philanthropy of businesses

¹⁷⁴ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, BA0240799, 'Second Draft of the Second Five Year Plan of Culture and Arts Revival', 23 June 1978.

¹⁷⁵ Chun Doo-hwan (전두환 全斗煥, 1931–) was the eleventh and twelfth president and his government's administration spanned a period from 1980–1988.

¹⁷⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Eleventh President's Inaugural Address* (제11대 대통령 취임사), 1 September 1980 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 17 August 2017].

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, BA0240799, 'Proposal of the Second Five Year Plan of Culture and Arts Revival', p. 6.

¹⁷⁹ Samsung Foundation for Culture, *History of 30 Years of Samsung Foundation for Culture: Culture's Scent 1965–1994* (Seoul: Samsung Foundation for Culture, 1995), p. 27.

beyond the merely economic benefit.¹⁸⁰ In terms of cultural policy, the cultural foundation of this major Korean company sought institutional value in terms of national cultural property preservation with a sense of duty beyond economic or instrumental values. The Samsung Foundation for Culture later invested in Korean art development in overseas museums starting in the 1990s.

Second, the government donated funds for the construction of the East Asian Gallery at the Smithsonian American Art Museum in the USA to promote Korean culture and to maintain a close relationship through cultural diplomacy in the museum sector. President Chun also emphasised the ‘unique’ Korean culture to the world in his US state visit:

Koreans are a single nation with a ‘unique’ language and art forms that reflect ‘unique’ history, life and values in Asia. Now I think that the time has come for American people to enjoy cultural heritage with our Korean people. With this in mind, I declare that I present a million dollars to the Smithsonian here in the name of the Korean people. I sincerely hope that this new [East Asian Art] museum will be a symbol of friendship between Korea and the United States.¹⁸¹

The government’s support for international cultural exchange through increased fundraising and through the involvement of private cultural foundations and overseas museums in the 1980s represents a more emphatic role for cultural institutions within cultural diplomacy.

Section 2.1 discussed the South Korean government’s establishment of an organisational structure for the promotion of the nation-state. Culture and international exchange activity were regarded as a means of creating people’s subjecthood and national identity and of maintaining political relationships and ideologies; this can be

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, pp. 66-67.

¹⁸¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Official Visit to the US: Greeting at the Smithsonian Museum, 'The Time Has to Come to Enjoy Cultural Heritage Together (미합중국 공식방문: 스미스소니언박물관에서의 인사말)*, 3 February 1981.
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 September 2017].

defined as the ‘public diplomacy’ stage. Cultural diplomatic institutions’ roles increasingly became involved in the national cultural policy through the mid-1980s; additionally, from the late-1980s, the relevant institutions played a key role in cultural diplomacy and in the promotion of Korean culture in an era of globalisation that the following section expands upon.

2.2. ‘Cultural Diplomacy’: Culture into International Society

According to *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, the term ‘cultural diplomacy’ is defined as ‘the promotion abroad of a state’s cultural achievements’ by the ‘dedicated organisations closely associated with the diplomatic service’.¹⁸² This definition is an approach to ‘cultural diplomacy’ from the diplomatic activity point of view, such as the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ definition. Nevertheless, as briefly noted in the previous section, cultural diplomatic policy and practice in the 1990s promoted not only diplomatic aims but also cultural activity. This section analyses the South Korean government’s response to globalisation in the 1990s and Korean culture’s engagement in the international arena, focusing on the practice of the cultural (diplomatic) institutions such as the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea.

The significant change in cultural policy in the mid-1980s foreshadowed a change in the cultural diplomatic policy environment of the 1990s. Before hosting the international mega-event of the 1988 Seoul Olympics in Seoul, the government made strategic, long-term cultural development plans. When the country started to prepare for the 1988 Olympics (see Figure 9), President Chun announced the national assignment as an opportunity for cultural development, by connecting culture and history with a national spirit:

We have a task to show our cultural aspects and pride during the upcoming 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. [...] In cultural policy, I will focus on developing a sense of ownership that is essential for each citizen to actively participate in this new history. For this, we will endeavour to preserve cultural properties as well as to support the national research project (Korean Studies) so that we can

¹⁸² Berridge and James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, pp. 69-70.

have a proper awareness and pride in history and traditional culture and heighten the national spirit.¹⁸³

As the president's speech indicates, the aim of creating active cultural programmes and activities was to 'encourage high-quality artistic activities' and 'the widespread use of excellent works of art to be called the "Culture Olympics"'.¹⁸⁴ While promoting people's cultural participation, the government included the cultural sphere as part of the social and economic development plan.



Figure 9: Seoul Olympics 1988 opening ceremony
© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea

Compared to former governments, which primarily aimed to create people's 'subjecthood' and 'national identity' through culture, the government of the mid-1980s

¹⁸³ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *New Year's Speech to the Government 1982* (1982 년 국정연설), 22 January 1982 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 18 September 2017].

¹⁸⁴ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *New Year's Speech to the Government 1983*, 'Let's All Join of Creating the Advanced Country' (1983 년 국정연설, '선진조국창조 대열에 다같이 참여하자'), 18 January 1983 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 18 September 2017].

started to place emphasis on how culture related to people's lives. In the Sixth Five-Year Economic and Social Development Plan 1987–1991, the comprehensive cultural policies, namely social welfare, the establishment of cultural identity, the promotion of cultural creativity, cultural 'internationalism' and culture for national development, were all included.¹⁸⁵ President Chun stated the government's support for citizen's diplomatic activities in the international community:

We will emphasise our firm commitment to promote world peace and prosperity in the international community, expand international exchanges in the field of culture and sports, and actively support citizen's diplomatic activities.¹⁸⁶

In the same year that South Korea hosted the Olympics Games, the 13th President Tae-woo Roh¹⁸⁷ promoted culture for 'all' people in his inaugural address:

I will do my best to create an era of revival of brilliant arts and culture by the Korean people who have achieved economic miracles through the promotion of academic and cultural arts. Therefore, we will strive to enjoy the high-quality cultural life for all the people.¹⁸⁸

As stated above, Korean people were regarded as citizens who had a right to enjoy cultural life after experiencing substantial economic growth, in contrast to previous governments which emphasised the people's subjecthood for national development. This government of the 13th presidency expected and expressed an overarching impact of the Olympics on arts, culture and academic sectors – a moment where 'the East and

¹⁸⁵ National Archives of Korea: Economic Planning Board, *C11M06547*, 'The Sixth Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan 1987–1991', 1986.

¹⁸⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1986* (1986년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 12 October 1985 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 August 2017].

¹⁸⁷ Roh Tae-woo (노태우 盧泰愚, 1932–) was the thirteenth president of South Korea during the period spanning 1988–1993.

¹⁸⁸ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Thirteenth President's Inaugural Address* (제13대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 1988 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 17 August 2017].

the West, Korea and the world meet together'.¹⁸⁹ The timing and impact of the Olympics in Seoul were seen as a cultural turn and was called 'the miracle of cultural people',¹⁹⁰ following the 'economic miracle'.

As Joseph S. Nye (1990) argues, 'the best propaganda is not propaganda',¹⁹¹ cultural diplomacy in the 1990s is often described as 'soft power', emphasising its actions focused on co-option and attraction, in contrast to a more coercive 'hard power' approach.¹⁹² Nye's definition of soft power is useful to explain the change of the cultural role, as he writes:

If I am persuaded to go along with your purposes without any explicit threat or exchange taking place – in short, if my behaviour is determined by an observable but intangible attraction – soft power is at work.¹⁹³

The establishment of permanent Korean galleries in overseas museums during the 1990s can be discussed in relation to the notion of soft power, in terms of a cooperative relationship between South Korean cultural diplomatic institutions, such as the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, as a means to provide Korean culture in a global space. The museum sector credits the 'empirical data on the phenomenon of "soft power" and cultural diplomacy' with the change of the perceptions of the public.¹⁹⁴ The following sub-sections discuss how the South Korean government and cultural institutions shaped the cultural diplomacy of the 1990s.

¹⁸⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Special Speech around the Opening of Seoul Olympic Games* (서울올림픽 개막에 즈음한 특별 담화), 14 September 1988

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 September 2017].

¹⁹⁰ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1989* (1989년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 4 October 1988

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 September 2017].

¹⁹¹ Joseph S. Nye Jr, 'China's Soft Power Deficit: To Catch Up, Its Politics Must Unleash the Many Talents of Its Civil Society', *The Wall Street Journal*, 8 May 2012

<<https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052702304451104577389923098678842>> [accessed 7 August 2016].

¹⁹² Joseph S. Nye Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 8.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p. 7.

¹⁹⁴ Yunci Cai, 'The Art of Museum Diplomacy: The Singapore–France Cultural Collaboration in Perspective', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 26 (2013), pp. 127–144 (p. 141).

2.2.1. The Ministry for Culture: 1990

In 1990, the Ministry of Culture and Public Information was divided into two administrative agencies, the Ministry of Culture and the Bureau of Public Information with the latter being abolished in 1998. The Ministry of Culture evolved and shed responsibility for the public information role; instead, it had a role in the realisation of social welfare through cultural policy. The government initiated the first long-term cultural development plan, the Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development, and suggested an overall advancement plan focused on culture, concentrating on social welfare through culture, cultural homogeneity and solidarity,¹⁹⁵ and the improvement of cultural programmes for the ‘information age’.¹⁹⁶ When the president directed the drafting of the Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development, the budget was set to increase by 30% annually from 1991, and a separate section was drawn up with international cultural exchange as a key factor.¹⁹⁷ Consequently, cultural diplomacy was placed under the umbrella of longer-term cultural policy plans, with more potential of being funded.

In the context of international relationships in the 1990s, there were notable changes to the political and diplomatic environment which influenced the nation’s cultural diplomacy policy and practice. The route of economic cooperation and cultural relationships gradually opened to the former communist nations.

Diplomatic relationships were established in the 1990s with countries, such as China, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Mongolia and Romania.¹⁹⁸ As a result, ‘multilateral’ diplomacy, which refers to diplomacy with three or more states, came to be possible. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pushed forward with multilateral diplomacy after registering with the UN in 1991 and the UN General Assembly¹⁹⁹ at the end of the Cold War. Further, after the liberalisation of overseas travel for South Korean people in

¹⁹⁵ This was to prepare for cooperation with North Korea before hosting international mega events.

Source: National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, CA0016623, ‘Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development: Works for Mid-Term Financial Plan 1992–1996’, 4 November 1989.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *60 Years of Korea Diplomacy*, p. 46.

¹⁹⁹ Berridge and James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, pp. 176-177.

1989, which had been formerly prohibited for citizens, major companies began to actively invest abroad. A wider diplomatic geography thus broadened the space of cultural representation and led to the emergence of the notion of a mutual understanding of culture as is evident in the following excerpt from the president's speech in 1990:

In order to promote understanding between the two countries, it would be good to promote academic exchanges, mutual visits of traditional arts and organisations of performing arts and culture, and mutual holding of cultural assets and modern cultural exhibitions.²⁰⁰

The significant changes in President Roh's speech in terms of analysing Korean culture within East Asian geographical boundaries, which seemed to be a response to changing international relationships, are apparent in his speech given during his state visit to Japan. The political relationship with Japan had improved and President Roh highlighted the 'cultural similarities', stating that:

Korea, Japan and China have flourished in East Asia with a brilliant East Asian culture. It is also true that there was an unhappy period in the history of the long friendship between Korea and Japan [...] Korea and Japan are the closest neighbours between the narrow straits with shared cultural tradition.²⁰¹

Previously, former presidents had emphasised the 'unique' culture and were keen to distinguish Korean culture from other East Asian cultures, especially from communist China and the past coloniser Japan; in contrast, President Roh emphasised the 'shared tradition of oriental culture that has flourished for thousands of years'.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Magazine Interview with "El Sol de Mexico"*, 'Urgent Need of Cooperation for Opening The Pacific Rim' (*El Sol de Mexico* 지 인터뷰, '환태평양의 개발 협력 긴요'), 3 June 1990 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 12 September 2017].

²⁰¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Magazine Interview in Writing with "Korea Today"*, 'A New Era of True Friendship Cooperation' (*Korea Today* 지 서면회견, '진정한 우호 협력의 새 시대를'), 5 May 1990 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 12 September 2017].

²⁰² Ibid.

The government highlighted the need to create a larger dimension of ‘international cultural exchange’ by increasing funds and establishing a cultural agency²⁰³ following the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. They unveiled the detailed plan and strategies within the Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development in 1990 after a revision from the previous decade. The section for cultural diplomacy specifically underwent a significant change. The small budget for international cultural exchange, which was 1.6% of the total budget in 1990 (around 61 billion Korean Won), increased tenfold to 16.3% in 1991.²⁰⁴ The International Cultural Exchange section of the Seventh Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1992–1996 manifestly highlighted ‘cultural diplomacy’ and the ‘sustainable’ promotion of Korean culture among world cultures by establishing Korean galleries in overseas museums.²⁰⁵ The government’s perspective of developing Korean culture on the international stage tended to be influenced by diplomatic relationships and strategies.²⁰⁶ The Ministry of Culture was established in 1990 and was no longer responsible for public information matters; rather, the Ministry of Culture enhanced a long-term cultural development policy along with an increased budget for cultural diplomatic practice, which was a notable change in the development of both cultural policy and cultural diplomacy.

2.2.2. The Two Institutions of Cultural Diplomacy 1990s

The roles and responsibilities of cultural institutions in cultural diplomacy became more strategic and systematic during the 1990s. Two institutions, the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, played an important role in representing Korean culture in overseas museums. The establishment of the Korea Foundation in 1991 as a ‘public

²⁰³ National Archives of Korea: Ministry of Culture, *DA0220971*, ‘Revision of Cultural Part of the Seventh Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development Plan 1992–1996’, March 1991, pp. 93-96.

²⁰⁴ National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, *DA0351272*, ‘Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development’, 21 June 1990.

²⁰⁵ National Archives of Korea: Ministry of Culture, *DA0220971*, ‘The Seventh Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development Plan 1992–1996’, October 1990.

²⁰⁶ National Archives of Korea: Ministry of Culture, *DA0220971*, ‘Revision of Cultural Part of the Seventh Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development Plan 1992–1996’, p. 99.

diplomacy' institution²⁰⁷ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs²⁰⁸ initiated a cultural diplomacy practice at an internationally historic moment: the collapse of the Cold War system.²⁰⁹ The establishment of the Korea Foundation changed its organisational affiliation from the former Ministry of Culture and Public Information (the name of the Korean Association of International Culture, established in 1972) to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²¹⁰ The Korea Foundation was managed by a public sector fund, namely the International Cultural Fund, with funds primarily raised through the collection of payments when people submitted a passport application. By doing this, the Korea Foundation was able to preserve its independent institutional status as a stand-alone public diplomatic body that supported overseas cultural activities.²¹¹

As an institution of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which implements culture as means of public diplomatic practice, the Korea Foundation played a pivotal role in the negotiation of the establishment of Korean galleries in overseas and 'universal' museums.²¹² The Korea Foundation Act 1991, which was drawn up by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, describes the purpose of the establishment of the Korea Foundation to 'carry out various projects for the interchange between the Republic of Korea [South

²⁰⁷ Two ministries of Culture and Foreign Affairs use different terms surrounding 'cultural diplomacy' stages. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs uses the term 'public diplomacy' rather than 'cultural diplomacy', which has been more frequently used by the Ministry of Culture. The term 'public diplomacy' here does not mean past propaganda diplomacy but has a variation in accordance with the evolution, such as 'public diplomacy 1.0', 'public diplomacy 2.0' and 'public diplomacy 3.0'.

²⁰⁸ National Law Information Center, Korea Foundation Act, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, No. 4414, 14 December 1991.

²⁰⁹ The Korea Foundation, 'Chapter 1: Establishment of the Foundation', *10 Years History of the Korea Foundation 1992–2001* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 2002), pp. 28–33 (pp. 28–29).

²¹⁰ Otani Kimiko, 'International Cultural Exchange Activity of Korean Government: focused on the Korea Foundation (1991–2001).' (in Korean) (unpublished doctoral thesis, Seoul: Seoul National University, 2003), pp. 19–20.

²¹¹ Ibid, pp. 33–34.

²¹² The Korea Foundation (2016) reported that approximately 72% of Korean galleries in overseas museums were founded from the 1990s. There are 62 permanent Korean galleries in 20 nations, including the UK, US, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, Mexico, Dominica, the Czech Republic, Russia, Japan and China.

Source: The Korea Foundation, 'Korean Galleries in Overseas Museums', 2016

<<http://www.kf.or.kr/?menu=3683>> [accessed 30 June 2016];

Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by the author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

Korea] and foreign countries'.²¹³ Article 6 includes the project of 'sponsorship, support and participation in various events which aim at international [cultural] exchanges'.²¹⁴

The Ministry of Culture also proceeded to elevate cultural diplomatic institutions' role in an international context. Aiming to promote the National Museum of Korea as a worldwide national museum and to create the 'twenty-first century's central place of national culture',²¹⁵ the government initiated a ten-year construction plan in 1994 to move the museum to the Yongsan area and to restore the Gyeongbokgung Palace as an original building of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910)²¹⁶; the former building of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, which was used as the National Museum of Korea (see Figure 10), was demolished in 1995–1996.²¹⁷

²¹³ National Law Information Center, Korea Foundation Act, Act No. 4414, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 14 December 1991.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 1994* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1995), p. 91.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Kwang-moo Park, *Korean Cultural Policy*, p. 212.



Figure 10: The National Museum of Korea opened through the reconstruction of former Japanese Government-General building, 21 August 1986

© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea

Likewise, by reforming the cultural diplomatic institutions, two institutions of the Ministries of Culture (the National Museum of Korea) and Foreign Affairs (the Korea Foundation) were made ready to represent Korean culture in an era of globalisation by making an effort to restore Korean cultural identity. In addition, the National Museum of Korea's role included the promotion of international cultural exchange as 'a responsibility of the nation's social role'.²¹⁸ The new role of the museum in the globalising period included representing national as well as international cultures, as is expressed in President Kim's ground-breaking speech at the new National Museum:

The museum has a history of preserving and succeeding the peoples' lives and is the birthplace of the creation of new culture [...] The new museum, which will be built here in 2003 [...] will contribute greatly to establishing the identity of our nation in the era of globalisation and reunification. [...] I believe

²¹⁸ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 1996* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1997), Director's Acknowledgement.

that the new National Museum will be the best cultural space of our time with a sense of national pride. We are doing our best to lead the coming century of the culture. We need to establish our cultural *identity first* so that we can succeed in globalisation and contribute to the creation of *universal* human culture [author's italics].²¹⁹

Korean cultural identity and pride are continuously emphasised, and the role of the new National Museum to present cultural identity in the new era of globalisation is emphasised more than ever before. Notably, the referencing of a 'universal' culture is significant because it signifies the new vision of the South Korean government's perspective on global cultural value, seeing beyond the national identity of the late-1990s.

2.2.3. The Vision of Culture for the New Century

The South Korean government expected that the cultural sector would have a leading role in the twenty-first century and, thus, expected international cultural exchange to play a very significant role as well:

In preparation for the new century, the government will create a policy to establish cultural norms and values in the twenty-first century with the aim of realising a cultural welfare state in harmony with material civilisation and spiritual culture. In addition, in preparation for the era of globalisation, we will further expand cultural exchanges for the globalisation of our culture.²²⁰

²¹⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *New National Museum Building Groundbreaking Speech, 'National Monument of Self-respect and Pride'* (새 국립중앙박물관 건립 기공식 연설, '민족자존과 긍지 담은 거래의 기념비'), 31 October 1997

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 30 September 2017].

²²⁰ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1992* (1992년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 9 October 1991

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 September 2017].

President Kim Young-sam²²¹ continued to use government policy to respond to globalisation and named his government administration a ‘civilian government’, which aimed to make ‘the new Korea, a more liberal and mature democratic society [...] the nation where cultural life and human dignity are respected’,²²² in order to encourage ‘all citizens to enjoy culture and arts in their everyday lives’.²²³ Despite the previous government’s views that the power of culture can serve as a means of strengthening international competitiveness in the globalised era, cultural policy came to be relatively less top-down, and the government’s cultural policy was more supportive of the cultural sector.²²⁴ Moreover, President Kim criticised the 1988 Olympics in Seoul in relation to the fact that it was a one-time event and did not fully utilise the great opportunity for long-term national development after all.²²⁵ Significantly, the president proposed an increase of the cultural budget to 1% of the total national budget.²²⁶ The cultural policies continued to emphasise culture as the most important matter to compete internationally in the era of globalisation, stating that ‘globalisation without culture is bound to be helpless’.²²⁷

²²¹ The fourteenth president Kim Young-sam (김영삼 金泳三, 1928–2015); the administration was in power during the period spanning 1993–1998.

²²² National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Thirteenth President’s Inaugural Address* (제13대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 1993 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 19 August 2017].

²²³ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1994* (1994년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 25 October 1993 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 September 2017].

²²⁴ Keum-jin Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, p. 51.

²²⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, Statement at the closing ceremony of Daejeon Expo 1993 (대전엑스포 93 폐막에 즈음한 담화문), 8 November 1993 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 23 September 2017].

²²⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Seoul Newspaper Anniversary Special Interview*, ‘Eradication of corruption by consciousness reform’ (서울신문 창간 51주년 특별회견, ‘의식 개혁으로 부정부패 척결’), 22 November 1996 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 25 September 2017].

²²⁷ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Special Press Interview with the International (Segye) Times for the 5th anniversary of foundation*, ‘Neo-Economic Renovation Based On the People’s Participation and Creativity’ (세계일보 창간 5주년 특별회견, ‘신경제개혁은 국민의 참여와 창의를 바탕으로’), 1 February 1994 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 September 2017].

The president's perspective on the role of culture in globalisation is well illustrated by his speech, *Globalisation Initiative*, as he mentioned the cultural sector as the most important area in the globalisation era.²²⁸ During his speech at a luncheon hosted by the Mayor of London in 1995, the president clearly presented his acknowledgement of a transformed world society into 'a large community, where information, lifestyle, popular culture, and so on are crossing the border freely'; indeed, he was convinced that cultural exchange had a key role in nations reaching a 'higher level of development'.²²⁹ To implement this cultural exchange, the president referred to the hope of establishing a Korean gallery in the British Museum and operating a Korean cultural programme:

In the future, I hope that the Korean gallery will be set up at the British Museum, and that the 'Korean Festival' will be conducted as planned, and that Korean culture will be able to be widely introduced to British society. The Korean government will not hesitate to provide support and cooperation for cultural exchanges and civilian exchanges and cooperation between the two countries.²³⁰

He also stated a need for cultural exchange in the Asia Pacific region as a contribution to world culture, following which the term and notion of 'mutual-ness' also appeared:

I believe that the upcoming new century will be the Asia Pacific era and that culture will play a very important role in enhancing the *mutual* bond of this region and improving the quality of life. Through the globalisation of Korean culture, the Korean government is strengthening cultural exchange and cooperation with countries around the world with the goal of actively

²²⁸ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *President's Speech about Globalisation (세계화 구상에 대한 대통령 말씀)*, 26 January 1995 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 21 September 2017].

²²⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Speech at Luncheon Hosted by London Mayor (영국 런던시장 주최 오찬 답사)*, 9 March 1995 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 21 September 2017].

²³⁰ Ibid.

contributing to the formation of a more abundant *world culture* [author's italics].²³¹

There was significant discussion on the notion of cultural diplomacy in the late 1990s. In the Culture Vision 2000, which was initiated from the late 1990s and was charged with the role of suggesting a direction for culture in a transitional historical period, the aim was to construct a first-class, advanced national image through international cultural exchange in an increasingly globalised world.²³² The discussion about globalisation and the role of culture in this forum takes into account the notion of cultural diplomacy from the 1990s. In accordance with the record, Seung-ju Han, the former minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave an address entitled 'Globalisation and Our Culture', which has significant meaning in terms of defining cultural diplomacy based on his experience as a high government official. He emphasised the interrelated relationship between the roles of culture and diplomacy:

What I did in relation to the cultural sector when I worked for the government was to use the term 'cultural diplomacy' by stating the pluralistic change and diversification of diplomacy which the security and economic aspects were focused on. 'Cultural diplomacy' has two meanings: One is using our culture to conduct diplomacy, and another is the use of diplomacy for the promotion or introduction of our culture.²³³

Not only were the balanced values of Korean and world cultures considered, but also the dual economic and intrinsic values. The 'context' of culture was considered in the cultural analysis, with Minister Han pointing out that the 'representation and impact of culture is dependent on when, where and how it is presented' and, thus, 'the most *Korean-ness* as well as *universal* thing should be "co-considered and harmonised" in the

²³¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Congratulatory Message on the First Asia-Pacific Culture Forum, 'Development and Co-prosperity via Culture'* (제 1 차 아시아 태평양 문화포럼 축하 메시지, '문화를 통한 발전과 공동번영'), 28 November 1995

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 23 September 2017].

²³² National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, DA0036564, 'Record on Culture Vision 2000 Forum of 5 June 1997' (문화비전 포럼 2000), 10 June 1997.

²³³ Ibid, p. 1.

context of world cultures’ [author’s italics].²³⁴ In addition to this, Myung Oh, the former president of *Dong-A Ilbo* (*Dong-A Daily News*), during his speech entitled ‘Perspective of Twenty-first Century and Korean Culture’, argued that an investment in culture and arts is essential to economic prosperity. At the same time, it is important to evaluate the ‘cultural background’ of the national product instead of ‘just looking at the function’.²³⁵ Finally, O-young Lee, the first Minister of the Ministry of Culture, in his speech, ‘Twenty-first Century’s Culture on Overall Point of View’, summarised the discourse of cultural vision by stressing the ‘specificity’ of culture.²³⁶

2.3. ‘Cultural Relations’: Culture for Mutual Understanding

From the 2000s, a wider range of agents has been participating and contributing to the interpretations of culture. Museum sectors, particularly overseas museums with permanent Korean gallery spaces installed during the 1990s, started to develop diverse cultural programmes and activities. They also reinterpreted the displayed objects up to the present. Relevant cultural institutions and cultural foundations, such as the National Museum of Korea and Korean Cultural Centres, collaborated with overseas museums in the management of Korean cultures.²³⁷ These institutions transformed their roles in the twenty-first century, responding to the change in the nature of international cultural exchange. The following sub-sections discuss South Korea’s cultural industry development which has led to a reinterpretation of Korean culture, the National Museum of Korea’s new vision in a new century and the overseas Korean Cultural Centre’s promotion of the Korean Wave, which is helpful to understanding ‘cultural relations’ since the 2000s.

2.3.1. Cultural Industry Development

As described in the long-term cultural development plans, cultural diplomacy policies from the 2000s actively engaged with a globalised context. Inaugurating the

²³⁴ Ibid, pp. 2-3.

²³⁵ Ibid, p. 11.

²³⁶ Ibid, pp. 15-21.

²³⁷ This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

‘Government of the People’, President Dae-jung Kim²³⁸ continued to respect the value of traditional culture. At the same time, the government in the new century viewed, for the first time, the cultural industry as having an ‘infinite market value [...] limitless competition’ and ‘calls for a change of ideas’.²³⁹ With this ambitious vision in mind, more than 1% of the overall national budget was allocated to the cultural sector for the first time.²⁴⁰ Seeking both economic and cultural value, the president supported the people’s participation:

We are now entering the ‘period of culture’. In the twenty-first century, the centre of national power will be economy and culture. The government will promote the cultural welfare of the people with the emphasis on policy to enable the diversity of culture and creativity to be exercised.²⁴¹

The president strongly and repeatedly spoke of the importance of culture for the people: ‘it is the will of the government to open up the era of our culture. We will expand the base of cultural arts and the autonomy of the community so that everyone can participate in cultural arts activities and enjoy them’.²⁴² To implement this cultural policy, organisational structures had to be changed. Two ministries’ structures also changed accordingly: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs changed its name to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade to strengthen its functions so that it could enact foreign policies on trade, negotiation and foreign economic affairs;²⁴³ furthermore, the Korean

²³⁸ The fifteenth President Kim Dae-jung (김대중 金大中, 1926–2009); the government administration was in power during the period 1998–2003.

²³⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Fifteenth President’s Inaugural Address* (제 15 대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 August 2017].

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1999, ‘To Overcome the National Crisis and for Re-Leap’* (1999 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문, ‘국난극복과 재도약을 위하여’), 19 October 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 29 September 2017].

²⁴² National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 2000, ‘The National Assembly that Designs Vision and Hope’* (1999 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문, ‘비전과 희망을 설계하는 국회’), 19 October 1999 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 October 2017].

²⁴³ National Law Information Center, Presidential Decree No. 15710, 28 February 1998 and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Decree No. 1, 3 March 1998.

Overseas Information Service integrated its role to include ‘culture’ and was renamed the Korean Overseas Culture and Information Service.

Importantly, the twenty-first century’s cultural policy no longer concentrated on emphasising the uniqueness of Korean culture; instead, the emphasis moved to the engagement of Korean culture in ‘universal’ cultures. Grounded in this new direction, cultural policy aims related to international cultural exchange also sought ‘universal’ values that attempted to communicate with other cultures; support for establishing overseas Korean galleries was developed in this context.²⁴⁴

Culture not only enriches the spiritual life of mankind, but also is the core industry of the twenty-first century that creates tremendous additional values. [...] The cultural policy pursued by ‘the government of the people’ is to build up a *Korean culture* in the world by establishing the identity of our culture and accepting the *value of world culture* by inheriting and developing traditional culture [author’s italics].²⁴⁵

The cultural industry played a role in softening the political relationship with Japan and China while maintaining the ‘Korean-ness’, by keeping a strong national identity and finding a competitiveness in Korean culture. Through the abolition of the prohibition on the import of Japanese cultural products, the exchanges of contemporary cultures between Japan and Korea became possible.²⁴⁶

Cultural exchange not only strengthens understanding and friendship with each other, but also increases the breadth and depth of its own culture. [...] I will

²⁴⁴ Keum-jin Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, p.76.

²⁴⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Speeches on Culture Day 1998*, ‘Toward a World First-Class Culture Nation in the 21st Century’ (98 문화의 날 연설, ‘21세기 세계일류 문화국가를 향하여’), 20 October 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 October 2017].

²⁴⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *A Keynote Speech at the Major Organisations in the Kansai Region of Japan*, ‘Opening a New Era of National Cooperation Between Korea and Japan’ (일본 간사이 지역주요단체 주최 만찬 연설, ‘한일간 국민적 협력의 신시대 개막’), 9 October 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 29 September 2017].

open the door to Japanese popular culture at a faster pace. I hope that the two nations will have a close friendship relationship with the success of the 2002 FIFA World Cup in Korea through close cooperation between Korea and Japan.²⁴⁷

The close relationship between cultural industry, soft power and traditional cultural identity and their significance as part of a key national policy are reflected in the following quotes. The conversation between President Kim and Ji-cheol Oh, a former Director of the Culture and Industry Department of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (1998), empowered the cultural industry for the reconstruction of international cultural relations and illuminated the government's perception of the cultural industry and the importance ascribed to soft power:

Ji-cheol Oh: The President emphasised that the cultural industry needs to be fostered as a national key strategic industry in the twenty-first century.

However, some people have doubts whether the cultural industry can become the nation's key industry.

President Kim: The twenty-first century is the age of culture. In the twentieth century, the economy and military power were national powers. In the twenty-first century, the economy and culture are national powers. The cultural industry has tremendous additional value. [...] The cultural industry is not only making money but planting the image of Korea into the world.²⁴⁸

Here, President Kim's viewpoint on both culture and industry was related to and aimed at the promotion of a national image and competitiveness in a new century.

²⁴⁷ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Speech to the Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi at Dinner, 'Close Friend's Country'* (오부치 일본 총리 내외를 위한 만찬 연설, '가까운 친구의 나라'), 20 March 1999 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 29 September 2017].

²⁴⁸ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Conversation with High Governmental Officials, 'Government Officials Are Not the Subject to Reform But the Subject of Reform'* (고위공직자와의 대화, '공무원은 개혁의 대상이 아니라 개혁의 주체'), 27 April 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 26 September 2017].

Additionally, President Kim's point of view of exchanging culture in the pursuit of an intrinsic value for people in the new century is reflected in the conversation:

Culture will become even more important in the twenty-first century, especially when people's thoughts shift to what they see or eat, such as a better life or the happiness of the so-called human mind.²⁴⁹

President Kim's placing traditional culture within the culture industry is also noteworthy as a means of finding international values. He spoke of the need of connecting 'excellent' traditional ceramic cultural heritage to the cultural industry in order to engage 'unique' Korean culture with the values of world culture in the World Ceramics Expo 2001:

Our Korean people showed excellent creativity in various traditional cultures. The proudest of them is the excellence of the ceramics culture that we hold today. [...] We need to develop our proudest ceramic culture to play a leading role in the development of content in the Korean cultural industry. [...] Let us objectively grasp current trends in world ceramic culture and try to make our cultural identity an opportunity to expand and reproduce the tradition of our culture to the universality of the world.²⁵⁰

In the 16th 'Participatory Government', President Moo-hyun Roh²⁵¹ continued to develop the cultural industry through an international cultural exchange policy. Although culture and diplomatic matters or foreign policies are not mentioned as key national strategies, he viewed cultural power as a means of strengthening national competitiveness in the globalised era. In President Roh's administrative speeches, he

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *World Ceramics Expo 2001 Gyeonggi-Do Opening Ceremony Address, 'Korean Ceramic Culture Cultivating in the World' (세계도자기 엑스포 2001 경기도 개막식 연설, '세계에 심는 한국의 도자문화')*, 9 August 2001

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 30 September 2017].

²⁵¹ Roh Moo-hyun (노무현 盧武鉉, 1946–2009) was the sixteenth president of the government administration which was in power during the period from 2003–2008.

presented the significance of the cultural industry and young people's participation in the cultural field as a means of developing Korean culture:

Recently, Korean movies have received awards at international film festivals, and drama that expresses our emotions and culture has created a Korean Wave craze in many Asian countries. [...] In order to enhance the creativity and cultural sensitivity of young people who are responsible for our future culture, we will expand the youth culture space and integrate youth-related organisations. Through this, we will develop our country as the hub of the East Asian film and video industry, and the centre of Asian pop culture.²⁵²

As the government's will to develop a cultural industry aimed at creating diverse cultural values states, the economic and intrinsic approaches towards Korean culture have started to rise through contemporary popular culture and, since the 2000s, this approach has simultaneously taken aim at cultural development.²⁵³ The state-led unilateral top-down policy led to South Korea's cultural diplomacy 'becoming increasingly elusive' in the era of globalisation. The Korean Wave (*Hallyu*) in particular²⁵⁴ converged with less 'instrumental' value in cultural diplomacy than what was seen in previous decades and engaged wider audiences in Korean culture. Since the 2000s, the engagement of cross-cultural awareness or mutual understanding in cultural diplomacy policy is apparent in the practice of the National Museum of Korea and the Korean Cultural Centre.

2.3.2. The National Museum of Korea: 2000s

As South Korean cultural diplomatic policies have changed in consideration of globalisation, cultural diplomatic institutions' practices have also transformed. The cultural diplomatic role of the National Museum of Korea had been promoted in

²⁵² National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Administrative Policy Speech at the National Assembly* (제250 회 정기 국회 시정 연설), 25 October 2004

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [2 October 2017].

²⁵³ Jeong Won Kang, 'The Topology of the Folklore Archive and the Folklore Museum of Korea', *Journal of Museum Studies*, vol. 28 (2015), pp. 97-127 (p.112).

²⁵⁴ Hyung-Seok Kang, 'Contemporary Cultural Diplomacy in South Korea: Explicit and Implicit Approaches', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 21, no. 4 (2015), pp. 433-447.

accordance with the government's cultural policy initiative; in contrast, the newly formed cultural diplomatic role of the National Museum of Korea was to reflect the transformative political, social and economic relationships of the museum with international audiences. While continuing to emphasise the national museum's role in promoting and 'speaking of national identity',²⁵⁵ the newly constructed National Museum of Korea also embodied the roles of international relations.

At the opening ceremony of the newly built National Museum in the Yongsan Area (see Figure 11), the president expressed the role of the museum for the people:

The new museum will be a symbol of the pride of the people's cultural life. However, it is now beginning to make this place a favourite cultural space for all Koreans. It is also our job to fulfil more of the legacy that our descendants can boast about.²⁵⁶



Figure 11: The National Museum of Korea in Yongsan area, 2005

© Courtesy of the National Museum of Korea

²⁵⁵ Simon J. Knell, 'National Museums and the National Imagination', p. 6.

²⁵⁶ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *National Museum of Korea Opening Ceremony* (국립중앙박물관 개관식 축사), 28 October 2005

<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 October 2017].

The National Museum of Korea established the International Exchange Promotion team, with the purpose of promoting the museum's role in cultural diplomacy. In 2010, the team broadened its activity into the area of International Relations and Publicity and changed its name to the Cultural Relations and Publicity team.²⁵⁷ Hong-nam Kim, the former Director of the National Museum of Korea from 2006–2008, stated that the purpose of these changes was to strategically promote and represent traditional Korean cultural excellence to a national and international audience.²⁵⁸ She described the museum of the 2000s as a 'cultural representative, as a form of mediation and as a dynamic exchange' in the Museum's *Vision 2020*.²⁵⁹ As long-term strategies unfolded, the curators were required to show more professionalism in their curatorial practice.²⁶⁰ These changes in the National Museum's practice are evidence of how the museum embraced its role for the new century.

The National Museum of Korea's cultural diplomatic activities, such as the promotion of national culture through involvement with international cultural organisations including ICOM and ASEMUS, were not only in the pursuit of mutual understanding. The promotion of the global status of the National Museum of Korea was related to the South Korean government's recognition of the museum's role in cultural diplomacy, in terms of carrying out global cultural values envisioning a longer-term perspective.

2.3.3. The Korean Wave and Korean Cultural Centres: 2010s

The 17th government administration emphasised 'national prestige' in its national strategy by promoting cultural content. President Myung-bak Lee²⁶¹ referred to his point of view on 'practical' cultural diplomacy, soft power and the 'contents industry' in his inaugural address in 2008. He stated a wish to 'go beyond the ideological period' and interpreted the Korean Wave as bringing economic prosperity and a 'broader

²⁵⁷ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 2006* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2007), p. 91.

²⁵⁸ Ibid, Director's acknowledgement.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 12.

²⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 12-13.

²⁶¹ Lee Myung-bak (이명박 李明博, 1941–) was the 17th president during the period spanning 2008–2013.

perspective' and a 'proactive attitude' in engaging with the international community.²⁶² In terms of cultural diplomatic relationships, the president aimed for a 'deepening of bilateral relations' by not only keeping a good 'future-oriented alliance with the United States' but also by strengthening strategic alliances through solidarity with East Asia.²⁶³ President Lee intended to seek economic and cultural values as well as increase investment in cultural exchanges. He often talked about the 'class and dignity of the nation' or 'national status and brand', which culture could improve. Compared to the previous presidents, who emphasised national identity and subjecthood, President Lee talked more about cultural economy and the objective of the nation to allow its citizens to become global citizens:

I would like to inform the world that Korea is not only a fast-growing economy, but also has a culture that is excellent. As such, it will be able to improve the class and dignity of the nation to the same level as the economy. Above all, one of our people can become a cultural citizen and from there a global citizen.²⁶⁴

Responding to the government's dual approach to the economic and cultural values of South Korea's cultural industry, the overseas Korean Cultural Centres stated that one of their mission goals was to promote the spread of the Korean Wave and to expand cultural exchanges from the 2010s onwards. This was also regarded as a government-led cultural diplomacy practice in foreign nations, although more contextualised practice was provided for each individual nation. The Korean Cultural Centre's new role of spreading Korean popular culture relates to President Lee's recognition of

²⁶² National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Seventeenth President's Inaugural Address* (제 17 대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 2008 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 23 August 2017].

²⁶³ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The 90th Radio and Internet Speech*, 'Global Village's Ocean Festival: Please Come to the Yeosu World Expo with Your Family' (제 90 차 라디오 인터넷 연설, '지구촌 바다 축제, 여수세계박람회를 가족과 함께 많이 찾아 주십시오'), 14 May 2012 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 10 October 2017].

²⁶⁴ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The 26th Radio and Internet Speech*, 'The Age of Culture Economy and Economic Culture' (제 26 차 라디오 인터넷 연설, '문화가 경제이고 경제가 문화인 시대'), 19 October 2009 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 6 October 2017].

government support for it in the new world order. As his speech in 2011 states, the South Korean popular cultural phenomenon has had a global impact in that ‘K-Pop fever captures young people in America and Europe and realises the dream of a culturally powerful nation’.²⁶⁵ The president stated that ‘the position of the Republic of Korea in the world has changed [...] and it is becoming a central country in the world order’.²⁶⁶ South Korean popular culture also influences the young global audience’s interest in Korean traditional culture and possibly encourages a wider engagement with the museum sector.

In practice, the relationships between Korean Cultural Centres and overseas cultural institutions are not merely a relationship between funder and funded, rather, they are interactive relationships that makes the best use of advantages based on mutual understanding. As the Director of the Korean Cultural Centre UK points out:

Educating and learning about different cultural aspects through an overseas cultural institute is a past form of practice for the cultural centres. Such cases and methods cannot be applied or contextualised in contemporary nations and in advanced nations in particular.²⁶⁷

A changed cultural diplomatic relationship that recognises the ‘global’ status of Korean culture and the pursuit of a dual value of cultural industry by engaging mutual understanding with a contextualised practice represents the stage of ‘cultural relations’ in the 2000s.

2.4 Conclusion

There is no clear distinction to divide the period into three stages of cultural diplomacy; nevertheless, this chapter attempts to distinguish and analyse the historical development

²⁶⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *Congratulatory Speech at 15th Anniversary of Launch of the National Unification Advisory Council* (제 15 기 민주평화통일자문회의 출범식 축하사), 1 July 2011 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 October 2017].

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ Bo-kyung Mun, ‘Yong Hoseong, Director of Korean Cultural Centre UK, “Spread of Korean Culture through Partnership”’, *Etnews*, 12 September 2017 <<http://www.etnews.com/20170912000279>> [accessed 12 December 2017].

of cultural diplomacy in South Korea. From the ‘public diplomacy’ stage, where diplomatic works were regarded as a more important issue in carrying out instrumental policies, to the ‘cultural relation’ stage, where cultural value itself is regarded as a pivotal content in cultural diplomacy, South Korea’s three stages of cultural diplomacy all have distinctive characteristics and manifestations in practice.

At the first development stage of cultural diplomacy, the ‘public diplomacy’ of South Korea was seeking to establish a national identity and subjecthood through culture to push forward political, economic and social development during the post-colonial and post-war period. By emphasising the ‘uniqueness’ of Korean culture, South Korea aimed to establish the nation as a paradigm of independent and liberal democracy in the world. From the 1960s to the 1980s, South Korea’s infrastructure of cultural policy and cultural diplomacy was established by founding the governmental organisational structures – ministries and cultural diplomatic institutions – and by proceeding with the nation’s cultural development plans. South Korean presidents strongly and clearly expressed a motivation to develop the nation and culture was tasked with the implementation of its development. Increased government funding for the cultural sector and the National Museum, along with major South Korean corporations’ establishment of a cultural foundation, became the bedrock for the development of more active international cultural exchanges.

The stage of ‘cultural diplomacy’ during the transitional period of the 1990s, when Korean culture encountered the international society after the Cold War, is significant. The hosting of the mega-event of the Summer Olympics in Seoul in 1988, the government’s establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1990 and the widened geography of diplomatic relationships created many opportunities for Korean culture to benefit from international involvement. A dramatically increased government budget for the cultural diplomacy section secured more works for institutional practice, such as establishing permanent Korean galleries in overseas museums, which were operated and funded by the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea to represent Korean culture. Both economic value and intrinsic cultural value started to be pursued simultaneously beginning in the late 1990s, as envisaged by the long-term cultural plan. In addition, a discourse of Korean culture in the context of world culture positioned

South Korea for the next step of both the policy and practice of cultural diplomacy in the globalising world.

The last stage of cultural diplomacy development, South Korea's 'cultural relations', has a connection to the role of the cultural industry in the development of soft power in the twenty-first century. Rather than merely highlighting the uniqueness of Korean culture, the governmental cultural policy tried to (re)interpret Korean culture in the context of world culture and to garner wider audiences. By emphasising traditional Korean culture's significance in contemporary culture, there was an attempt to communicate and connect with world cultures. The National Museum of Korea's development of museum exchanges and its new vision promoted the South Korean national museum at an international level; additionally, the Korean Cultural Centres' new role of spreading the Korean Wave overseas signifies a development in the cultural diplomacy policy within a South Korean historical context.

The next chapter analyses the first stage of cultural diplomacy, 'public diplomacy', focusing on the ways in which the South Korean government and its ally the United States implemented two travelling exhibitions during the Cold War (post-WWII–1991). In the context of international politics, the curatorial relationships between South Korea and the USA in the process of constructing Korean cultural identity are analysed.

Chapter Three: ‘Public Diplomacy’ and Constructing a Unique Cultural Identity

The ways in which objects are selected, put together, and written or spoken about have political effects. These effects are not those of the objects per se; it is the use made of these objects and their interpretive frameworks that can open up or close down historical, social and cultural possibilities.

Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, 2000 ²⁶⁸

As Hooper-Greenhill (2000) argues, the subjectivity inherent in a curatorial process that selects, interprets and exhibits culture generates a cultural identity and a representational meaning. Bennett (2005) also emphasises the recognition of a ‘process of meaning-making behind the representation of identity’²⁶⁹ to understand the ways in which cultural identity is ‘made up as a subject being’.²⁷⁰ The shaping of cultural ‘uniqueness’ embedded in South Korean cultural identity and the international interpretation and representation of Korean art can be traced to the first developmental stage of cultural diplomacy, ‘public diplomacy’, during the Cold War (post-WWII–1990). As the previous chapter argues, culture was used as a driving force of national development to create a national identity and people’s subjecthood to the South Korean nation. South Korean cultural policies and government ministries and institutions for both culture and cultural diplomacy works were first formed between the 1960s and 1970s with their stated aims being to promote Korean culture’s ‘uniqueness’.²⁷¹

²⁶⁸ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, p. 148.

²⁶⁹ Tony Bennett et al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 173.

²⁷⁰ Nicholas Rose, ‘Identity, Genealogy, History’ in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (SAGE Publications Ltd., 1996), pp. 128-150.

²⁷¹ Section 2.1. of Chapter Two analyses this in detail.

Based on the analysis of the context of South Korean cultural policy and the first development stage of its cultural diplomacy, this chapter investigates the use and role of two Korean travelling exhibitions in the construction of South Korean national identity during the Cold War. To understand the previously framed ‘public diplomacy’ stage through museum practice, this chapter has two primary aims. The first aim is to analyse the process of building Korean cultural identity as ‘unique’, focusing on how and why the curatorial agents of South Korea and the USA cooperatively interpreted Korean cultural identity during the first travelling exhibits. The second aim is to explore the ways in which two travelling exhibits promoted the South Korean national identity within this cultural-political context.

The political rationale and the procedure regarding the preparation of the exhibition and interpretation of Korean art ultimately informs the political role of the international exhibitions deployed during the Cold War. The practices of the two cultural and politically significant travelling exhibitions on Korean art, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (고대문화전) (1957–1962) and *5000 Years of Korean Art* (한국미술 오천년전) (1976–1985), are crucially important to understanding South Korean ‘public diplomacy’; they illustrate how South Korea developed its national identity at a time of national construction. The first travelling exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962), had an instrumental role in promoting South Korea’s political ideology of liberal democracy. The exhibition and South Korean cultural development received financial support from the USA; this was possible because of a close relationship between South Korean and USA political elites united in opposition to communist bloc countries such as China and North Korea. The Directors of the National Museum of Korea and the Metropolitan Museum of Art curator both played key roles in constructing Korean art’s unique identity, for the first time after the establishment of the South Korean nation, by selecting and interpreting Korean materials. The method was focused on distinguishing Korean culture from Chinese (as communist) and Japanese (as former colonial) cultures. Demonstrating the USA friendship with South Korea to the public,²⁷² this first travelling

²⁷² The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, sent from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, received by James J. Rorimer (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 23 May 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

exhibition in the USA had a robust political nature. After this first international exhibition, South Korea established its cultural legislation in the 1960s and the National Museum's systematic development followed, which allowed for the second large-scale travelling exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985). The aims of the cultural legislation and interpretation of Korean art was to sustain the promotion of cultural 'uniqueness'. This exhibition, which toured Japan, the USA, the UK and West Germany, worked both culturally and politically to assert the unique characteristics of Korean art.

The sources for the analysis of these travelling exhibitions are primarily drawn from archival materials in the Metropolitan Museum of Art:

- 1) The Metropolitan Museum of Art played key roles in delivering the USA government's support to the Korean museums and exhibitions by involving the curatorial staff in the two travelling exhibitions; specifically, Alan Priest, the Head of Eastern Art Department, was a key staff member who influenced the construction of cultural 'uniqueness' of Korean art during the first travelling exhibition;
- 2) The Museums were representative venues of the two travelling exhibitions; thus, investigating the differing curatorial practices between the two exhibitions is useful;
- 3) As the 'universal' museum where a Korean gallery had a presence, the Metropolitan Museum of Art is used as a case study throughout the thesis. The materials include a range of archival records of internal and external correspondence, museum press releases, exhibition reports, news clippings, catalogues and pamphlets. Archival materials were also collected in Korea, such as the National Archives of Korea's policy documents and cultural legislation (starting from the first cultural act in 1962), which were useful in analysing the second travelling exhibition's cultural-political context and comparing it with the first one. Reports of the exhibition that were published by Korean ministries and Korean newspaper archives were also analysed. The purpose was to provide an analysis based on relevant materials from both South Korea and the USA.

The sections below analyse the curatorial practice of the two travelling exhibitions in the context of political relations between the USA and South Korea during the Cold War to understand in detail the use of international exhibitions in the 'public diplomacy' stage. Section 3.1. starts with an exploration of the political situation of South Korea and the USA during the Cold War that provides an historical background for the two

exhibitions. This serves to perceive the travelling exhibition in an international historical context so that the political rationality behind the exhibition can be considered. Section 3.2. considers the empirical definition of ‘public diplomacy’ for South Korea, which was defined by the interviewees who were involved for several decades in the relevant ministries’ cultural development. This section is useful for analysing ‘public diplomacy’ in practice in the field via empirical analysis of curatorial practices. Sections 3.3. and 3.4. analyse the two travelling exhibitions, concentrating on the discussion of a grounded political discourse. Analysis of the whole process of the exhibition — the initiation, interpretation and promotion stages — shows that the process of establishing Korean cultural identity and South Korean national identity is related to cultural politics. Section 3.5. sums up the political nature of the travelling exhibitions in the Cold War and relates the museum practice to the ‘public diplomacy’ of South Korea through the analysis of the main curatorial agents and the process of constructing a ‘unique’ Korean cultural identity.

3.1. The Two Travelling Exhibitions on Korean Art during the Cold War

During the several decades of the Cold War, South Korea and the USA maintained a robust alliance while at the same time South Korea developed its national policies, which provided the different contexts of the two international exhibitions on Korea. During the first half of the Cold War, immediately after the division of Korea at the end of WWII and the Korean War (1950–1953), South Korea’s position in international politics hinged significantly upon its relationship with the USA. South Korea’s political connection with the USA was made official in a Mutual Security Treaty in 1954, which grew into the USA-centred alliance²⁷³ that marked the two Koreas’ ideological split and differentiated national development. This became clearer as North Korea signed mutual security treaties with China and the USSR.²⁷⁴ The Asian region was dominated by the confrontation between two powers: China (in North Korea) and the USA (in South Korea). The USA policies in South Korea aimed to enhance liberal democracy and to spread an anti-communist ideology.²⁷⁵ The *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962)

²⁷³ McDougall, ‘Korea’, *Asia Pacific in World Politics*, pp. 179-197 (p. 183).

²⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 184.

²⁷⁵ McDougall, ‘Understanding Asia Pacific International Politics’, *Asia Pacific in World Politics*, pp. 1-27 (pp. 12-13).

was the first major Korean cultural representation in overseas museums after the national division. It is noteworthy that in interpreting ‘Korean culture’, the main curatorial agents were liberal democratic allies — the USA and South Korea. It can be said that the first travelling exhibition had an overtly political role, as is revealed in the process of planning the exhibition during the first decade of the Cold War.

The *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) was dependent on the support of the USA government.²⁷⁶ In this exhibition, Korean cultural objects were used in the ‘transmission and reinforcement of the newly forming national identity’ of South Korea.²⁷⁷ The USA government enabled this exhibition, through funding, at a time when South Korea had not yet achieved its economic development. Profits from the exhibition were used to support further cultural development in South Korea,²⁷⁸ including equipment and training for the National Museum of Korea in South Korea. Because of the sponsorship of the USA government and museums during the first travelling exhibits in the USA, the government of South Korea could actively promote political ideology using the cultural sector; for instance, when the exhibition was invited by European nations to travel from 1961 to 1962, South Korea itself promoted overseas public propaganda against North Korea. The major Korean newspaper, *The Dong-A Ilbo*, noted that North Korea’s propaganda ‘trickily spread’ their anti-American and anti-South Korean government message. It described North Korea’s delivery of their propaganda, which took the form of not only forged pages of the *New York Times* filled with their propaganda, but also other kinds of media, such as broadcasting, newspapers, posters, movies, publications and photography.²⁷⁹ Recognising North Korea as an adversary, South Korea clearly stated its political and diplomatic stance. The overseas exhibitions at the time were used as a method of promoting public propaganda:

²⁷⁶ After the exhibition made appearances in eight cities in the USA, it was later invited to five European nations, including the UK, the Netherlands, France, Germany and Austria.

²⁷⁷ Christine Y. Hahn, ‘Unearthing Origins: The Use of Art, Archaeology, and Exhibitions in Creating Korean National Identity, 1945–1962’, *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2012), pp. 138–170 (p. 139).

²⁷⁸ Korean Ministry of Education, ‘Chapter I: Process of Preparation’, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미국전시 보고서 1957–59), p. 18.

²⁷⁹ ‘The Public Propaganda Should Be Strengthened (대외선전이 강화되어야한다)’, *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 11 August 1962, p. 1.

Today, there is no nation that does not lay stress on public propaganda [...]
There is no virtue in silent practice, which is a legacy of the pre-modern time;
now it is our own responsibility to promote ourselves via contact such as
newspapers, movies, and more cultural works in an international society where
all people are connected.²⁸⁰

Importantly, South Korea recognised the need for international cultural activities to more actively promote its national identity; at the same time, South Korea established its first Cultural Heritage Protection Act in 1962. This was a momentous development because this Act first described the South Korean government's cultural diplomatic aims and the utilisation of cultural materials to achieve the aim of cultural policy. The aim of the Act was for the promotion of a 'unique' cultural heritage and the 'preservation and utilisation of Korean culture' (Chapter I, Article 1) by encouraging international activities.²⁸¹ This somewhat influenced the promotion of South Korean national status overseas in that the selection of Korean objects was related to the aim of cultural development that sought a progressive modernisation of Korean culture through the focus on its 'excellent and unique cultural heritages'.²⁸² The South Korean government, therefore, selectively chose and promoted good-quality cultural properties.

The development of the South Korean cultural policy and cultural sector allowed for the South Korean government-led exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985), to exist independent of support from the USA government. The exhibition continued to promote the 'uniqueness' of Korean culture, which had been set forth during the previous exhibition; however, the strongly allied political relationship between the USA and South Korea experienced a slight shift. From the 1970s to the 1980s, there were political and economic changes in Asia and South Korea. First, the landscape of

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Korean National Law Information Center, Cultural Heritage Protection Act, Act No. 961, Enforced on 10 January 1962.

In this Act, the definition of cultural heritage (Chapter I, Article 2) demonstrates a wide scope, including 'tangible (such as ancient documents, painting, sculpture, craft, archaeological materials, etc.), intangible heritage (such as play, music, classical dance, crafts technique, etc.), monuments, historic sites and folklore resources that are indispensable to understand changes in people's life (such as public morals and customs relating to food, clothing, housing, religion, annual events, etc.)'.

²⁸² Kang, 'The Topology of the Folklore Archive and the Folklore Museum of Korea', pp. 97-127.

international politics changed as the tensions between the military deployments of the USSR and the USA eased somewhat.²⁸³ Second, South Korea achieved high economic growth and was recognized as one of the ‘four Asian tigers’ along with Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan.²⁸⁴ Additionally, through South Korea’s own cultural legislation, its national museum could play a more fundamental role in exhibitions overseas.

The cultural diplomatic relationship between South Korea and the USA remained largely unchanged when hosting a travelling exhibition despite there being political tension between the two nations. There was a political scandal called ‘Koreagate’ in 1976²⁸⁵ as a withdrawal of the USA Armed Forces in Korea was issued. It was caused by USA President Richard Nixon, 1969–1974, proclaiming the Nixon Doctrine in 1969, requiring the self-defence of Asian countries and declaring transitional international policies. Nixon stated that ‘the USA would assist in the defence and developments of allies and friends but not undertake all the defence’.²⁸⁶ The changing nature of international foreign relations would result in South Korea’s later establishment of multilateral diplomatic relationships; however, at the same time, this required an increased military and economic budget and led to the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency lobbying US Congress members to foster a pro-South Korean sentiment and block the withdrawal of US Armed Forces from Korea in the 1970s. This political scandal was revealed in 1975 by the American media²⁸⁷ and, consequently, the diplomatic and political relationship between the two governments worsened. The bilateral relationship, nevertheless, was not easily broken, because of the countries’ mutual dependency.²⁸⁸ South Korea was also involved in the Vietnam War (1960–1975) and aided the USA. This meant the travelling exhibition retained its cultural-political

²⁸³ McDougall, ‘Understanding Asia Pacific International Politics’, pp. 17-18.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Chae-Jin Lee, *A Troubled Peace: U.S Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); Wikipedia, ‘Koreagate’ <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koreagate>> [accessed 1 March 2019].

²⁸⁶ Office of the Historian, ‘Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume I, Foundations of Foreign Policy, 1969–1972, Document 60’ (Washington: Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State, 1970), <<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v01/d60>> [accessed 1 March 2019].

²⁸⁷ Lee, *A Troubled Peace: U.S Policy and the Two Koreas*.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

role in consolidating an allied relationship between the two nations regardless of the contemporary political issues.

South Korea developed more independent national infrastructure to promote cultural propaganda activity through the government's administrative structures and institutions (such as the Ministry of Culture and Public Information) in the 1970s. The first South Korean government-led large-scale overseas exhibition was curated by the National Museum of Korea during this time: *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) was hosted in Japan, the USA, the UK and Germany (see Table 6). While the first nation to host this exhibition was Japan, it was requested by USA museum staff (including those at the Metropolitan Museum of Art) and, later, by the UK and West Germany.²⁸⁹ It was held during the years when South Korea's national development was making notable progress and curatorial relationships between the originating and exhibiting nations had evolved accordingly. Nevertheless, it is notable that even though *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) was in a different context in terms of South Korean cultural, economic development and geographical place (see Table 6), the interpretation of Korean culture through demonstrative Korean art was presented in the same way as with the first travelling exhibition in the USA, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962), proclaiming an independent and liberal national identity for South Korea.

²⁸⁹ '5000 Years of Korean Art, First Show in US (한국미술 5 천년전 미국에 첫선)', *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 6 March 1979, p. 5.

Table 6: Times and places of the two travelling exhibitions in the Cold War ²⁹⁰

Time	Nation	Museum Date range / Visitor Numbers
<i>Masterpieces of Korean Art</i> ²⁹¹		
1957–1959	USA	<p>National Gallery of Art, Washington 14 December 1957–12 January 1958 / 43,843</p> <p>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 6 February–3 April 1958 / 38,840 visitors</p> <p>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 6 May–15 June 1958 / 11,000</p> <p>Seattle Art Museum, Seattle 16 July–17 August 1958 / 10,536</p> <p>Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis 19 September–19 October 1958 / 3,300</p> <p>California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco 20 November 1958–4 January 1959 / 41,551</p> <p>Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles 27 January–1 March 1959 / 9,096</p> <p>Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu 15 April–7 June 1959 / 9,600</p> <p>(Total visitor numbers: 167,731)</p>
1961	UK	<p>The Victoria and Albert Museum, London 23 March–7 May 1961 / 15,180</p>
1961	Netherlands	<p>Gemeentemuseum Den Haag (The Municipal Museum of the City, Hague) 15 June–13 August 1961 / 7,099</p>
1961–1962	France	<p>Musée Cernuschi (Museum of the Asian Arts, Paris) 24 November 1961–29 January 1962 / 14,377</p>
1962	Germany	<p>Museum für Kunsthandwerk (Museum of Arts and Crafts, Frankfurt) 1 March–15 April 1962 / 9,717</p>
1962	Austria	<p>Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology, Vienna) 18 May–1 July 1962 / 6,873</p>
<i>5000 Years of Korean Art</i> ²⁹²		
1976	Japan	<p>Kyoto National Museum 24 February–18 April 1976 / 241,989</p> <p>Fukuoka Akarenga Cultural Center 27 April–27 May 1976 / 68,856</p> <p>Tokyo National Museum 8 June–25 July 1976 / 262,356</p>

²⁹⁰ Table 6 is based on the following sources: *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미국전시 보고서 1957–59) (Korean Ministry of Education, 1960); *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe* (문화재 구라파 전시 보고서) (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1962); Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, pp. 127–150.

²⁹¹ The exhibition was titled the *National Art Treasures of Korea* during its appearances in European nations.

²⁹² The exhibition was titled the *Art Treasures from Korea* during its appearances in European nations.

Time	Nation	Museum Date range / Visitor Numbers
		(Total visitor numbers: 573,201)
1979–1981	USA	<p>The Asian Art Museum of San Francisco 1 May–30 September 1979 / 547,159</p> <p>Seattle Art Museum 1 November 1979–13 January 1980 / 57,874</p> <p>The Art Institute of Chicago 16 February–27 April 1980 / 107,339</p> <p>Cleveland Museum of Art 10 June–10 August 1980 / 44,430</p> <p>The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 16 September–30 November 1980 / 90,195</p> <p>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 5 January–15 March 1981 / 137,641</p> <p>William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City 17 April–14 June 1981 / 67,500</p> <p>National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institute 15 July–30 September 1981 / 1,210,000</p> <p>(Total visitor numbers: 2,262,138)</p>
1984	UK	<p>The British Museum 15 February–13 May 1984 / 49,934</p>
1985	Germany	<p>Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Museum of Art and Design, Hamburg) 14 June–16 September 1984 / 46,382</p> <p>Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst (Museum for East Asian Arts, Cologne) 13 October 1984–13 January 1985 / 55,257</p> <p>(Total visitor numbers: 151,573)</p>

As the political context of the Cold War suggests, the significant role of the USA in interpreting Korean culture's identity in the Cold War reveals culture and exhibition to be political entities. The travelling exhibitions were responsible for promoting the liberal position of South Korea in international society during the first stage of South Korean cultural diplomacy. The next section analyses the definition of 'public diplomacy' from the practitioners' perspective. An analysis of the term 'public diplomacy' is carried out from the interviewees' responses, linking it to the political context of the Korean travelling exhibitions discussed in this section.

3.2. South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Practitioners' Understanding of 'Public Diplomacy'

In South Korean cultural policy, the Cold War's cultural diplomacy required a noticeable Government-led Korean cultural promotion as discussed in Chapter Two. For a balanced analysis of cultural diplomacy policy and practice, I asked the interviewees (see Appendix 4 for a list of interviewees, their institutional positions and the key topics discussed)²⁹³ to describe the notion of 'public diplomacy' to add their empirical responses to my questions on policy and museum practices. The interviewees were the policymakers and government officials who were involved in the South Korean government's cultural diplomatic works up until the 1990s; they were prompted to distinguish 'public diplomacy' from 'cultural diplomacy' and 'cultural relations'. The key phrase, 'unique cultural identity', which is extracted from the policy document analysis, was used during the interview to connect the cultural diplomatic policy to the analysis of its influences on the practice. The interviews provided a deeper understanding of South Korean 'public diplomacy' as the interviewees brought up its key characteristics, which they described as a 'public information role', 'one-directional government's implementation', or an 'instrumental use of culture'.

First, cultural diplomacy practice reinforced public informational work before the establishment of dedicated cultural diplomacy institutions. Dong-ho Kim, a former vice-minister for the Ministry of Culture (1992–1993) and a government officer of the ministry from 1961 to 1992, provided a contextual analysis. He emphasised the nature of the early cultural diplomatic policy and practice development of the 1960s–1970s when he was involved in the formulation of a cultural policy.²⁹⁴ The essential aim of the early cultural policy, when the nation was a developing country, was the promotion of Korean culture and the South Korean nation overseas. The Government, thus, sent public information officials to major cities, such as New York, Paris and Tokyo, to make those countries aware of South Korea's national stance.²⁹⁵ According to Dong-ho Kim, the South Korean government's promotion of Korean history and traditional art

²⁹³ See Table 4 in Chapter One for the full list of interviewees and Appendix 4 for the interviewees' institutional affiliation and key topics of individual questions.

²⁹⁴ Dong-ho Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 21 September 2016, Seoul Arts Center.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

and performance was the best way to achieve the public information role as ‘there was not an element that could promote South Korean culture like K-Pop at that time’.²⁹⁶ Byeong-mo Kim, a Director of the Korea Institute of Heritage, stated that a ‘clear view of the national ideological stance (liberal democracy)’ was a qualification for being a Korean government official undertaking cultural promotional work during the Cold War.²⁹⁷ Appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the South Korean government’s officials at the Korean cultural centres overseas sought to collect communist bloc’s propaganda information for the South Korean government.²⁹⁸ Their work was more related to political ideology than to the promotion of cultural content.

Second, the interviewees whose roles were related to both ministries (of Foreign Affairs and of Culture) characterised ‘public diplomacy’ practice in the Cold War as a strong engagement and interventionist and unilateral work by the government. The former executive Vice President of the Korea Foundation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who carried out overseas Korean cultural activities and administered the Foundation’s support for Korean galleries in overseas museums, used the level of government engagement as a standard to assess the progress of cultural diplomacy. In the interview, Keum-jin Yoon described the first stage of development of cultural diplomacy as ‘public diplomacy 1.0’,²⁹⁹ in which the Government was directly linked to the practice. A head of the Exhibition Division of the National Museum of Korea also articulated this notion, as he defined ‘public diplomacy’ by remarking that the ‘government’s administrative approach has a clear target audience and goal, thus calling for a strong government engagement’³⁰⁰ in cultural diplomacy practice. Additionally, the Director of the Korean Cultural Centre UK, who had been a government official in the Ministry of Culture and had also been involved in formulating cultural legislation, distinguished the ‘public diplomacy’ practice as the South Korean government’s “promotion” of cultural

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Byeong-mo Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Hanam, 6 July 2018, Korea Institute of Heritage.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

³⁰⁰ Sang-hoon Jang, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 15 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea Exhibition Division office.

identity toward foreign people' based on policy aims.³⁰¹ The 'public diplomacy' was neither multilateral nor based on mutual understanding of cultural diplomacy, but worked towards the government's particular political aims.

Finally, the use of culture in diplomacy was linked to cultural policy aims. Cultural policy aims that utilised culture as a means of constructing the Korean nation's unique identity was present in the practices of overseas museums dealing with Korean collections during the Cold War. Charlotte Horlyck, a former curator of the Korean collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum³⁰² and a current Chair of the British Association for Korean Studies, expressed her point of view on the Korean government's emphasis on 'cultural uniqueness'.³⁰³ According to Horlyck, emphasising the 'uniqueness' in interpreting Korean culture would have been an inseparable part of the South Korean cultural policy intention and orientation, although there was a recognition of East Asian cultural influences between China, Japan and Korea. In terms of the selection of culture to demonstrate its cultural identity, the Director of the National Museum of Performing Arts provided an example of the 'use of traditional material and artefacts' to produce the Korean identity³⁰⁴ in Korean history. He exemplified the political strategy of President Park Chung-hee's regime (the 1960s–1970s) of creating and uniting national identity based on national traditional culture. Moreover, the cultural identity that resulted from the policy to promote Korean culture was also employed in the travelling exhibitions.³⁰⁵

As discussed, the notion of 'public diplomacy' in South Korea implies the government's essential role in public information. The government's firm engagement with cultural diplomacy policy and practice, using culture to achieve its political goal, illustrates its approach to cultural diplomacy during the Cold War. The following analysis of two travelling exhibitions reveals the ways in which Korean culture was interpreted to

³⁰¹ Hoseong Yong, Interview by author, phone recorder, London, 4 May 2018, the Korean Cultural Centre UK.

³⁰² In this museum, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* was held in 1961; the UK's first permanent Korean display space was established in 1992 (Samsung Gallery of Korean Arts).

³⁰³ Charlotte Horlyck, Interview by author, Skype, Leicester, 12 October 2018.

³⁰⁴ Seok-yeong Choe, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 12 July 2018, The National Museum of Performing Arts.

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

construct South Korean national identity and how the interpretations of Korean culture relate to the Cold War cultural-political context of South Korea.

3.3. *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962)

After the Korean War (1950–1953), an image of a destroyed country with starving people was presented to the world through the media.³⁰⁶ Moreover, Korea was an ‘unknown country to Western people, except to a few of the elite intelligentsia, or it was even known as a part of China or Japan’³⁰⁷ until the 1950s. The first South Korean President, Rhee Syngman (1948–1960), emphasised the provision of Korean objects to overseas exhibitions, particularly in US cities, as an urgent matter because of its potential effect on the promotion of the Korean nation³⁰⁸ despite the South Korean government having not yet established its governmental and ministerial structure. As the ministries and institutions responsible for the exhibitions were not yet formed, the first historical travelling exhibition from Korea, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, was instigated by the South Korean president and ambassadors, and enabled by significant support from the USA government.³⁰⁹ The initiation of the exhibition by politically allied parties meant the first travelling exhibition had a public propaganda role in this early stage of the Cold War.

3.3.1. Initiation and Support of the USA Government

The USA played a key role in implementing the Korean exhibition in the beginning of the Cold War; at the same time, the USA was also sending major exhibitions to the communist bloc, particularly the USSR, as a propaganda activity. The first proposal for a Korean exhibition in the USA was mentioned by American museum professionals and professors before the outbreak of the Korean War at a meeting of museum professionals

³⁰⁶ Chewon Kim (金載元, 1909–1990), *Behind Story of Gyeongbok-gung Palace* (경복궁 야화) (Seoul: Tamgu-dang Publication, 1991), p. 109.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, ‘Show Off Korean Culture, To Promote Art Development’ (‘한국문화를 과시하라, 미술발전을 치하’), 30 June 1954
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 October 2017].

³⁰⁹ Keum-jin Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, p. 71.

from around the world at the General Conference of the UNESCO in Mexico in 1947.³¹⁰ The exhibition could not be processed because of the Korean War; however, Langdon Warner, a Harvard professor in Oriental Arts, and Robert P. Griffing, the Director of the Honolulu Museum, later visited South Korea to oversee the progression of the exhibition as committee members.³¹¹ They were two of the very few intellectuals and social elites outside of Korea who were aware of Korean art at a time when professional expertise on Korean culture and arts had not yet developed. The exhibition took around ten years to be realised, after which time the Korean War had ended and, aiming to rehabilitate the negative and poor image of Korea worldwide, the USA and South Korean government recognised the ability of an exhibition to improve this perspective.³¹²

The support for Korean exhibitions from the USA was related to the political situation of the Cold War and public diplomacy of the USA in the mid-1950s. As the USA government realised that cultural exhibitions were an ‘effective weapon against the communist menace’,³¹³ opening a Korean travelling exhibition could be considered an ‘official intergovernmental’ project³¹⁴ with government-scale support. The United States Department of State³¹⁵ supported the Korean exhibition through the Metropolitan

³¹⁰ Korean Ministry of Education, ‘Chapter I: Process of Preparation’, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미국전시 보고서 1957–59), p. 1; Kim, *Behind Story of Gyeongbok-gung Palace*, p. 109.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, p. 86.

³¹³ Michael L. Krenn, *The History of United States Cultural Diplomacy: 1770 to the Present Day* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2017), p. 5.

³¹⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary of The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a Response of Department of State, 28 May 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art, p. 1.

³¹⁵ Established in 1789 as the States’ first executive department, the Department of State has a mission and a role similar to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Korea. ‘It advises the president and leads the nation in foreign policy issues. The State Department negotiates treaties and agreements with foreign entities and represents the USA at the United Nations.’ Further, the secretary is equivalent to the minister. Source: Office of The Historian, Department of State, ‘A New Framework for Foreign Affairs’ <<https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/short-history/framework>> [accessed 6 February 2019]; USA.gov, ‘Department of State’ <<https://web.archive.org/web/20161125045405/https://www.usa.gov/federal-agencies/departments-of-state>> [accessed 6 February 2019].

Museum of Art by funding ‘the cost of sending American experts in Far Eastern art to Korea’ to make ‘the selection and bringing of Korean museum curators to the USA’.³¹⁶

The exhibition was not only for the purposes of USA cultural diplomacy, however. The president of South Korea’s intimate relationship with USA political elites helped to achieve the South Korean government’s aim of promoting its nation. On 10 May 1956, the Secretary to President Rhee sent correspondence to Colonel James E. Wilson, a former Mayor of Seoul during the United States Army Military Government occupation of South Korea (1945–1948) and a personal friend of President Rhee, to express the president’s willingness to cooperate with the arrangement of the exhibition by offering loan exhibitions, in spite of the lack of funds from the Korean government.³¹⁷ The correspondence between the USA government and the Metropolitan Museum of Art from 1955 to 1956, which was sent from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs in the Department of State to the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Director, James J. Rorimer reveals the specific aim of the exhibition. In particular, the correspondence of 1956 verifies the ‘friendship’ between South Korea and the USA, describing them as the ‘closest allies’. The letter describes the reasons for opening the exhibition and the fundraising for the post-war reconstruction:

Korea is one of our closest allies and has a rich artistic tradition. As a result of the recent hostilities in Korea, almost every American family has some acquaintance with and interest in Korea. An exhibition of Korean art in the USA would contribute substantially to the friendship and association of the two countries and to scholarly and public knowledge of an outstanding phase of Asian art. There is an urgent need for post-war reconstruction of monuments and rehabilitation of museums in South Korea. The sponsoring museums may

³¹⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary of The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a Response of Department of State, 28 May 1956, p. 1.

³¹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary to President Rhee, Received by James E. Wilson, File 2: Loan Exhibition 7806-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art, 10 May 1956.

wish to consider the possibility of assisting in raising funds for that purpose from voluntary contribution.³¹⁸

as the correspondence suggests, the support of the USA for South Korean cultural development had a political intention. There is a noted scholarly term, ‘blueprint of the Cold War’, which regards the communist invasion of South Korea as providing a ‘vivid rationale’ for USA policies ‘in a name of national security’³¹⁹ to increase the military spending to assist South Korea. Alongside this military spending was significant USA support for the South Korean cultural sector. The Department of State helped supply army resources for the packing of artworks,³²⁰ while American curators helped with packing and conservation matters.³²¹ A private fund from the social elites of the USA Army Military Government who had a personal connection with President Rhee, such as Colonel James E. Wilson, was also available to defray all costs of the exhibitions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.³²² The profits from the exhibition were used to support further cultural development in South Korea³²³ as the National Museum of Korea’s Director and American museum experts agreed that the preservation of museum objects and archaeological finds was ‘the most urgent need’. Thus, American museums supplied the basic equipment for a museum laboratory³²⁴ and training of Korean students for museum work and research.³²⁵ Based on this support, South Korea

³¹⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary of Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Received by James J. Rorimer (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 23 May 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³¹⁹ Krenn, *The History of United States Cultural Diplomacy: 1770 to the Present Day*, p. 82.

³²⁰ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Director of the National Gallery of Art, Received by the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 8 May 1957, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³²¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Interdepartmental Memorandum’, Sent from Alan Priest to the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 8 May 1957, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³²² The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary of The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a Response of Department of State, 28 May 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art, p. 2.

³²³ Korean Ministry of Education, ‘Chapter I: Process of Preparation’, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미국전시 보고서 1957–59), p. 18.

³²⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from the Department of States in Washington, Received by James J. Rorimer (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 19 June 1959, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³²⁵ Ibid.

was able to develop a museum sector with the aim of preserving national arts and culture after the *Masterpieces of Korean Art* exhibition in the USA. Thus, the investment in and support of the Korean cultural sector was very much motivated by politics rather than cultural reasons.

Difficulties existed, however, in choosing and interpreting Korean art despite the financial and systematic support, due to the lack of professional or academic specialists of Korean art at that time in both the USA and Korea. First, the exhibition was held before the National Museum of Korea was established to systemically represent Korean culture. Korean cultural identity, furthermore, had been entirely ‘monopolised’ by the Japanese colonial government, affording a colonial interpretation of Korean art history and archaeology without Korean involvement.³²⁶ Second, the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Far Eastern Asia curator, Alan Priest, who was appointed as the representative curator for American museums, was not a specialist in Korean art but a professional author of numerous books on Chinese sculpture and painting and Japanese architecture.³²⁷ Priest expressed his concern about the exhibition in the following way: ‘Neither I, Robert T. Paine [Curator of the Department of Asiatic Art at Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts], nor any other museum Orientalist is very sanguine about the success of a Korean government show, but we will do our best with it’.³²⁸ In the meantime, the 306 objects initially selected by Korea’s exhibition committee were waiting for American curators in Korea.³²⁹ When American curators — Priest and Griffing — arrived at Korea’s National Museum, they selected a final group of around 190 objects, which they believed ‘represent the finest national treasures’.³³⁰ As there

³²⁶ Sang-hoon Jang, ‘Cultural Diplomacy, National Identity and National Museum: South Korea’s First Overseas Exhibition in the USA, 1957–1959’, *Museum and Society*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2016), pp. 456–471 (p. 466).

³²⁷ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Department of State for the Press’, 17 September 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³²⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Interdepartmental Memorandum: Memo on the Korean Show’, Sent from Alan Priest (the Curator) To James J. Rorimer (the Director), 30 July 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³²⁹ Korean Ministry of Education, ‘Chapter I: Process of Preparation’, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미·국전사 보고서 1957–59), p. 1.

³³⁰ Ibid, pp. 1–3. The exhibition has been organised with the cooperation of the Department of State, the Rockefeller Foundation and the American-Korean Foundation. Further, Korean objects were lent by three

had not been a scholarly developed art history of Korean art, the curatorial practice for the final selections sought to emphasise the difference in Korean art from Chinese and Japanese art.

The intention of the exhibition was to emphasise the independent Korean cultural identity through highlighting its distinctive characteristics.³³¹ Therefore, the cultural ‘uniqueness’ of Korea was born not merely through the Korean committee’s intention but also by the American curators’ involvement in the final decision of the selection of objects. It was the most suitable way to select the objects which had ‘Korean-ness’, and, to do so, it was important to invoke Chinese and Japanese cultures. Correspondence from the Director of Korea’s National Museum to the United States Department of State presents the strategy of selecting objects:

I am very determined that only those art objects worthy of representing the country and unique, either in their field or in the fact that they surpass similar works in Japan and China, be allowed to travel.³³²

This curatorial intention to show the Korean culture as distinct from Japan (as the former colonial government of Korea) and China (as a communist country) was concrete in the object interpretation by the American curators and in the USA media. The Department of State officially announced the political relationship with South Korea and the purpose of the exhibition, noting President Rhee’s approval of the loan and exhibition of the masterpieces and its role in creating ‘an opportunity to know more

museums in Seoul (mostly from the National Museum, Duksoo Palace Museum of Fine Arts and the Christian Museum) and two private collectors.

³³¹ Specifically, the categories listed were 102 ceramic works, 34 paintings, 23 gilt bronzes, 18 pieces of gold, 10 stoneware and tiles.

Source: Sang-hoon Jang, ‘Cultural Diplomacy, National Identity and National Museum: South Korea’s First Overseas Exhibition in the USA, 1957–1959’, *Museum and Society*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2016), pp. 456–471 (p. 461).

³³² The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from Norman De Haan (Department of Design of Container Corporation of America), Received by James (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 14 September 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

about Korean artistic achievements.³³³ *The New York Times* remarked on the political and military relationship between South Korea and USA by noting American aid in defending Korean national artworks from the communist bloc's attack (1956):

Many pieces were very nearly lost to the free world in 1950, when communist invaders from the north seized Seoul. At the time of the Allied landings at Inch[e]on in September 1950, the communists ordered art to be packed and shipped north. However, loyal employees of the National Museum were able to delay the work and US Marines recaptured the city before the objects could be taken away. Before the second fall of Seoul to the Communists in January 1951, President Rhee Syngman ordered the more precious objects crated and shipped to Pusan. Some were sent on to San Francisco, where they have been kept in a bank vault.³³⁴

As stated above, the USA media explicitly reported on the political position of the USA as a leading nation against the communist bloc along with the story of safeguarding Korean cultural objects. *The Korean Republic*³³⁵ expressed the expectations of the Korean government for the 'spectacular debut' (see Figure 12) of its culture overseas before holding the exhibition in 1957:

The 'Hermit Kingdom' of Korea will open the inner-most door of its storage room of cultural achievements to show the world for the first time how great a contribution it has made to the creation of the Eastern culture, when a select group of Korean art objects makes its debut in international galleries soon. Along with the term, 'good-will missions', Korea hopes to promote its

³³³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'Department of State for the Press', 17 September 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³³⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, News clipping, 'Korean Art Show Will Tour in U.S.', *The New York Times*, 4 November 1956, p. 86, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³³⁵ *The Korean Republic* is a daily English newspaper founded in 1953 in South Korea and renamed as *The Korea Herald* in 1965.

valuable cultural heritage and the accomplishments of our fathers as a long-established civilised people.³³⁶



Figure 12: The exterior banner of *Masterpieces of Korean Art* on the central wall of the main building of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

When the first travelling exhibitions were organised during the Cold War in the 1950s, the curatorial aim of the political authorities and social elites was to promote an independent Korean cultural identity. The government's involvement, and its desire for the exhibitions to play a diplomatic role, was highlighted by the fact that the signatory for the exhibition Agreement (1957) was the Korean Foreign Affairs Minister. This was a sign of the prevailing government's policy and practice of using cultural diplomacy to support 'public diplomacy'.

3.3.2. Construction of Korean Cultural Uniqueness

³³⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'For Korean Art: A Journey to U.S.', *The Korean Republic*, 15 May 1957, Press Clippings, Exhibitions: Masterpieces of Korean Art, Box 218, Folder 3, p. A.

The construction of a Korean cultural identity was ‘subsequently cemented’ by imposing a difference of Korean culture from ‘other’³³⁷ cultures, namely Chinese and Japanese cultures. The *Masterpieces of Korean Art* was first held in the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC, with an emphasis on the Korean culture’s ‘uniqueness’. Washington, the capital city of the USA, was selected to host the first exhibition because of its cultural-political significance as the seat of the American government.³³⁸

At the second location for the exhibition, the Metropolitan Museum of Art continued to emphasise the significance of the exhibition. The curator Alan Priest promoted the exhibition as ‘one of great dignity and beauty’,³³⁹ and *Museum News* also emphasised the independent nature of Korean arts that were ‘still unfamiliar to the Western world’.³⁴⁰

Despite repeated foreign invasions and the pervasive influence of Chinese civilisation, Korean artistic expression has stubbornly maintained its special national character, and, magnificent in its own right, has been one of the great pillars of Eastern culture.³⁴¹

The New York Times only mentioned North Korea when it was necessary to explain the origin of Korean objects and noted Chinese culture in relation to the similar characteristics of Korean culture. These were to highlight Korean culture’s uniqueness:

The exhibition begins with a number of the splendid gold ornaments which have been excavated from tombs in North Korea. The most ancient object

³³⁷ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p. 79.

³³⁸ Korean Ministry of Education, ‘Chapter II: Exhibition Circumstance’, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미·국전시 보고서 1957–59), p. 21.

³³⁹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘News for Release: Brilliant Exhibition of Korean National Art Treasures at Metropolitan Museum’, 7 February 1958, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1958, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, p. 1.

³⁴⁰ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Art: 200 Korean Works-Sculpture, Painting, Ceramics and Gold Objects Shown at The Metropolitan’, 7 February 1958, Exhibition Press Clippings 1957–58, Box 47, Folder 7.

³⁴¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Department of State for the Press’, 17 September 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, p. 1.

represented is a delicate gold buckle from the 1st–2nd century AD, showing the influence of the highly developed Chinese metal culture [...] Three unique gold crowns with hanging ear pendants, perhaps the most arresting objects in the entire exhibition, presents the period when Korean metalwork flourished in both intricate craftsmanship and originality of design.³⁴²

This method of object interpretation, illuminating Korean culture within East Asian cultural boundaries, emphasised its unique and excellent characteristics. This process went on during object installation and design (see Figures 13 and 14) and the writing of text panels, the exhibition catalogue and the introductory history. For example, when interpreting the Korean Buddhist sculpture of the unified Silla Dynasty (668–918), the interpretation posits Chinese culture as its East Asian cultural influencer and Korean culture as an influencer on Japanese culture. The media echoed the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s interpretation, as *Time Magazine* reported on ceramic wares:

It was in ceramics that Korea led the Oriental world. Even Chinese connoisseurs of the Sung dynasty praised the artistry and craft of Korean potters of the Koryo dynasty (A.D. 918–1392), proclaiming ‘the secret colour of Koryo is first under Heaven.’³⁴³

³⁴² The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, News clipping, ‘Korean Art Show Will Tour in U.S.’, *The New York Times*, 4 November 1956, pp. 1-2.

³⁴³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Art Treasures from Korea’, *Time*, 16 December 1957, Exhibition Press Clippings 1957–58, Box 47, Folder 7.



Figure 13: The display of ceramics and paintings in *Masterpieces of Korean Art*
 © Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive



Figure 14: The display of gold crowns and Buddhist status in *Masterpieces of Korean Art*
 © Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

The paintings in the exhibition, presented as representative artworks of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), were described as ‘surpassing the Chinese models’³⁴⁴ in their use of colour and brushwork. The Museum’s press release pointed out the Korean cultural influence in Japan, revealing that ‘many native artists were sent forth to Japan to teach their craft and there profoundly influenced the development of Japanese sculpture’.³⁴⁵ Stating Korea’s role in East Asian cultures and its cultural uniqueness, thus, was also regarded as a refutation of the Japanese colonial government’s (1910–1945) ‘assimilation policy’, which argued that Korean culture originated from Japanese culture.³⁴⁶

For both the South Korean government and American museums, the exhibition played a cultural-political role by differentiating Korean culture from Chinese or Japanese cultures on an international level for the first time. In correspondence from the Korean ambassador You Chan Yang to Priest (the curator), he remarked on the role of arts and culture, stating that there was ‘no better media to promote understanding among nations than through the arts, which have a universal appeal, and transcend all language barriers’.³⁴⁷ The first lady of South Korea, Francesca Donner Rhee, sent personal correspondence to Priest to celebrate the successful exhibition and wrote, ‘It is extremely gratifying to know that the exhibition is being so well received in New York’.³⁴⁸ Also, the more than 10,000 visitors on the day of the opening of the exhibition and the attendees of the opening ceremony, such as politicians like USA President Harry S. Truman (1945–1953) and former ambassadors, military veterans including admirals of the Korean War and economists³⁴⁹ proved that the exhibition was successful and attracted political attention; thus, the exhibition proved its useful role in promoting the relationship of two countries and helped strengthen their alliance.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 361-372.

³⁴⁷ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from Korean Ambassador to Alan Priest (Curator of The Met), 11 February 1958, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³⁴⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Correspondence, Sent from South Korea’s First Lady, Francesca Rhee, Received by Alan Priest (Curator of The Met), 10 April 1958, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³⁴⁹ Chewon Kim (金載元, 1909–1990), *Behind Story of Gyeongbok-gung Palace* (경복궁 야화), pp. 129-131.

3.3.3. The Travelling Exhibition in European Nations

Between 1961 and 1962, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* widened its geographic spread to European nations, touring in the UK, Netherlands, France, Germany and Austria. This section discusses the difference between the exhibition in the USA and in Europe, focusing specifically on the UK's case. The exhibition was held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, with a change of title to *National Art Treasures of Korea* (23 March 1961–1 July 1962).³⁵⁰ This case is significant as it was the first Korean exhibition in the UK and it is useful in understanding Korean exhibition in early 'public diplomacy' before discussing the British Museum's involvement in another travelling exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art* in section four.

The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that the exhibition's outcome in Europe was 'a remarkable one for introducing our culture'.³⁵¹ Hosting the exhibition in the UK had significance in terms of promoting the South Korean national identity in the Cold War. As another representative liberal democratic country, the UK was also the nation registered to the UN that contributed the second largest number of troops to the Korean War;³⁵² thus, the exhibition was also politically symbolic. The opening of the exhibition was formalised between the two governments of South Korea and the UK as agreed on 7 October 1960.³⁵³

In museum practice, different agents were involved in the exhibitions in Europe compared to the exhibitions in the USA. For instance, the governments of the USA and South Korea were directly involved in negotiations in relation to the production of the exhibition. On the other hand, the art institutions of the European nations invited the *Masterpieces of Korean Art* as curated by the USA and South Korea. The agreement on the exhibition was signed between each exhibiting nation and the Director of the

³⁵⁰ Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Chapter I: Process of Preparation', *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe* (문화재 구라파 전시 보고서), p. 1.

³⁵¹ Ibid, preface.

³⁵² Gordon L. Rottman, *Korean War Order of Battle: United States, United Nations, and Communist Ground, Naval, and Air Forces, 1950–1953* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

³⁵³ *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe*, p. 1. and p. 15.

National Museum of Korea in March 1961.³⁵⁴ Thus, the National Museum of Korea's Director could play a key role in the exhibition in Europe. The Korean committee of the exhibition, however, was still represented by the South Korean ambassador to Washington, implying the exhibition's explicitly presented role was a matter of foreign affairs.

For the interpretation of Korean culture, the exhibition in Europe continued to use the cultural interpretations that were constructed in the American exhibition. As in the USA, Korean arts and culture was relatively unknown in Europe as compared to other East Asian or Oriental cultures.³⁵⁵ The Victoria and Albert Museum's correspondence with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1961 summarises the significance of the exhibition as:

A 'unique event' and 'the first' exhibition of Korean art ever to be held in England [...] Although of great artistic and cultural importance, the arts of Korea are much less familiar than those of China and Japan, being poorly represented in our national collections.³⁵⁶

The UK continued the interpretive approach that focused on highlighting Korean cultural uniqueness using newly interpreted objects of pottery from the Joseon Dynasty,³⁵⁷ particularly the moon jar. The Victoria and Albert Museum described the moon jar as having a 'unique' nature and 'very high values which might be thought crude and odd in the West, but these products show the innate artistry of the peasant-

³⁵⁴ L'association Francaise D'action Artistique of France, Der Magistrat der Stadt Frankfurt Am Main of Germany, Fine Arts of the City of the Hague of Netherlands and the Arts Council of the UK.

Source: Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Chapter I: Process of Preparation', *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe* (문화재 구라파 전시 보고서), p. 11.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 17.

³⁵⁶ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives, New York, 'National Art Treasures of Korea', Sent from the Victoria & Albert Museum, Received by the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art', 10 April 1961, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³⁵⁷ This is more specifically discussed in chapter four. The Joseon Dynasty's pottery is a representative Korean artwork in the UK's Korean exhibitions and is the focus of the case study on the Korean Gallery in the British Museum.

potters of Korea'.³⁵⁸ The interpretation was relatively more focused on the cultural meaning of the exhibition and its objects by maintaining an emphasis on Korean culture's uniqueness, which was constructed in the USA exhibition.

The Korean Minister of Foreign Affairs's exhibition report, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe* (1962), noted the limitation of the role of the exhibition. The South Korean government recognised the need for developing further international cultural exchanges after the exhibition. While the report valued the increasing interest in Korean culture in the UK,³⁵⁹ the government's plan for further development described the exhibition as the 'starting point' of 'making a ceaseless effort'³⁶⁰ to promote Korean culture overseas. The report concluded by recommending the 'promotion of the national culture and people in a more developed means of exchange'.³⁶¹ This signalled the forthcoming government-led development of culture and international cultural exchange, which were significant features of Korea's cultural diplomacy during the 1970s and 80s.

3.4. 5000 Years of Korean Art (1976–1985)

On 23 April 1970, the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs participated in UNESCO's General Conference on *Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*. At the meeting, the Korean Ministry presented the characteristics of Korea's culture and arts with an emphasis on its uniqueness within the East Asian cultural boundaries:

On many occasions, Korea acted as a cultural bridge between China and Japan and an understanding of Korean arts and culture is indispensable for the study of those two nations in style, evolution and diffusion. Besides such historical

³⁵⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives, New York, 'National Art Treasures of Korea', Sent from the Victoria & Albert Museum, Received by the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art', 10 April 1961, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

³⁵⁹ Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 'Chapter II: Exhibition Circumstance', *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe* (문화재 구라파 전시 보고서), p. 17.

³⁶⁰ Ibid, preface.

³⁶¹ Ibid, p. 24.

significance, Korean art developed a pattern quite unique in itself [...] so that anybody can distinguish it from others at one glance.³⁶²

With the promotion of its own culture, the South Korean government participated in the international organisation by partially amending its Cultural Heritage Protection Act in 1970 to reflect the issues of ownership of cultural property as discussed in the UNESCO meeting. The amended Act added Article 20-2 on the prohibition of overseas export or transport of a national treasure or important folkloric materials for more than a few months.³⁶³ Markedly, this Act included an exception that the permit for a longer period export or transport of important cultural heritages could happen only when the Minister of Culture and Public Information (1968) allowed it.³⁶⁴ With a time limit of two years and with the extension subject to review and consideration through the cabinet, this exception to the Article was ‘for an international cultural exchange’, such as exhibitions in overseas nations.³⁶⁵ Two years later, in 1972, the Culture and Arts Promotion Act was legislated and explicitly stated its aim for cultural exchanges and overseas exhibitions was ‘to increase the number of international cultural exchange programmes, such as special exhibitions in other countries, folk music performances and translations of traditional Korean literature’.³⁶⁶ The government’s determination to support international cultural promotion was explicitly stated in its cultural legislation.

In this cultural policy context, the *5000 Years of Korean Art* exhibition had two important roles: ‘to show off the true sense of our [Korean] culture that has been discovered through accumulation of new excavation achievements, followed by the development of the country’; and ‘to establish a [South] Korean cultural image in the world in balance with rapid economic growth’.³⁶⁷ *5000 Years of Korean Art*, thus,

³⁶² Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ‘Address Made by the Chief Delegate of Korea on 23 April 1970’, *Participation Report: General Meeting of UNESCO on Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*, 29 April 1970, p. 85.

³⁶³ Korean National Law Information Center, Cultural Heritage Protection Act, Act No. 2233, Partially Amended on 10 August 1970, Enforced on 10 September 1970.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Korean National Law Information Center, Culture and Arts Promotion Act, Act No. 2337, Legislated and enforced on 14 August 1972.

³⁶⁷ The Compilation Committee (ed), *The 100 Years History of Korean Museums 1909–2009* (한국박물관 100 년사) (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2009), p. 894.

reflected the change in South Korea's cultural development and political climate in the latter part of the Cold War, which the following sub-sections discuss.

3.4.1. The Largest Exhibition of Korean Art and its Impact

The second travelling exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art*, was planned completely by the South Korean government. Planning began immediately after the National Museum of Korea was transferred from the Ministry of Education and placed under the Ministry of Culture and Public Information in 1968. In 1969, South Korean newspapers urged the need for recognition of the country's newly ordered international relationship and for the improvement of Korean cultural representation:

We identified ourselves as a cultural national group, but the status of Korea has not been well-known in the world until now. Moreover, the meaning of 'the world' is no longer limited to the Asian region, which was China-centred vision of the universe during ancient times [...] But when Korea was represented in other nations, the uncivilised and poverty-ridden aspects had been emphasised as part of the imperialistic perspective.³⁶⁸

A method for improving the negative national image of South Korea to foreigners that was caused by the Korean War, which often presented Koreans 'as hostile and warlike people',³⁶⁹ was required. The Korean media asserted that 'our [Korean] people are kind humans who love peace and art' and indicated that this was an appropriate time to promote Korean culture to the world.³⁷⁰ In this political context, the National Museum of Korea strove to construct Korea's cultural and national identity by establishing its own strategy in selecting Korean cultural objects for overseas exhibitions from the 1970s onwards.

The National Museum of Korea established specific criteria for selecting artefacts:³⁷¹ the artefacts must be (1) cultural properties that manifest and represent the developing

³⁶⁸ 'Our Culture To the World Plaza (우리문화 세계의 광장에)', *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 21 June 1969, p. 5.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Sang-hoon Jang, 'A Representation of Nationhood: The National Museum of Korea', p. 165.

stages of Korean art, (2) masterpieces that represent each period, (3) key objects that have been newly excavated, and (4) objects that present Korean cultural characteristics well without being duplicated from the last exhibition.³⁷²

However, the kinds of objects that were displayed remained almost the same as in the previous *Masterpieces of Korean Art* exhibition, wherein 250 items and around 350 paintings and pieces of art in ceramic, stone, metal and glass from the Neolithic Period to the twentieth century were all loaned from the National Museum of Korea.³⁷³ As with the first travelling exhibition, the pivotal aims of the *5000 Years of Korean Art* were to show the development of Korean art over a long span of history, and to select objects considered to be unique masterpieces. This selection of objects implies the interpretation that the unique qualities and excellence of Korean art was sustained in spite of the newly excavated objects and the development of the National Museum of Korea's curatorial practice.

Regarding cultural diplomacy practice, the *5000 Years of Korean Art* exhibition broadened its role. The case of the exhibition in Japan is a significant example of the shift in the cultural diplomacy of South Korea. Yang-mo Jeong, Head of the Fine Art Department of the National Museum of Korea (later Director of the National Museum of Korea, 1993–1998), noted the following objectives of the exhibition: 1) to allow the world to 'rightly understand the impact of Korean culture on Japanese archaeology and art history and demonstrate its being a step ahead of the time',³⁷⁴ and 2) to broaden two nations' cultural exchange³⁷⁵ a decade after the normalisation of the diplomatic relationship between Korea and Japan in 1965. These objectives are both related to South Korean cultural diplomacy in that they promote Korean nationhood, history and culture. Although the exhibition's aim was explicitly stated as 'contributing to friendship between two nations' in a public space, the unspoken purpose was to promote

³⁷² '350 Objects Confirmed for 5000 Years of Korean Art (한국미술 5 천년전, 출품작 3 백 50 점을 확정)', *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 22 December 1975.

³⁷³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Exhibition Pamphlet, *Introduction To "5000 Years of Korean Art"*, 10 January 1981, Loan Exhibition-1981, 5000 Years of Korean Art.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ 'Regarding Real Meaning of the 5000 Years of Korean Art (한국미술 5 천년전 참뜻을 살핀다)', *The Choson Ilbo* (조선일보), 18 February 1976, p. 11.

pride in and assert the superiority of Korean culture,³⁷⁶ which had formerly been suppressed during Japanese colonial rule.

The impact of the *5000 Years of Korean Art* exhibition, held in Japan in 1976, is that it provided the Korean government with an opportunity to uphold Korean cultural history and identity for the first time. The renowned expert of Japanese ancient history, Professor Ueda, said:

Japan has underestimated Korean ancient culture until now, and its interest has increased after the discovery of the Takamatsu ancient tomb in 1972 [...]
Japan should show respectfulness to Korean people who had a brilliant culture and to the newly discovered Korean culture's identity through this exhibition.³⁷⁷

The result was a significant change in the interpretation of Korean culture by Japanese art and museum professionals. In a lecture in the accompanying conference on Korean Art Exhibitions, Professor Ueda mentioned the impact of the exhibition in terms of the Japanese realisation of Korean cultural identity and referenced a Director of the Kyoto National Museum and the Minister of Culture, saying that Japanese culture had been continuously influenced by Korean culture and by a long history of cultural exchanges between Japan and Korea.³⁷⁸

This kind of response was an attempt to re-establish the roots of the ancient history and cultural relationship between Korea and Japan. Investigating ancient cultural influences was a significant point in postcolonial South Korea's cultural diplomacy and the two nations' diplomatic relationship. This raised a new theory among Japanese academics regarding the primary agent of ancient Japanese culture³⁷⁹ and 'overwhelmed a widely

³⁷⁶ Sang-hoon Jang, 'A Representation of Nationhood: The National Museum of Korea', p. 179.

³⁷⁷ 'Newly Felt Korean Cultural Identity, Professor Ueda Highly Proclaimed in Korean Art Exhibition Lecture (한국문화주체성 새삼느껴, 우에다 교수, 한국미술전강연회서 격찬)', *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 26 February 1976, p. 7.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Jang, 'A Representation of Nationhood: The National Museum of Korea', pp. 176-183.

accepted theory that Japan occupied the Southern part of Korea in the 4th century³⁸⁰ implying that Japan and Korea had the same roots and ancestry, which was a justification for Japanese colonial policy.³⁸¹ Rather than pursuing a retrospect of ethnic identity or keeping a traditional identity, respecting a ‘route’ produces the ‘discursive, material, or political effectivity’ from which identity arises.³⁸² Thus, it is presumable that the historical perspective of both Japan and Korea somewhat changed during this time by the travelling exhibition.

The major Korean newspaper, *Dong-A Ilbo*, reported that a Japanese critic pointed out that the *5000 Years of Korean Art* manifestly showed that relics of Korean culture dominated ancient Japan.³⁸³ A survey undertaken by the Korean Ministry of Culture and Public Information found that 82.5% of Japanese visitors thought that the exhibition was excellent, and 83% thought that the exhibition was helpful for promoting and understanding Korean culture.³⁸⁴ As such, the exhibition played a pivotal cultural and political role in the promotion of Korean culture and history.

3.4.2. A Sustained Korean Cultural Identity in the USA

Despite the political tension between South Korea and the USA, driven by the scandal of Koreagate mentioned in Section 3.1., there was an ongoing discussion about opening another Korean exhibition in the USA. At the opening of *5000 Years of Korean Art* in Japan (1979–1981), American museum staff visited the exhibition in Kyoto and contacted the National Museum of Korea to request the exhibiting of Korean art in

³⁸⁰ “‘5000 Years of Korean Art’ Stirred Ancient History of Japan, “Cultural Identity is Korean” (한국미술 5 천년전이 몰아온 파장, 흔들리는 일본고대사 “문화주체는 한국인”), *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 31 March 1976, p. 5.

³⁸¹ Ibid; ‘Korean Culture is Root of Japanese History (한국문화는 일본사의 뿌리)’, *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 27 July 1976, p. 10.

³⁸² Stuart Hall, ‘Introduction: Who Needs ‘Identity’?’, in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (SAGE Publications, 1996). pp. 1-17 (p. 4).

³⁸³ ‘Japanese Critic’s Evaluation on 5000 Years of Korean Art Exhibition, “Japan’s Ancient Culture is Relic of Korea” (“일고대문화는 한국의 잔영”, 일평론가 5 천년전 평가)’, *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 15 July 1976, p. 7.

³⁸⁴ ‘Want to Know Korean Culture More (한국문화 더 알고싶다)’, *Maeil Business News Korea* (매일경제), 1 September 1976, p. 7.

major USA museums, such as the Smithsonian Culture Foundation, the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, and the Los Angeles National Museum.³⁸⁵ They commented: ‘We are fascinated by magnificent Korean art. We want to be the next one to display this exhibition if it can travel’.³⁸⁶ However, the National Museum of Korea expressed concern about the condition and safety of the objects, which they feared could be damaged by a long overseas journey; hence, they refused its travel to the USA. Nevertheless, the American museums continued to request the staging of the exhibition in the USA, sending staff and letters in 1977,³⁸⁷ eventually persuading the Korean government to decide to send the exhibition to the USA.

The travelling of *5000 Years of Korean Art* to the USA was another evolution of South Korean cultural diplomacy and museum practice in the last decade of the Cold War. Rather than focusing mainly on political intention as with the first travelling exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, this exhibition played more of a cultural role. The National Museum of Korea’s desire to ‘show how Korean art has developed from 5000 years ago through one exhibition’ and the principle of selecting objects that represented ‘Korean-ness’³⁸⁸ remained from the previous *Masterpieces of Korean Art*. The Korean government regarded the exhibition as ‘an opportunity to correct Western nations’ perspectives on Oriental art that have always been discussed and influenced only by Chinese or Japanese art’³⁸⁹ and to establish a Korean cultural identity and agency.

The historical moment in which *5000 Years of Korean Art* was touring, the 1970s and 1980s, was distinctive from that of the first travelling exhibition, as South Korea had achieved a level of economic and cultural development by this time. After the dramatic economic growth of South Korea, there was an increased donation of artefacts to the national Korean collection, and American museums also started to collect Korean art.³⁹⁰ The exhibition had an economic aim in the mid-1970s of ‘increasing export as a result

³⁸⁵ ‘5000 Years of Korean Art, First Show in US (한국미술 5 천년전 미국에 첫선)’, *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 6 March 1979, p. 5.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Keum-jin Yoon, ‘An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums’, p. 164.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

of cultural promotion'.³⁹¹ The curatorial practice was organised in a more cooperative way than with the previous travelling exhibition to the USA. Alongside the National Museum of Korea's enhanced role as a national museum and the cultural development of South Korea, the second travelling exhibition was able to promote Korean culture with less dependence on US support.

The exhibition created a positive reaction in USA museums in terms of its scale and cultural meaning. According to a report by the *Washington Post* in 1979, the exhibition was 'the largest and most important exhibition of Korean art ever to come to the USA'.³⁹² When the exhibition opened, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's press office stressed the scale of the exhibition, saying that it was 'the most comprehensive survey of Korean art',³⁹³ and highlighted the interpretation of the distinctive Korean culture.³⁹⁴ *The New York Times* introduced and advertised Korean culture as being in a relationship with but distinguished from Chinese and Japanese cultures,³⁹⁵ which indicated the same interpretation as that of the first travelling exhibition:

For if the art of China and Japan is well known in the West, that of Korea is almost totally overlooked. [...] Despite the strong impact of Chinese culture upon Korea, Korean art has always managed to maintain a peculiarly Korean quality, a kind of tranquil and relaxed attitude in contrast to the rigid and massive form of China or the highly delicate, if not somewhat nervous style of Japanese art.³⁹⁶

³⁹¹ '5000 Years of Korean Art: A Wider Range of Cultural Exchange Expected Through Exhibition in US (한국미술 5 천년전, 미국전시 계기로 문화교류폭 더욱 넓히길)', *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 1 May 1979, p. 3.

³⁹² National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Cultural Exchange Division, DA0745905, 'Korean Art to Tour U.S.', in *The Washington Post*, 1 March 1979.

³⁹³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'News for Release: Metropolitan Museum to Show Major Exhibition of Korean Art', December 1980, Loan Exhibition-1981, 5000 Years of Korean Art, p. 1.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'A Trove of Unfamiliar Art from Korea', *The New York Times*, 4 January 1981, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1981, 5000 Years of Korean Art.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

Like the media reports, the objects' interpretations indicate which element of Korean cultural identity was promoted through the exhibition. For example, in the exhibition pamphlet, a celadon (see Figures 15 and 16) of the Koryo Dynasty (918–1392) was interpreted as 'the primary advance' of 'the most refined' ceramic culture during medieval Korea 'ever produced anywhere in the world',³⁹⁷ although the dynasty suffered foreign invasions and the 'systematic attacks of Japanese pirates'.³⁹⁸ Thus, the interpretation sustained the tendency towards emphasising Korean cultural uniqueness, using key objects that demonstrated its distinct characteristics.

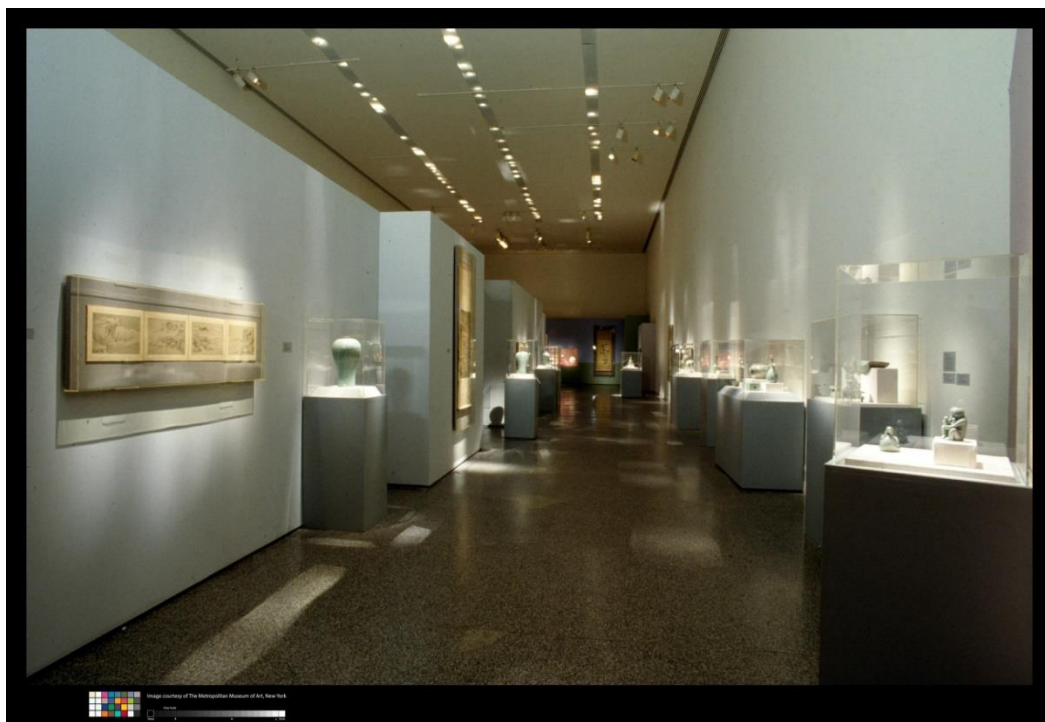


Figure 15: The display of Koryo celadon in *5000 Years of Korean Art* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

³⁹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Exhibition Pamphlet, *Introduction To "5000 Years of Korean Art"*.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

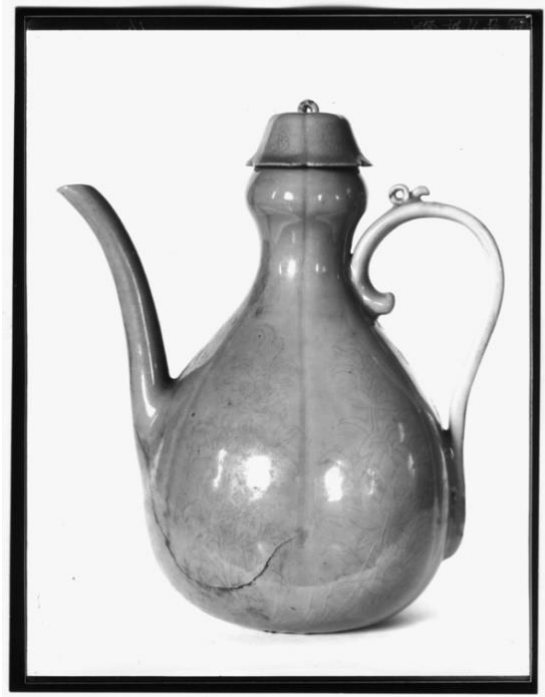


Figure 16: Celadon-glazed Wine Pot
Koryo (early 12th Century), Celadon, H 21.4 x D 16.4,
Loaned by the National Museum of Korea
 © Courtesy of the National Museum of Korea Collection Archive

The ceramic of the Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910) was delineated from the viewpoint of the art history as well as the cultural history of East Asia, again to point out the distinctiveness of Korean art:

Early Joseon ceramics are generally robust, heavily potted, and vividly decorated, offering a sharp contrast with the more refined celadons of the previous Koryo Dynasty. It is recognisable for its commonly used white slip and bluish green glaze, contributed to the development of Japanese tea ceremony wares but did not survive at home after the Japanese invasion of the sixteenth century. Aristocratic wares made primarily of white porcelain were frequently painted with underglaze blue in the Chinese manner, but the motif, compositions, and brushstrokes reflected indigenous taste.³⁹⁹

Another key object that the exhibition highlighted was the gold crown (see Figures 17 and 18), which represents the cultural development of South Korea as it was uncovered

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

by Korea's archaeological excavation of an ancient tomb. It demonstrated a fruitful outcome of the excavation of historic materials from the ancient period. The exhibited gold crown was the largest of all the five royal gold crowns so far discovered in Korea,⁴⁰⁰ which was 'subsequently restored and made into a museum piece'.⁴⁰¹ The *Washington Post* acclaimed the displayed tomb excavations at the time to be 'treasures from fifty centuries never before seen in the West'.⁴⁰² Consequently, in the interpretations of Korean art, American media continued to contribute to conveying the 'unique' aspect of Korean art through the 1970s.



**Figure 17: A display of Silla Golden Crown in *5000 Years of Korean Art*
in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive**

⁴⁰⁰ In Kyongju (the capital of the Silla Dynasty), excavated in 1973 from the tomb of a 12.7-meter-high tumulus.

⁴⁰¹ Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Exhibition Catalogue, *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1979), p. 153.

⁴⁰² National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Cultural Exchange Division, DA0745905, 'Korean Art To Tour U.S.', in *The Washington Post*, 1 March 1979.



Figure 18: Silla Golden Crown (Korean National Treasure No. 191)
5th–6th Century, Gold and Jade, H 27.3 x D 17
 © Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

Buddhist sculptures (see Figures 19, 20 and 21) were also described as some ‘of the most beautiful sculpture pieces ever produced by the human race’⁴⁰³ by the art critic for *The Seattle Times*. Regarding cultural significance, a similar interpretation was presented in two press reports by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and *The New York Times*:

The marked stylistic features of Buddhist art are derived from Southern Chinese influence, and these in turn had a major effect upon the development of early Japanese sculpture [at the same time also developed distinctive

⁴⁰³ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Cultural Exchange Division, DA0745905, ‘Writers Preview: Korean Art Show’, in *The Seattle Times*, 27 February 1979.

styles].⁴⁰⁴ To judge such works properly, Korea was something of a cultural crossroads in which Chinese and Japanese traditions converged.⁴⁰⁵



Figure 19: Pensive Bodhisattva (Korean National Treasure No. 78)
Late 6th Century, H 83 x W 50
© Courtesy of the National Museum of Korea Collection Archive

⁴⁰⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'News for Release: Metropolitan Museum to Show Major Exhibition of Korean Art', December 1980, Loan Exhibition-1981, 5000 Years of Korean Art, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁵ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'Art: A Pageant of Korean Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art', *The New York Times*, 9 January 1981, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1981, 5000 Years of Korean Art.



Figure 20: The display of Pensive Bodhisattva in *5000 Years of Korean Art* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (right side of photo)

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive



Figure 21: Pensive Bodhisattva (Korean National Treasure No. 83)

7th Century, Gilt Bronze, H 93.5

© Courtesy of the National Museum of Korea Collection Archive

The diplomatic significance of this exhibition and the role of cultural exchange were well reflected in the two governments' congratulatory messages. The Korean Minister

of Culture and Public Information evaluated *5000 Years of Korean Art* as ‘an opportunity for establishing or expanding a Korean gallery in primary museums in the USA, along with approximately 2,262,000 visitors in eight cities’.⁴⁰⁶ The Minister announced that he had expectations for the exhibition to forge a closer cultural understanding between the two nations:

Understanding other peoples must come from an understanding of their history and culture. I feel that this exhibition affords a most fortunate opportunity to permit our American friends to come close to the hopes, values and artistic talents of the Korean people. It is my wish that increased cultural contacts of this nature will follow and serve to deepen understanding and strengthen the friendship between our peoples.⁴⁰⁷

The USA Secretary of State responded:

The distinguished pieces we see here are the expression of an artistic flair which is very much alive in Korea today. I am confident that it will serve to awaken in those who view it an appreciation of a major Asian artistic tradition of which we have long known too little.⁴⁰⁸

For the USA and South Korea, the exhibition was a ‘fortunate opportunity’ to move closer to ‘friends’ and to maintain the friendship between the two nations.⁴⁰⁹ The exhibition was evaluated in the context of its cultural-political role. The influence of the USA government in the construction of Korean cultural identity cannot be underestimated in discussing the international Korean exhibition in the Cold War. The interpretation of objects sustained the promotion of Korean culture’s uniqueness as was initialised with the *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, which proves the importance of the

⁴⁰⁶ ‘Sophisticated Korean Art Was Recognised (세련된 한국미술 인식시켰다)’, *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 19 October 1981, p. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ Exhibition Catalogue, *5000 Years of Korean Art* (Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1979), Messages from the Minister of Culture and Public Information of the Republic of Korea, p. 8.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid, Messages from the Secretary of the State of the USA, p. 9.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, pp. 8-9.

international exhibition during the Cold War, in which the USA government played the key productive role.

3.4.3. The Last Travelling Exhibition of the Cold War

The second travelling exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art*, attracted the interest of liberal democratic nations such as the UK (1984) and West Germany (1985) in the last years of the Cold War. The exhibition in Berlin, titled *Art Treasures from Korea*, was held a few years before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1991. Under the situation of the national split, the German Speaker of the house emphasised cultural exchange ‘to understand each other for world peace without war’.⁴¹⁰ The Korean Ministry of Culture and Information agreed, regarding the travelling exhibition’s role to be that of a ‘more enhanced recognition of Korean culture and also for the preparation of the upcoming 1988 Summer Olympics so as to propagate Korean culture’s excellence’.⁴¹¹ Since the displayed objects included 70 cultural heritage items designated as National Treasures, they needed to be re-reviewed for export according to Article 20 of the Cultural Heritage Protection Act of 1970. The South Korean government recognised the establishment of the exhibition in the UK and Germany as ‘the most crucial event commemorating the centenary of diplomatic relationships between Korea and the UK’⁴¹² and between Korea and Germany.⁴¹³ Article 9 of the *Cultural Agreement* made between the Government of South Korea and the UK states the aim of the agreement as

⁴¹⁰ ‘Speaker of House of Commons of West Berlin Visit to Korea to Host 5000 Years of Korean Art Exhibition: Unification Without War is Difficult But Keep Up the Effort (서베를린 하원의장 한국미술 5 천년전 유치위해 내한: 전쟁없는 통일 어렵지만 계속노력)’, *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 30 March 1982, p. 3.

⁴¹¹ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, DA0745905, *Export of Cultural Heritage to Foreign Nations For Overseas Exhibition*, Proposed by The Minister of Culture and Public Information, 1984, p. 1.

⁴¹² ‘Britain’s Expectation to 5000 Years of Korean Art (한국미술 5 천년전 영국의 기대)’, *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 19 January 1984, p. 7.

⁴¹³ ‘5000 Years of Korean Art in Cologne: Vice-Minister of Culture and Public Information, Mr. Heo Attended (한국미술 5 천년전 쾰른전: 허 문공차관 참관)’, *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 15 October 1984, p. 3.

promoting cultural exchanges, including art exhibitions, musical performances and film festivals.⁴¹⁴

The case of the preparation of the exhibition in the British Museum demonstrates that the cultural diplomatic role of the travelling exhibition was still a top concern in the mid-1980s. The process of preparation did not go smoothly; the two governments disagreed on matters regarding insurance, leading the Director of the British Museum to announce the cancellation of the *Treasures from Korea* exhibition.⁴¹⁵ When this crisis occurred, a renowned Korean professor recommended both sides consider opening the exhibition for the prestige of Korean culture without the insurance fee negotiation.⁴¹⁶ Additionally, a former Korean ambassador commented that, ‘I have never heard of an overseas exhibition of cultural properties being cancelled because of the insurance fee’ and proposed a renegotiation ‘to keep amity between two nations’.⁴¹⁷ These comments show that the Korean side regarded the exhibition as diplomatically important. Eventually, as a result of British fundraising that secured the appropriate insurance coverage, the exhibition could go ahead as planned.⁴¹⁸

The Daily Telegraph played up Korean culture’s particular characteristics to reflect the previous exhibitions’ resonance. The article is useful in understanding the significance of the exhibition in promoting Korean cultural identity and the ways in which Korean culture is interpreted in the UK:

Korea in its cultural history occupies a position between Chinese and Japanese, an art-historical ‘sandwich’ in which it is not always easy to ascribe

⁴¹⁴ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, BA0805009, ‘Cultural Heritage Exhibition Overseas’, 8 April 1982.

⁴¹⁵ The British Museum: Central Archives, London, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 21 January 1984, Reel 7-British Museum: Board of Trustees, vol. 7, CE22/7, p. 3816; ‘5000 Years of Korean Art Exhibition Scheduled in London About to be Cancelled Because of No Accident Compensation (런던개최예정 한국미술 5 천년전 사고보상 안돼 무산될듯)’, *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 21 December 1983, p. 11.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ The British Museum: Central Archives, London, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 21 January 1984, p. 3816.

particular works to one or the other; and yet each has a pronounced individual character. [...] It is indeed only recently that Japanese scholars have appreciated just how crucial was Korea in shaping Japan's own early art [...] There are no signs of Chinese influence on jewellery, ceramics, gold crown, which underlines the distinctive and unique character of Korean culture from its prehistoric origins.⁴¹⁹

As the above summary of the exhibition in the UK states, it was an outcome of the exhibition that cemented the cultural 'uniqueness' of Korea as distinguished from Chinese or Japanese art, at least in the interpretation of its cultural materials in international museums.

3.5. Conclusion

'Difference' is the notion that distinguishes 'us' from others, such as 'us and them, friend and foe, belonging and not belonging, and in-groups and out-groups'.⁴²⁰ On the subject of building South Korea's national identity, South Korea and USA instrumentally deployed a distinctive feature of Korean material culture as an expression of a liberal and independent national posture from after the Korean War until the mid-1980s. The two travelling exhibits, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) and *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) demonstrate the political use of international exhibitions in the Cold War by the governments (of the USA and South Korea) to promote Korean culture's unique identity and South Korea's political stance. The aim of curatorial practice was related to the cultural diplomacy at the time that is the representation of liberal democracy ideology through the differentiation of Korean culture from China and competing with the communist North Korea; at the same time, the exhibitions presented Korea's distinct cultural and artistic achievement by stressing its difference from that of the past coloniser Japan. This method of interpretation constructed in the first exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, was continued in the second exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art*, although there was a shift in South

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Simon Clarke, 'Culture and Identity', Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 510-529 (p. 518).

Korean political, economic and cultural circumstances. The characteristics of international exhibitions in the Cold War can be understood with a three-fold summary.

First, the main curatorial agencies of the travelling exhibitions reflect not only the close cultural-political relationship between the USA and South Korea, but also the development of a South Korean cultural policy. The development of *Masterpieces of Korean Art* was backed by the strong support of the USA government and its close relationship with the South Korean president. This support was delivered at a time when South Korea's governmental organisation and policies were not yet established so soon after wartime and national division. Through recognition of its diplomatic relationship and the need to promote South Korea's image, the United States Department of State played a vital role in creating the exhibition. High government officials from Korea, such as the president, ministers and ambassadors, and the Director of the National Museum of Korea represented Korea and worked with the Director and curators of American museums. As South Korea's cultural policy development progressed, with the support of the USA and with the establishment of cultural legislation and the Ministry of Culture and Public Information during the 1960s, the National Museum of Korea's responsibility in representing Korea's cultural identity evolved. Thus, it was possible for South Korea to organise the second travelling exhibition, *5000 Years of Korean Art* independently. As a result of this evolution, and through a politically close relationship with the USA, South Korea worked towards constructing a national identity, using Korean material culture.

Second, the construction of Korean culture's 'unique' identity at the beginning of the Cold War was driven by the negotiation between the American museums (the Metropolitan Museum of Art in particular) and the South Korean National Museum during the first travelling exhibition. South Korea, as a new nation-state, needed to — and was eager to — increase its visibility in the world. This need and desire influenced the development of the South Korea's own cultural policy strategy, with the South Korean government and institutions being the interpreters of 'Korean' culture. The first Korean exhibition in the USA in the late 1950s underscored distinctive Korean cultural characteristics as a method of identifying Korean nationhood, which was, at that time, little known and in need of promotion. Since South Korea first established its cultural heritage policy in 1962, their legislative cultural law has continued to include a clause

regarding the promotion of a unique Korean culture. This curatorial method of interpreting Korean culture with distinctive features was sustained until the end of the *5000 Years of Korean Art* exhibition in 1985.

Finally, the common characteristic of the two travelling exhibitions was the significance of political and diplomatic relationships. Rather than pursuing mutual cultural awareness, the exhibitions intended to publicise the close relationships between the countries as a way of maintaining good political-diplomatic ties. As the USA was the most important diplomatic party to South Korea, the first exhibition was principally held in major cities in the USA. The two exhibitions were sought by liberal democratic European nations. The *5000 Years of Korean Art* exhibition in Japan was developed at a meaningful time in the context of South Korea's post-colonial period, following the normalisation of those two countries' diplomatic relationship in 1965. The exhibition was also opened at a timely moment for building a conciliatory relationship when there was political tension between the USA and South Korea. It is worthwhile to note that the diplomatic relations were regarded as the priority by South Korean professionals when the issue of the exhibition cancellation in the UK was raised.

Bennett et al. (2005) notes that culture itself 'became at once so politicised' because of identity's inseparable nexus with social construction and a collective way of life.⁴²¹ The 'public diplomacy' stage of curatorial practice in Korea was 'so politicised' by the necessity of meeting political aims and by the relationships between political agencies. The international display of Korean cultural objects and their representation became a permanent presence, starting in the 1990s under different political scenarios and curatorial relationships between South Korea and overseas museums. The next chapter addresses South Korea's negotiating process with so-called 'universal' museums in the deeper context of the continued development of cultural diplomacy.

⁴²¹ Bennett, et al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 9.

Chapter Four: ‘Cultural Diplomacy’ and Negotiating the Space

The nationalism of the modern world is not the triumphant civilisation of yore. They are the ambiguous expression of the demand both for ... assimilation into the universal ... and *simultaneously* for ... adhering to the particular, the reinvention of differences. Indeed, it is universalism through particularism, and particularism through universalism.

Immanuel Wallerstein, 1984; cited by Roland Robertson, *Globalisation*, 1992 ⁴²²

In the 1990s, there were three elements of transformation in cultural policy that influenced museum practice. First, the social, political and economic changes in the 1990s influenced the international cultural exchange environment. The end of the South Korean military regime in the 1980s produced a growing need for democratic social and cultural change; related to this, South Korea’s international relationships changed as the nation softened its anti-communist political ideology following the opening of diplomatic relations with Eastern European countries, the USSR (1990) and China (1992).⁴²³ The deregulation of economic and cultural exchanges with other countries in the 1990s also contributed to developing an environment that promotes international cultural exchanges.

Second, the South Korean government recognised the cultural sector as being as important as ‘hard power’ in international politics and, therefore, promoted Korean culture overseas. From 1988 to 2003, three successive government administrations developed long-term policies and plans for international cultural exchange; the

⁴²² Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Politics of the World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 166-167, Cited by Roland Robertson, ‘The Universalism–Particularism Issue’, in *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (SAGE Publications, 1992), pp. 97-114 (p. 97).

⁴²³ McDougall, 2007, ‘Korea’, pp. 179-197 (p. 184).

installation and expansion of overseas Korean galleries can be understood in this context.⁴²⁴ In addition, the Museum and Art Gallery Support Act of 1999 included the promotion of domestic art galleries cooperating with overseas museums through exchanges of exhibition objects, programmes, and curators in its Article 5;⁴²⁵ further, the environment of museums' international exchanges had evolved as well.

Third, compared to cultural practice during the Cold War, where the president, government and social elites (such as military elite, politicians, directors of museums and so on) stood for the nation and used culture as a means of presenting their national agenda, the 1990s involved a more 'neoliberal strategy' that incorporated the initiatives and support from private sector actors and diverse cultural institutions.⁴²⁶ The nation's economic success enabled the involvement of major South Korean economic corporations and private funders in this global work. South Korean cultural institutions had more opportunities to engage and communicate with a broader range of international institutions. The most remarkable change in this time is that of cultural institution's increased responsibilities in directly engaging in global cultural relations, including partnerships leading to Korean culture's overseas representation in museums; in other words, the state was no longer the sole agent playing a pivotal role in 'cultural diplomacy' in the 1990s.⁴²⁷ The expansion of a range of agencies', particularly cultural institutions', involvement in international cultural exchange and museum practice became a defining feature of cultural diplomacy.

In consideration of the change in historical contexts, this chapter has two main aims. The first aim is to analyse South Korean 'cultural diplomacy' practice in the 1990s, through the case studies of the establishment of Korean galleries in two 'universal' museums: the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum. Here, two South Korean cultural institutions, the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, play important roles. The Korea Foundation, established in 1991 as a cultural diplomacy institution under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, played the role of negotiating with

⁴²⁴ Yoon, 'An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums', p. 92.

⁴²⁵ Museum and Art Gallery Support Act, 8 February 1999.

⁴²⁶ Cooper, Hocking and Maley, 2008, p. 5.

⁴²⁷ Melissa Nisbett, 'Who Holds the Power in Soft Power?', *Arts & International Affairs*, 13 March 2016 <<https://theartsjournal.net/2016/03/13/nisbett/>> [accessed 22 September 2017].

overseas museums to support the opening of Korean galleries. The National Museum of Korea, as it came to be known under the Ministry of Culture, stated its global role as being the central home of national culture.⁴²⁸ By lending objects to the Korean galleries in international museums, the National Museum of Korea contributed to the displays of comprehensive and chronological objects in Korean galleries.⁴²⁹ Therefore, these two institutions are discussed in this chapter as the main South Korean actors who drove the establishment of overseas Korean galleries.

The second aim of this chapter is to analyse the ways in which South Korean cultural diplomatic institutions and overseas museums, as well as the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, cooperated to negotiate the representation of Korean culture in ‘universal’ museum spaces in the 1990s. This change in curatorial relationships with partners from the ‘universal’ museums regarding the establishment of Korean galleries is useful for understanding ‘cultural diplomacy’ practices in the 1990s. The Korean galleries did not maintain the same curatorial process as characterised by the travelling exhibitions during the Cold War, the development of which political elites and American museums played a major role; instead the two ‘universal’ museums, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum, cooperated with Korean partners in a different way that involved different methods of curation.

This chapter draws on the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum’s archival resources and semi-structured interviews with Korean professionals and former and current staff members of the Korea Foundation, the National Museum and the case museums.⁴³⁰ The discussion focuses on the installation of the Korean galleries and object displays in the museums, drawing on the considerable correspondences available in the archives that enable a better understanding of the specific process of the establishment of Korean galleries. Analysis of the case studies also uses records of text panels and image files of the Korean galleries, press releases and records of the Board of Trustees.

It is useful to begin this chapter with a discussion of the meaning of a Korean gallery space as soft power, as a way of defining the notion of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.

⁴²⁸ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 1994*, p. 91.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ See Methodology, Section 1.4.3., for a detailed description and justification.

The aim of this chapter is neither to analyse nor to evaluate the Korean gallery as South Korean soft power; rather, the aim is to analyse how the cooperative work between diverse agents mirrors ‘cultural diplomacy’ practice in the 1990s as the condition for soft power. Thus, Section 4.1. begins with a discussion of the studies on soft power in relation to cultural diplomacy, to relate them to the role of overseas Korean galleries. The following sections discuss the nature of South Korean cultural diplomacy practice in the 1990s through explorations of the curatorial relationships between South Korean institutions and ‘universal’ museums while establishing those Korean galleries. Section 4.2. presents empirical research using semi-structured interviews with key staff and curators involved with the Korean galleries overseas to define ‘cultural diplomacy’ in relation to those galleries’ roles. Sections 4.3. and 4.4. scrutinise the processes involved in establishing Korean galleries and exhibiting Korean culture in the specified ‘universal’ museum spaces; further, these sections analyse the ways in which these two cases revealed an increased role of cultural institutions in carrying out Korean cultural representation, with the two Korean gallery spaces functioning as South Korean cultural diplomacy in practice. Section 4.5. concludes the overall analysis of the institutions’ cooperation in negotiating permanent Korean cultural spaces in ‘universal’ museums, which is significant for understanding the ‘cultural diplomacy’ of South Korea in the 1990s.

4.1. Soft Power, Cultural Diplomacy and the Korean Gallery

The notion of soft power cannot be described precisely but can be compared with the concept of cultural diplomacy as they both commonly involve the use of political, economic or cultural influence. The widely known academic definition of soft power, as coined by Nye (2004), is the ‘[persuasive] ability to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes one wants’ through ‘attraction and co-opting’ others rather than coercion, military or economic strength (hard power) in foreign policy.⁴³¹ The more-recent analysis of Nisbett and Doeser (2017) questions the efficacy of culture and arts in cultural diplomacy and soft power through analysis of the UN.⁴³² Their conclusion that

⁴³¹ Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, p. 2.

⁴³² Melissa Nisbett and James Doeser, *The Art of Soft Power: A Study of Cultural Diplomacy at the UN Office in Geneva* (London: King’s College London, 2017).

culture is ultimately a means ‘to preserve and express hard political power’⁴³³ is meaningful for understanding the political nature of soft power and cultural diplomacy, which cultural policy otherwise references in softened terms. Furthermore, this research provides an open-ended space for debate about the struggle of making a nuanced distinction between these two concepts, which is useful for analysing the two case studies.

Nisbett and Doeser (2017) characterise soft power as ‘standing out’ (including showcasing one’s own culture, promoting the national interest, giving a sense of identity, and so forth) and cultural diplomacy as ‘reaching out’ (sharing values, facilitating a conversation, increasing outreach, deepening knowledge and understanding, developing cultural awareness, and so forth).⁴³⁴ The interdependence is significant in that ‘soft power’ is a sort of power that envisions political aims and strategies and ‘cultural diplomacy’ brings practices together to deliver that political message. Whether cultural diplomacy pretends to be apolitical or otherwise, cultural diplomacy activities such as diplomatic hosting of exhibitions, music concerts and other cultural events are immersed in political nature.⁴³⁵ Cultural diplomacy in the 1990s is a different form from that of the previous Cold War travelling exhibitions, where transmitting political messages was the major objective; rather, cultural diplomacy and the notion of soft power in the 1990s are related, in this case, to a permanent cultural space in a ‘universal’ museum which acts as a platform for global audiences to access Korean culture. Such Korean gallery space can be an embodiment of soft power which showcases Korean culture and is underpinned by the country’s increased political and economic profile in the international community.

The recognition of the importance of ‘soft power’ has varied according to cultural diplomacy’s stage of development in different periods. For instance, hard power, such as political, military and economic power, was recognised as more important than

⁴³³ Ibid, p. 13.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, p. 15. The visual mapping of the two dimensions are outlined and the terms that are relevant in the analysis of this South Korean case have been selected.

⁴³⁵ Christy Romer, ‘Culture Used by Political Figures to “Exert Power and Control”’, *Arts Professional*, 9 November 2017 <https://www.artsprofessional.co.uk/news/culture-used-political-figures-exert-power-and-control?utm_source=Weekly-News&utm_medium=email&utm_content=nid-206927&utm_campaign=10th-November-2017> [accessed 10 November 2017].

cultural power, which Korea was lacking in the early stage of South Korean cultural diplomacy, as discussed in the previous chapter. During the Cold War, the spread of the liberal political ideology and the military relationship with the USA deeply influenced the construction of a South Korean cultural identity by the government, especially as an allied nation of the USA. In contemporary times, sponsoring or showcasing more exhibitions and culture events overseas⁴³⁶ has become increasingly important as a method of developing soft power from a long-term perspective, as Nye and Kim (2013) point out. McDougall (2007) has also argued the usefulness of exhibitions in overseas museums as a resource for soft power;⁴³⁷ however, academic discussion of the permanent cultural gallery space in ‘universal’ museums, in relation to analysis of the space’s significant role as a source of soft power, has not yet been the subject of a specific study.

The Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums are examples of sites that are at the ‘forefront of representing cultural values’⁴³⁸ where ‘soft power’ is practiced. Overseas Korean galleries fulfil the conditions of soft power that are formulated by Nye (2008) and the Institute for Government (2010). Nye lists three features of soft power:⁴³⁹ (1) ‘culture in places where it is attractive to others’, for example, Korean objects on display in a ‘universal’ museum space; (2) ‘political values when it lives up to them at home and abroad’, for example, Korean material culture on display is intended to promote a national image of Korea, which is now a democracy with considerable economic power; (3) ‘foreign policies that are seen as legitimate and having moral authority’, for example, the Korean gallery space demonstrates cultural roles of Korea are a valued and increasingly visible member of the international community. In addition, McClory of the Institute for Government lists five components of a country’s soft power (which fit the Korean gallery case): (1) government (South Korean government), (2) culture (cultural objects), (3) diplomacy (negotiations and successfully securing a space in a globally prestigious museum), (4) business and innovation (funding of Korean major business groups and cultural philanthropy) and (5) education

⁴³⁶ Ibid, p. 33; McDougall, ‘Understanding Asia Pacific International Politics’, pp. 1-27.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Leanne Hoogwaerts, ‘Museums, Exchanges, and their Contribution to Joseph Nye’s Concept of “Soft Power”’, *Museum & Society* (2016), 14 (2), pp. 313-322 (p. 313).

⁴³⁹ Nye, 2008, ‘Public Diplomacy and Soft Power’, p. 97.

(educational programmes and cultural activities).⁴⁴⁰ The presence of Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums in the 1990s can therefore be understood as a kind of South Korean soft power that acts as an extension of South Korean cultural diplomacy.

4.2. South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Practitioners’ Understanding of ‘Cultural Diplomacy’

‘Cultural diplomacy’ is neither completely political nor an intrinsic activity, however, its very nature implies a political aim. According to Byeong-mo Kim, the former Director of the Korean National Committee of the ICOM in 2004, cultural diplomacy is ‘a soundless diplomatic war because it is a matter of raising the dignity of a nation’.⁴⁴¹ This saying considers ‘cultural diplomacy’ to be a political and diplomatic activity (‘diplomatic war’) using soft (‘soundless’) resources for the promotion of a national image. This section discusses how the interviewees (see Appendix 4 for a list of interviewees, their institutional positions and the key topics discussed), who engaged with the Korea Foundation and the National Museum’s cultural diplomacy practice in the 1990s, conceived a permanent Korean gallery as a part of ‘cultural diplomacy’.

I asked interviewees to identify the concept of ‘cultural diplomacy’ in relation to the terms ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’ and, further, to relate the meaning to the Korean galleries in overseas museums. The interviewees’ responses added practitioner’s perspectives to my analysis of cultural policy. The vital topics of discussion were the critical views on the nature of the existence of Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums, the significance of institutional cooperation, and the limitations on defining ‘cultural diplomacy’ imposed by the institutions’ organisational structure.

First, the interviewees related overseas Korean galleries to the 1990s’ national agenda and cultural diplomacy policy strategies. Interviewees recalled the cultural-political context of the 1990s where culture began to be regarded as an important medium in which to promote the national image. Most of the interviewees considered overseas Korean galleries as important representations of Korea’s cultural image and imagined

⁴⁴⁰ Jonathan McClory, *The New Persuaders: An International Ranking of Soft Power* (London: Institute for Government, 2010).

⁴⁴¹ Byeong-mo Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Hanam, 6 July 2018, Korea Institute of Heritage.

‘Korean nationhood’ on the international stage.⁴⁴² At the same time, while recognising its profound significance, some critics were concerned about the gallery being no more than a selectively interpreted microcosm of the Korean nation. Seok-yeong Choe, a Director of the National Museum of Performing Arts, provided a concise perspective on the significant role of overseas Korean galleries as a representation of national prestige:

The space potentially upgrades or degrades national prestige. Thus, it should not be a repeat of the Great Exhibitions in which Korean culture was subject to the colonial gaze. It also should not be seen as filling the cultural gaps between Western and non-Western representation. Rather, continuous re-evaluation and discussion on the process of object selection and interpretation are needed.⁴⁴³

As Choe mentions, a Korean gallery in a ‘universal’ museum is an opportunistic space where Korean cultural diplomacy unfolds. According to him, the space is somewhat related to cultural diplomacy policy aims, thus, the shifts in the representation of Korean culture at different political and historical moments require more attention from those involved.

Second, the cooperation and negotiation between Korean institutions and their partners during the establishment of permanent Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums was a key topic regarding cultural diplomacy practice in the 1990s; specifically, as the former Executive Vice President of the Korea Foundation, Yoon’s detailed story-telling of the process of the establishment of the Korean galleries can be related to the concept of ‘negotiation’ in diplomacy studies.⁴⁴⁴ According to Berridge and James’s (2003) diplomacy studies, the ‘negotiation’ involves three stages: pre-negotiation, the formula stage (which is called ‘around the table’) and the detailed stage (which involves broader public awareness).⁴⁴⁵ The Korea Foundation carried out this ‘negotiation’ of cultural

⁴⁴² Sang-hoon Jang, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 15 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea Exhibition Division office.

⁴⁴³ Seok-yeong Choe, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 12 July 2018, The National Museum of Performing Arts.

⁴⁴⁴ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

The detailed process is used as a grounded frame of archival research in the fieldwork.

⁴⁴⁵ Berridge and James, 2003, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, p. 183.

diplomacy for the establishment of the Korean galleries; additionally, the museums' relocating of Korean objects from the collections of 'universal' museums' and from the National Museum of Korea to Korean galleries during the 1990s demonstrates the importance of such 'negotiations'. All of these 'negotiations' were successfully completed because of cooperative relationships between the institutions that the following sections discuss.

Third, I conclude that it is impossible to identify a single definition of the 'cultural diplomacy' of South Korea, since the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea interpret the term differently, based on the nature of their ministerial affiliation. The interviewees' institutional associations (the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Ministry of Culture) influence their understanding of cultural diplomacy; for instance, as an affiliate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interviewees associated with the Korea Foundation call it a 'public diplomacy' institution and focus on cultural diplomacy as an evolved version of public diplomacy, which is 'public diplomacy 2.0' in their vocabulary.⁴⁴⁶ When working with overseas Korean galleries, the Korea Foundation focuses on diplomatic measures like funding, negotiating and exchanging staff. On the other hand, the National Museum of Korea belongs to the Ministry of Culture and pays greater attention to the overseas usage of cultural content. Hong-nam Kim, a former Director of the National Museum of Korea (2006–2008) who contributed to the establishment of an Asia Division and International Cultural Relations Team during her term, emphasised 'the need for sustainable cultural reinterpretation, the capacity to develop long-term plans and curatorial practices in cultural diplomacy'.⁴⁴⁷ Despite these differences in defining the terms, understanding culture as a means of diplomacy (by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and diplomacy as a means of cultural exchange (by the Ministry of Culture) are equally necessary for a balanced approach to cultural diplomacy practice.⁴⁴⁸ The two ministries and their affiliated institutions complement

⁴⁴⁶ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

⁴⁴⁷ Hong-nam Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 5 July 2018, Bukchon Hanok Village.

⁴⁴⁸ Ki-won Hong, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 27 February 2018, Sookmyung Women's University.; Hoseong Yong, Interview by author, phone recorder, London, 4 May 2018, the Korean Cultural Centre UK; Byeong-mo Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Hanam, 6 July 2018, Korea Institute of Heritage.

each other's work by providing 'diplomatic' and 'cultural' nuance to their roles when developing overseas Korean galleries.

Consequently, overseas Korean galleries, as a product of Korean cultural diplomacy, embody the cooperation between the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea. To understand South Korean 'cultural diplomacy' during the 1990s, it is not necessary to investigate which cultural objects have been highlighted or removed from the display to promote the national image; rather, it is more important to analyse how the institutions have together negotiated for the establishment of Korean galleries. The following two sections analyse the ways in which Korean galleries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum illuminate South Korean 'cultural diplomacy' practice in both similar and different ways.

4.3. The Arts of Korea Gallery in The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1998

By the time of its opening in 1998, it had taken over twenty years to establish the permanent Korean gallery, the Arts of Korea Gallery, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Considering South Korea's close diplomatic relationship with the USA and the Metropolitan Museum of Art's active curatorial involvement in the first Korean travelling exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962), the establishment of the Korean gallery could be seen as overdue. Although the Metropolitan Museum of Art first voiced the need for a permanent space for Korean art in the 1970s,⁴⁴⁹ plans for the opening of the gallery only commenced in the 1990s.

During the 1990s, the Museum announced its 'universal' Masterplan, which included a Korean gallery presence in the Asian galleries. At that time in Korea, the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea and major business corporations, such as Samsung, LG and Hyundai, played important roles by involving themselves in the making of the Korean gallery. Hence, the establishment of the Arts of Korea Gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art should be discussed in the changed context of cultural diplomacy practice in the 1990s.

⁴⁴⁹ So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator's Office.

4.3.1. A Korean Gallery for the ‘Universal’ Masterplan

The inclusion of space for Korean art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s universal plan to achieve its ‘universal’ aims has a considerable tie with the museum’s response to globalisation. The Metropolitan Museum of Art characterises itself as a universal institution that houses ‘over 5000 years of art from around the world for everyone’.⁴⁵⁰ The Masterplan 1970 had existed as a strategic plan for achieving the museum’s universal mission;⁴⁵¹ however, it wasn’t until the 1990s that the Metropolitan Museum of Art could achieve its role, by representing art from ‘around the globe and from all periods, of history, including the present’.⁴⁵² The Masterplan was a comprehensive ‘new millennial blueprint’ for the total reorganisation of the museum, including the completion of the museum’s building plan;⁴⁵³ however, though the plan reserved the second floor of the museum’s north wing for the Far Eastern cultures of China, Japan, India and others, it did not allocate an independent space for Korea.⁴⁵⁴ The establishment of the Korean gallery was especially difficult because the South Korean government ‘might not recognise the importance of the permanent space’.⁴⁵⁵ For these reasons, both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and South Korean sides were not fully supportive of a Korean gallery until the 1980s.

It was after twenty-five years, on the eve of the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s 125th anniversary in 1995, that the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art praised the Masterplan’s great progress (see Figure 22) with a note about the Korean gallery. His expression of the ‘universal’ exhibition emphasises the ‘universality’ of the museum, stating that ‘every category of art in every known medium from every part of the world

⁴⁵⁰ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Webpage, 2018 <<https://www.Metropolitan Museum of Artmuseum.org/about-the-Metropolitan Museum of Art>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

⁴⁵¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library: Digital Collection, ‘News for Release: Metropolitan Museum of Art Announces “Master Plan”’, 13 April 1970, p. 1.

⁴⁵² The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Thomas J. Watson Library: Digital Collection, *Charter By-Laws Mission Statement*, 1 March 2011, p. 46.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 4.

⁴⁵⁵ So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator’s Office.

during every epoch of recorded time is represented here [...] As with a long menu or a box of assorted chocolates, the more we have to choose from, the better'.⁴⁵⁶ Though the Korean gallery had not yet been completed, the Director announced its forthcoming opening in 1997, declaring the completion of 'our Asian museum'.⁴⁵⁷ For the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the inclusion of a Korean gallery furthered the museum's commitment to becoming 'one of the world's finest and most universal'⁴⁵⁸ art collections. The Korean gallery in the Museum, thus, was one of the conditions for completing the Museum's 'universal' Masterplan.



Figure 22: Aerial view of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1991 after the reconstruction
 © Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Not all cultural representations are at the same level of development. In the Korean case, not only was there an unsubstantial number of Korean collections in overseas museums in the late 1970s, often in less-than-ideal condition, they were often

⁴⁵⁶ Phillippe De Montebello, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the New Millennium: A Chronicle of the Past and a Blueprint for the Future* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), *The Bulletin*, Summer, vol. LII, no. 1, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 44.

⁴⁵⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'News Release: Arts of Korea Gallery Planned at Metropolitan Museum of Art', 24 October 1995, Loan Exhibition-1998, Arts of Korea Gallery (Inaugural Exhibition).

misinterpreted in galleries as being Chinese or Japanese.⁴⁵⁹ Two-thirds of overseas Korean objects were even included in Chinese collections, with no specialists in Korean art.⁴⁶⁰ Furthermore, because the space for displaying all cultures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art was insufficient, Korean arts were often kept in storage of Far East departments.⁴⁶¹ The display of Korean arts was poor until Korean institutions engaged with the Museum to improve it.

The National Museum of Korea acknowledged the Metropolitan Museum of Art's challenges with its Korean displays in 1978 and proposed to supply 45 cultural objects to the Metropolitan Museum of Art for the development of its Korean collection.⁴⁶² There was a diplomatic anniversary in May of 1982, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation between the USA and Korea in 1882. At that time, the South Korean government planned a large-scale cultural exchange and began work towards the establishment of a permanent Korean gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art for strengthening amity between the two nations;⁴⁶³ however, the South Korean institutional structures for implementing this cultural diplomacy practice were not ready until the 1980s and the activation of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's completion of its Masterplan took time to be supported by the South Korean government and institutions.

4.3.2. The Process of Establishment

Understanding the ways in which the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea and corporate business corporations' cultural foundations participated in cultural diplomacy is crucial to understanding the nature of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.

⁴⁵⁹ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Hong-nam Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 5 July 2018, Bukchon Hanok Village.; 'Here is New York, "Korean Cultural Objects" Soothing Homesickness (여기는 뉴욕, 향수 달래주는 "한국문화재")', *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 6 November 1985, p. 9.

⁴⁶² National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, BA0240799, 'Second Draft of the Second Five Year Plan of Culture and Arts Revival', 23 June 1978, p. 30.

⁴⁶³ 'Toward A New Chapter of Friendship and Understanding, Confirmation of the Centennial Anniversary of Korea-US Diplomatic Relations (우정과 이해의 새로운 장을, 한미수교 100주년 기념사업 확정)', *Maeil Business Newspaper* (매일경제), 29 December 1981, p. 9.

Three Korean institutions independently were involved in the establishment of the Korean gallery. First, the Korea Foundation Act of 1991 inscribed the institution's role of cultural diplomacy practice in its aim: 'to encourage the true appreciation and better understanding of Korea' and 'to promote friendship in the international community' by carrying out a wide range of academic, cultural, and artistic exchanges' (Article 1).⁴⁶⁴ The Korea Foundation's Overseas Museum Programme particularly facilitated the establishment of overseas Korean galleries by playing a pivotal role in negotiating with and funding overseas museums.⁴⁶⁵

Second, the National Museum of Korea supported the Metropolitan Museum of Art's relatively small Korean collection, which included about 260 objects of the Museum's sizable collection of over three million objects. With the National Museum of Korea's offer to loan high-quality art objects for the opening exhibition, the Metropolitan Museum of Art was able to proceed with the Korean gallery's establishment.

Third, major South Korean business conglomerates, such as Samsung and LG, began advocating for international cultural relations in the 1990s in an effort to move beyond their economic achievements. To further their global business agendas, these conglomerates used their positive brand image on the international stage in support of Korean cultural activities in overseas museums. For example, the LG Cultural Foundation became the supporter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for the publication of Korean art, and it was LG's first major arts sponsorship in the USA. Additionally, the Samsung Foundation of Culture funded the establishment of the Korean gallery, provided Korean art specialist consultants and provided a committee formed by the Samsung Foundation of Culture.⁴⁶⁶ The role of South Korean business conglomerates was to ultimately promote not only their cultural roles but also the nation's soft power in the development of South Korea's cultural diplomacy.

⁴⁶⁴ Korean National Law Information Center, Korea Foundation Act, Act No. 4414, Legislated and Enforced on 14 December 1991.

⁴⁶⁵ The Korea Foundation, 'Chapter 2: Present Condition of the Foundation', in *10 Years History of the Korea Foundation 1992-2001* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 2002), pp. 34-46 (pp. 35-36).

⁴⁶⁶ Samsung Foundation of Culture, *History of 30 Years of Samsung Foundation of Culture: Culture's Scent 1965-1994* (삼성미술문화재단 30 년사: 문화의 향기 1965-1994) (Seoul: Samsung Foundation of Culture, 1995), p. 67.

An issue arose, however, in the process of the gallery's establishment. The late inception of the installation of the Korean gallery as the final stage of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Masterplan resulted in an unsatisfactory location and limited display space. Even though the Metropolitan Museum of Art needed the Korean gallery to enrich the Asian cultures section of the museum, the Museum had already installed its Chinese and Japanese galleries in its Asian art space⁴⁶⁷ in the decade after the unveiling of the Masterplan in 1970. This was, in part, because Korean art had received 'the least attention in the West' until the 1970s,⁴⁶⁸ as the Museum Director Montebello explained. This problem of space could not be resolved through additional funding or more loans of art objects from Korea; unfortunately, the building construction and scale of the museum was constrained by the Masterplan and the laws of New York City. Hong-nam Kim, a former Director of the National Museum of Korea and a consultant to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean collection during that time recalled the poor conditions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's initially proposed space for the Korean gallery: 'It was on the third floor and above the Egyptian Gallery. It was near the rooftop, hidden behind doors, dark, and with inadequate light'.⁴⁶⁹ Given the expression of disappointment by Korean partners, Director Montebello reconsidered available locations and was able to configure a broader, brighter space between Ancient Chinese Art and South and Southeast Asian Art.⁴⁷⁰ As a result, the small but renegotiated space was designated for rotating and thematic exhibitions, to maximise the utility of 'its relatively small space of 50 m²'.⁴⁷¹

With the new location for the Korean gallery, the Korea Foundation and the Kun-Hee Lee Fund for Korean Art (from Samsung) agreed to provide \$3 million (USD) and \$2

⁴⁶⁷ The establishment of the Chinese Painting and Calligraphy, The Astor Garden Court in 1981; Arts of Japan Gallery in 1987, Ancient Chinese Art Gallery in 1988, Arts of South and Southeast Asia in 1994, New Chinese Galleries in 1997 (renovated and expanded galleries of Chinese Painting and Calligraphy and Chinese Decorative Arts.)

Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'News Release: Metropolitan Museum of Art To Open New Gallery For Korean Art On June 9 - Grand Asian Museum within the Museum' Completed after Three Decades' 20 May 1998, Loan Exhibition-1998, Arts of Korea Gallery (Inaugural Exhibition), p. 2.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁹ Hong-nam Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 5 July 2018, Bukchon Hanok Village.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

million (USD), respectively,⁴⁷² for the establishment and management of the permanent Korean gallery space (see Figure 23). It is important to note that the Korean gallery space was negotiated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Korean institutions' staff and that a South Korean cultural diplomatic institution and major economic groups funded the operation of the Korean gallery, demonstrating the character of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.



Figure 23: Signing of the Agreement on the Arts of Korea Gallery, 24 October 1995

© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea

**Three representatives of three institutions for the negotiation of the Korean Gallery:
Director General of the Samsung Foundation of Culture (left), Director of the Metropolitan
Museum of Art (middle) and President of the Korea Foundation (right)**

Key government officials and staff of the Korea Foundation and the Metropolitan Museum of Art attended this quasi-diplomatic event, including the Ambassador of Korea and the Consul General in New York. Members of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Board of Trustees and Wen C. Fong, the consulting Chairman of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Department of Asian Art,⁴⁷³ also attended. It was 'a stunning example of international cooperation'⁴⁷⁴ as the Chairman of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's

⁴⁷² The Korea Foundation, *Annual Report 1995* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1996), p. 19.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'News Release: Arts of Korea Gallery Planned at Metropolitan Museum of Art', 24 October 1995, Loan Exhibition-1998, Arts of Korea Gallery (Inaugural Exhibition).

Board of Trustees described the event to the public on the day of the signing. Director Montebello's comment on the Korean gallery is noteworthy; he expressed the role and significance of the Korean gallery:

The Korean gallery will encourage the development of our collections in this area and represents the spectrum of artistic achievements of this rich culture [...] We are confident that this gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art can serve as a meaningful vehicle for cultural and educational interaction between Koreans and Americans.⁴⁷⁵

As the Museum's press release describes, the Korean gallery had a cultural diplomatic significance as it was expected to promote cultural interaction between South Korea and the USA. As the next step of signing the agreement, the loan of objects was also made cooperatively. On 16 June 1997, Director Montebello and Wen Fong, a Chairman of the Department of Asian Art who had been designated as the curator of the Korean gallery by the Kun-Hee Lee Fund for Korean Art, visited the Korea Foundation to request the National Museum of Korea's cooperation in their efforts.⁴⁷⁶ This marked a shift from the 'public diplomacy' of the Cold War, during which museum staff did not directly meet with Korean ministers or institutions without government mediation. The implication was that cultural exchange activities depended less on official diplomatic activity and more on the independent roles of cultural institutions. The cooperation went smoothly, as South Korea pre-negotiated its internal agreements to support the overseas museums' Korean exhibitions. Through the agreement of the Korean National Assembly's review on exporting Korean cultural objects, the resulting agreements were finally approved by the president on 28 April 1998.⁴⁷⁷

Shortly after the decision to support the display of Korean objects, the Metropolitan Museum of Art officially announced the forthcoming Korean gallery's spatial and cultural significance. The Director stated that 'the discrete space will raise awareness of the unique artistic achievement of Korea and convey the character and spirit of Korean

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, *CA0014750*, Correspondence, Sent from Director Montebello, To Minister of Culture and Sports, 7 April 1997.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid.

culture'.⁴⁷⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art's President, William H. Luers, officially acknowledged the Gallery's role in the 'universal' museum's exploration of Asian cultures as 'the completion of the Museum's grand Asian museum within the Museum'.⁴⁷⁹

The South Korean president's speech during his visit to the opening ceremony distinctly refers to the Korean gallery's role in cultural diplomacy (see Figure 24). President Kim shared his impressions of the museum's diverse cultural representations and emphasised the role of the Korean gallery space in constructing closer cultural relations. The portion of his speech excerpted below summarises the Korean gallery's vision for cultural diplomacy in the 'universal' museum. The President expected the gallery to be a space for promoting 'true understanding' between the USA and South Korea by mentioning Korean cultural development with an emphasis on the historically close relationship between the two countries. He also talked about the new challenge of the nation's confrontation with the 1997 Asian economic crisis⁴⁸⁰ to underline the important role of culture in overcoming it:

Presently, Korea is facing a new challenge testing Korea's power. Korea is in an economic crisis that needs to be aided by international society such as the IMF. But the Korean people will rise again, based on the power of cultural identity and creativity which made it miraculous that the Korean peninsula has not been assimilated to East Asian cultures. The two countries of the USA and South Korea are closer to each other politically, militarily and economically, and now they are as close in cultural relations. And the time has come for true understanding and intimacy between two nations.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁷⁹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'News Release: Metropolitan Museum of Art Museum To Open New Gallery For Korean Art On June 9 - Grand Asian Museum within the Museum' Completed after Three Decades' 20 May 1998, Loan Exhibition-1998, Arts of Korea Gallery (Inaugural Exhibition), p. 2.

⁴⁸⁰ McDougall, 'Korea', pp. 179-197 (p. 185).

⁴⁸¹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, 'Opening Speech of the Korean Gallery at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York: The Strength of the Korean People Represented by the Patience (뉴욕 메트로폴리탄 박물관 한국전시실 개관 만찬 연설: 은근과 끈기로 대표되는 한국인의 저력)', 7 June 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 17 February 2019].



Figure 24: South Korea's President at opening ceremony of the Arts of Korea Gallery
© Courtesy of *The Dong-A Ilbo* ⁴⁸²

As the president's speech illustrates, the Korean gallery was regarded as a culturally important space that could promote soft power by formulating mutual understanding between cultures beyond military or economic purposes. The opening reception for the Arts of Korea Gallery was thus a celebration of cultural diplomacy. President Kim, the Minister of Culture and the Director of the National Museum of Korea attended to mark the long-awaited establishment of a permanent Korean gallery space in such a 'universal' museum. Importantly, the National Museum of Korea's loans of representative cultural objects helped solidify the role of Korea's national museums in representing Korean culture in the global context during the 1990s. The next section analyses in detail how the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the National Museum of Korea cooperatively represented Korean culture in the Korean gallery.

4.3.3. Representing Korea

The National Museum of Korea accelerated the successful opening of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Arts of Korea Gallery (see Figures 25 and 26) through the loan of objects.⁴⁸³ The loaned objects were selected based on the objects displayed in 5000

⁴⁸² 'South·North Korea-US, Looking for "A Way Together" (남북한-미국 '함께 가는길' 모색)', *The Dong-A Ilbo* (동아일보), 9 June 1998, p. 5.

⁴⁸³ The inaugural exhibition was organised by Wen C. Fong, the Consultative Chairman at the Department of Asian Art in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, in cooperation with Yang-mo Chung, the Director General of the National Museum of Korea, and in consultation with an advisory committee of

Years of Korean Art (1957–1962).⁴⁸⁴ As with the travelling exhibition, the display focused on presenting a chronological and comprehensive series of objects to show Korea's long history and culture.

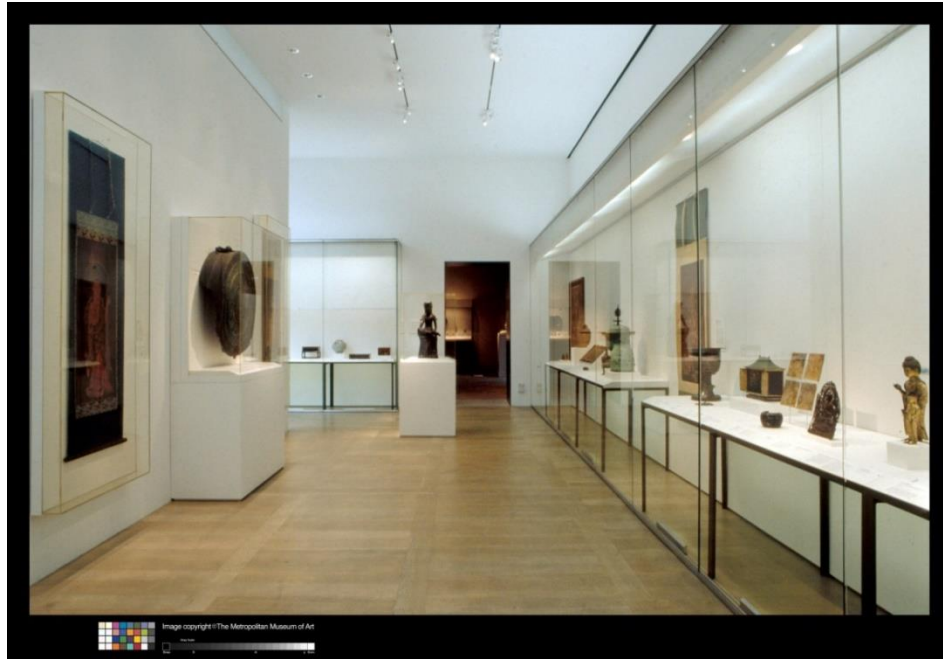


Figure 25: The Arts of Korea Gallery space in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1), 1998
© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

leading senior Korean art scholars: Professors Hwi-joon Ahn, Seoul National University, Sung-mi Yi, The Academy of Korean Studies, Lena Kim, Hongik University, Hongnam Kim, Ewha Woman's University, Youngsook Pak, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Judith G. Smith, Special Assistant to the Consultative Chairman, Department of Asian Art.

Source: 'News Release: *Arts of Korea: Inaugural Exhibition*', 9 June 1998–24 January 1999, 20 May 1998, p. 5.

⁴⁸⁴ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, CA0014750, 'Metropolitan Museum of Art of Art-Loan Exhibition: The Arts of Korea', 28 April 1998.



Figure 26: The Arts of Korea Gallery space in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2), 1998
 © Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

The display method of showing comprehensive objects across time reflected not only the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 'universal' aspirations but also a South Korean cultural diplomacy aim. Director Yang-mo Chung of the National Museum of Korea described the Korean gallery's contribution to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's 'universal' space as a paragon of people's appreciation of artistic excellence and their belief that international mutual understanding is furthered by cultural interchange. He evaluated the Korean gallery as 'a milestone in the introduction of the rich cultural and artistic legacy of Korea to the Western public'.⁴⁸⁵ Indeed, many expected an increase in such 'mutual' understanding. Expectations were longer-term compared to past travelling exhibitions' promotion of the art-historical scholarship in Korea and exhibiting new archaeological findings.⁴⁸⁶ The new Korean gallery, thus, had a role as a platform where Korean cultural institutions could develop more active international cultural exchanges.

After the opening, the press covering the promotion of the gallery and exhibition of Korea was focused on its spatial meaning, rather than simply emphasising Korean culture's 'uniqueness'. For instance, *The New York Times* reported:

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ 'News Release: Arts of Korea: Inaugural Exhibition', 9 June 1998–24 January 1999, 20 May 1998, p. 2.

The gallery is compact, [a] glowing lantern of a room [on] human scale and filled with lustrous things. Its opening brings to [a] successful conclusion the Metropolitan Museum of Art's long-held Masterplan to gather the major cultures of eastern and southern Asia in a wide institutional embrace. Korea's may be the least familiar, even to people conversant with Asian art. But it certainly puts its best foot forward here, in a celebratory inaugural exhibition.⁴⁸⁷

Where interpretations of the past travelling exhibitions stressed the distinctiveness of Korean culture to promote the Korean nation through object interpretations, the press remarked on the gallery's objects' spatial meaning as a process of the museum's strategy and its overarching role in presenting diverse culture and arts.

The ways of interpreting Korean culture in the 1990s reflect the museum's desires to focus on object representation in the art historical sense. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's method of interpreting Korean culture was mostly concentrated on an art historical point of view as a worldwide museum for the world's art. Whilst the interpretation was formerly focused on highlighting Korean objects' distinctiveness from Chinese or Japanese pieces, the Korean gallery's text panel focused on the objects' artistic presentation. For instance, the Museum's text panel for the Korean national treasure, the Pensive Bodhisattva (Korean National Treasure No. 78) (see Figure 27)⁴⁸⁸ bears the interpretation of the 'contemplative expression' as 'epitomis[ing] the powerful presence of Korean Buddhist sculpture'⁴⁸⁹ which is 'ideally embodied by [its] perfect casting and sculpture techniques'.⁴⁹⁰ This art historical description and interpretation can also be linked to the development of studies on Korean culture and arts influenced by such cultural or artistic interpretation. In any case, this method of interpreting Korean culture illustrates a more reflective institutional practice.

⁴⁸⁷ The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, 'A Jewel Box of Korean Culture', *New York Times*, 12 June 1998, Loan Exhibition-1998, Arts of Korea Gallery (Inaugural Exhibition).

⁴⁸⁸ See Figure 17 in Chapter Three for the display of this sculpture in the travelling exhibition.

⁴⁸⁹ 'News Release: Arts of Korea: Inaugural Exhibition', 9 June 1998–24 January 1999, 20 May 1998, p. 4.

⁴⁹⁰ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, CA0014750, 'Metropolitan Museum of Art-Loan Exhibition: The Arts of Korea', 28 April 1998.

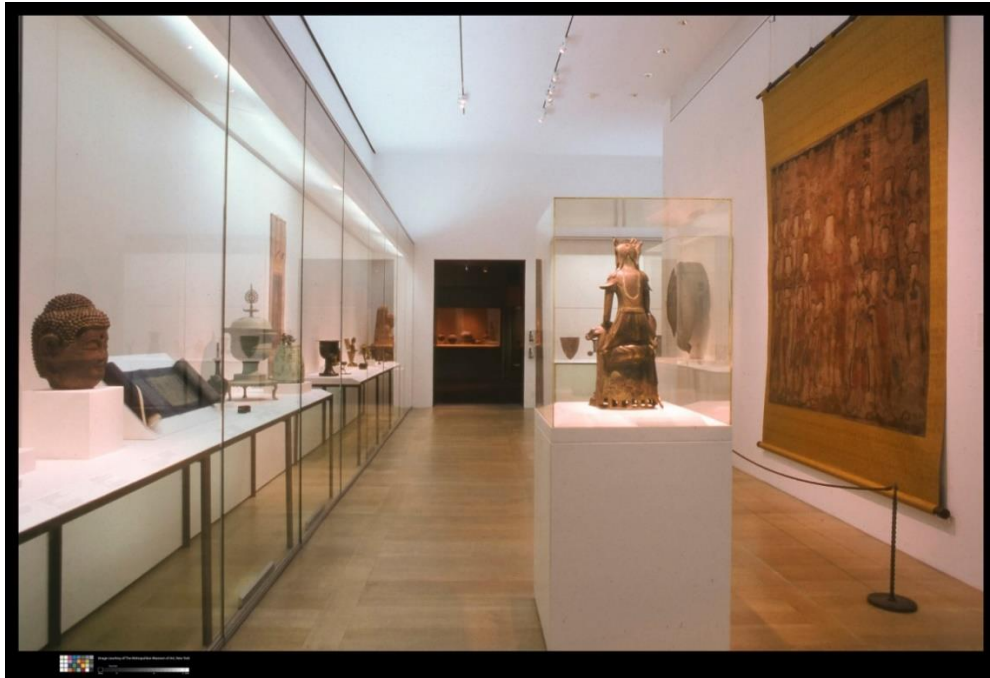


Figure 27: The exhibited Pensive Bodhisattva (right display case) in the corner of Buddhist objects display
 © Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Archive

At the same time, the issue of the carrying out of the national heritage overseas was raised. Since Korea's Cultural Heritage Protection Act of 1970 prohibited the lending of objects to overseas institutions for more than two years, the National Museum of Korea's temporary support of lending objects for the opening exhibition (7 June 1998–24 January 1999)⁴⁹¹ had expired. Moreover, there was criticism concerning the bulk export of 121 national heritage objects, including nine national treasures and 24 treasures altogether.⁴⁹² Although substantial insurance coverage was in place, some Korean media reports expressed concerns about losing objects of invaluable cultural heritage.⁴⁹³ In contrast to the 'public diplomacy' stage where the South Korean government only reported the positive outcome of the travelling exhibitions, the media

⁴⁹¹ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 1998* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 1999), p. 46.

⁴⁹² 'Worried About 121 Cultural Properties' Long Overseas Travelling (문화재 121 점 긴 해외여행, 조마조마)', *The Hankook Ilbo* (한국일보), 24 May 1998, p. 1.

⁴⁹³ 'Bodhisattva Maitreya No. 78, The Highest Insurance Rating, 48 Billion (미륵보살 78 호 보험평가액 최고, 480 억)', *The Choson Ilbo* (조선일보), 29 April 1998, p. 11.

publicly criticised the exhibition. These issues reflect the change of the context of cultural diplomacy practices of the 1990s. The substantially developed cultural sector, the cultural laws and the public's concern about preserving national heritage meant that a diverse range of agencies each played a role in representing Korean culture.

Two years after the 1998 opening of the Arts of Korea Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum of Art revised its *Mission Statement* to include its global role as a 'universal' institution in a more universal sense in the coming decade:

The mission of The Metropolitan Museum of Art is to collect, preserve, study, exhibit, and stimulate appreciation for and advance knowledge of works of art that collectively represent the broadest spectrum of human achievement at the highest level of quality, all in the service of the public and in accordance with the highest professional standards.⁴⁹⁴

The opening of the Arts of Korea Gallery confers significance on both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and on the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea. It helped the Metropolitan Museum of Art realise its thirty-year long Masterplan of achieving 'universal' value and the support of Korean institutions facilitated a practice of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.

The case of the Korean gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art demonstrates the nature of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s: cultural value came to be as important as political, economic and diplomatic relationships; further, both cultural diplomatic institutions and business corporations played significant roles in implementing a Korean cultural space in a 'universal' museum. Detailed analysis reveals that the establishment of the Korean gallery was an outcome of cultural diplomatic institutions' cooperation to achieve their global tasks during the 1990s. The next section analyses the other case study, that of the establishment of a Korean gallery in the British Museum.

⁴⁹⁴ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Charter By-Laws Mission Statement*, 1 March 2011, p. 45.

4.4. The Korea Foundation Gallery in The British Museum 2000

Establishing a Korean gallery in the British Museum took a decade from the start of its planning in 1991 to its opening in 2000. The British Museum's Korean gallery developed as a result of the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea's cultural diplomacy practice and was a part of the Korea Foundation's project of developing permanent Korean galleries in three of the world's premier museums in the 1990s: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the British Museum in London, and the Guimet Museum in Paris. The intention of introducing Korean culture to a global audience formed part of the 'cultural diplomacy' stage.⁴⁹⁵

Similar to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, as a 'universal' museum, the British Museum's strategy also aims to present the world's diverse cultures across time and space. The British Museum's project to present Korean culture over the long term was intertwined with the objectives of South Korea's cultural diplomacy of the 1990s. When financial and cultural policy issues came to delay its proposed opening in the late 1990s, the Museum opened a temporary exhibition on Korea in 1998 to commemorate the 200th year of Korea-UK Friendship. This underscores how the Korean gallery played its role in cultural diplomacy. This section investigates the relationships between Korean cultural (diplomatic) institutions, business corporations who were willing to donate funds and the British Museum in establishing the Korea Foundation Gallery during the 1990s.

4.4.1. A Korean Gallery as Part of a Designed Project

The British Museum's strategy of 'universalism' emphasises its pioneering status as 'the first national museum in the world', 'the first public institution to be called British' and 'the first Trustee Museum'.⁴⁹⁶ The Museum's self-description of its 'universality'

⁴⁹⁵ The Korea Foundation, 'Chapter 2: Present Condition of the Foundation', pp. 35-36.

⁴⁹⁶ The British Museum, 'Principles and Purpose', *Towards 2020: The British Museum's Strategy* (2012), p. 2.

Note: The British Museum has been governed by Trustees under the terms of the British Museum Act 1963 (the successor to that of 1753). Specifically, the general management and control are vested in a Board of Trustees (one appointed by the Sovereign, fifteen by the Prime Minister, four nominated by learned societies [the British Academy, Royal Academy of Arts, Royal Society, Society of Antiquaries] and five elected by the Trustees themselves).

has many expressions: ‘the most comprehensive survey in existence of the material culture of humanity’, possessing a collection from ‘across the globe’, having its ‘universal collections open to all’, ‘not limited by nationalism’, and ‘the collection of every citizen of the world’.⁴⁹⁷ This ‘universal’ museum holds the largest and highest quality Korean art collection among European nations.⁴⁹⁸ The Museum’s plan to have a permanent Korean gallery space followed the successful travelling exhibition *Art Treasures from Korea* in 1984.⁴⁹⁹ At the same time, the rise of Korea as an international economic power spurred the British Museum’s interest in its representations of Korean culture.⁵⁰⁰ This interest coincided with Korean cultural institutions’ growing stake in cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.

The British Museum included space for the Korean gallery in the plan to renovate its Asian galleries in the late 1980s.⁵⁰¹ The plan was to add a Korean gallery adjacent to its newly constructed Japanese gallery and its forthcoming gallery for Chinese and Indian art. In the plan, the Korean gallery space was to be located between the Chinese and Japanese galleries, on the north side of the King Edward VII Galleries building, on the second floor, which is above the Hotung Gallery of Oriental Antiquities, and below the Japanese Gallery.⁵⁰² The proposed gallery’s spatial orientation was intended to reflect the geography of East Asia and to emphasise Korea’s presence between China and Japan, so that visitors could consider the relationships between these neighbouring cultures.⁵⁰³

It is notable that the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and key members of Korean institutions were involved in the pre-negotiation stage when the British Museum’s Director proposed the already made initial plan. At the time, there was a small space ready for Korean ceramics and decorative arts that a Korean Ambassador installed in

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, ‘The British Museum’s Korean Collections’, 17 December 1991, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part I.

⁴⁹⁹ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, ‘Korea in the British Museum’, 16 October 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery: General Correspondence 46/54/15 Part 1d.

⁵⁰⁰ The British Museum, *The British Museum Review* (The British Museum, 2001), p.12.

⁵⁰¹ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, ‘New Galleries for the Oriental Collections’, 17 December 1991, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part I.

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

February 1991;⁵⁰⁴ however, the space could not fully represent Korean culture. An opportunity for presenting Korean arts and plans for expansion was proposed by the British Museum when Korean diplomats and business representatives gathered during the dinner reception organised for the opening of the small space.⁵⁰⁵ The British Museum began pre-negotiations for its Korean gallery with key members of Korea's cultural institutions, including Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and potential benefactors, in the early 1990s.

The first official negotiation was made by Sir David Wilson, the British Museum's Director between 1977 and 1992, during his visit to Korea in the summer of 1991 to obtain financial support from the Korean government and commercial sources for the museum's Korean gallery.⁵⁰⁶ Director Wilson met with the Korean Ambassador for cooperative negotiation, as well as the Korean Minister of Culture and the Director of the National Museum of Korea to discuss object loans (see Figure 28). The project proposed by the Director encompassed a range of the British Museum's development of Korean culture. The project included not only the construction of the gallery but also plans for further Korean studies including educating the museum staff on the Korean language. The project had also been designed to 'lead the acquisition of ceramic shards from excavations through the National Museum of Korea' and to 'facilitate the purchase of more recent material with the help and advice of Korean colleagues'.⁵⁰⁷ Director Wilson's 'well-timed'⁵⁰⁸ visit ultimately won the support of the Korean institutions.

Even though the Korean government could not fully fund the proposed project,⁵⁰⁹ South Korean business corporations, the Korea Foundation and the Ambassador supported it. Particularly, the Samsung Corporation expressed its interest in the British Museum's

⁵⁰⁴ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'Korea in the British Museum', 16 October 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery: General Correspondence 46/54/15 Part 1d.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ The British Museum: Central Archives, London, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 6 April 1991, Reel 9-British Museum: Board of Trustees, vol. 9, CE/22/9, p. 5148.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

project to develop the size and display of the Korean gallery in the UK⁵¹⁰ as part of the company's practice of playing a social role in the development of culture since they had provided funding for the Korean gallery's temporary opening in 1998. The Korea Foundation fully funded the Korean gallery until its opening in 2000 as the main cultural diplomacy institution of the South Korean government. The Korean Ambassador in London also put significant effort and support into 'securing proper representation for Korea' in the UK⁵¹¹ as it was his priority project during his appointment. Therefore, following Director Wilson's visit to Korea and the subsequent demonstrations of support for the British Museum's proposal from a diverse range of South Korean partners, plans to develop the Korean gallery proceeded smoothly to the next step in the process of establishing the gallery.



Figure 28: The Director's visit to the Korean Minister of Culture, 1991
© Courtesy of the National Archives of Korea

Additionally, the British Museum's project to further the development of Korean culture proceeded as planned. As part of this process, the museum promoted their relationship

⁵¹⁰ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'Note on the Korean Gallery', Sent from Jessica Rawson (Keeper of Oriental Antiquities), To Robert Anderson (The British Museum's Director 1992–2002), 31 March 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part I.; The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'Note on the Korean Gallery'.

Note: Although the space for Korea in the Victoria and Albert Museum is significant due to its substantial collection and independent space, the Victoria and Albert Museum sits in a different context of the case study (in a sense of the museum dealing with design and craft, rather than being a 'universal' world cultural museum, all of which is funded by Samsung).

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

with South Korean institutions. Jane Portal, a former curator at the British Museum's Department of Oriental Antiquities, assumed responsibility for the Korean collection and was invited to stay in Korea in 1991. According to Portal's report, her experiences in Korea, such as participating in seminars on Korean art and fostering relationships with Korean artists and museums during the stay, helped her to understand Korean culture and to develop curatorial relationships.⁵¹²

Later, a trustee of the British Museum was involved in negotiating the cost of establishing the Korean gallery and visited South Korea to advance the negotiations. The trustee discussed detailed plans for the design of the gallery and its estimated cost with the Vice Foreign Minister and Director of the National Museum of Korea. The negotiations ended with the Korea Foundation's decision to donate £1.2 million to the British Museum for the construction of its Korean gallery, to be paid in equal instalments over five years.⁵¹³ The President of the Korea Foundation, Hyuck-in Lew, was a former ambassador to the UK and the existing diplomatic tie contributed to maintaining a close relationship while supporting the overseas cultural exchange programme. The donation by the Korea Foundation covered comprehensive support for the Gallery, the appointment and training of a specialist curator of Korean art, the expansion of the existing collection and the expansion of academic research, educational work and exchange programmes for Korean art.⁵¹⁴ These outcomes show that the negotiation between the British Museum and the Korea Foundation was successfully made in cooperation with the British Museum's trustee and the Korean Ambassador.

Once funding was secured, the British Museum released its plan to install the Korean gallery, referencing the cultural impact of its past travelling exhibitions in promoting Korean art. This press release (1992) outlines the prospective role of the permanent gallery:

⁵¹² The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'Report on Jane Portal's Visit to Korea – June to September 1991', OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery: General Correspondence 46/54/15 Part 1b.

⁵¹³ The Korea Foundation, *Annual Report 1994* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1995), p. 21.

⁵¹⁴ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, Correspondence, From Jessica Rawson (Trustee), To Robert Anderson (Director), 21 May 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part 4.

[The proposed gallery] aims to increase awareness among the Museum's annual five million visitors of Korea's unique culture and history, which first achieved wide recognition with the highly successful *Art Treasures from Korea* exhibition at the British Museum in 1984. Korean art has long been renowned for its excellence [...] This splendid gift from the Korea Foundation will add impetus to the Museum's work on Korea.⁵¹⁵

The British Museum and the Korea Foundation continued to cooperate throughout the gallery's development. This cooperation validates the strengthened role of the Korea Foundation for the British Museum's case⁵¹⁶ in implementing South Korean cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.

4.4.2. The Process of Establishment

The British Museum reached out to the National Museum of Korea, individual artists and private museums for loans and donations to expand its Korean collection to include a diverse range of materials from ancient to contemporary objects. In addition to the support of Korean cultural institutions, the British Museum received aid from philanthropist Hahn Gwang-ho, a private benefactor of the Hahn Cultural Foundation.⁵¹⁷ In this way, the British Museum's plans to develop a Korean gallery were, in practice, underpinned by Korean cultural diplomacy involving private sector actors.

There were, however, several issues that caused delays in opening the gallery. The proposed gallery could not open in 1996 as planned by the British Museum and the South Korean government. The British Library occupied the proposed 400 m² for the Korean gallery as part of their map library, but the schedule to relocate it to a different location near St Pancras Station by 1996 was postponed.⁵¹⁸ This complication ultimately

⁵¹⁵ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'News Release: Major Donation From Korea: A New Permanent Gallery of Korean Art', May 1992.

⁵¹⁶ Jane Portal, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 27 September 2018, The British Museum: Keeper's Office.; Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

⁵¹⁷ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, Correspondence, Sent from Robert Knox (Keeper of Oriental Antiquities), To Robert Anderson (Director), 6 September 1996, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15.

⁵¹⁸ Ibid.

deferred the opening of the Korean Gallery to 2000, a decision made after a joint-meeting of the Directors of the British Museum and British Library and Korea's Foreign Minister.⁵¹⁹ The Korea Foundation accepted the delayed opening, and, in the meantime, the British Museum and Korean institutions planned a temporary exhibition.

In the mid-1990s, other matters related to Korean financial and cultural policy issues complicated the gallery's development. First, the South Korean economic crisis during the Asian financial crisis prevented the transfer of additional funding from Korean institutions to the British Museum's project. When the British Museum's trustee, Sir John Morgan visited Korea for the additional funding, he reported that Korea's circumstances were under 'tight financial scrutiny';⁵²⁰ thus, South Korean institutions hesitated to supply more capital.

A second issue was caused by the conflict with the Cultural Heritage Protection Act of 1970, as it prohibited the overseas loan or export of cultural objects. In 1996, when Korean philanthropist, Hahn Gwang-ho, expressed his desire to donate his collection of Korean art and to fund the British Museum's purchase of objects for its Korean gallery,⁵²¹ the Korean Ministry of Culture prohibited Mr. Hahn from donating his collection to the British Museum. At this point, the Korean Embassy and the National Museum of Korea played key roles in finding flexible solutions to these issues in the pursuit of cultural diplomacy. The Korean Ambassador in London proposed to the Korean Ministry of Culture the idea of permanent loan exhibitions as an alternative to permanent donations and, further, allowing private donations for the overseas museums' Korean collection. The Embassy stressed the importance of supplementing Korean collections and establishing Korean galleries abroad to share Korea's cultural excellence and uniqueness.⁵²² The National Museum of Korea considered the Embassy's proposal of permanent loans of Korean objects to overseas museums, but this was eventually rejected by the Cultural Property Administration Bureau of Korea,⁵²³ as a result, the

⁵¹⁹ The British Museum: Central Archives, London, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 25 February 1995, Reel 10-British Museum: Board of Trustees, vol. 10, CE/22/10, p. 5859; 17 June 1995, pp. 5905-5906.

⁵²⁰ Ibid, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 28 September 1996, p. 6125.

⁵²¹ Ibid.

⁵²² National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, CA0014743, Sent from Culture Officer of Korean Embassy to the UK to the Ministry of Culture, 5 April 1996.

⁵²³ National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, CA0014743, Sent from Korean Cultural Property Administration Bureau to the National Museum of Korea, 1 October 1996.

British Museum requested a two-year loan, compliant with Korea's Cultural Heritage Protection Act, and asked for the following selected key objects to complement the British Museum's Korean collection: several Neolithic and Bronze Age items, a gold crown, one large Buddhist sculpture, two landscape paintings, one piece of Punch'ong ware, and one porcelain piece from early Joseon.⁵²⁴ The National Museum of Korea agreed to the loan and sent seventeen cultural objects to the British Museum in 1997,⁵²⁵ and, thus, the loan matter could be resolved. That this issue arose due to the conflict between the established Korean cultural law and overseas loaning of cultural objects and between the cultural law and privately donating Korean cultural objects illustrates the characteristics of cultural diplomacy in the 1990s.

The temporary exhibition established a curatorial relationship which itself provided the groundwork for further Korean gallery exhibition. In marking the 200 years of Korea–UK friendship,⁵²⁶ the process of opening the temporary Korean exhibit developed the British Museum's relationship with the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other Korean institutions. In the process of working cooperatively with Korean institutions, Jane Portal, as a curator of the Korean collection, sent correspondence to the Director of the National Museum of Korea and the Korea Foundation to request support and cooperation.⁵²⁷ The National Museum of Korea continued to support the British Museum as they regarded the exhibition as an important means of advancing knowledge of Korean culture overseas.⁵²⁸ The cooperative preparation of the exhibition demonstrates the curatorial relationships were based on collaboration between two parties.

The Korea Foundation's support led to the drawing up of a more detailed plan, which included more features for the architectural design of the gallery space and allocated funding for the expansion of the museum's collection. This plan also required additional

⁵²⁴ National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, CA0014743, Sent from Korean Embassy to the UK to Ministry of Culture, 19 September 1996.

⁵²⁵ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 1997* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1998), p. 37.

⁵²⁶ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, Correspondence, From Korean Embassy in London, to Mr. Robert Knox (Director), 17 August 1998, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15.

⁵²⁷ National Archives of Korea: The Ministry of Culture and Sport, CA0021410, Correspondence, Sent from Jane Portal to Korean Embassy, 27 February 1997.

⁵²⁸ Ibid, 'Request of Cooperation Related to the Opening of Korean Gallery in the British Museum'.

funding from the Korea Foundation to construct a *Sarangbang*, a traditional scholar's room, with a similar type of architectural presence to that of the National Museum of Korea, as a part of the gallery's 'representation of Korean traditional houses and life'.⁵²⁹ The Korea Foundation was willing to provide the additional financial support⁵³⁰ as the presence of the room represents Korean culture and helps 'visitors gain a better understanding of Korea, its people and their lifestyle'.⁵³¹ In cooperation with the British Museum, the Korea Foundation delivered the Korean advisory board's comments regarding its construction, as it operated as a mediator between the two curatorial agents.⁵³²

The Korea Foundation's growing role in the process of installing and helping the display effectively represent Korea implies a strengthened institutional role for the foundation as the main agent of cultural diplomacy. Its practice fostered an international network for the sustainable curation of Korean culture by educating overseas Korean gallery curators and specialists towards the end of the 1990s. The British Museum's curator also visited Korea several times between 1993 and 1996 to purchase contemporary Korean objects for display in the British Museum's Korean gallery.⁵³³ Later, additional curators from other overseas Korean galleries also had opportunities to visit Korea, experience Korean arts and culture and participate in the Korea

⁵²⁹ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, Correspondence, Sent from Robert Anderson (the British Museum's Director), To Son Chu-whan (President of the Korea Foundation), 6 October 1993, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15.;

The Korea Foundation, *Annual Report 1994* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1995), p. 21.

Note: The construction and representation of this architectural structure is discussed in Section 4.4.3.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, Correspondence, Sent from the Korea Foundation, To Jane Portal (Curator of Korean Collection), 30 March 1999, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part 4.

⁵³² The Museum Advisory Committee was composed of 9 senior scholars and specialists in Korean art, as listed below. Two of them participated in this research project as interviewees: Kim Hong-nam (later Director of the National Museum of Korea and National Folk Museum of Korea) and Kim Byeong-mo (later Chairman of ICOM Seoul 2004).

Committee members included: Director Chung Yang-mo (National Museum of Korea); Director Rhie Chong-chuk (National Folk Museum of Korea); Professor Ahn Hui-joon (Seoul National University); Professor Kim Byung(Byeong)-mo (Hanyang University); Professor Kim Hong-nam (Ewha Woman's University); Professor Kim Sung-woo (Yonsei University); Professor Chung Hyang-min (Seoul National University); Professor Chung Woo-Taek (Kyong-ju University); Professor Yi Sung-mi (Academy of Korean Studies).

⁵³³ Ibid, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 3 April 1993, p. 5491.

Foundation's Workshop for Korean Art Curators from Overseas Museums, a program which had been jointly developed with the National Museum of Korea in 1999.⁵³⁴ The workshop aimed to enhance the quality of overseas Korean galleries by encouraging the re-evaluation of Korean collections abroad and the consideration of local Korean exhibitions and publications.⁵³⁵ The active engagement of the Korea Foundation in the development of Korean culture in the British Museum is a notable difference from the case of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The groundwork of the Korea Foundation in 1991 and the institution's support for overseas museum's Korean cultural development dovetailed conveniently with the project of the British Museum, furthering the cultural diplomacy practice during the 1990s.

4.4.3. Representing Korea

The British Museum finally unveiled its permanent Korean gallery space in 2000. The display alluded to the decade-long processes behind its establishment: it was named the Korea Foundation Gallery, listed its Korean benefactors, acknowledged its twenty-five loaned objects from the National Museum of Korea⁵³⁶ and described its 'Korean style display'.⁵³⁷ In this process of introducing Korean identity, its main text panel and leaflet referenced Korea's unique cultural identity as typical of and as constructed through its interpretation in the 'public diplomacy' stage in the Cold War:

[From the text panel:] The Korean peninsula occupies an important position in East Asia. Although it has been invaded repeatedly, Korea has retained a strong national identity [...] The land of Korea possesses a unique and relatively unknown beauty.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁴ Eleanor Soo-ah Hyun, Interview by author, phone recorder, London, 27 September 2018, The British Museum: Curator's Office.; So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator's Office; The Korea Foundation, *Annual Report 1999* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 2000), p. 50.

⁵³⁵ Ibid, The Korea Foundation, *Annual Report 1999*.

⁵³⁶ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 2000* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 2001), p. 54.

⁵³⁷ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, Correspondence, Sent from the Korea Foundation, To Jane Portal (Curator of Korean Collection), 30 March 1999, Permanent Gallery 2000 (1).

⁵³⁸ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'Korea: Land & People', Text panel document.

[From the exhibition leaflet:] Korea has a unique and fascinating culture, which incorporates native ideas and techniques and influences from other parts of Asia.⁵³⁹

Further, it was considered worthwhile to add to the leaflet information about the British Museum curators' experience and the process of preparing the Korean gallery exhibition, which gives insight into the changing interpretation during the 1990s. The leaflet also described a proposed role of the gallery in promoting further cultural exchange:

A member of staff is being trained with generous help from the Korean Government. It is expected that this member of staff will make frequent visits to Korea with a view to making purchases for the collection. The British Museum hopes that further exchanges between Britain and Korea will increase the study and understanding of Korean art and archaeology in this country.⁵⁴⁰

The British Museum's visual display may have been influenced by museum officials' visits to Korea during the gallery's development. In representing Korean culture, it is notable that the British Museum attempted to convey the National Museum of Korea's visual design, such as a reduction of the intensity of information and photographs on panels and labels, low density of displays and minimal use of background colours.⁵⁴¹

Particularly, *Sarangbang* (see Figures 29 and 30) was constructed and styled to closely represent traditional life in Korea. Built by Korean craftsmen using traditional building techniques, the British Museum intended to introduce Korea's 'unique architecture culture and living culture', to the museum's visitors.⁵⁴² Through this process, the particularity of Korean culture came to be represented as a specific group among 'universal' cultures.

⁵³⁹ Ibid, 'Korea: The Korea Foundation Gallery', Text panel document.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid, 'A New Gallery for Korea', Leaflet.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 2000* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 2001), p. 54.



Figure 29: *Sarangbang* space in the Korea Foundation Gallery
 © Taken by the Author, 25 November 2011, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 30: Crafted furniture and objects in *Sarangbang*
 © Taken by the Author, 4 May 2016, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The cover image of the leaflet presented the Full Moon Jar (see Figure 31), selected amongst the displayed objects as a representative object. The Full Moon Jar later became a signature of the British Museum's reinterpretation. The first construction of

the interpretation of these objects in the British Museum was made by its cultural relationship with British pottery-making and the collection history along with a historical background of Korean ceramic development. The accompanying text panel and leaflet detail the cultural history behind the white porcelain of the Choson period:

Korean ceramics have long been appreciated in Japan and had a great effect on the work of such twentieth century masters as Hamada Shoji. However, ceramic development actually stagnated in Korea during the Japanese occupation period and it was not until the country started to recover from the Korean War that a contemporary ceramic movement began to develop.⁵⁴³

Following Confucian philosophy, the preference was for plain, austere wares. This 'Full-Moon' jar is admired for the irregularity of its form, the horizontal join in the middle being a distinctive feature. The jar was first acquired by the pioneering British potter Bernard Leach, in Korea in 1935. Leach was one of a number of scholars who were instrumental in raising awareness of Korean arts in the West.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴³ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'Contemporary Korean Ceramics', Text panel document.

⁵⁴⁴ The British Museum: Department of Asia Archives, London, 'A New Gallery for Korea', Leaflet.



Figure 31: Full Moon Jar
Joseon Dynasty, 18th Century, Porcelain, H 47 cm, D 44.5 cm (widest)
© Courtesy of the British Museum

This interpretation is important because it exemplifies the British Museum's style of interpreting Korean objects and at the same time highlighting a particular object that alludes to further expansion of curatorial development. The steps of curating and representing Korean culture in the Korea Foundation Gallery thus illustrates not only the cooperative relationship between the British Museum and the Korean institutions, but also how the British Museum's representation of Korean culture was influenced by the National Museum of Korea and how the British Museum created its own interpretation of a particular object in the 1990s. It is arguable that, in the case of its Korean gallery, the British Museum took advantage of a diplomatic event and the Korean Embassy in London's cooperative work, however, the development of a curatorial process for the opening of the Korean gallery reflects a changing practice of cultural diplomacy over the decade.

4.5. Conclusion

Homi Bhabha (1994) argues that a specific culture neither requires the restoration of an original cultural or group identity nor demands the neutralisation of differences. Rather, to understand cultural differences in periods of transformation, he suggests paying attention to the ongoing processes of negotiation.⁵⁴⁵ This chapter explored the procedure behind two successful establishments of the Korean galleries through the cooperation of the actors involved: the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea, the major Korean corporate cultural foundations and cultural philanthropist (Hahn), the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum. It argued that the Korean gallery spaces are not only an outcome of the efforts made by Korean institutions' practice, but also function as the 'universal' museums' recognition of the need to maintain their 'universality'. The analysis of the processes of negotiation of the galleries and exhibitions exemplifies the 'cultural diplomacy' of South Korea in the 1990s.

First, this chapter demonstrated how the curatorial relationship between cultural (diplomatic) institutions in the pre-negotiation, negotiation, and opening stages of the Korean galleries characterises the nature of cultural diplomacy practice in the 1990s. Whereas governments and social elites led the development of the travelling exhibitions in the Cold War (characterised as 'public diplomacy' stage), in contrast, the cultural institutions took leadership of the museum practice in overseas museums during the 1990s. In the first stages of negotiation, the Directors of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum visited Korea to meet with the heads of the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea to obtain the institutions' support. The Korea Foundation's support facilitated the subsequent steps in establishing the museums' Korean galleries and helped the completion of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Masterplan and the British Museum's project on Korean culture. In addition, in contrast to earlier travelling exhibitions, which were largely funded by the USA or the South Korean government, museums acquired financial support from private cultural foundations and philanthropists in the 1990s. The National Museum of Korea's loaning of Korean cultural objects ultimately enabled the opening of Korean galleries. As Nye (2008) writes, 'culture is the set of practices that create meaning for a society, and it has

⁵⁴⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), pp. 2-3.

many manifestations'.⁵⁴⁶ Overseas Korean galleries demonstrated the function of cultural diplomacy in promoting the nation's soft power. The two Korean galleries are evidence that the cooperation between ranges of agencies, particularly the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, determined the nature of the 'cultural diplomacy' of South Korea.

Second, another notable difference between the pre-1990s and the 1990s is the diversified way of establishing Korean galleries and representing Korean culture in the two 'universal' museums. While the Korean cultural identity, the 'uniqueness', which was constructed by the key staff of the Metropolitan Museum of Arts and the National Museum of Korea, was constantly used in past travelling exhibitions in the Cold War, the permanent Korean galleries instead emphasised the meaning of the gallery space and added their respective museums' characteristics. Both approaches commonly valued the gallery space through its significant role in promoting a mutual understanding between cultures; indeed, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's art historical interpretation of the Korean Buddhist statue and the British Museum's cross-cultural interpretation of the Full Moon Jar and construction of *Sarangbang* characterise different ways of representing Korean culture. Despite these differences of display methods, the two museums share the significance of the Korean galleries for cultural diplomacy. Yoon's argument is noteworthy, 'the Korean gallery space has to be a "starting point" of Korean cultural representation through the development of curatorial practice',⁵⁴⁷ rather than merely regarded as a consequence of cultural diplomacy.

Finally, the existing gap between cultural diplomacy policy and practice sometimes obstructed the continual curatorial relationship constructed in the 1990s, however, this can be regarded as a positive aspect of the sustainable development of Korean culture in overseas museums. The current Cultural Heritage Protection Act limits long-term object lending to overseas museums to a maximum of two years; this would have caused difficulty in meeting the aims of cultural diplomacy had the Korean galleries not redisplayed or reinterpreted objects. This challenge, however, eventually encouraged all actors to reconsider sustainable curatorial methods without depending so heavily on

⁵⁴⁶ Joseph S. Nye, 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power', in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (2008), vol. 616, pp. 94-109.

⁵⁴⁷ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, The National Museum of Korea.

Korean institutions and, perhaps, led to the development of the diverse management methods used in the established Korean galleries from the 2000s onwards.⁵⁴⁸

The ‘prevailing ordering of the relations’⁵⁴⁹ between Korean institutions and ‘universal’ museums validated ‘the complex range of positions and negotiations’⁵⁵⁰ that characterised Korea’s ‘cultural diplomacy’ phase. The changing methods of political engagement in the 1990s revealed that cultural policy and practice, as well as cultural interpretations and representations, are not fixed but, rather, particular to each time and space. Wagnleitner (1994) remarks on the importance of interpretation and persuasion in diplomatic policy:

It is perfectly true, of course, that good cultural propaganda cannot remedy the damage done by a bad foreign policy, but it is no exaggeration to say that even the best of diplomatic policies may fail if it neglects the task of interpretation and persuasion which modern conditions impose.⁵⁵¹

This statement is applicable to the practice of cultural diplomacy because the whole process of representation of Korean culture in Korean gallery spaces reflects the 1990s’ context of both South Korea and global cultural politics. The changed curatorial relationships between Korean cultural (diplomatic) institutions and ‘universal’ museums in the 1990s reflect the changing nature of cultural diplomacy. Ironically, it is intrinsic to those institutions that they embody their government’s policies of national cultural promotion; therefore, their implementation of the cultural showcase is neither wholly political nor wholly in pursuit of mutual understanding but is the ‘institutional’ which best defines its practice of the 1990s.

The next chapter discusses the subsequent transformation of representing Korean culture after the establishment of these overseas Korean galleries. The discussion focuses on the ongoing management of Korean culture through reinterpretations of displayed objects, special exhibitions and cultural programmes since the 2000s. The

⁵⁴⁸ This is analysed in the next chapter.

⁵⁴⁹ Tony Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 13.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵¹ Nye, ‘Public Diplomacy and Soft Power’, p. 97.

chapter outlines the next stage of Korea's cultural diplomacy, which I argue can be framed as 'cultural relations'.

Chapter Five: ‘Cultural Relations’ and Reinterpreting Culture

The critiques have, of course, both prompted and been prompted by significant changes in museum practices, and they go far beyond the politics of what is put on display and how it is displayed to encompass new conceptions and relations of curatorial responsibility.

Tony Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge*, 2018⁵⁵²

As Bennett (2018) argues, contemporary museum practice has experienced a significant shift, and the enhanced professionalism and roles of museum curators are related to this change. In twenty-first century museums, international exhibitions are not merely a means of delivering cultural-political intentions, they also generate a variety of curatorial and cultural programmes. Since positioning and interpreting objects for an exhibition is ‘never final and never absolute’,⁵⁵³ understanding the ways in which formerly displayed cultural objects have been reinterpreted and redisplayed in shifting contexts is increasingly important. This conception provides the frame for discussing the ongoing curatorial management of Korean culture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum since the 2000s.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the meaning of the Korean gallery spaces that present a particular culture in ‘universal’ museums was related to the cultural diplomacy practices of the globalised, post-Cold War era of the 1990s. Since the 2000s, the ways of representing Korean culture underwent another significant change in the two ‘universal’ museums which are the focus of this thesis, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum. As the previous chapter discussed, these museums’ representations of Korean culture during the 1990s created different styles of curation: the Metropolitan

⁵⁵² Tony Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), preface.

⁵⁵³ Simon During (ed), *The Cultural Studies Reader*, 3rd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), p. 35.

Museum of Art's art historical interpretation and the British Museum's representation of Korean traditional architecture. This difference of style demonstrates that the curatorial method used for the expression of a particular culture is not an absolute, even within the same period.

It is useful to recall the elements of the South Korean cultural diplomacy policy environment of the 2000s that have relevance to museum practices. The most prominent characteristic of cultural policy developed since the 2000s was a pursuit of mutual understanding between cultures, which differs from simply emphasising or promoting unique elements of Korean culture.⁵⁵⁴ The Museum and Art Gallery Support Act of 1999 added Articles concerning curatorial responsibility for collaborative works with overseas museums in international practice.⁵⁵⁵ Articles 4 and 6 promote a practice of museum curators 'cooperating with other domestic and overseas museums', such as through the exchange of museum material, programmes and curators (Article 4-6).⁵⁵⁶ There is also an Article respecting the Code of Ethics of the ICOM and other international agreements (Articles 6-3)⁵⁵⁷ in practice. In the cultural and museum policies of South Korea, consideration of the ways in which Korean culture can engage with world cultures came to be part of the curator's responsibility. The overseas museums' curation of Korean culture also changed during this period: the overseas museums created a diverse range of special exhibitions and cultural programmes which presented different interpretations of Korean culture, as discussed in Sections 5.3. and 5.4.

To understand museum practices from the 2000s and to examine how they are related to cultural diplomacy, utilising the notion of 'glocalisation' is useful to examine the local implications of globalisation. Prösler (2006) argues that 'glocalisation' creates heterogeneous museum forms and public cultures in contemporary time across space;⁵⁵⁸ this concept is helpful when analysing the development of the curation of Korean

⁵⁵⁴ This is analysed in Chapter Two (Section 2.3.).

⁵⁵⁵ Korean National Law Information Center, *Museum and Art Gallery Support Act*, Act No. 5928, All amended on 8 February 1999, Enforced on 9 February 2000.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ Martin Prösler, 'Museums and Globalisation', in Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds), *Theorising Museums* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp. 21-44.

culture in two different ‘universal’ museums. Previously, Korean travelling exhibitions and Korean galleries used almost the same kinds of objects to characterise the long history and culture of Korea. While the two Korean galleries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum demonstrate how the ‘universal’ museums added different styles to their representation of Korean culture, they were nearly homogeneous; however, the management of Korean culture, following the establishment of the permanent galleries, heterogeneously developed Korean cultural representation in accordance with the museum curators’ capacities. For instance, the Metropolitan Museum of Art selected art historical exhibitions; on the other hand, the British Museum highlighted and reinterpreted the Korean Full moon jar in relation to contemporary Korean artwork. The two museums’ collaborations with different South Korean institutions, such as the Samsung Museum of Art and the Korean Cultural Centre UK, also signified the heterogeneous development of the curatorial practice.

This chapter has two main aims. First, it aims to analyse the transformation of the curatorial practice of Korean cultural representation in ‘universal’ museums since the 2000s in relation to South Korean cultural diplomacy development. Since the 2000s, Korean exhibitions in ‘universal’ museums have held special thematic exhibitions and cultural programmes and, during this practice, the roles of the curators of Korean galleries became more independent in and central to curating Korean culture. South Korean institutions became collaborators rather than the primary agents driving the development of these exhibitions.

Second, this chapter analyses how this change of curatorial practice can be understood using the notion of ‘glocalisation’, through analysing dissimilar traits in the representation of a particular culture in two different ‘universal’ museums. Based on the concept of ‘glocalisation’, the main theme to explore is that of two ‘universal’ museum’s different ways of curating Korean culture in ‘universal’ spaces and in globalised time. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum have reinterpreted Korean culture using contemporary artworks and through collaboration with South Korean institutions, yet they highlighted and reinterpreted different cultural materials in distinct ways, leading to the production of local aspects in the interpretation and representation of Korean culture.

To achieve these aims, this chapter uses archival resources of special exhibitions and semi-structured interviews with the staff of Korean institutions and two ‘universal’ museums’ curatorial staff, as well as field observations. As the Korean special exhibitions and cultural programmes of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum since the 2000s are recent cases, the archival materials could be collected from online resources or from officially published exhibition catalogues. The interviews with staff of the Korean institutions are helpful to understand the essence of their practices in the changing nature of cultural diplomacy in the 2000s. The interviews with staff from the two ‘universal’ museums are useful for exploring those museums’ practices in the curation and management of Korean culture. Field observations added a reflective analysis and directly collected materials for the research.

The theoretical approach in this chapter considers the concept of ‘glocalisation’ and its implications for cultural diplomacy and museum practice. Section 5.1. starts with a conceptual and contextual study of globalisation and ‘glocalisation’. This is useful for understanding the development of the representation of Korean culture overseas in a new century. Interviews with key staff from cultural institutions who have been involved with Korean cultural management are used in Section 5.2. for the analysis of the differing natures of cultural diplomacy and museum practice. In Sections 5.3. and 5.4., archival research and field observations are used to explore the ways in which, from 1998 up to the present, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum have managed the presentation of Korean culture through special exhibitions and cultural programmes. Section 5.5. summarises the characteristics of ‘universal’ museums’ curatorial practices to (re)represent Korean culture and the ways in which Korean cultural identity has been rearticulated from the 2000s.

5.1. Globalisation and Glocalisation: Korean Culture in Universal Museums

The purpose of this section is to understand the theoretical concepts of globalisation and ‘glocalisation’ and to investigate how these notions can be used for understanding the development of Korean cultural diplomacy policy and international exhibitions. The

theoretical analysis of Robertson (1992a; 1992b; 2012)⁵⁵⁹ provides insightful comparisons of globalisation and ‘glocalisation’, which are useful in discussing the variations of the curatorial management of Korean culture. In his works, key terms that clearly present characteristics of the notions of globalisation and ‘glocalisation’ are ‘cultural homogenisation’ and a ‘heterogenising aspect’ or ‘particularity’,⁵⁶⁰ respectively. According to Robertson (2012), globalisation is the ‘increasing domination of one societal or regional culture’ over others.⁵⁶¹ In contrast to this, ‘glocalisation’ rejects the simple and binary distinctions between global or local cultural aspects, preferring to be more concerned with the local aspects of globalisation.⁵⁶² These theoretical approaches indicate that the representation of culture is not universal but should be rearticulated in an ongoing practice.

The concepts of globalisation and ‘glocalisation’ developed by Robertson are useful for understanding how certain cultural identities can vary in representation in different museums spaces. Hall (1992) highlighted the importance of identifying the ways in which each culture has been represented as cultural ‘others’ to seek analysing nationality in the globalised world.⁵⁶³ Robertson (2012) also rejects applying the same manner of interpretation of a cultural identity in contemporary times as it has been shaped in modern times.⁵⁶⁴ The concept of glocalisation, therefore, pays more attention to the ‘differentiation’ of cultural interpretation and the ‘variation across time and space’.⁵⁶⁵ Hence, an analysis of the temporal shift in Korean cultural identity as it has been represented in ‘universal’ museums should be mindful of the transforming environment of temporality.

The conception of global universalism and glocal particularism developed by Robertson (1992b; 2012) suggests that the way of thinking about a particular culture’s

⁵⁵⁹ Roland Robertson, ‘The Cultural Turn’, in *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (SAGE Publications, 1992a), pp. 32-48.; ‘The Universalism–Particularism Issue’, in *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (SAGE Publications, 1992b), pp. 97-114.; ‘Globalisation or Glocalisation?’, *Journal of International Communication* (2012), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 33-52.

⁵⁶⁰ Robertson, ‘Globalisation or Glocalisation?’, p. 33.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Hall, ‘Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies’, p. 277.

⁵⁶⁴ Robertson, ‘Globalisation or Glocalisation?’, p. 41.

⁵⁶⁵ Robertson, ‘The Cultural Turn’, p. 33.

representation should be done in universal space. South Korea's development of the cultural industry in the late 1990s is an example of 'telescoping global and local to make a blend'.⁵⁶⁶ Initially started as a consumption phenomenon that soon attracted government attention, the growing phenomenon called K-culture, or the Korean Wave,⁵⁶⁷ became a fundamental part of the South Korean economy that has brought forth an opportunity to engage global audiences with Korean culture.⁵⁶⁸ In fact, the 'K' in front of Korea's contemporary cultural resource presents the 'Korean-ness' that can represent cultural images to not only the domestic but also the global front.⁵⁶⁹ Korea sustained and developed its particular culture and identity throughout historical periods by adopting aspects of global dimension.

Since the 2000s, 'a multidirectional flow of influences'⁵⁷⁰ from museum practices have introduced a variety of diversified methods for curating a specific culture. This chapter brings the concept of 'glocalisation' to the comprehension of the diversified way of managing Korean culture in the two different 'universal' museums through the interpretation and application of the concepts of 'global' and 'local' to the curatorial characteristics of the representation of Korean culture in 'universal' museums. The two 'universal' museums have the capacity to produce a representation of a specific culture and shape knowledge for a global audience; therefore, this chapter focuses on the local aspect of the two case museums' management of Korean culture in the twenty-first century, bringing together 'heterogeneous' curatorial practice and the development of Korean culture. The following sections analyse the two museums' local and diversified aspects, considering each museum's different methods of curating Korean culture.

⁵⁶⁶ Robertson, 'Globalisation or Glocalisation?', p. 36.

⁵⁶⁷ Korean Wave is an increase in global popularity of contemporary South Korean popular culture, particularly K-Pop, K-Dramas and K-Movies. It spread across East and Southeast Asia in the initial stage from the late 1990s and has now evolved into a unique cultural phenomenon in South and North America and some European nations.

⁵⁶⁸ Sook Jong Lee, 'South Korean Soft Power and How South Korea Views the Soft Power of Others', in Sook Jong Lee and Jan Melissen (eds), *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 139-161 (p. 140).

⁵⁶⁹ Jinwon Kim and Meebae Lee (2018) 'Nation Branding or Marketisation?: K-Classic and Korean Classical Musicians in An Era of Globalization', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* (2018), vol. 24, no. 6, pp. 756-772 (p. 765).

⁵⁷⁰ Linda Young, 'Globalisation, Culture and Museums: A Review of Theory', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (2007), vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 6-15 (p. 7).

5.2. South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Practitioners' Understanding of 'Cultural Relations'

This section analyses South Korean cultural diplomacy practices since the 2000s, in which the role of the curator became more important in the curation of Korean culture than in previous times. Rather than using a top-down practice, where the government or a director of institutions dominated museum practices, curatorial staff came to play a major role in this period. This section discusses how cultural diplomacy practitioners, such as key staff of the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea and Samsung Foundation for Culture and museum curators who have worked on Korean galleries and exhibitions overseas, define the notion of 'cultural relations'. The key terms that characterise the cultural diplomacy practice of the twenty-first century so far are: professionalism of curators, consideration of local context, collaborative work, engagement of mutual understanding and intrinsic cultural value.

The interviewees (see Appendix 4 for a list of interviewees and their institutional positions) provide key concepts that distinguish their museum's cultural diplomacy practice since the 2000s, based on their practice. First, Hong-nam Kim, the former Director of the National Museum of Korea (2006–2008), emphasised the professionalism of museum curators in the sustainable development of curatorial methods and the representation of Korean culture. She provided her perspective on the national museum's role in a changing society and the capabilities that contemporary museum professionals should have.⁵⁷¹ In terms of the development of curatorial methods, she highlighted a reinterpretation of objects for communication between time and cultures:

Attuning the cultural 'frequency' towards a national and international audience is important. To do so, the process of knowing the present to interpret the past and understanding the past to predict the future has to be followed, along with a continuous reinterpretation of objects.⁵⁷²

⁵⁷¹ Hong-nam Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 5 July 2018, Bukchon Hanok Village.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

In addition, she argues that curators are ‘required to have a high standard of both academic and cultural insight to manage cultural heritages, with an enthusiasm for connecting the museum artefact from the past to the present Korean and overseas people’.⁵⁷³ Therefore, to achieve the global role of the National Museum of Korea as a representative cultural institution that presents the nation’s cultural identity,⁵⁷⁴ the professional roles of curators have become more emphasised; this is a notable change to museum practice in the new century.

Second, since the 2000s, cultural diplomacy practice considers, to an increasing extent, the context in which culture is represented. The practice of the Korean Cultural Centre UK is a remarkable example that pursues cultural interaction based on context. A director of the institution, Hoseong Yong, has been working as a government official for the Ministry of Culture since 1992; as such, he drew up and enacted cultural legislation, including the International Cultural Exchange Promotion Act of 2017, using the term ‘partnership’ to replace ‘fund’ or ‘support’⁵⁷⁵ to explain the relationship between cultural institutions of South Korea and the UK. He suggests that the use of the term ‘partnership’ is a softer and more cooperative term than ‘support’ or ‘fund’ and that ‘the notion focuses on the collaboration between two nations in practice’.⁵⁷⁶ It does not suggest a bilateral relationship between funder and funded, rather, it implies an interactive relationship creating room for taking into account the specific context:

Teaching and learning about different cultural aspects through an overseas cultural institute is a past form of practice at overseas cultural centres. Such cases and methods cannot be applied or contextualised in contemporary times and nations, and in advanced nations in particular.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ The National Museum of Korea, ‘The National Museum: Vision 2020’, *Annual Report 2006* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 2007), pp. 22-23.

⁵⁷⁵ Hoseong Yong, Interview by author, phone recorder, London, 4 May 2018, the Korean Cultural Centre UK.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ Bo-kyung Mun, ‘Yong Hoseong, Director of Korean Cultural Centre UK, “Spread of Korean Culture through Partnership” (파트너쉽 통해 한국문화 전파)’, *Electronic Times News*, 12 September 2017 <<http://www.etnews.com/20170912000279>> [accessed 20 December 2017].

To implement cultural diplomacy practice based on local context, Yong planned a long-term management project at the Korean Cultural Centre UK. His strategic analysis of the centre's SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) informed his engagement and interactions with the staff of the UK's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport and has led to the promotion of Korean culture by UK institutions over the past decade.⁵⁷⁸ His cultural diplomacy practice created more collaboration in the process of planning, researching and operating the Korean cultural programme; additionally, it simplified access to funding from UK institutions and, thus, encouraged a more sustainable relationship.⁵⁷⁹ Hence, his experience reflects how cultural diplomacy practice can be more professional and context based than in previous times.

Third, museum practice in cultural diplomacy came to be more collaborative as 'universal' museums' capability for the management of culture increased in importance over the support of Korean institutions. Sang-hoon Jang, a Head of the Exhibition Division at the National Museum of Korea, picked an example of overseas museums' willingness to offer donations or funding for Korean galleries.⁵⁸⁰ According to Jang, the 'universal' museums' proactive operation of Korean exhibitions, as opposed to fully depending on the South Korean government or institutions' support, is a positive phenomenon for long-term development⁵⁸¹ and considered a method for achieving long-term goals for the management of Korean culture overseas.⁵⁸² This collaboration between South Korean cultural institutions and overseas museums came to be more flexible because it was not mandatory, as in previous decades when the government or ministries were involved in the negotiations. As both Jang and Yoon, the former executive vice president of the Korea Foundation, asserted, it is time for curators and museums to interact with each other to reinterpret objects, rather than display and loan comprehensive sets of objects in chronological order.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁸ Hoseong Yong, Interview by author, phone recorder, London, 4 May 2018, The Korean Cultural Centre UK.

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁰ Sang-hoon Jang, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 15 January 2018, The National Museum of Korea Exhibition Division office.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.; Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

Finally, mutual understanding and intrinsic value are the characteristics of cultural diplomacy in the new century. South Korean museums experienced a turning point in international cultural exchange since hosting the ICOM 2004 General Conference in Seoul, the conference's first time in the Asian region. According to the Organising Committee's report, this created a space for inter-cultural dialogue between the National Museum of Korea and overseas museums.⁵⁸⁴ The ICOM 'unexpectedly' changed the environment of Korean museums' international cultural exchange by enhancing the exchange towards qualitative development, as the Director of the ICOM Seoul Committee underscored.⁵⁸⁵ The opportunities to construct mutual and long-term relationships among museum staff have also increased; according to the curator of the National Museum of Korea, who has been responsible for international exchange since 2004, the museum's relationship with overseas museums in the new century has grown beyond a 'give and take relationship'.⁵⁸⁶ The curator's cultural diplomacy practice came to be principally based on the pursuit of the intrinsic values of culture, as Kim recalled from the decade-long preparation for ICOM 2004. According to him, hosting ICOM Seoul was not just a cultural-diplomatic event but was one made possible by an attribution of committee members' passions in promoting the national image and culture.⁵⁸⁷ The changed environment of the museum's international cultural exchange in the 2000s corresponds to the changed cultural diplomacy policy of the new century.

The following sections investigate the ways in which the representation of Korean culture in 'universal' museums is related to the nature of South Korea's cultural diplomacy and museum practice since the 2000s. The discussion concentrates on

⁵⁸⁴ ICOM Seoul Organising Committee, *Report on the 20th General Conference & 21st General Assembly of ICOM: 'Museums and Intangible Heritage'* (2004).

⁵⁸⁵ Byeong-mo Kim, Interview by author, phone recorder, Hanam, 6 July 2018, Korea Institute of Heritage.

⁵⁸⁶ Jongsok Kim, Interview by the author, phone recorder, Seoul, 13 December 2017, The National Museum of Korea;

The National Museum of Korea's involvement in international activities, such as participating in the international conferences ASEMUS (Asia-Europe Museum Network), ANMA (Asian National Museums Association) and VCM (Virtual Collection of Asian Masterpieces), constructed an exchange and relationship of museum practitioners.

Source: The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 2009* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 2010), Director's Acknowledgement.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

analysing how the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum curated Korean special exhibitions differently and developed Korean cultural identity since the 2000s.

5.3. Korean Culture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Since the 2000s, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has curated Korean culture through collaborative relationships with South Korean institutions or by their own curatorial methods. The curatorial processes of two special exhibitions that were held in the 2000s and were curated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (17 March–21 June 2009) and *Poetry in Clay: Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art* (7 April–14 August 2011), illustrate the museum's practices in the new century. The Museum curated *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (2009), the first special loan exhibition on Korean painting, to cover in-depth that specific segment of Korean art. This kind of exhibition was not possible during the previous travelling exhibitions, such as *5000 Years of Korean Art* in 1981,⁵⁸⁸ as they aimed to show a long cultural history of Korea using a comprehensive collection of objects.

In terms of the curatorial relationship, the Metropolitan Museum of Art reinforced its collaboration with a particular institution of South Korea, the Samsung Foundation for Culture, which established its relationship in the 1990s during the installation of the Korean gallery. *Poetry in Clay: Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art* (2011) is a good example of the collaborative relationship between the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, which opened in 2004 as an affiliated art museum of the Samsung Culture Foundation. The strategy of the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art also demonstrates its global roles, stating that it allows visitors to interpret and communicate with the collections 'beyond time and space',⁵⁸⁹ intending its display to straddle time and space for a reinterpretation of the

⁵⁸⁸ So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator's Office.

⁵⁸⁹ Samsung Museum of Art, Leeum, *Exhibition Guidebook* (Seoul: Samsung Museum of Art, 2012), acknowledgment.

arts.⁵⁹⁰ The two cultural institutions' collaboration for reinterpreting Korean culture is, thus, an example of museums' practice of 'glocalisation', providing a case of locally produced global practice. Furthermore, the curator's diverse interpretive method, such as adding internationally attractive features of Korean art and displaying contemporary artworks together, created a reinterpretation of Korean culture.

5.3.1. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (2009)

Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600 (17 March–21 June 2009) (see Figures 32 and 33) demonstrates the shift in curatorial practice in the 2000s. This exhibition is the first Korean exhibition that illuminated a specific theme from Korean art history; additionally, it was curated by a Korean gallery curator. It is a remarkable change in curation approach because the former exhibitions displayed a comprehensive set of objects with involvement from the South Korean government and cultural institutions from the initial stage. The National Museum of Korea (2009) positively evaluated this exhibition as a good opportunity for promoting an evolved cultural friendship between South Korea and the USA by deeply illuminating one specific aspect of Korean art, that of the early Joseon period (1392–1506, Joseon period was 1392–1910) for the first time in the USA.⁵⁹¹ South Korean institutions collaborated to support the exhibition: the Korea Foundation and the Kun-Hee Lee (of Samsung) Fund for Korean Art⁵⁹² continued their support for the exhibition from the 1990s while the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art and the National Museum of Korea lent the objects, which included national treasures.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 7.

⁵⁹¹ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 2009* (Seoul: the National Museum of Korea, 2010).

⁵⁹² Ibid, p. 326.

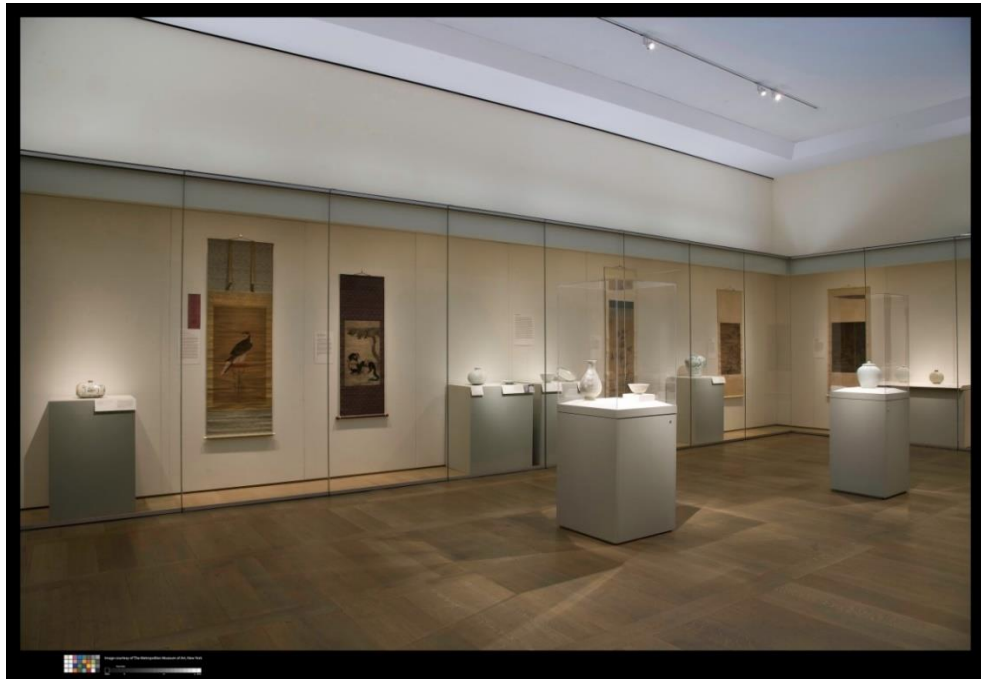


Figure 32: Photos of the exhibition *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* in the Arts of Korea Gallery, 17 March–21 June 2009 (1)

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art



Figure 33: Photos of the exhibition *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* in the Arts of Korea Gallery, 17 March–21 June 2009 (2)

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

In fact, the recruitment of a new Korean art curator heralded a potential change in the further management of Korean culture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵⁹³ When the Museum opened the Korean gallery, there were two main reasons for the delay of the opening, as discussed in the previous chapter. One was the issue of the location of the Gallery, and the other was related to the requirement for a curator who was a Korean art specialist and who would take responsibility for the Korean gallery;⁵⁹⁴ however, once secured, the curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean gallery was able to curate and lead the exhibition and the Korean art in the Museum has been managed under their expertise and professionalism since the 2000s.

The rise of professionalism in cultural practice in the 2000s that characterised 'cultural relations' (see Section 5.2.) is thus found in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts' practice: *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* is an example that shows how a curator's professional work influenced the interpretation of Korean art. A curatorial process is heavily dependent on a curator's capabilities, which are reflected in the exhibition; for example, the curator introduced the Metropolitan Museum of Art's newly purchased sixteenth century hanging scroll by exhibiting it together with loaned objects. The reinterpretations of objects were made possible by the objects borrowed from diverse nations, such as Japanese, European and American museums.⁵⁹⁵ This was seen as the museum's first progressive work since the establishment of its Korean gallery in 1998. As the Metropolitan Museum of Art's *Annual Report* (2009) describes, 'the exhibition [took] visitors from the European Renaissance to that of Korea' to tell 'the lively story of the formidable cultural rebirth',⁵⁹⁶ therefore, the curator's curatorial methods, rather than cultural diplomatic agenda, came to be a major factor that drove the reinterpretation of Korean culture.

The exhibition pursued an approach of representing mutual understanding between Korean culture and world cultures. The curator of Korean art, So-young Lee, described her intentions and the significance of curating this special exhibition: 'I had

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

⁵⁹⁵ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Annual Report 2008–2009* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), p. 5.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

concentrated on the understanding of Korean culture in world cultures when curating and managing Korean culture and arts in the museum'.⁵⁹⁷ As she notes, the process of the curation was 'a truly collaborative project, made possible by an international partnership of many inspired and encouraging colleagues and friends'.⁵⁹⁸ The collaborative curation made a diverse interpretation possible.

The acclaim from the Metropolitan Museum of Art attests to the significance of opening a thematic exhibition that enriches Korean culture in the museum. The Director writes that it marks 'a significant new phase of Korean art in the museum, highlighting the artistic achievements of a particular period in Korean history'.⁵⁹⁹ Significantly, these words note the meaning of the special exhibition as a particular culture among 'universal' cultures. Instead of exhibiting a long cultural history along with the comprehensive objects, all together, the exhibition demonstrated and concentrated on representing the artistic implications of a specific era of Korean history.

This interpretation of Korean culture stressed the cultural-historical significance of the Joseon period (1392–1910) rather than highlighting the unique element of Korean art as a whole, or how long all of Korean history is. The exhibition catalogue contains an article by the curator Lee, about the transitional culture and society of the first 200 years of the Joseon period, which shifted the social and political landscape to centre on Neo-Confucianism, thereby influencing the nature and style of artistic works.⁶⁰⁰ One painting displayed, loaned from the National Museum of Korea (see Figure 34), stands out as a break from elitism in selecting, displaying and interpreting Korean art.

⁵⁹⁷ So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator's Office.

⁵⁹⁸ 'Acknowledgements', So-young Lee (ed.) *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), viii.

⁵⁹⁹ 'Director's Foreword', Exhibition Catalogue, vi.

⁶⁰⁰ So-young Lee, 'Art and Patronage in the Early Joseon', *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, pp. 15–64 (p. 15).



Figure 34: ‘Mother Dog and Puppies’ Yi Am (1507–1566)
Hanging scroll; ink and colour on paper, 28¾ × 16⅝ in. (73 × 42.2 cm)
Collection of the National Museum of Korea, Seoul (Bon-gwan 255)
 © Courtesy of the National Museum of Korea

Compared with previous travelling exhibitions or displays of the permanent galleries that exhibited a high-quality archaeological object to show the excellence of Korean arts and culture, such as the gold crowns or a Koryo celadon, another interpretive method appeared in this exhibition. The curator interpreted Yi Am’s (1507–1566) painting, ‘Mother Dog and Puppies’ (see Figure 34) as a creation of ‘a miniature universe in which harmoniously arranged puppies and birds are emblematic of the political vision of the early Joseon period: “Peace under Heaven”’.⁶⁰¹ The painting is interpreted as a metaphor of the new dynasty, ‘depict[ing] an ideal microcosm that mirrors the ideal state’; the peaceful scene suggests that this timeless and harmonious world would prosper forever.⁶⁰² Thus, an art historical interpretation dominated the interpretation of

⁶⁰¹ Ibid, p. 30.

⁶⁰² Sunpyo Hong and Chin-sung Chang, ‘Peace under Heaven: Confucianism and Painting in Early Joseon Korea’, *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, pp. 65-92 (p. 89).

the exhibition. A broader interpretation in the East Asian traditional context followed, and this was to illuminate an East Asian tradition of animal, bird and flower paintings.⁶⁰³ It is also a change from the previous exhibitions in the Cold War that distinguished Korean culture's uniqueness from other East Asian cultures by pointing out their differences. Hence, the subjects and interpretation of the exhibition are more diversified and specific. The National Museum of Korea evaluated the exhibition as effectively promoting Korean culture through the display of specific themes.⁶⁰⁴ This theme-focused exhibition was a prelude to a new direction in the management of Korean culture.

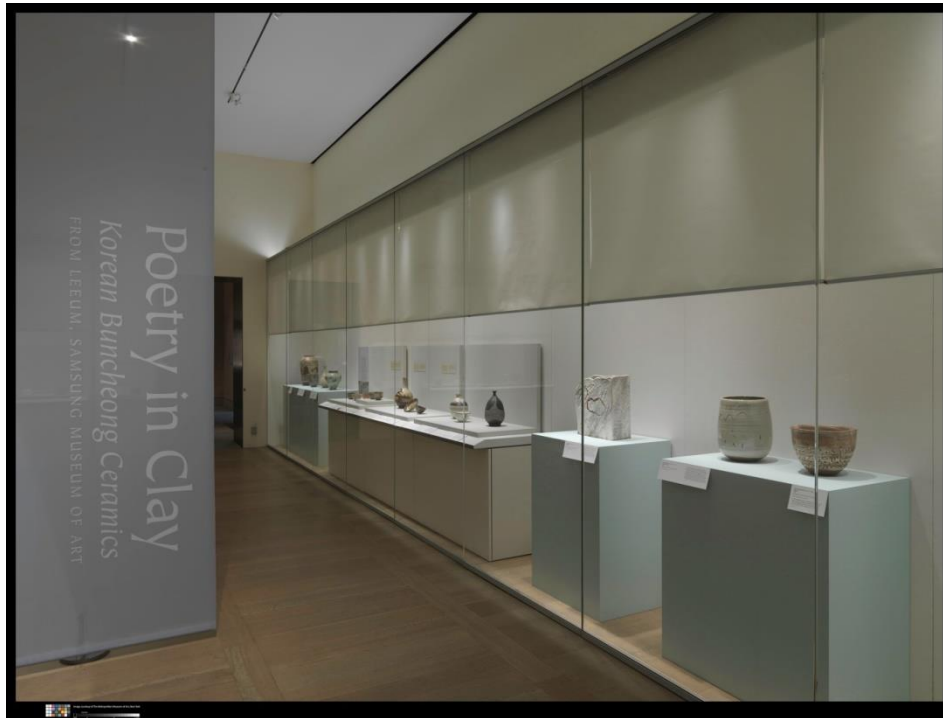
5.3.2. *Poetry in Clay* (2011)

Another special exhibition that reflected the change of the management and representation of Korean culture in 'universal' museums is *Poetry in Clay*. This was also a special exhibition of Korean art of specific theme and specific genres. The official title, *Poetry in Clay: Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art* (7 April–14 August 2011) (see Figure 35), presents the Korean gallery's intimate relationship with Leeum, the Samsung Museum of Art, as a co-organiser of the exhibition. Although funding and support were also provided by the Korea Foundation, the 60 or so objects on exhibition were loaned from Leeum and were co-curated with a curator from Leeum. The paucity of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Buncheong collection⁶⁰⁵ and the curator's specialised field of study were factors in planning the exhibition, illustrating the change in recent practice where Korean culture is represented: the focus is more on the curator's independent role and professional field of specialisation.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴ The National Museum of Korea, *The 100 Years History of Korean Museums 1909–2009* (한국박물관 100 년사) (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2009), p. 903.

⁶⁰⁵ So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator's Office.



**Figure 35: The exhibition photo of *Poetry in Clay* in the Arts of Korea Gallery
7 April–14 August 2011
© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art**

The exhibition was originally conceptualised by curator Lee, during her visit to Leeum in 2006, and, with the support and cooperation of Leeum, the exhibition was created.⁶⁰⁶ Lee conducted research on the whole range of Buncheong exhibits at Leeum, where the best quality and most substantial pieces of Buncheong were available. The co-curation was significant because the collaborative process allowed the Metropolitan Museum of Art to increase the size of its Buncheong collection. The Museum also had international connections with other Korean art collections in Japan, the USA and Europe.⁶⁰⁷ This collaboration demonstrates the change in curatorial relationships since the 2000s, showing that the relationships between curators of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Korean cultural institutions are increasing in importance in the curation of exhibitions.

A notable interpretive method during the exhibition is that the particularity and universal values of Buncheong were simultaneously represented. This particular kind of ceramics had previously been exhibited through travelling exhibitions and in permanent

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Charlotte Horlyck, 'Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art by So-young Lee and Seung-chang Jeon, *The Journal of Asian Studies* (2012), vol. 71, no. 2, pp. 563-565.

gallery spaces; however, this exhibition positioned the ceramics in the limelight as a sole feature. The Chairman of the Department of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art noted that Buncheong's particular trait is that it embodies a 'particularly Korean genius', which is most emblematic of Korean culture's rebirth.⁶⁰⁸ The Director General of Leeum also underlined the art-historic significance of Buncheong:

A singular genre of ceramic art [...] Buncheong embodies a compelling aesthetic character, sense of humour, and vitality. Buncheong's decorative techniques and motifs – from everyday subject matter, to imaginary creatures to abstract patterns – are delightfully innovative and integrate past and present, transcending time and space. The dynamism of Buncheong's tradition continues with today's artists.⁶⁰⁹

The Director represented Buncheong through its universal characteristic: 'near-universal appeal for today's art lovers', the Western collectors and audiences.⁶¹⁰ When it was displayed, interpretation was related to the universally attractive aesthetic and art historical features. The interpretation of the image chosen as the introduction of the exhibition (see Figure 36) is an example: 'vibrant, powerful, and stylised, the motif on this piece explores the boundary between representation and abstraction. The striking contrast between dark and light, combined with the speed of the brushstrokes, is captivating'.⁶¹¹ This is an art historical interpretation that would attract not only ceramic lovers but also global audiences, but it is difficult to see a sole emphasis on Korean culture's specificity.

⁶⁰⁸ James Watt, 'Preface', *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, ix.

⁶⁰⁹ Ra Hee Hong Lee, 'Lender's Foreword', *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, viii.

⁶¹⁰ Thomas P. Campbell and Jay Xu, 'Directors' Foreword', *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, vii.

⁶¹¹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art webpage, *Poetry in Clay*, <<https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2011/buncheong-ceramics/photo-gallery>> [accessed 9 April 2018].



Figure 36: Buncheong with Iron-painted Design

Korea, Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910), late 15th–early 16th century

H: 21.7 cm, L: 31.2 cm

Loaned from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art collection, Treasure No. 1387

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

A new reinterpretative method that juxtaposes Buncheong with contemporary artworks (see Figure 37) is another characteristic of curation in the twenty-first century. The twentieth century paintings, the designs and patterns of which creatively resemble Buncheong wares, were displayed together, to represent ‘a deep visual resonance and a timeless connection’ between traditional and contemporary Korean arts.⁶¹²

⁶¹² ‘Lender’s Foreword’, *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, viii.



Figure 37: The display of Buncheong with contemporary paintings

Left painting: 'Heaven and Earth', 1973

Kim Whan-ki (1913–1974)

Oil on canvas, H. 8 ft. 7¾ in (263.4 cm), W. 8¼ in (206.2 cm). Collection of Leeum

Right painting: 'From Point', 1984

Lee Ufan (1936–present)

Oil on canvas, H. 89^{5/8} in (227.5 cm), L. 71¼ in (181 cm). Collection of Leeum

© Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

The curator's intention with this reinterpretation of Korean art was to revalue Korean art within the global space. To achieve this aim, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection was rearranged⁶¹³ with the works of contemporary Korean and Korean-American artists were arranged in such a way with other collections in the Museum as to get visitors interested in Korean art and to encourage them to constantly reinterpret Korean culture.⁶¹⁴ The curator's revaluation of Buncheong at the international level is explained in her article in the exhibition catalogue:

In excavating and embracing the buried tradition of Buncheong, the Koreans may have reclaimed a part of their cultural heritage, but this ceramic style's influence and incarnations have, in many ways, spread

⁶¹³ So-young Lee, Interview by author, phone recorder, New York, 6 April 2018, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Curator's Office.

⁶¹⁴ Ibid.

globally. Beyond modern and contemporary artists in Korea and Japan, and owing in part to the works of twentieth-century studio potters like Bernard Leach (1887–1979) who drew from East Asian sources, a number of potters in the West, including in North America, have been inspired by, and continue to reinvent, Buncheong idioms and the creative possibilities of white slip.⁶¹⁵

The Metropolitan Museum of Art's view on the significance of the exhibition clearly emphasises this new interpretation of Buncheong beyond its original place and time.⁶¹⁶ Later, in 2016, when the thematic exhibition on Buncheong was held in Leeum, its cross-time significance was described as 'traditional ceramics with contemporary aesthetics', which embraced a more liberal manner of expression that 'broke away [from] aristocratic traditions of the previous period, with a link to contemporary art'.⁶¹⁷ In the catalogue review, Horlyck evaluated the overarching outcome of this special exhibition in the development of Korean studies. She points out that the exhibition book does not open the introductory chapter with a chronological and historical explanation of Korea.⁶¹⁸ This is 'beyond an introductory level' and is based on the assumption of the authors that the historical trajectories are already somewhat familiar to the readers, due to the recent rise of interest in Korean art and studies⁶¹⁹ and the development of Korean culture. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's development of curating Korean culture through a deeper analysis of specific parts of Korean art is reflective of the transformation of the museum's practices in representing Korean culture.

5.4. Korean Culture in the British Museum

Since the permanent Korean gallery in the British Museum is a space wherein South Korean cultural diplomacy has been practised since the 1990s, the space entangles

⁶¹⁵ So-young Lee, 'Beyond the Original: Buncheong Idioms in Japan, 1500–1900, and Contemporary Revivals', *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600*, pp. 95–133 (p. 128).

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, vii.

⁶¹⁷ Leeum, Introduction of Special Exhibition *Buncheong: Traces of the Mind* (22 March–7 August 2016) <http://www.leeum.org/html_eng/exhibition/main_view.asp> [accessed 1 November 2018].

⁶¹⁸ So-young Lee, 'Beyond the Original: Buncheong Idioms in Japan, 1500–1900, and Contemporary Revivals', p. 128.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid, p. 563.

political meanings and issues. In 2002, the Museum's management of Korean culture and the Korea Foundation Gallery was criticised by the South Korean press due to the display of North Korean posters in the front of the gallery.⁶²⁰ Certainly, from the museum's purview, it is within a curator's capacity to develop and manage Korean culture according to their method of curation, from the selection of objects through to interpretation and displaying.⁶²¹ The British Museum's curator collected contemporary North Korean objects during a visit to North Korea⁶²² and displayed them in the Museum to introduce newly collected Korean objects. The curatorial intention was to demonstrate the differences between traditional and contemporary cultures;⁶²³ however, because of the Korean gallery's long-standing relationship with South Korean institutions, which included the gallery being supported by the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, the sensitive and noteworthy issue was raised.

Because of the ongoing political tensions between North and South Korea, an inclusion of North Korean objects in the Korea Foundation Gallery is almost inconceivable.⁶²⁴ Since the two Koreas are independent members of the UN,⁶²⁵ they are seen as two different nations; it is in this context that the permanent gallery is tasked with representing Korean culture. Presently, the North Korean display contains a few objects — including contemporary propagandistic painting and vases — and is on view in a small display case that resides in a different part of the museum, far from the Korean gallery (see Figure 38).

⁶²⁰ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 27 July 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

⁶²¹ Charlotte Horlyck, Interview by author, Skype, London, 12 October 2018.

⁶²² The British Museum, North Korea display showcase text label, 'The British Museum's DPRK Collection'.

⁶²³ Jane Portal, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 27 September 2018, The British Museum: Keeper's Office.

⁶²⁴ Keum-jin Yoon, Interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 27 July 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

⁶²⁵ North Korea joined the UN in 1991.

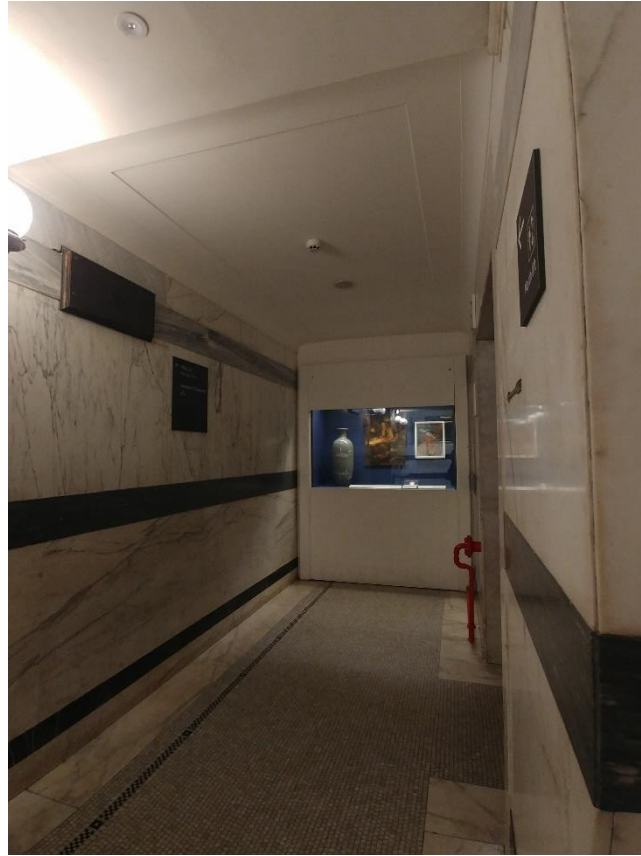


Figure 38: A display case on North Korean objects at the British Museum
 © Taken by the author, 25 April 2018, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

The management of Korean culture in the British Museum sustained its collaborative relationships with South Korean cultural institutions and, additionally, aided in developing a diverse method of curation since the 2000s. The British Museum is the first overseas museum with which the National Museum of Korea exchanged curators for researching Korean objects and collections, supported by the Korea Foundation.⁶²⁶ The special exhibitions illuminated a particular part of Korean art selected by the curators of Korean art, a common characteristic with the Metropolitan Museum of Art's case of the reinterpretation of Korean culture. *Object in Focus: The Korean Moon Jar* (20 September–21 October 2007) is an example of the development of Korean culture in the British Museum through special exhibitions and cultural programmes. Since the 2010s, a Full Moon Jar has been displayed with the reinterpreted artworks produced by contemporary artists in the Korean gallery. The British Museum's inclusion of a Korean object in their project of reinterpreting world cultures during the 2012 London

⁶²⁶ The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 2009* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2010), p. 324.

Olympics, *History of the World in 100 Objects*, is another example of the Museum's reinterpretation of Korean culture. Their Korean gallery's collaboration with the Korean Cultural Centre UK, and the K-Pop Academy in particular, illustrates the ways in which a museum exhibition can engage with contemporary popular culture. This could be seen to suggest a further evolution of the curation of Korean culture.

5.4.1. *Object in Focus: The Korean Moon Jar (2007)*

The Korean Full Moon Jar, produced during the late seventeenth to nineteenth century during the late Joseon period, has been an iconic Korean object in the British Museum since its first display in the Korea Foundation Gallery in 2000.⁶²⁷ The cultural-diplomatic story of this powerful object can be traced back to 1999, when Queen Elizabeth II visited heritage sites in South Korea. The National Museum of Korea and one of the representatives of the Korean potter, Park Young-sook, who revived the traditional skill of making moon jars,⁶²⁸ became involved in the promotion of the Full Moon Jar as one of the objects highlighted in overseas Korean displays. Although the Full Moon Jar was described as a unique cultural object in Korea, it had not been showcased in the former travelling exhibitions; however, since the 2000s, the Full Moon Jar has created a narrative and has helped to form an intercultural dialogue with the 'appreciation' of each culture's unique beauty and with 'openness';⁶²⁹ the British Museum illustrates this in their display of the Full Moon Jar.

The first phase of developing the representation of the Full Moon Jar as a symbolic Korean object in the British Museum was in *Objects in Focus: The Korean Moon Jar* (20 September–21 October 2007). The exhibition catalogue describes the significance of the Full Moon Jar from the time of its birth during the Korean nation's rebuilding, following two invasions from Japan in 1592 and Manchu in 1636. The creation of the

⁶²⁷ The British Museum, 'The Korean Moon Jar'

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2007/the_korean_moon_jar.aspx> [accessed 18 December 2016].

⁶²⁸ 'Appraised Joseon White Porcelain, "The Best Beauty of the World"' (조선백자 감상"세계 최고美"극찬)', *The Kyunghyang Shinmun* (경향신문), 21 April 1999, p. 5.

⁶²⁹ Su Changhe, 'Soft Power', in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* (2013).

Full Moon Jar was related to the creation of a sense of national identity⁶³⁰ and the Museum continued to reflect this sense of Korean cultural identity through the object in its contemporary practice.

In addition to the display, a cultural event for the Korean harvest holidays, *Chuseok* (akin to Thanksgiving), held on 22 September 2007 presented how the representation of Korean culture can be developed through a cultural programme. In collaboration with several agencies including the Korean Cultural Centre UK, the Korean Embassy, the Korea Foundation and the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames, the festivities incorporated diverse cultural events and practices, such as screenings of Korean films and dramas, making traditional Korean art forms and food, showing performances of traditional folk music and encouraging the audience to participate in the traditional dance forms at the British Museum's theatre and court.⁶³¹ These cultural programmes engaged wider audiences and provided opportunities to introduce them to a diverse range of Korean cultures, from traditional to contemporary. In addition, the educational programme consisted of workshops and gallery talks involving the making of Korean crafts with the help of Korean artists, which were also significant cultural programmes in their own right that could enhance cultural understanding.⁶³² A notable event was a contemporary performance inspired by the Moon Jar along with traditional chamber music conducted at the Korean gallery. In these events, a connection between traditional cultural heritage and contemporary art was made that is a reinterpretation of Korean culture.

During the 2010s, the Full Moon Jar was reinterpreted in such a way that it became the most typically Korean object in the British Museum through a unique method of curation. This was intended to show interaction and mutual understanding between cultures and this curatorial method is one of the characteristics of museum practice from the 2000s. The increased display of particular artists' work, instead of loaned national heritage from Korean institutions, is another such characteristic. One contemporary

⁶³⁰ The British Museum, 'The Korean Moon Jar'

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2007/the_korean_moon_jar.aspx> [accessed 18 December 2016].

⁶³¹ The British Museum, *Chuseok: Korean Harvest Festival*, programme leaflet.

⁶³² Ibid.

work displayed in the lobby of the Korea Foundation Gallery, *Samramansang* (see Figure 39), presents the idea of a dialogue with the Full Moon Jar.⁶³³ Created by a Korean-born, New York-based artist whose work and messages are inspired by a Korean identity, a temporary exhibition was prepared by British Museum staff in 1999 to introduce the newly acquired artwork at the artist's private exhibition.⁶³⁴ An artistic feature of *Samramansang* is that it portrays images of traditional Korean culture along with the Moon Jar. The background 'consists of 225 squares each containing an image of sitting Buddha. The squares are covered with an image of a moon jar'.⁶³⁵ As happened with the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the British Museum's contemporary exhibitions illustrate the reinterpretation of Korean culture as well as the reinforced role of the curator of the British Museum's Korean gallery in the curation of Korean culture.

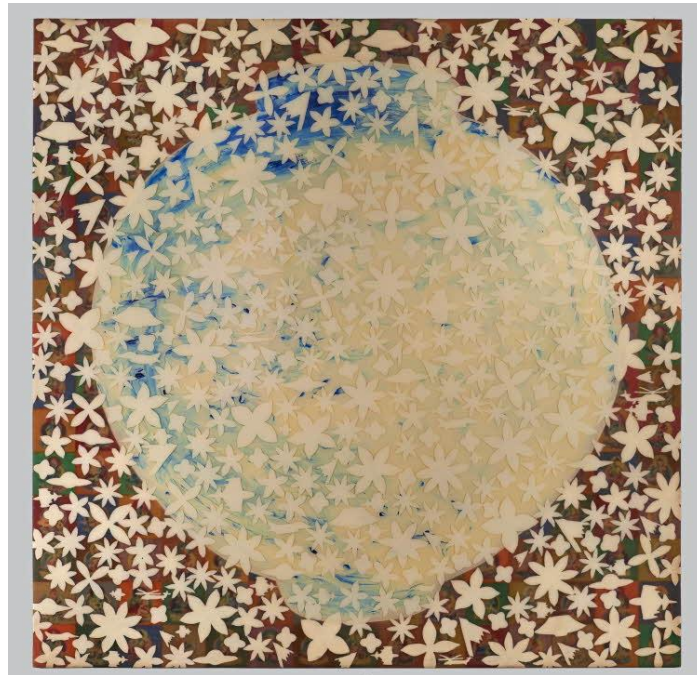


Figure 39: 'Samramansang, Moon Jar #1 (All Things in Nature)', 2010–2013
Kang Ik-joong (1960–present)
Painting on wood, H 114.3 cm x W 114.3 cm
made in and acquired from the Kang collection Korean Art, New York, 2014
© Courtesy of the British Museum

⁶³³ NY Culture Beat, 'Dialogue between Kang Ik-joong's "Samramansang" and Joseon Full Moon Jar', 15 December 2014 <https://www.nyculturebeat.com/index.php?mid=Art&document_srl=3168766> [accessed 10 April 2018].

⁶³⁴ Ibid.

⁶³⁵ The British Museum, Collection online, 'Samramansang' <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3626649&partId=1&searchText=samramansang&page=1> [accessed 23 April 2018].

Additionally, the Full Moon Jar created a space for generating cross-cultural interpretation between Korean and Western cultures. It was curatorial intention of the former Korean gallery curator, Jane Portal, to highlight the Full Moon Jar and promote Korean culture through demonstrative Korean art, as she stated in an interview:

I thought, ‘I am going to revise Asian galleries, which mainly focus on Japanese art, to demonstrate a wide range of Korean art’. It is not because I blindly love Korea but to help Western viewers look at Asian art in a balanced way, without leaning towards Japan.⁶³⁶

It was also the curator’s intention, during the refurbishment of the Korean gallery in 2014, to ‘tell exciting stories and make connections with a part of the world, its past and present’, as the former curator of the gallery (2009–2014), Sascha Priewe described.⁶³⁷

⁶³⁶ Soo-hye Kim, ‘My best Achievement is the display of the Full Moon Jar in the British Museum (내 최고 업적은 대영박물관에 달항아리 전시한 것)’, *Chosun Ilbo* (조선일보), 1 October 2008 <http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/30/2008093001620.html> [accessed 1 October 2016].

⁶³⁷ Priewe, Sascha and Miles, Ellie, ‘Facelift: the new Korea Foundation Gallery’, *The British Museum Blog*, 27 January 2015, The British Museum <<https://artsdelacoree.hypotheses.org/1748>> [accessed 28 June 2015].



Figure 40: Contemporary artworks of the Moon Jar

Yee Sookyung (left), Koo Bohnchang (middle) and Park Young-sook (right)
 © Taken by the author, 4 May 2016, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Regarding the curators' initial intentions of displaying the Full Moon Jar, these curatorial methods have created a mutual understanding between Korean and British artists and brought together an untold story. This is a notable change given that the previous exhibitions aimed to show Korean culture's excellent aspects via high-quality national treasures and to demonstrate (South) Korea's national competitiveness in globalisation; however, contemporary curatorial approaches, for instance, connect artists' stories to the artwork and art historical significance, such as Bohnchang Koo's artistic connection with Lucie Rie, a potter and student of Bernard Leach, who had received and preserved the jar before it became a part of British Museum's collection.⁶³⁸ Yeesookyung's inspiration for her works in fragments of porcelain, in representing 'everyday life – distant from the royal kiln' and the dark side of the moon (see Figure 40),⁶³⁹ illustrates a rise of 'intrinsic' aspects such as pluralism⁶⁴⁰ or counter-elitism that

⁶³⁸ Samsung Foundation of Culture, 'White Porcelain Series-vessel 2005', *Culture and I* (문화와 나), Fall/Winter 2013, vol. 97, p. 25.

⁶³⁹ Samsung Museum of Art, Leeum, 'Buncheon & White Porcelain: Shadow of the Moon', *The 10th Anniversary Exhibition: Beyond and Between* (18 August–21 December 2014), pp. 48-51.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

had been traditionally ignored. The development of the Full Moon Jar as a piece of empowered Korean art in the British Museum evidences a particular aspect of Korean culture and arts and, at the same time, differentiates the curatorial intention and object interpretation at the British Museum from that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

5.4.2. A Korean Object in *History of the World in 100 Objects* (2012)

To understand a museum's role in cultural diplomacy, it is useful to look at the museum's involvement in cultural practice during large international events, such as the Olympic Games. The Olympics are a 'cultural phenomenon';⁶⁴¹ and an opportunity to understand the host nation's culture as presented to the world. The way the host nation communicates with the world, through official art exhibitions, performances and cultural programmes, signifies their practice of cultural diplomacy. For the museum sector, it is a chance to represent the museum's aims and the cultures contained therein to global audiences, in front of the world's press and media, beyond the national stage. Likewise, the Olympics offer numerous possibilities for producing and reproducing an image of nation-state, both domestically and internationally; hence, it is a vital moment for cultural representation of the host country to the world. Garcia (2008) states that the host nation's representation of culture to the world should consider two dimensions: 'the local and national impacts of the image' and the 'international and global interpretation'.⁶⁴² The British Museum's reinterpretation of world cultures during the 2012 London Summer Olympics as a part of the Cultural Olympiad Programme reflects its globalised curatorial practice.

The role of the British Museum in the Cultural Olympiad Programme, which was to interpret world history through the selection of 100 objects, can be regarded as part of its practice as a 'universal' museum; therefore, it is important to study how Korean culture was interpreted and included in this project to understand that particular culture's representation in a 'universal' project at a global event. This project had a

⁶⁴¹ Beatriz Garcia, 'One Hundred Years of Cultural Programming within the Olympic Games (1912–2012): Origins, Evolution and Projections', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2008), pp. 361–376 (p. 361).

⁶⁴² Ibid, p. 362.

certain limitation: the 100 world cultural objects were selected in accordance with the criteria outlined by the Director of the British Museum, without any engagement from a more widespread community. Director Neil MacGregor's explanation of the object selection reflects the Museum's achievement of its 'universality', as he said the project aimed to be 'geographically and periodically balanced through compelling stories,'⁶⁴³ from the beginning of world history in central Africa, as it 'set up moments of history, all across the globe'.⁶⁴⁴ Its intention, as the Director revealed in interviews, was to engage the audience's interests in the stories more than a textbook alone could.⁶⁴⁵ However, there would be some room for criticism in terms of the subject of interpreting world history within a particular 'universal' museum. Nevertheless, this project is useful for exploring the British Museum's reinterpretation of world cultures and its engagement with Korean objects.

In *A History of the World in 100 Objects*, the Korean objects included was a roof tile (see Figure 41)⁶⁴⁶ excavated from Gyeongju, which was the capital of the Unified Silla Kingdom (668–935). The text describes the function of such tiles in defeating evil auras as representative of both the alterations to the residential environment following the reunification of the Three Kingdoms of Silla and as a symbol of social status.⁶⁴⁷ In relation to the reinterpretation, Korea was referred to as being 'one of the tigers of the Asian economy',⁶⁴⁸ which was followed by a typical explanation of industrial technological development in areas such as mobile phones, cars and televisions; however, this reinterpretation, in the context of world history, outlined the role of ancient Korea in terms of cultural exchanges between the East and West, paying close attention to it being the end point for the Silk Road. Through this one object, Korean culture was connected to the British Museum's rewriting of world history for the project. This is another example of a cross-cultural connection of a Korean object. Previous policies and museum practices were aimed towards promoting Korean cultural

⁶⁴³ ABC News, 'British Museum Director Looks at the Story Behind Objects', 25 March 2011. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjzmGyswHC0>> [accessed 20 April 2017].

⁶⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 313-317.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 313.

uniqueness; as a former curator described,⁶⁴⁹ contemporary cultural representation is more heterogeneous, depending on ‘where you [the readers] are reading it from’,⁶⁵⁰ when it came about and was seen, and which contexts are involved.



**Figure 41: A display of ancient archaeological objects in the Korea Foundation Gallery (above)
Earthenware ridge-end tile decorated with a beast (600–800 AD) (below)
© Taken by the author, 25 November 2011, Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum**

⁶⁴⁹ Charlotte Horlyck and Shascha Priewe, ‘Displaying a Nation: Representations of Korean Art in the United Kingdom’, in Jason Steuber and Allysa Peyton (eds.) *Arts of Korea: Histories, Challenges, and Perspectives* (University of Florida Press, 2018), pp. 90-115.

⁶⁵⁰ Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in 100 Objects*, p. 317.

5.4.3. Popular Culture and the Museum Sector

Recently, the role of K-pop in cultural diplomacy has been a growing part of the management and representation of Korean culture. K-pop culture introduced a wider audience to Korean culture; additionally, it is influential in the museum sector. The staff of the Hungary National Museum visited the National Museum of Korea to request an exhibition of Korean traditional objects in Hungary and a Korean news article stated the reason behind their request to be as follows: ‘Young people are enthusiastic about K-pop, however, not much is known about Korean culture. [Thus] We want to know about the essential nature of Korean culture and its 5,000 years of history’.⁶⁵¹ This ongoing phenomenon of ‘deeply examining Korean culture’⁶⁵² generated from the great interest in Korean popular culture is represented in this particular exhibition request. This request comes from young people who, after being exposed to Korean popular culture, became interested in understanding the traditional culture and history. Because of the popularity of Korean popular culture, museums from around the world have sent in similar requests for collaboration on special exhibitions and programmes on Korean culture.⁶⁵³

With respect to popular culture’s production and reception, ‘cultural imperialism’ is one of the concerns surrounding cultural globalisation. It implies the neo-imperialistic notion that the whole world is ‘being swamped by Western cultures’, particularly American culture;⁶⁵⁴ however, as Robertson argues, this concern ‘underestimates the flow of ideas and practices from the “periphery” to the “centre”’.⁶⁵⁵ K-pop culture is a good example to support this idea, since its locally produced impact has a global

⁶⁵¹ Yun-hee Heo, ‘K-Pop and K-Drama, the Rush of Requests for Exhibiting Korean Cultural Objects from Around the World—From North America/Western Europe to South America/Eastern Europe (K 팝·드라마 빠진 각국서 한국문화재 전시 요청 왜도-美·서유럽뿐 아니라 남미·동유럽까지)’, *Chosun Ilbo*, 9 February 2012

<http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2012/02/09/2012020900140.html> [accessed 16 March 2018].

⁶⁵² Ibid.

⁶⁵³ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁴ Roland Robertson, ‘Globalisation or Glocalisation?’, p. 45.

⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.

influence, a position primarily occupied by Western cultures in modern times, and which is related to the idea of ‘glocalisation’.

The promotion of popular culture is a kind of cultural diplomacy practice that has been carried out since at least the 2000s. As a part of ‘our everyday lives’,⁶⁵⁶ popular culture straightforwardly rejects the elitist characteristics of museums and embraces ‘diverse forms of symbolic expression’ and fewer limitations of class, gender or ethnicity.⁶⁵⁷ The overseas Korean Cultural Centres state that their mission is to promote and spread this ‘Korean Wave’ to develop international cultural exchange. Indeed, the Korean government’s promotion of its popular culture is related to the political use of culture; however, their collaboration with the British Museum in developing Korean cultural programmes illustrates and implicitly engages an element of a mutual understanding between cultures in cultural diplomatic practice.

The Korean Cultural Centre UK’s K-pop Academy is a case that demonstrates the collaboration between South Korean institutions and the Korean gallery of the British Museum in promoting Korean popular culture. Many Korean cultural policy makers and professionals have outlined the traditional cultural identity embedded in K-pop⁶⁵⁸ and have suggested its reinterpretation within this music genre. The K-pop Academy was originally prepared to introduce Korean traditional culture, such as food, language, and so forth, to overseas people interested in Korean culture via K-pop. The participants’ experience of the diversity of Korean culture is an example of a cultural diplomacy practice that can create a long-term impact through allowing a continuous reinterpretation of a museum’s traditional representation of Korean culture.

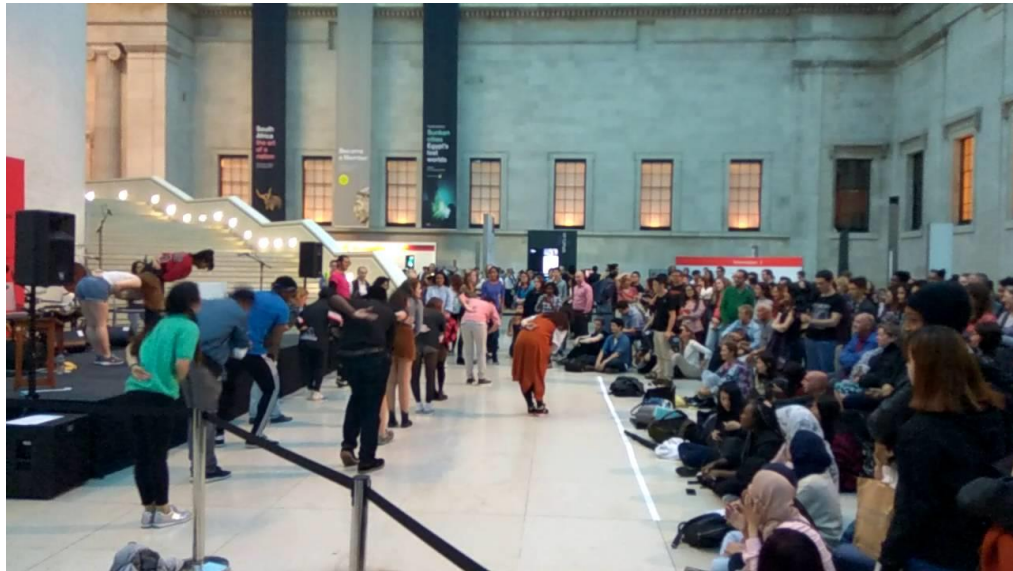
To manage the Korean gallery, curator Eleanor S. Hyun has reinterpreted Korean culture and arts and tried to link traditional and contemporary cultures. The Korean gallery in the British Museum has a close relationship with the Korean Cultural Centre UK, including its annual K-pop Academy programme. Additionally, Hyun’s curating of cultural events during the Korean Thanksgiving holiday included a K-pop dance

⁶⁵⁶ Shirley A. Fedorak, ‘What is Popular Culture?’, Christine Lundberg, and Vassilios Ziakas (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Popular Culture and Tourism* (Routledge, 2018), p. 9.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 15.

⁶⁵⁸ Kwangshik Choe, *Silk Road and Korean Culture* (Seoul: Nanam Publishing House, 2013).

workshop in the Museum's Great Court (see Figure 42); this provides an example of one of the British Museum's methods for the representation of Korean contemporary culture in recent years.



**Figure 42: Performance: K-Pop dance workshop at Great Court as celebrating Chuseok
17 September 2016
© Courtesy of the British Museum**

Nye (2004) listed three key dimensions for sustainable cultural diplomacy: daily communication, strategic communication, and the development of lasting relationships with 'key individuals over many years, through scholarships, exchanges, training and access to media channels'.⁶⁵⁹ The Museum's recent engagement with popular culture and collaborative cultural programmes demonstrates its recent and sustainable cultural diplomacy and museum practice and means the contemporary cultural diplomacy of Korea relies on a broader and more diverse range of culture.

5.5. Conclusion

As a changing approach to cultural diplomacy in the twenty-first century, 'cultural relations' revealed a different way to manage the representation of Korean culture, a point exemplified by the cases of the two 'universal' museums discussed above. In a contemporary cultural context, it is difficult to distinguish or define what national or

⁶⁵⁹ Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, p. 109.

global culture is because the concept of globalisation has ‘involved the simultaneity and the inter-penetration’⁶⁶⁰ of global and local, or universal and particular. Therefore, to understand the representation of a particular culture’s identity in a ‘universal’ museum, no ‘one-to-one relationship between ethnicity and cultural identifiers’⁶⁶¹ is needed. Instead, understanding the ways in which culture is interpreted or reinterpreted is more important because it depends on the curatorial method. As such, this chapter examined the management of Korean culture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum since the 2000s within the context of the changing curatorial nature. The three outcomes of the museums’ cultural diplomacy practices are summarised below.

First, the most remarkable changes in curatorial practices since the 2000s are the strengthened role of the curators in interpreting Korean culture and the collaborative relationship between South Korean institutions and ‘universal’ museums. The professionalism and capability of the ‘universal’ museums’ curators came to be more important in the management of Korean culture than in the previous decades when the South Korean government and cultural institutions played the major role in curation. South Korean institutions, such as the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea, overseas Korean Cultural Centres and the Samsung Foundation of Culture, are still supportive of the Korean galleries, however, the special exhibitions and cultural programmes have been conducted through collaborations at the request of the ‘universal’ museums’ curators. The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s special exhibition, *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (2009), illustrated how important the curator’s role is as the curatorial intention and practice were dominant in interpreting Korean art. *Poetry in Clay: Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art* (2011), which thoroughly interpreted particular kinds of Korean objects, is an example of the Korean art curators’ influence in their collaborations with Korean institutions. The British Museum’s highlight of the Full Moon Jar and opening of cultural programmes during *Object in Focus: The Korean Moon Jar* (2007) and in the Korea Foundation Gallery since the 2010s demonstrate the curators’ capability in the management of Korean culture; further, those curatorial methods can be said to be a characteristic of the British Museum’s management of Korean culture. These factors

⁶⁶⁰ Robertson, ‘Globalisation or Glocalisation?’, p. 38.

⁶⁶¹ David McCrone, ‘Culture and Nation’, in Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 318–337 (p. 329).

that promote collaboration and curators' professionalism are common characteristics within South Korean museum policy and practice as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter.

Second, reinterpretation of Korean culture and arts using diverse approaches to curation is a key shift in the two 'universal' museums' practices. The special exhibitions since the 2000s tend to illuminate a particular part of Korean art history with respect to the world's cultural history. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (2009) and *Poetry in Clay: Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art* (2011) both presented a particular period or a particular kind of object in exhibitions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. They used different methods of interpretation, such as describing both the national and international significance of such objects. The British Museum's *Object in Focus: The Korean Moon Jar* (2007) and their Korean gallery also spotlighted a theme of Korean art and engaged contemporarily reinterpreted artworks involving the Moon Jar using a storytelling method. Remarkably, in contrast to past displays of Korean archaeological objects that represented 'unique' or 'excellent' culture, contemporary museum practice has relatively moved away from an elitist idea of cultural representation and been largely replaced with the rise of the concept of mutual understanding and everyday or popular culture. The Metropolitan Museum of Art's two themed exhibitions, for example, portrayed the rise of everyday arts and culture through objects and displayed contemporary arts with popular implications for traditional culture. Additionally, the British Museum's increased engagement with popular culture through its collaboration with the Korean Cultural Centre UK demonstrates this. Therefore, the space of re-representation of Korean culture in 'universal' museums has been produced through various methods of reinterpretation in the twenty-first century.

Finally, two characteristics of museum practice since the 2000s analysed above reveal that these dissimilar methods of curating Korean culture have a relevance to the concept of 'glocalisation'. The two 'universal' museums' dissimilar ways of reinterpreting Korean culture demonstrate a heterogeneous facet of globalisation. If the establishment of the Korean gallery during the 1990s is analysed as an achievement of the global aim of South Korean cultural diplomacy and international museum practice, the diverse ways of curating Korean art from the 2000s can be said to add a local aspect to the

global aspect of museum management. The representation of Korean culture was not uniformly developed in the same way throughout all representations; this contributed to the avoidance of a homogeneous interpretation of Korean cultural identity. Representing Korean culture as a particular culture in a ‘universal’ museum was an achievement of the museums’ universal values and South Korean cultural diplomacy goals in the 1990s; however, since the 2000s, Korean culture’s representation has come to be more relatable to other world cultures. In addition to the examples above, the British Museum’s inclusion of a Korean object in the reinterpretation of world culture in *History of the World in 100 Objects* is a good example of Korean art being interpreted differently. These museum practices reflect the divergent curations of Korean art in different museums in different nations in contemporary times.

Recent museum practices devalue hierarchical curatorial relationships and generate a more diverse way of interpreting and representing Korean culture, producing ‘global variety’.⁶⁶² Museum practices since the 2000s are helpful in understanding ‘cultural relations’, the cultural diplomacy practice of the twenty-first century.

⁶⁶² Robertson, ‘Globalisation or Glocalisation?’, p. 47.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis has aimed to consolidate the analysis of cultural diplomacy policy in relation to international museum practice in the case of South Korea. Cultural policy and museums are interdependently related to each other; empirical studies of both fields make it possible to scrutinise how their relationships have undergone a transformation through historical change. Concentrated on the notion of ‘instrumental uses of culture’, ‘historical specificity’ and ‘meaning-making process’, this research has linked an analysis of the historical development of South Korean cultural diplomacy with international exhibitions of Korean culture in ‘universal’ museums. I argue that South Korean cultural diplomacy experienced three stages of transformation in its development and that the use of international exhibitions and the curatorial process in ‘universal’ museums have also shifted within this change in cultural diplomacy (see Appendix 6 for the summary of the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice). Exhibiting Korean culture in ‘universal’ museums is *intrinsically instrumental*⁶⁶³ and political because the procedure of interpreting cultural materials entails the cultural-diplomatic intentions of the exhibition. On the other hand, the roles of international exhibitions have become less ‘instrumental’ as the aim of cultural diplomacy policy and the main agencies of museum practice transformed as times changed.

This research provides an empirical approach to the cultural diplomacy and museum studies⁶⁶⁴ regarding the geopolitical context of South Korea. Through the comprehensive analysis of archival material, semi-structured interviews and fieldtrip observations in the three nations of South Korea, the USA and the UK, this thesis has provided an analysis of the transitions between the three stages of cultural diplomacy. This chapter is a summary of the major significant conclusions drawn from key research findings in the previous chapters. The next three sections encapsulate the major contributions of this research project along with the threefold original discussion: the

⁶⁶³ Hye-kyung Lee, *Cultural Policy in South Korea: Making a New Patron State* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 9.

⁶⁶⁴ Melissa Nisbett and James Doeser, *The Art of Soft Power: A Study of Cultural Diplomacy at the UN Office in Geneva* (London: King’s College London, 2017), p. 13.

development of South Korean cultural diplomacy, the use of international exhibitions and the curation of Korean culture and the role of ‘universal’ museums in cultural diplomacy.

Section 6.1. outlines the main characteristic of each stage of development of South Korean cultural diplomacy from the mid-twentieth century to the early twenty-first century in relation to key political, economic or cultural factors. This section recaps the argument of this thesis regarding how South Korean cultural diplomacy has been constituted historically. Section 6.2. articulates the use of international exhibitions and Korean cultural materials therein for the development of national identities. The section encapsulates the argument of this thesis regarding the articulation of the ways in which Korean cultural identity has been constructed in different processes of curation across different times and spaces. Section 6.3. discusses the role of international ‘universal’ museums as a space for the development of the representation of a particular cultural identity. This section also discusses potential issues with representing culture in ‘universal’ museums. Section 6.4. reflects and identifies the limits of this research and how they may be overcome for further study development. At the same time, the implications of recently established cultural diplomacy legislation for the development of further study are identified. Section 6.5. concludes this chapter by noting the necessity of continuous articulation of the representation of culture with a balanced lens of cultural policy and museum practice for further development in fluctuating historical specificities.

6.1. Three Stages of South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Development

The first contribution of this research is the analysis of the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy characterising three distinct stages from the second half of the twentieth century to the present. This offers a new insight for the field of cultural diplomacy studies as a specific part of cultural policy studies by adding the South Korean geopolitical context. Chapter Two presented a detailed analysis on the shift of the aims of South Korean cultural diplomacy and established a conceptual framework for understanding its stages of development. Regarding the social, economic and political changes in South Korea and the instrumental roles of culture in those changes, Chapter Two traced the ways in which culture has been used in the South Korean

national development. This analysis is also referenced in Chapters Three to Five to provide the political contexts of international exhibitions. The three periods of transformation in cultural diplomacy identified are the Cold War, the 1990s and the 2000s onwards, which are closely related to the changes in national development.

The first development stage of South Korean cultural diplomacy is referred to as ‘public diplomacy’, as a public information role is the best way to express the character of cultural diplomacy from the end of WWII to the end of the Cold War. During this period, culture played the most instrumental role as a means for the government to construct and shape a South Korean national identity and ‘South Korean citizens’ subjecthood’.⁶⁶⁵ While achieving notable economic success and social development during the two decades of the 1960s and the 1970s, the South Korean government implemented cultural diplomacy in an effort to develop the international image of the nation. Bennett’s (1998) concept on the instrumental use of culture was useful to understand the ways in which the South Korean government implemented culture in promoting its liberal democratic image during the Cold War. Thus, culture had a propagandistic role of removing a negative image caused by the destructive effects of war and, instead, showing a positive image of a developing country⁶⁶⁶ to international society.

The reinforced role of cultural and cultural diplomatic institutions in practising ‘cultural diplomacy’ in a globalising world is the most notable nature of South Korean cultural diplomacy in the 1990s. As discussed in Chapter Two (Section 2.2.) and Chapter Four, the 1990s was a transitional period for South Korea’s cultural diplomacy policy and practice. There was the drastic increase in funding for cultural diplomacy as the government recognised the need for the development of international cultural exchange for long-term cultural development. A long-term cultural policy development plan, the Ten-Year Plan for Culture Development 1990, led to diverse cultural institutions’ engagement with international cultural exchange, as it proposed that the cultural budget

⁶⁶⁵ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The Fifth President’s Inaugural Address* (제5대 대통령 취임사), 17 December 1963 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

⁶⁶⁶ The Compilation Committee (ed), *The 100 Years History of Korean Museums 1909–2009* (한국박물관 100 년사) (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2009), p. 894.

be increased by 30% annually from 1991.⁶⁶⁷ Even though the allocated budget for culture was less than 1% of the total national budget, this reflects significant change in cultural diplomacy development.

The establishment of Korean galleries in overseas museums during this time exemplifies how the practice is related to the policy. Economic, social and political values became much less important in cultural diplomacy from the late 1990s; instead, cultural diplomatic institutions, such as the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea and private cultural foundations, began to drive overseas Korean cultural representation to promote Korean culture. This transformation in South Korean cultural diplomacy was opportunely met with a broader change in the global system, with events such as the collapse of the Cold War in 1991, and the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs pushing forward ‘multilateral’ diplomacy,⁶⁶⁸ which broadened the space for the representation of Korean culture as diplomatic geography widened.

Korean culture began to be understood in terms of its relatively less instrumental role during the ‘cultural relations’ stage, which refers to cultural diplomacy starting in the 2000s. Chapter Two (Section 2.3.) and Chapter Five explored the recent inclination toward a cultural diplomacy policy and practice that pursues a mutual understanding. The development of the Korean cultural industries helped to achieve these cultural policy aims to present Korean culture to a global audience in the twenty-first century. In contrast to the previous cultural diplomacy policies that constructed South Korean citizenship with an emphasis on national identity, cultural policy from the 2000s highlights the notion of a ‘global citizen’.⁶⁶⁹ In museum practice, museum professionals have reinterpreted traditional Korean cultural material within the context of cultures of the world or contemporary art by developing different curatorial methods rather than directly responding to a diplomatic agenda.

⁶⁶⁷ National Archives of Korea: Cultural Property Administration Bureau, CA0016623, ‘Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development: Works for Mid-Term Financial Plan 1992–1996’, 4 November 1989.

⁶⁶⁸ Geoff R. Berridge and Alan James, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, pp. 176–177.

⁶⁶⁹ National Archives of Korea: Presidential Archives, *The 90th Radio and Internet Speech*, ‘Global Village’s Ocean Festival: Please Come to the Yeosu World Expo with Your Family’ (제90차 라디오 인터넷 연설, ‘지구촌 바다 축제, 여수세계박람회를 가족과 함께 많이 찾아 주십시오’), 14 May 2012 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 10 October 2017].

The three stages of South Korean cultural diplomacy development framed above are all examples of cultural diplomacy, although they have been named ‘public diplomacy’, ‘cultural diplomacy’ and ‘cultural relations’ in an effort to distinguish each period. This articulation of the stages proves how the level of ‘instrumental’ use of culture can be a standard that compares the different stages of cultural policy development in different historical contexts. During South Korean cultural diplomacy’s evolution from the 1960s to the present, Korean exhibitions overseas and a process of interpreting Korean cultural identity have been transformed accordingly, as discussed in the next section.

6.2. The Use of International Exhibitions and Curation of Korean Culture

Inherently, international exhibitions play a diplomatic and instrumental role, although the levels of engagement of instrumental roles have historically shifted. This thesis has argued that it is important to understand the meaning-making process of curation⁶⁷⁰ to articulate how Korean cultural identity is ‘made up as subject’⁶⁷¹ internationally. Chapters Three to Five unveiled the ways in which international exhibitions on Korean art are related to the development of South Korean cultural diplomacy. A diverse range of curatorial agencies, such as the government, cultural (diplomatic) institutions and curators, have been involved in the construction of Korean cultural identity using Korean cultural materials. This demonstrates the relationship between cultural diplomacy and museum practice.

Chapter Three explored the use of two travelling exhibitions during the Cold War — *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) and *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) — as they are the preeminent examples to elucidate how the governments of the USA and South Korea used international exhibitions instrumentally. This provides a theoretical linkage between cultural policy and museum studies through the concept of instrumental uses of culture. The USA government supported South Korean cultural development and exhibitions to foster its political ideology of liberal democracy in the 1950s. In the 1960s, South Korean cultural diplomacy policy aimed to promote the established nation-state’s political stance internationally, and the travelling exhibitions

⁶⁷⁰ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, p. 148; Bennett et al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, p. 173.

⁶⁷¹ Rose, ‘Identity, Genealogy, History’, pp. 128–150.

were responsible for delivering its political aims. In this context, interpreting Korean culture and its uniqueness was an effective way to construct a national identity, as led by the USA and South Korean social elites. To contrast against their Cold War enemies, such as the communist bloc including China and North Korea, and to change the image of being a former colony of Japan (1910–1945), it was necessary to distinguish Korean culture from Chinese and Japanese cultures. The excavation of the ‘uniqueness’ of Korean culture is significant because of its influence on the interpretation of Korean materials in *5000 Years of Korean Art*. Both exhibitions were invited to European nations that commonly had an allied relationship with South Korea and were an allied nation of liberal democracy in the Cold War, including the UK (1961 and 1984), Netherlands (1961), France (1961 – 1962), West Germany (1962 and 1985), Austria (1962) and Japan (1976). They sustained the interpretations and materials of Korean culture developed in the exhibition in the US. This understanding of the curatorial relationship between the US and South Korea was important to comprehend the construction of Korean cultural identity in overseas museums.

Masterpieces of Korean Art (1957–1962), the first travelling exhibition of Korean cultural materials overseas, had the most political elements. The USA government (specifically the Department of State) and political and military elites, as powerful influencers in South Korea and because of existing friendly relationships with the South Korean president, strongly supported the exhibition. They financially aided not only the exhibition but also the further development of the South Korean cultural sector. In museum practice, the construction of a unique cultural identity using Korean cultural materials to present Korea’s national identity as different from communist China or former coloniser Japan was made by a final agreement between the Director of the National Museum of Korea and the Head of the Asian Art Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art as the representative USA museum curator. This evidences how the American museums played a key role in the construction of Korean identity in the Cold War. The *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) exhibit was held before the South Korean cultural policy legislation was complete; therefore, social-political elites, such as the South Korean president, ministers and director of the National Museum of Korea, were mainly and directly involved in the exhibition.

The *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985) exhibit continued the representation of Korean culture’s uniqueness using almost the same objects as *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962). The emphasis on expressing Korean cultural uniqueness remained the dominate focus during the Cold War. Responding to the shift in the political nature of the development of South Korean cultural policy from the 1960s, the National Museum of Korea and the South Korean government was able to independently curate and prepare the exhibition without the financial support of the USA. The exhibition was timely in promoting South Korea’s national development after achieving substantial economic and social development during the 1960s and 1970s; particularly, an exhibition in Japan in 1976 was momentous in the making of a conciliatory atmosphere between the nations of Japan and South Korea after the normalisation of diplomatic relations in 1965. The exhibition played a role in asserting Korean culture’s long history and independent origins in opposition to the representation of colonial Japan’s cultural assimilation policy.⁶⁷² In this way, the travelling exhibitions of the Cold War were used to consolidate political roles and to promote South Korea’s national image.

Chapter Four examined the use of Korean exhibitions in the 1990s, illuminating the significance of the establishment of permanent exhibition spaces to represent Korean culture and identity in globally renowned museums. As analysed in Chapter Two, the promotion of Korean culture overseas was strategically planned with a long-term aim. South Korea’s cultural (diplomatic) institutions, such as the Korea Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, worked cooperatively to establish permanent Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums by negotiating the Korean gallery space and by supporting the budget and materials. As explored in Chapter Four, the curation of Korean culture during the 1990s can be best understood as characterised by the cooperation between cultural institutions; not only between South Korean institutions and two ministries (of Foreign Affairs and Culture), but also between South Korean institutions and ‘universal’ museums. The overall process of the establishment of two Korean galleries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1998 and in the British Museum in 2000, from the pre-negotiation stage to the opening of the gallery, demonstrated that museum practice was less instrumental and had fewer propaganda aspects, but more institutional aspects than the Cold War exhibitions.

⁶⁷² Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 361-372.

The specific procedures for opening the permanent Korean gallery spaces in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum were different, and these differences reflect how museum practice relies on its context. The Metropolitan Museum of Art is the museum that played a pivotal role in curating Korean culture since the first US exhibitions in 1957; however, the establishment of the permanent space for Korean culture took several decades because of two reasons. First, it took until the 1980s for the South Korean government to acknowledge the need for installing the gallery. The Korean gallery was eventually facilitated by the support of the Korea Foundation, the National Museum of Korea and the Samsung Foundation for Culture in the 1990s. Second, the Korean gallery was the final step to completing the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Masterplan 1970, which aimed to present world art. The Museum's lack of a Korean collection and space caused the delay of the establishment. Further, instead of emphasising cultural uniqueness as was done with the travelling exhibitions, the gallery noted the significant meaning of the permanent Korean cultural space when opening the gallery, indicating a major shift in interpreting Korean culture in the 1990s.

Comparably, the case of the British Museum's establishment of the Korea Foundation Gallery can be said to be a good example of cultural diplomacy practice of the 1990s. The discussion of establishing the Korea Foundation Gallery involved curatorial exchange as well as the support of the Korean Embassy in London. The British Museum curator's visit and stay in South Korea, invited by the government, deepened her understanding of Korean culture and helped her in curating Korean culture within the British Museum. Particularly, a traditional scholarly room, or *Sarangbang*, was constructed in the Korean gallery in the same manner as the one in the National Museum of Korea, signifying the British Museum's desire to accurately represent Korean cultural identity. There is an important point to be made concerning the permanent Korean gallery space's role as a 'starting point'⁶⁷³ for the re-representation of Korean culture on a global level. The space is where Korean cultural identity can be continuously rearticulated and where cultural diplomacy is practised.

⁶⁷³ Keum-jin Yoon, interview by author, phone recorder, Seoul, 30 January 2018, the National Museum of Korea.

Chapter Five illustrated how two ‘universal’ museums used Korean materials differently and curated Korean culture in a diverse way through special exhibitions and cultural programmes starting in the 2000s. The curators’ roles have been enhanced in interpreting and exhibiting Korean culture while the support of the South Korean government and institutions has taken on the role of collaborator. Chapter Five brought in the concept of glocalisation to analyse the temporality and locality of contemporary museum practice. The two case study museums expanded the rearticulation of Korean cultural materials in different ways. The Metropolitan Museum of Art continued its collaborative relationships with the Samsung Foundation for Culture and curated thematic exhibitions to reinterpret Korean culture. Rather than displaying comprehensive objects in one space, such as with previous travelling exhibitions or the opening of the Korea Foundation Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum of Art focused on illuminating a particular aspect or kind of Korean cultural history in depth. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (2009) and *Poetry in Clay: Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art* (2011) are instances of such a change. The British Museum used diverse means in their curatorial method by juxtaposing reinterpreted contemporary artworks, particularly the Full Moon Jar, and by including a Korean archaeological object in the Museum’s *History of the World in 100 Objects* as part of the 2012 London Olympics Cultural Olympiad Programme. The engagement of Korean popular culture with the museum sector in collaboration with the Korean Cultural Centre UK is a noticeable trait of a localised characteristic in the reinterpretation of Korean culture. The use of Korean materials in this diverse method of reinterpretation in ‘universal’ museums signifies a relatively accelerated rearticulation of Korean cultural identity since the 2000s.

The development and articulation of Korean national identity has transformed over time as South Korea developed a cultural diplomacy policy. The historical context of national development affected the ways in which a diverse range of agencies interpreted Korean culture in international exhibits. The change in the usage and curatorial methods of Korean exhibitions in ‘universal’ museums underscores the intertwined relationship between cultural diplomacy policy and museum practice.

6.3. The Role of ‘Universal’ Museums in Cultural Diplomacy

Analysing the ‘universal’ museums’ role in developing specific culture’s identities and in cultural diplomacy is valuable in order to understand South Korea’s cultural diplomacy. The ‘universal’ museums should not construct ‘universal rules and the concept of a total history’,⁶⁷⁴ and they have to reject a certain absolute authority when interpreting cultures.⁶⁷⁵ The ‘universal’ museum’s contribution to making a national identity should not be underestimated because ‘historical reality’⁶⁷⁶ and context are ceaselessly changing. The ‘universal’ museums’ mission states that their global role is serving not merely the citizens of each nation but global audiences of every nation;⁶⁷⁷ therefore, the presence of Korean culture in ‘world culture and arts’⁶⁷⁸ has significant meaning in constructing a Korean cultural identity overseas. This section discusses the roles played by ‘universal’ museums in South Korean cultural diplomacy and what the potential issues of this might be.

In fact, Korean cultural representation has been influenced by different curatorial intentions in accordance with changes in the cultural diplomacy environment. This thesis has analysed the research of two ‘universal’ museums, the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the British Museum. Their roles were both similar and different in the construction of Korean cultural identity from the post-WWII era to the present.

The relationship between the Metropolitan Museum of Art and South Korean cultural diplomacy revealed the overall historical development of a Korean national identity. A curatorial staff member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art⁶⁷⁹ participated in the construction of Korean cultural identity in the first travelling exhibition, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962), on behalf of the USA museums. As analysed through media and exhibition reports in Chapter Three, the exhibition successfully delivered the

⁶⁷⁴ Lord, ‘Foucault’s Museum: Difference, Representation and Genealogy’, p. 1.

⁶⁷⁵ Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*.

⁶⁷⁶ Geoffrey Lewis, ‘A Debated Museum Concept: Partnership in Universality’, *Museum International* (ICOM, 2004), vol. 56, no. 4, pp. 40–45 (p. 42).

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 41.

⁶⁷⁸ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Charter By-Laws Mission Statement*, 1 March 2011, p. 45; The British Museum, *Towards 2020: The British Museum’s Strategy*, 2012.

⁶⁷⁹ Alan Priest, curator of Far Eastern Asia.

Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, ‘Department of State for the Press’, 17 September 1956, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art.

‘unique’ characteristic of Korean culture intended to represent an independent and liberal Korean national identity. The Museum effectively presented the United States’ political position as a representative nation of liberal democracy using the Korean exhibition and by supporting South Korea’s cultural development. On the other hand, the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s provision of the permanent space for exhibiting Korean art, opened in 1998, was made to accomplish its universal Masterplan in 1970. The Museum came to be a provider of South Korean cultural diplomacy practice, allowing Korean cultural identity to be permanently represented. Collaborative curation in the 2000s with the Samsung Culture Foundation and the National Museum of Korea, such as in *Poetry in Clay* (2011), shows how universal museums can sustain a cultural diplomatic relationship with South Korean cultural institutions.

The cooperative relationship between South Korean ministries and cultural diplomatic institutions and the British Museum demonstrates the turning-point of South Korean cultural diplomacy practice over the decade of the 1990s. The British Museum’s project on Korean cultural development, after recognising South Korean economic achievements and a need for cultural engagement when renovating its Asian galleries in the late 1980s, indicates the British Museum’s active role in cultural diplomacy. From the first step of the British Museum’s initiation of installing a Korean gallery in 1991, the Museum formed a close relationship with South Korean ministries and institutions, and their Director officially visited Korea to negotiate this support. The Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Embassy to the UK, the Korea Foundation, the Ministry of Culture and the National Museum of Korea were all supportive of the project achieving South Korean cultural diplomacy aims as delineated in Chapter Four (Section 4.4.). The British Museum’s reinterpretation of Korean culture from the 2000s is significant in South Korean cultural diplomacy as it relates its policy aims that continuously interpret Korean culture by pursuing mutual values between cultures.

The ‘universal’ museums, as institutions for cultural diplomacy, have some room to raise cultural-political issues. For instance, when the British Museum displayed North Korean propaganda posters in front of the Korea Foundation Gallery in 2002, South Korean media criticised it and called for the removal of North Korean objects from the Korean gallery; presently, several North Korean objects are displayed separately in a small display case, far from the Korea Foundation Gallery as mentioned in Chapter Five

(Section 5.4.). Because the Korean gallery is supported by and cooperates with the South Korean government and institutions, displaying contemporary North Korean art in the Korean gallery generates a tension. Through the museum practice, the archaeological and traditional Korean materials from the shared historical periods prior to the national division have been displayed in the Korea Foundation Gallery aiming to represent Korean culture. In short, the development of national identity through material culture in ‘universal’ museums must be regarded as a practice of cultural diplomacy; it relies on the subject of the interpreter and curatorial intentions.

6.4. Limitations, Reflection and Further Study Development

To conduct this research, I maintained an emphasis on contextual analysis in investigating the variations of South Korean cultural diplomacy and Korean culture’s representation in different times and spaces. My research resources, thus, had to be collected from a range of institutions across the nations of South Korea, the USA and the UK in order to supplement the evidence of each nation’s materials. This presented particular challenges, for example, the Korean exhibitions’ relevant documentation, particularly of the two travelling exhibitions in the Cold War, are rare and have not been recorded well in South Korea. There are official catalogues and exhibition reports produced by the Korean Ministry of Education or Ministry of Foreign Affairs; however, these make the contextual studies of curatorial discourse impossible because of the lack of empirical resources. Therefore, the internal correspondence of the previous travelling exhibitions, *Masterpieces of Korean Art* (1957–1962) and *5000 Years of Korean Art* (1976–1985), which exist in the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s archive, was relied upon. The British Museum maintains abundant correspondence from the process of establishing the Korea Foundation Gallery, which was useful in analysing the practices of the 1990s. The materials of other exhibition cases, such as contemporary special exhibitions and cultural programmes, were investigated through accessing the archives of both the South Korean and the two case study museums. These research methods allowed me to overcome the limitations of field research which could not be achieved through the limited materials that were separately preserved either in South Korea or in museums in the USA and UK.

The qualitative interview question on the interviewees' notion of cultural diplomacy presented to the interviewees the terms, 'public diplomacy', 'cultural diplomacy' and 'cultural relations'. The three terms were based on my exploration of the cultural policy literature and archival document analysis. In essence, these terms provided the interviewees with a cultural diplomacy 'tool', which enabled them to conceptualise and articulate their practice according to the developmental stages of cultural diplomacy, thus contributing to the analysis of the notion of South Korean cultural diplomacy development with their experiences of policy and practice while corroborating the validity of the constructs represented by these terms. Methodologically, the interview therefore had a dual role on one hand to generate empirical data relating to the three stages of cultural diplomacy, and on the other hand to empirically validate these same stages.

Recent legislation on cultural diplomacy from the pertinent ministries of South Korea — the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Culture — are worth discussing for their significance to the further development of cultural diplomacy. The Public Diplomacy Act of 2016, established by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, documents their view on cultural diplomacy. The Act still regards culture as one of the means of progressing diplomatic activity. Article 2 states the aims and definition of this Act:

'Public diplomacy' in this Act means diplomatic activities through which the State promotes foreign nationals' understanding of, and enhances their confidence in, the Republic of [South] Korea directly or in cooperation with local governments or the private sector based on culture, knowledge, policies, etc.⁶⁸⁰

The Korea Foundation plays independent institutional roles in supporting international cultural programmes and exhibitions, however, the referenced Act of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs still tends to consider culture and international cultural activities to be promoting diplomatic activities.

⁶⁸⁰ National Law Information Center, Public Diplomacy Act, Act No. 13951, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 3 February 2016.

A recently established Act by the Korean Ministry of Culture entails comprehensive⁶⁸¹ and integrative cultural diplomacy legislation. The International Cultural Exchange Promotion Act of 2017 includes not only the government's support for contemporary Korean culture but also its concern for universal cultural values. Its perception of a need for Korean culture's harmonious engagement with world cultures 'to contribute to the development of the world culture by enhancing the "understanding of the mutual" culture' (Article 1)⁶⁸² reflects recent changes in the nature of cultural diplomacy. According to Article 2, international cultural exchange is defined as, 'international cooperation and activities carried out for the purpose of the promotion of an understanding of mutual culture'.⁶⁸³

Compared to the previous cultural diplomacy policy goals, this is a significant change towards valuing mutual understanding rather than just promoting a national image via cultural diplomacy activities. As these two new cultural diplomacy Acts epitomise, cultural diplomacy policy is complementary and sustainably pursues both cultural and diplomatic values. Although the gaps between the representations of Korean culture in national and international arenas is narrowing down owing to the evolution of cultural diplomacy, the political nature of cultural diplomacy cannot be reduced since culture and diplomacy ultimately go together. This ever-changing fact of 'historical specificity' of cultural diplomacy opens further co-articulation for the fields of cultural policy and museum practice, for the sustainable development and understanding within a given context.

⁶⁸¹ This Act includes the content of the Culture and Arts Promotion Act, the Museum and Art Gallery Support Act, the Framework Act on the Promotion of the Cultural Industry, the Contents Industry Promotion Act, the Popular Culture and Arts Industry Development Act, etc.
Source: Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. 21 March 2017. International Cultural Exchange Promotion Act, Act No. 14627, Korea: National Law Information Center.

⁶⁸² Ibid.

⁶⁸³ Ibid.

6.5. Conclusion

It is worth reiterating that the making and shaping of national and cultural identity varies in accordance with time and space. Every historical context is not a totality but a ‘thin slice of time’⁶⁸⁴ and, thus, requires a contextual analysis of each layer of specificity. Museum exhibitions continuously produce new social meaning and ‘epistemological realities’; at the same time, they ally with social and political agents to reproduce specific meanings.⁶⁸⁵ The development of South Korean cultural diplomacy and the changes in interpretation of cultural identity asserts the point that historical specificity creates a variation of cultural policy and practice. As Hall (1999) puts it, ‘the one is not made a condition of the other’.⁶⁸⁶ Likewise, each development stage of cultural diplomacy is not a condition of the next stage and, thus, is unpredictable. Examining discourses of cultural diplomacy policy and relevant museum practices requires an ‘open-ended analysis’,⁶⁸⁷ so far as time flows.

⁶⁸⁴ Simon, J. Knell (ed), ‘The Museum in the Global Contemporary’, *The Contemporary Museum: Shaping Museums for the Global Now* (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 1-10 (p. 2).

⁶⁸⁵ Tony Bennett et al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 13.

⁶⁸⁶ Stuart Hall, ‘Culture, Community, Nation’, in David Boswell and Jessica Evans (eds), *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 33-44 (p. 42).

⁶⁸⁷ Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, p. 10.

Appendixes

Appendix 1. Letter of Interview Invitation

Dear (interviewee's name),

I am a PhD candidate at the School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester. My PhD project, 'Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation: South Korea's Cultural Diplomacy and the Korean Exhibitions in "Universal" Museums', seeks to analyse South Korea's cultural diplomacy and curatorial practices in relation to Korean galleries and travelling/special exhibitions in the representative overseas museums.

For the purposes of this research, I would like to invite you to an interview, through which I hope to find out about the cultural diplomacy policy and practice, the roles of ministry of culture and ministry of foreign affairs in cultural diplomacy, and the negotiations between South Korea and cultural institutions. The interview will consist of semi-structured questions, which you will be kindly asked to answer through conversation and discussion. With your permission, I may then ask a few further questions to clarify your answers as needed. I estimate that the interview will take around an hour.

The interview will be recorded and transcribed and the resulting data will be used in my thesis and related academic publications and conference presentations. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time before I commence writing up my thesis at the end of 2018. The research will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics, which can be viewed at <https://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/ethics/code/code>. If you have any questions about the ethical conduct of this research please contact the Museum Studies School Research Ethics Officer, Dr Giasemi Vavoula, on gv18@le.ac.uk.

I will provide you with a consent form where there are a number of options for you to give permission as to levels of confidentiality. Material you provide as part of this study will be securely stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I will be happy to answer any further questions you might have regarding this interview.

I would be grateful if you could please, after reading this information sheet, reply to this email to indicate your decision regarding taking part in this study, by including in your email one of the following statements:

1. I have read the relevant information sheet about the project 'Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation: South Korea's cultural diplomacy and the Korean Exhibitions in "Universal" Museums', I understand that I have the right to withdraw at any time, and I consent to be interviewed by Sumi Kim. I request that my real name and institutional affiliation be connected with the answers/comments I provide.

2. I have read the relevant information sheet about the project ‘Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation: South Korea’s cultural diplomacy and the Korean Exhibitions in “Universal” Museums’, I understand that I have the right to withdraw at any time, and I consent to be interviewed by Sumi Kim. I give permission for my institutional affiliation to be connected with the answers/comments I provide, but I request that I remain anonymous.

3. I have read the relevant information sheet about the project ‘Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation: South Korea’s cultural diplomacy and the Korean Exhibitions in “Universal” Museums’, I understand that I have the right to withdraw at any time, and I consent to be interviewed by Sumi Kim. I request that my answers/comments are presented anonymously with no mention of my institutional affiliation.

4. I do not consent to be interviewed.

Thank you very much.

Best wishes,
Sumi Kim

Appendix 2. Research Consent Form

Research Consent Form

I agree to take part in the ‘Curating Culture, Exhibiting Nation: South Korea’s Cultural Diplomacy and the Korean Exhibitions in “Universal” Museums’ study which is research towards a PhD in 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 <https://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/ethics/code/code>.

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	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I have understood and had an opportunity to read about the Data Protection Act implications involved in this study and have been made aware that all confidential data will be domiciled securely in the University of Leicester in secure place in the UK for the duration of this PhD	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I can withdraw from the study by the end of 2018	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to the interview being recorded and my words being used in a student PhD thesis	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to my words being used in related academic publications, including on the Internet	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
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	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
The title of my position	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
My institutional affiliation	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>
I request that my real name is acknowledged in any publications that references the comments that I have made	Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	No	<input type="checkbox"/>

Name [PRINT]

Signature Date

.....

Appendix 3. The Semi-Structured Interview Routine

The interview routine was as follows:

1. Identification of the interviewees during the archival research
2. Designation of analytical common and individual questions (around 10 each) to every interviewee:
 - (1) Common interview questions
 - How do you define ‘cultural diplomacy’ and how do you distinguish it from ‘public diplomacy’ and ‘international cultural exchange/cooperate on/relationships’?
 - One of the main aims of South Korea’s cultural (diplomatic) policies and acts has been described as the promotion of the country’s ‘unique cultural identity’. How has this term influenced your museum (or curatorial) practice?
 - What do you (the institution) focus on or regard as having the most important potential impact – social/cultural, political, or economic promotion – while developing or supporting Korean exhibitions, permanent galleries, or cultural programmes in overseas museums?
 - (2) Individual interview questions (see Table 4 and Appendix 4 for the key topics)
3. Contact and invitation: sending a formal Letter of Interview Invitation, which had been approved by the University of Leicester’s Ethics Committee on 6 June 2017, along with prepared research questions. A personal letter was additionally sent, introducing the research project in detail, explaining the specific topics I hope to hear more about and why, and indicating why it is significant to ask the interviewees.
4. Interview: by keeping the initial interpretations in mind, guiding the interviewee towards the proposed topics in an ethical manner, while being considerate of their cultural background and social position was important. The whole interview was recorded using the phone recorder and key topics and the main points were noted for initial analysis.
5. More in-depth and follow-up interviews: further interviews were conducted with some interviewees in order to obtain details about particular topics identified through the conducted interviews. This more constructive micro-approach allowed for longer-term research effects, by constructing a relationship between the researcher and the interviewees.
6. Analysis: based on the initial analysis and notes, an identification on which interview content would be used to analyse each chapter was made. Then, relistening to the recorded files to check the accuracy of initial analysis and for making the quotations while writing the thesis.

Appendix 4. Full List of Interviews

#	Date	Interviewee	Related Institution Affiliation ⁶⁸⁸	Key Topics of Individual Questions
1	[2016] 21 Sep	Dong-ho Kim	(Former) • Government official, Korean Ministry of Culture and Public Information (1961–1992) • Vice-minister, Korean Ministry of Culture and Public Information (1992–1993) • Committee of Cultural Diplomacy, Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Chairman, Busan International Film Festival (on the interview)	• Historical development of cultural policy of Ministry of Culture and Information • Korean culture programme overseas and role of museums
2	[2017] 24 Nov	(Anonymity)	• Government official, Korean Ministry of Culture	• Management of overseas Korean galleries
3	13 Dec	Jong-seok Kim	• Curator of Cultural Relations and Publicity Division, the National Museum of Korea	• The National Museum of Korea's participation in the international cultural organisations: ICOM and UNESCO
4	[2018] 15 Jan	Sang-hoon Jang	• Head of Exhibition Division, the National Museum of Korea	• The National Museum of Korea's Overseas Korean gallery management
5	23 Jan	Jong-seok Kim	• Curator of Cultural Relations and Publicity Division, the National Museum of Korea	• Practice of international relations with overseas museums
6	30 Jan	Keum-jin Yoon	• President of Cultural Foundation, the National Museum of Korea • (Former) Executive vice president, the Korea Foundation	• The Korea Foundation's overseas Korean gallery establishment and negotiations
7	2 Feb	Seok-yeong Choe	• Director, National Museum of Performing Art • (Former) Senior curator, National Folk Museum of Korea • (Former) Professor of Museum Studies of universities in Korea	• Korean cultural representations and material culture • Korean museum studies • Contemporary cultural performances and museum
8	23 Feb	Ji-yoon Jo	• Curator, Samsung Museum of Art – Leeum	• Leeum's collaboration with the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean exhibition
9	27 Feb	Ki-won Hong	• Associate Professor of Graduate School of Public Policy, Seoul: Sookmyung Women's University	• Korea's cultural diplomacy studies • View of overseas Korea galleries and cultural programmes

⁶⁸⁸ The affiliated institutions and positions written are based on the date that interviews were conducted (when interviewees signed the Consent Form). Note on former affiliations: only affiliations that are related to the interview questions are included in the table.

#	Date	Interviewee	Related Institution Affiliation ⁶⁸⁸	Key Topics of Individual Questions
10	6 Apr	So-young Lee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • (Former) Curator of Arts of Korea gallery, Department of Asian Art, Met (on the interview) • Chief curator of Harvard Art Museum (from September 2018) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metropolitan Museum of Art's special exhibition, curating and management of Korean gallery
11	4 May	Hoseong Yong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Korean Cultural Centre UK • Government official of Korean Ministry of Culture • (Former) Professor of Art Management, Korean National University of Art 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legislation of cultural acts • Collaboration with the British Museum • Management of cultural programme in the UK
12	5 Jul	Hong-nam Kim	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emeritus professor of Art History, Seoul: Ewha Womans University • (Former) Director, the National Museum of Korea • (Former) Director, National Folk Museum of Korea • (Former) Korean committee to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean gallery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Korean gallery • Curatorial methods • Development of national museums' international cultural exchange
13	6 Jul	Byeong-mo Kim	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Korea Institute of Heritage • Emeritus professor of Archaeology, Seoul: Hanyang University • Committee of Cultural Diplomacy, Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Honorary member, ICOM • (Former) Director of hosting ICOM Seoul 2004 • (Former) President, Korea National University of Cultural Heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ICOM Seoul 2004: process and significance • Meaning of cultural diplomacy through museum in contemporary times
14	11 Jul	Byeong-mo Kim	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, Korea Institute of Heritage • Emeritus professor of Archaeology, Seoul: Hanyang University • Committee of Cultural Diplomacy, Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs • Honorary member, ICOM • (Former) Director of hosting ICOM Seoul 2004 • (Former) President, Korea National University of Cultural Heritage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reinterpretation of Korean archaeological objects

#	Date	Interviewee	Related Institution Affiliation ⁶⁸⁸	Key Topics of Individual Questions
15	12 Jul	Seok-yeong Choe & Jong-seok Kim (joint)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Director, National Museum of Performing Art • (Former) Senior curator, National Folk Museum of Korea • (Former) Professor of Museum Studies of universities in Korea & • Curator of Cultural Relations and Publicity Division, the National Museum of Korea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship between cultural policy, Korean material culture and museum collections • Meaning of popular culture and contemporary
16	27 Jul	Keum-jin Yoon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President of Cultural Foundation, the National Museum of Korea • (Former) Executive vice president, the Korea Foundation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More specified stories on Korean galleries in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and British Museum
17	6 Aug	(Anonymity)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior curator of the National Museum of Korea 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of curatorial works at the British Museum
18	27 Sep	Jane Portal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keeper of Asia Department, the British Museum (2014–present) • (Former) Chair of Department of Asia, Oceania and Africa, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2018–2014) • (Former) Curator of Chinese and Korean Collections, the British Museum (1987–2008) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stories of collecting and exhibiting Korean culture • Experiences and challenges in the management • Comparison of interpretation with the USA
19	27 Sep	Eleanor Soo-ah Hyun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curator of Korean Collections and Korea Foundation gallery, the British Museum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The British Museum's Korean gallery contemporary exhibitions and management • Highlighted objects
20	8 Oct	Eleanor Soo-ah Hyun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curator of Korean Collections and Korea Foundation gallery, the British Museum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organisation of Korean cultural programme • Collecting contemporary artworks for reinterpretation
21	12 Oct	Charlotte Horlyck	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lecturer of Korean Studies, London: SOAS (2006–present) • Chair, British Association for Korean Studies (2016–present) • (Former) Curator of Korean Collection, London: Victoria and Albert Museum (1998–2004) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curating Korean culture in the Victoria and Albert Museum and comparison with the British Museum • Development of Korean studies in the UK

Appendix 5. The Development of Cultural Diplomacy and the Relevant Ministries and Institutions

‘Public Diplomacy’		‘Cultural Diplomacy’	‘Cultural Relations’
Bureau of Public Information 1948 Ministry of Public Information 1961 -Public activities (propaganda)	Ministry of Culture and Public Information 1968 -Public activities (propaganda) -National Museum of Korea 1972 -Korean Overseas Information Service 1972 -Korea Association of International Culture 1972	Ministry of Culture 1990 Ministry of Culture and Sport 1993 Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1998 -National Museum of Korea Bureau of Public Information 1990 (Abolished 1998) -Korean Overseas Culture and Information Service (1999)	Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism 2008 -National Museum of Korea -Korean Overseas Culture and Information Service
Ministry of Education -National Museum		Ministry of Foreign Affairs -The Korea Foundation 1991	
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Ministry of Foreign Affairs -Public Information: foreign negotiation for cultural exchange		Ministry of Foreign Affairs -The Korea Foundation 1991

Appendix 6. The Development of South Korean Cultural Diplomacy Policy and Museum Practice

‘Public Diplomacy’					‘Cultural Diplomacy’		‘Cultural Relations’	
Korean cultural representations			Masterpieces of Korean Art 1957–1962		5000 Years of Korean Art 1976–1985		Establishment of Korean galleries in ‘universal’ museums in 1990s:	
			USA (1957–1961)	UK, Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria (1961–1962)	Japan (1976), US (1979–1981), UK (1984), Germany (1985)	Arts of Korea gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 1998, The Korea Foundation gallery in the British Museum 2000	Special exhibitions and cultural programmes 2000s–2010s	
Key South Korean cultural policy and activities			No cultural policy (exhibitions and cultural development was supported by the USA government and participating museums)	Legislation of the first cultural heritage act: Cultural Heritage Protection Act 1962	Mid-1980s: cultural promotion as a key national strategy	The first long-term Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development 1990: * budget of International Cultural Exchange: 10 times increased * development of cultural industry		* Cultural policy promoted ‘mutual understanding’: Public Diplomacy Act 2016, International Cultural Exchange Act 2017
Relevant South Korean ministries and key cultural institutions			- Ministry of Foreign Affairs - National Museum of Korea	- Ministry of Public Information (Culture Propaganda office) - National Museum of Korea	- Ministry of Culture (International Cultural Exchange division) - National Museum of Korea	- Korea Foundation (1991) - National Museum of Korea - Samsung Foundation for Culture - Gwang-ho Hahn		- National Museum of Korea - Korea Foundation - Korean Cultural Centres
The main agent of cultural practice	Negotiation	S K	President > Minister of Foreign Affairs / Ambassador	Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of Education	Korean Ministry of Culture	- Korea Foundation - Samsung Foundation for Culture to the Metropolitan Museum of Art		- Korea Foundation - National Museum of Korea when necessary
		O M	The USA Department of State > museum Directors	(Art institutions of each nation signed on the Agreement)	Museum Directors / Met’s staff in the exhibition in Japan	Museum Directors		Curators
	Curatorial works	S K	Director of National Museum of Korea and committee	Director and curators of National Museum of Korea	National Museum of Korea staff	- National Museum of Korea staff - Gwang-ho Hahn to the British Museum		- Korea Foundation - National Museum of Korea when necessary
		O M	USA museum curators (particularly the Metropolitan Museum of Art)	British museum curators	Museum curators (the Metropolitan Museum of Art)	Museum curators		Curators

Bibliography

Ahearne, Jeremy, 'Cultural Policy Explicit and Implicit: A Distinction and Some Uses', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 15, no. 2 (2009), pp.141-153.

Ang, Ien, Isar Yudhishthir Raj & Mar Phillip, 'Cultural Diplomacy: Beyond the National Interest?', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 21, no. 4 (2015), pp. 365-381.

Bennett, Tony, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

———, *Culture: A Reformer's Science* (London: SAGE, 1998).

———, *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2004).

———, 'Thinking (With) Museums: From Exhibitionary Complex to Governmental Assemblage', in Andrea Witcomb and Kylie Message (eds), *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley/Blackwell, 2015), pp. 3-20.

———, *Museums, Power, Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

———, et al., *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 2005).

Bennett, Tony and Frow, John (eds), 'Introduction: Vocabularies of Culture', *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2008), pp. 1-15.

Berridge, Geoff R. and James, Alan, *A Dictionary of Diplomacy*, 2nd edn (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Bhabha, Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

Cai, Yunci, 'The Art of Museum Diplomacy: The Singapore–France Cultural Collaboration in Perspective', *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 26 (2013), pp.127-144.

Changhe, Su, 'Soft Power', in Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* (2013).

Cho, Boo-Keun, *Cultural Industry and Cultural Exchange in Global Age* (*글로벌 시대*의 문화산업과 문화교류) (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2009).

Choe, Kwangshik, *Silk Road and Korean Culture* (Seoul: Nanam Publishing House, 2013).

Choe, Seok-yeong, *History of Korean Museums (한국박물관 역사와 전망)* (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2012).

Clarke, Simon, 'Culture and Identity', Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 510-529.

Cooper, Andrew F., Hocking, Brian and Maley, William (eds), *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Crane, Diana, 'Globalization and Cultural Flows/Networks', in Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 359-381.

Cull, Nicholas J. (ed.), *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past* (University of Southern California Centre on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009).

———, 'Public Diplomacy: Seven Lessons for its Future from its Past', *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2010), pp. 11-17.

During, Simon (ed.), *The Cultural Studies Reader*, 3rd edn (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

Eckert, Carter J. et al. (eds), *Korea, Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchogak Publishers with Harvard University Press, 1990).

Evans, Jessica, 'Nation and Representation', in David Boswell and Jessica Evans (eds), *Representing the Nation: A Reader, Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp.1-14.

Faubion, James D. (ed.), *Power: Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984* (London: Penguin, 2002), vol. 3.

Fedorak, Shirley A., 'What is Popular Culture?', Christine Lundberg and Vassilios Ziakas (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Popular Culture and Tourism* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018).

Foucault, Michel, 'Politics and the Study of Discourse', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and An Interview with Michel Foucault* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 53-72.

Garcia, Beatriz, 'One Hundred Years of Cultural Programming within the Olympic Games (1912–2012): Origins, Evolution and Projections', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 14, no. 4 (2008), pp. 361-376.

Gibson, Lisanne, 'Art and Citizenship—Governmental Intersections' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Griffith University, 1999), pp. 58-65.

———, *The Uses of Art: Constructing Australian Identities* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2001).

———, 'In Defence of Instrumentality', *Cultural Trends*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2008), pp. 247-257.

———, 'Tony Bennett, Culture: A Reformer's Science', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2010), pp. 29-31.

———, 'Piazzas or Stadiums: Toward an Alternative Account of Museums in Cultural and Urban Development', *Museum Worlds: Advances in Research 1* (2013), pp. 101-112.

Goff, Patricia M., 'Cultural diplomacy', Andrew F. Cooper, Jorge Heine, and Ramesh Thakur (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Gordon, Colin, 'Governmental Rationality: An Introduction', in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and An Interview with Michel Foucault* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 1-51.

Gray, Clive, 'Instrumental Policies: Causes, Consequences, Museums and Galleries', *Cultural Trends*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2008), pp. 209-222.

Hahn, Christine Y., 'Unearthing Origins: The Use of Art, Archaeology, and Exhibitions in Creating Korean National Identity, 1945-1962', *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, vol. 28, no. 2 (2012), pp. 138-170.

Hall, Stuart, 'Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies', Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson and Paula A. Treichler (eds), *Cultural Studies* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 277-286.

———, 'Introduction: Who Needs "Identity"?', in Hall, Stuart and Gay, Paul du (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (SAGE Publications, 1996). pp. 1-17.

———, 'The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity', in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti, Ella Shohat, (eds), *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 173-187.

———, (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 2nd edn (London and California: Sage in association with the Open University, 2013).

Held, David et al. (eds), *Global Transformations* (Cambridge: Policy Press, 1999).

Hetherington, Kevin, 'Foucault and the Museum', in Sharon Macdonald and Helen Rees Leahy (eds), *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015), pp. 21-40.

Holden, John, *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (London: DEMOS, 2006).

Hong, Ki-won, 'Cultural Diplomacy from a Cultural Policy Perspective: Some Contestable Issues (문화정책의 관점에서 문화외교의 논쟁적 요소들에 대한 고찰)', *Journal of Arts & Cultural Management*, no. 18 (2011), pp. 67-93.

———, 'Nation Branding of Korea', in Hye-kyung Lee and Lorraine Lim (eds), *Cultural Policies in East Asia: Dynamics Between the State, Arts and Creative Industries* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 69-84.

Hoogwaerts, Leanne, 'Museums, Exchanges, and their Contribution to Joseph Nye's Concept of "Soft Power"', *Museum & Society* (2016), 14 (2), pp. 313-322.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

———, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

Horlyck, Charlotte, 'Korean Buncheong Ceramics from Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art by So-young Lee and Seung-chang Jeon', *The Journal of Asian Studies* (2012), vol. 71, no. 2, pp. 563-565.

Horlyck, Charlotte and Priewe, Shascha, 'Displaying a Nation: Representations of Korean Art in the United Kingdom', in Jason Steuber and Allysa Peyton (eds), *Arts of Korea: Histories, Challenges, and Perspectives* (University of Florida Press, 2018), pp. 90-115.

ICOM, 'Declaration on the Importance and Value of the Universal Museums 2002', *ICOM News*, no. 1 (2004).

ICOM Seoul Organising Committee, *Report on the 20th General Conference & 21st General Assembly of ICOM: 'Museums and Intangible Heritage'* (2004).

Immerman, Richard H. and Goedde, Petra (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of The Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Iwabuchi, Koichi, 'Pop-culture Diplomacy in Japan: Soft Power, Nation Branding and the Question of International Cultural Exchange', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 2015, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 419-432.

Jang, Sang-hoon, 'A Representation of Nationhood: The National Museum of Korea' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester: The University of Leicester, 2015).

Jang, Sang-hoon, 'Cultural Diplomacy, National Identity and National Museum: South Korea's First Overseas Exhibition in the US, 1957–1959', *Museum and Society*, vol. 14, no. 3 (2016), pp. 456-471.

Jin, Dal Yong, 'Socio-economic Implications of Broadband Services: Information Economy in Korea', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 8, no. 4 (2005), pp. 503-523.

- Jørgensen, Marianne W. and Phillips, Louise, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Methods* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002).
- Kang, Hyung-Seok, 'Contemporary Cultural Diplomacy in South Korea: Explicit and Implicit Approaches', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 21, no. 4 (2015), pp. 433-447.
- Kang, Jeong Won, 'The Topology of the Folklore Archive and the Folklore Museum of Korea', *Journal of Museum Studies*, vol. 28 (2015), pp. 97-127.
- Kim, Chewon, *Behind Story of Gyeongbok-gung Palace* (경복궁 야화) (Seoul: Tamgudang Publication, 1991).
- Kim, Jinwung, *A History of Korea: From 'Land of the Morning Calm' to States in Conflict* (Indiana University Press, 2012).
- Kim, Jinwon and Lee, Meebae, 'Nation Branding or Marketisation?: K-Classic and Korean Classical Musicians in An Era of Globalization', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* (2018), vol. 24, no. 6, pp. 756-772.
- Kim, Koni C., 'Korea as Seen through its Material Culture and Museums' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester: The University of Leicester, 2005).
- Kim, Sloan, 'Aimed at Universality and Belonging to the Nation': The Enlightenment and the British Museum', in Sloan Kim and Andrew Burnett (eds), *Enlightenment: Discovering the World in the Eighteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2013), pp. 12-25.
- Kim, Sumi, 'South Korea's Cultural Diplomacy: 'Instrumental' and 'Intrinsic' Cultural Values in Practice', *A paper presented at the 10th International Conference on Cultural Policy Research (ICCPR)* (Tallinn University: Estonia, 21-25 August 2018).
- Kim, Yong-ho, *Expanding Diplomatic Territory: Diplomatic History of Korea* (외교영토 넓히기: 대한민국의 수교 역사) (Seoul: National Museum of Korean Contemporary History, 2016).
- Kim, Youngna, 'East Meets West: The Collection and Display of the Arts, 1850-1930', *Journal of Art History*, vol. 23 (2009), pp. 171-189.
- Kimiko, Otani, 'International Cultural Exchange Activity of Korean Government: Focused on the Korea Foundation (1991-2001)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Seoul: Seoul National University, 2003).
- Knell, Simon J., 'National Museums and the National Imagination', in Simon J. Knell et al. (eds), *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 3-28.

Kong, Da, 'Imaging China: China's Cultural Diplomacy Through Loan Exhibitions to British Museums' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Leicester: The University of Leicester, 2015).

Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 'Education Programme', *Value and Impact of UNESCO Activities in Korea* (Seoul: 2015), pp. 177-183.

Krenn, Michael L., *The History of United States Cultural Diplomacy: 1770 to the Present Day* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2017).

Lee, Chae-jin, *A Trouble Peace: U.S Policy and the Two Koreas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

Lee, Hye-kyung, 'Cultural Policy and the Korean Wave: From National Culture to Transnational Consumerism', in Youna Kim (ed.), *The Korean Wave: Korean Media Go Global* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 185-198.

———, *Cultural Policy in South Korea: Making a New Patron State* (London: Routledge, 2018).

Lee, Jung-taek, 'Korean Artefacts Donated to the British Museum by Ogita Etsuzo in 1910', *Orientalism* (2010), vol. 41, no. 8.

Lee, Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

Lee, Sook Jong, 'South Korean Soft Power and How South Korea Views the Soft Power of Others', in Sook Jong Lee and Jan Melissen (eds), *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 139-161.

Lee, So-young (ed.), *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400–1600* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009).

Lewis, Geoffrey, 'A Debated Museum Concept: Partnership in Universality', *Museum International*, vol. 56, no. 4 (2004), pp. 40-45.

———, 'The Universal Museum: A Special Case?', *ICOM News*, no. 1 (2004), p.3.

Lord, Beth, 'Foucault's Museum: Difference, Representation and Genealogy', *Museum and Society*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1-14.

Macdonald, Sharon J., 'Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities', *Museum & Society* (2003), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-16.

Macdonald, Sharon J. and Fyfe, Gordon (eds), *Theorising Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

MacGregor, Neil, *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).

Marstine, Janet, 'Situated Revelations: Radical Transparency in the Museum', in Janet Marstine, Alexander A Bauer, Chelsea Haines (eds), *New Directions in Museum Ethics* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-23.

Mason, Jennifer, *Qualitative Researching*, 2nd edn (London: SAGE, 2002).

McClory, Jonathan, *The New Persuaders: An International Ranking of Soft Power* (London: Institute for Government, 2010).

McCrone, David, 'Culture and Nation', in Tony Bennett and John Frow (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2008), pp. 318-337.

McDougall, Derek, *Asia Pacific in World Politics* (Colorado and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

McGuigan, Jim, *Culture and the Public Sphere* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Melissen, Jan, 'Public Diplomacy', in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds), *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 199-218.

Miller, Toby and Yúdice, George (eds), *Cultural Policy* (SAGE Publications Ltd., 2002).

Miniotis, John, 'Defining the Characteristics of the Universal Museum: Mission, Collections, and Size' (Master of Arts thesis, University of Washington, 2014).

Montebello, Phillippe De, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the New Millennium: A Chronicle of the Past and A Blueprint for the Future* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), *The Bulletin*, Summer, vol. LII, no. 1.

Nisbett, Melissa, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism: An Empirical Study of Cultural Diplomacy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 19, no. 5 (2013), pp. 557-575.

Nisbett, Melissa and Doeser, James, *The Art of Soft Power: A Study of Cultural Diplomacy at the UN Office in Geneva* (London: King's College London, 2017).

Nye, Joseph S. Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

———, 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power', in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (2008), vol. 616.

O'Neill, Mark, 'Enlightenment Museums: Universal or Merely Global?', *Museum and Society*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2004), pp. 190-202.

Park, Kwang-moo, *Korean Cultural Policy* (한국 문화 정책론) (Seoul: Gimyoung Publishers, 2013).

Portal, Jane, 'Korean Ceramics in the British Museum: A Century of Collecting', Paper delivered in the lecture at The Oriental Ceramic Society (2 April 1996).

Pouliot, Vincent and Cornut, Jérémie, 'Bilateral and Multilateral Diplomatic Practices', in Pauline Kerr and Geoffrey Wiseman (eds), *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World*, pp. 185-198.

Prior, Lindsay, 'Doing things with Documents', in David Silverman (ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice* (London: SAGE, 2004), pp. 76-94.

Prösler, Martin, 'Museums and Globalisation', in Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds), *Theorising Museums* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996).

Roberts, Brian (ed.), 'Micro and Macro Social Theory', in *Micro Social Theory* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2006), pp. 1-3.

Robertson, Roland, 'The Cultural Turn', in *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (SAGE Publications, 1992a), pp. 32-48.

———, 'The Universalism–Particularism Issue', in *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture* (SAGE Publications, 1992b), pp. 97-114.

———, 'Globalisation or Glocalisation?', *Journal of International Communication* (2012), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 33-52.

Roh, Junia, 'Korea at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910—Propaganda of the Japanese Empire and the Image of Colony Joseon', *Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary Art History*, no. 28 (2014), pp. 179-210.

Rose, Nicholas, 'Identity, Genealogy, History' in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (SAGE Publications Ltd., 1996), pp. 128-150.

Rottman, Gordon L., *Korean War Order of Battle: United States, United Nations, and Communist Ground, Naval, and Air Forces, 1950–1953* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).

Samsung Foundation of Culture, *History of 30 Years of Samsung Foundation of Culture: Culture's Scent 1965–1994* (삼성미술문화재단 30 년사: 문화의 향기 1965–1994) (Seoul: Samsung Foundation of Culture, 1995).

———, 'White Porcelain Series-vessel 2005', *Culture and I* (문화와 나), Fall/Winter 2013, vol. 97, p. 25.

Samsung Museum of Art, Leeum, *Exhibition Guidebook* (Seoul: Samsung Museum of Art, 2012).

———, 'Buncheong & White Porcelain: Shadow of the Moon', *The 10th Anniversary Exhibition: Beyond and Between* (18 August–21 December 2014), pp. 48-51.

Sandell, Richard (ed.), 'Museums and the Combating of Social Inequality: Roles, Responsibilities, Resistance', in *Museums, Society, Inequality* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 3-23.

Seoul Museum of History, *Jeongdong 1900* (Seoul: Seoul Museum of History, 2012).

Shin, Sangchel, 'Source of Japonisme and Exposition Universelle of 1867 in Paris: Reception and Exhibition of Japanese Art during the Formation Period of French Modernism', *Journal of the Association of Western Art History*, vol. 40 (2014), pp. 63-90.

Thakur, Ramesh, 'Conclusion: National Diplomacy and Global Governance', in Andrew F. Cooper, Brian Hocking, and William Maley (eds), *Global Governance and Diplomacy: Worlds Apart?* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

The British Museum, *The British Museum Review 2001* (London: the British Museum, 2001).

———, *Towards 2020: The British Museum's Strategy* (London: the British Museum, 2012).

———, *Governance Principals and Governance* (London: the British Museum, 2016).

The Compilation Committee (ed.), *The 100 Years History of Korean Museums 1909–2009* (한국박물관 100 년사) (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2009).

The Korea Foundation, *Annual Report 1994* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1995).

———, *Annual Report 1995* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1996).

———, *Annual Report 1999* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 2000).

———, *10 Years History of the Korea Foundation 1992-2001* (한국국제교류재단 10 년사) (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 2002).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Met and the New Millennium: A Chronicle of the Past and A Blueprint for the Future* (New York: the Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1994), Summer vol. I, II, no. 1.

The Ministry of Education, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in the U.S. 1957–59* (문화재 미국전시 보고서 1957–59) (Seoul: Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1960).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *A Report on Exhibitions of Cultural Objects in Europe* (문화재 구라파 전시 보고서) (Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1962).

———, 'Address Made by the Chief Delegate of Korea on 23 April 1970', *Participation Report: General Meeting of UNESCO on Means of Prohibiting and*

Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 29 April 1970.

———, *60 Years of Korea Diplomacy* (Seoul: Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009).

The Ministry of Interior [Internal Affairs], *History of Government Organisation Change* (Seoul: The Ministry of Interior, 1998).

The National Museum of Korea, *Annual Report 1994* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1995).

———, *Annual Report 1996* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1997).

———, *Annual Report 1997* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1998).

———, *Annual Report 1998* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 1999).

———, *Annual Report 2000* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2001).

———, *Annual Report 2006* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2007).

———, *Annual Report 2009* (Seoul: The National Museum of Korea, 2010).

Rivera Tim, *Distinguishing Cultural Relations from Cultural Diplomacy: the British Council's relationship with Her Majesty's Government* (University of Southern California Centre on Public Diplomacy, Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2015).

Vergo, Peter, *New Museology* (London: Reaktion, 1989).

Wallerstein, Immanuel, *The Politics of the World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

World Bank Group, *World Bank Group and Republic of Korea: 60 Years of Partnership* (Incheon: World Bank Group Korea Office, 2015).

Yang, Hyun-Mee, 'Museum Studies and Museum Policy: A Critical Study on the Korean Museum Studies and Museum Policy from the Viewpoint of Cultural Studies (박물관 연구와 박물관 정책: 문화 연구의 관점에서 본 우리나라 박물관 연구와 정책)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Seoul: Hong-ik University, 2001).

Yim, Haksoon, 'Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea', in *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2002), pp. 37-48.

———, 'Ex-president Park Chung-hee's Awareness of the Cultural Policy (박정희 대통령의 문화정책 인식 연구)', *Journal of Art Management*, vol. 21 (2012), pp. 159-182.

Yin, Robert K., *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th edn (California: SAGE Publications, 2009).

Yoon, Keum-jin, 'An Analytical Perspective in the Development of International Exchange of Korean Museums: Focused on National Museums (한국박물관 국제교류 변천 연구: 국립박물관을 중심으로)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Seoul: Hanyang University, 2014).

Young, Linda, 'Globalisation, Culture and Museums: A Review of Theory', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* (2007), vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 6-15.

Zamorano, Mariano Martín, 'Reframing Cultural Diplomacy: The Instrumentalisation of Culture under the Soft Power Theory', *Culture Unbound*, vol. 8 (2016), pp. 166-186.

Archival Materials and Exhibition Catalogues

National Archives of Korea

Presidential Archives, *President's Inaugural Address* (대통령 취임사), 24 July 1948 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

———, *Regarding Cultural Propaganda Works* (선전문화산업에 대하여), May 1950 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 28 July 2017].

———, 'Show Off Korean Culture, To Promote Art Development' ('한국문화를 과시하라, 미술발전을 치하'), 30 June 1954 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 October 2017].

———, *The Fifth President's Inaugural Address* (제5대 대통령 취임사), 17 December 1963 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].

———, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly* (1965년도 대통령 연두교서), 16 January 1965 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 August 2017].

———, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly* (해외공관장에게 보내는 친서), 1 January 1967 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 3 August 2017].

———, *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly 1967* (1967년 대통령 연두교서), 17 January 1967 <http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index04_result.jsp> [accessed 17 July 2017].

- , *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1968* (1968 년도 예비안 지출에 즈음한 시정연설), 16 October 1967
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 3 August 2017].
- , *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1969* (1969 년도 예산안 지출에 즈음한 시정연설), 3 September 1968
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 4 August 2017].
- , *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1973* (1973 년도 예산안 지출에 즈음한 시정연설문), 2 September 1972
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 7 August 2017].
- , *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly 1974* (1974 년도 연두 기자회견), 18 January 1974 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 7 August 2017].
- , *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1975* (1975 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 4 October 1974
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 8 August 2017].
- , *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1976* (1976 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 4 October 1975
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 8 August 2017].
- , *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly 1977* (1977 년 연두 기자회견), 12 January 1977 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 August 2017].
- , *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly* (대통령 연두교서), 18 January 1978 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 8 August 2017].
- , *The Ninth President's Inaugural Address* (제9 대 대통령 취임사), 27 December 1978 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 July 2017].
- , *President's Annual Message to the National Assembly* (대통령 연두교서), 19 January 1979 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 August 2017].
- , *The Eleventh President's Inaugural Address* (제11 대 대통령 취임사), 1 September 1980 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 17 August 2017].
- , *Official Visit to the USA: Greeting at the Smithsonian Museum, 'The Time Has to Come to Enjoy Cultural Heritage Together* (미합중국 공식방문: 스미스소니언박물관에서의 인사말)', 3 February 1981
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 September 2017].

———, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1986* (1986 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 12 October 1985
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 31 August 2017].

———, *Magazine Interview in Writing with “Korea Today”, ‘A New Era of True Friendship Cooperation’* (Korea Today 지 서면회견, ‘진정한 우호협력의 새 시대를’), 5 May 1990 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 12 September 2017].

———, *Magazine Interview with “El Sol de Mexico”, ‘Urgent Need of Cooperation for Opening The Pacific Rim’* (El Sol de Mexico 지 인터뷰, ‘환태평양의 개발 협력 긴급요’), 3 June 1990 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 12 September 2017].

———, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1992* (1992 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 9 October 1991
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 September 2017].

———, *The Thirteenth President’s Inaugural Address* (제 13 대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 1993 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 19 August 2017].

———, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1994* (1994 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문), 25 October 1993
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 9 September 2017].

———, *Statement at the Closing Ceremony of Daejeon Expo 1993* (대전엑스포 93 폐막에 즈음한 담화문), 8 November 1993
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 23 September 2017].

———, *Special Press Interview with the International (Segye) Times for the 5th Anniversary of Foundation, ‘Neo-Economic Renovation Based On the People’s Participation and Creativity’* (세계일보 창간 5 주년 특별회견, ‘신경제개혁은 국민의 참여와 창의를 바탕으로’), 1 February 1994
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 September 2017].

———, *President’s Speech about Globalisation* (세계화 구상에 대한 대통령 말씀), 26 January 1995 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 21 September 2017].

———, *Speech at Luncheon Hosted by London Mayor* (영국 런던시장 주최 오찬 담사), 9 March 1995 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 21 September 2017].

———, *Congratulatory Message on the First Asia-Pacific Culture Forum, 'Development and Co-prosperity via Culture'* (제1차 아시아 태평양 문화포럼 축하 메시지, '문화를 통한 발전과 공동번영'), 28 November 1995
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 23 September 2017].

———, *Seoul Newspaper Anniversary Special Interview, 'Eradication of Corruption by Consciousness Reform'* (서울신문 창간 51주년 특별회견, '의식 개혁으로 부정부패 척결'), 22 November 1996 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 25 September 2017].

———, *New National Museum Building Groundbreaking Speech, 'National Monument of Self-respect and Pride'* (새 국립중앙박물관 건립 기공식 연설, '민족자존과 긍지 담은 겨레의 기념비'), 31 October 1997
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 30 September 2017].

———, *The Fifteenth President's Inaugural Address* (제15대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 20 August 2017].

———, *Conversation With High Governmental Officials, 'Government Officials Are Not the Subject to Reform But the Subject of Reform'* (고위공직자와의 대화, '공무원은 개혁의 대상이 아니라 개혁의 주체'), 27 April 1998
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 26 September 2017].

———, 'Opening Speech of the Korean Gallery at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York: The Strength of the Korean People Represented by the Patience (뉴욕 메트로폴리탄 박물관 한국전시실 개관 만찬 연설: 은근과 끈기로 대표되는 한국인의 저력)', 7 June 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 17 February 2019].

———, *A Keynote Speech at the Major Organisations in the Kansai Region of Japan, 'Opening a New Era of National Cooperation Between Korea and Japan'* (일본 간사이 지역주요단체 주최 만찬 연설, '한일간 국민적 협력의 신시대 개막'), 9 October 1998
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 29 September 2017].

———, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 1999, 'To Overcome the National Crisis and for Re-Leap'* (1999년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문, '국난극복과 재도약을 위하여'), 19 October 1998
<<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 29 September 2017].

———, *Speeches on Culture Day 1998, 'Toward a World First-Class Culture Nation in the 21st Century'* (98 문화의 날 연설, '21세기 세계일류 문화국가를 향하여'), 20 October 1998 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 October 2017].

———, *Speech to the Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi at Dinner, 'Close Friend's Country'* (오부치 일본 총리 내외를 위한 만찬 연설, '가까운 친구의 나라'), 20 March 1999 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 29 September 2017].

———, *Administrative Speech on the Budget Proposal of 2000, 'The National Assembly that Designs Vision and Hope'* (1999 년도 예산안 제출에 즈음한 시정 연설문, '비전과 희망을 설계하는 국회'), 19 October 1999 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 October 2017].

———, *World Ceramics Expo 2001 Gyeonggi-Do Opening Ceremony Address, 'Korean Ceramic Culture Cultivating in the World'* (세계도자기엑스포 2001 경기도 개막식 연설, '세계에 심는 한국의 도자문화'), 9 August 2001 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 30 September 2017].

———, *Administrative Policy Speech at the National Assembly* (제 250 회 정기 국회 시정 연설), 25 October 2004 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [2 October 2017].

———, *National Museum of Korea Opening Ceremony* (국립중앙박물관 개관식 축하), 28 October 2005 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 2 October 2017].

———, *The Seventeenth President's Inaugural Address* (제 17 대 대통령 취임사), 25 February 2008 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 23 August 2017].

———, *The 26th Radio and Internet Speech, 'The Age of Culture Economy and Economic Culture'* (제 26 차 라디오 인터넷 연설, '문화가 경제이고 경제가 문화인 시대'), 19 October 2009 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 6 October 2017].

———, *Congratulatory Speech at 15th Anniversary of Launch of the National Unification Advisory Council* (제 15 기 민주평화통일자문회의 출범식 축하), 1 July 2011 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 1 October 2017].

———, *The 90th Radio and Internet Speech, 'Global Village's Ocean Festival: Please Come to the Yeosu World Expo with Your Family'* (제 90 차 라디오 인터넷 연설, '지구촌 바다 축제, 여수세계박람회를 가족과 함께 많이 찾아 주십시오'), 14 May 2012 <<http://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp>> [accessed 10 October 2017].

The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, *BA0136105, 'The First Five Year Plan for Culture and Arts Revival 1974–1978'*, June 1973.

———, *BA0136110, 'Meeting Record of the Committee of Culture and Arts Promotion'*, 4 April 1977.

———, BA0240799, ‘First Draft of the Second Five Year Plan of Culture and Arts Revival’, 18 May 1977.

———, BA0136110, ‘Fundamental Material of Policy-Making’, June 1978.

———, BA0240799, ‘Second Draft of the Second Five Year Plan of Culture and Arts Revival’, 23 June 1978.

———, DA0745905, *Export of Cultural Heritage to Foreign Nations For Overseas Exhibition*, Proposed by The Minister of Culture and Public Information, 1984, p. 1.

The Ministry of Culture, DA0220971, ‘The Seventh Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development Plan 1992–1996’, October 1990.

———, DA0220971, ‘Revision of Cultural Part of the Seventh Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development Plan 1992–1996’, March 1991.

———, CA0014750, ‘Loaned Exhibition to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, US: Arts of Korea 1997–1999’.

———, DA0351272, ‘Ten-Year Plan for Cultural Development’, 21 June 1990.

———, CA0014743, Sent from Culture Officer of Korean Embassy to the UK to the Ministry of Culture, 5 April 1996.

———, CA0014743, Sent from Korean Embassy to the UK to Ministry of Culture, 19 September 1996.

———, CA0014743, Sent from Korean Cultural Property Administration Bureau to the National Museum of Korea, 1 October 1996.

The Ministry of Culture and Sport, CA0021410, Correspondence, Sent from Jane Portal, To Korean Embassy, 27 February 1997.

———, The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, CA0014750, Correspondence, Sent from Director Montebello, To Minister of Culture and Sports, 7 April 1997.

———, Cultural Property Administration Bureau, DA0036564, ‘Record on Culture Vision 2000 Forum of 5 June 1997 (문화비전 포럼 2000)’, 10 June 1997.

———, The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, CA0014750, ‘Metropolitan Museum of Art of Art-Loan Exhibition: The Arts of Korea’, 28 April 1998.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cultural Exchange Division, DA0745905, ‘Writers Preview: Korean Art Show’, in *The Seattle Times*, 27 February 1979.

———, DA0745905, ‘Korean Art to Tour U.S.’, in *The Washington Post*, 1 March 1979.

———, BA0805009, ‘Cultural Heritage Exhibition Overseas’, 8 April 1982.

———, *The Minister’s Report on Cultural Plan to the President*, 21 June 1990.

National Law Information Centre

Cultural Heritage Protection Act, Act No. 961, Enforced on 10 January 1962.

The National Museum, Presidential Decree, No. 4301, 21 November 1969.

Cultural Heritage Protection Act, Act No. 2233, Partially Amended on 10 August 1970, Enforced on 10 September 1970.

Culture and Arts Promotion Act, Act No. 2337, Legislated and enforced on 14 August 1972.

Korea Foundation Act, Act No. 4414, Legislated and Enforced on 14 December 1991.

Presidential Decree No. 15710, 28 February 1998 and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Decree No. 1, 3 March 1998.

Museum and Art Gallery Support Act, Act No. 5928, All amended on 8 February 1999, Enforced on 9 February 2000.

The British Museum Archives

Department of Asia Archives, London, ‘Report on Jane Portal’s Visit to Korea – June to September 1991’, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery: General Correspondence 46/54/15 Part 1b.

———, ‘The British Museum’s Korean Collections’, 17 December 1991, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part I.

———, ‘Note on the Korean Gallery’, Sent from Jessica Rawson (Keeper of Oriental Antiquities), To Robert Anderson (The British Museum’s Director 1992–2002), 31 March 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part I.

———, Correspondence, From Jessica Rawson (Trustee), To Robert Anderson (Director), 21 May 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part 4.

———, ‘News Release: Major Donation From Korea: A New Permanent Gallery of Korean Art’, May 1992.

———, ‘Korea in the British Museum’, 16 October 1992, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery: General Correspondence 46/54/15 Part 1d.

———, ‘News Release: Major Donation From Korea: A New Permanent Gallery of Korean Art’, May 1992.

———, Correspondence, Sent from Robert Anderson (the British Museum’s Director), To Son Chu-whan (President of the Korea Foundation), 6 October 1993, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15.

———, Correspondence, Sent from Robert Knox (Keeper of Oriental Antiquities), To Robert Anderson (Director), 6 September 1996, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15.

———, Correspondence, From Korean Embassy in London, To Mr. Robert Knox (Director), 17 August 1998, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Korea Foundation, To Jane Portal (Curator of Korean Collection), 30 March 1999, OA: GALLERIES: Korean gallery 46/54/15 Part 4.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Korea Foundation, To Jane Portal (Curator of Korean Collection), 30 March 1999, Permanent Gallery 2000 (1).

———, ‘Korea: Land & People’, Text panel document.

———, ‘Korea: The Korea Foundation Gallery’, Text panel document.

———, ‘A New Gallery for Korea’, Leaflet.

———, ‘The British Museum’s DPRK Collection’, North Korea display showcase text label.

———, *Chuseok: Korean Harvest Festival*, Programme leaflet.

Central Archives, London, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 21 January 1984, Reel 7-British Museum: Board of Trustees, vol. 7, CE22/7, p. 3816.

———, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 6 April 1991, Reel 9-British Museum: Board of Trustees, vol. 9, CE/22/9, p. 5148.

———, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 3 April 1993, p. 5491.

———, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 25 February 1995, Reel 10-British Museum: Board of Trustees, vol. 10, CE/22/10, p. 5859; 17 June 1995, pp. 5905-5906.

———, *A Record of Board of Trustees*, 28 September 1996, p. 6125.

———, *The British Museum Review* (The British Museum, 2001).

———, ‘Principles and Purpose’, *Towards 2020: The British Museum’s Strategy* (2012).

———, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Exhibition Catalogue, *5000 Years of Korean Art*, 1979.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives

Thomas J. Watson Library, New York: Digital Collection, 'News for Release: Metropolitan Museum of Art Announces, "Master Plan"', 13 April 1970.

———, 'News Release: Arts of Korea: Inaugural Exhibition', 9 June 1998–24 January 1999, 20 May 1998.

———, *Annual Report: Board of Trustees 2001* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 1 November.

———, *Annual Report 2008–2009* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009).

———, *Charter By-Laws Mission Statement*, 1 March 2011.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Press Clippings, Exhibitions: Masterpieces of Korean Art, Box 218, Folder 3, p. A., 'For Korean Art: A Journey to U.S.', *The Korean Republic*, 15 May 1957.

———, Exhibition Press Clippings 1957–58, Box 47, Folder 7, 'Art Treasures from Korea', *Time*, 16 December 1957.

———, 'Art: 200 Korean Works-Sculpture, Painting, Ceramics and Gold Objects Shown at The Metropolitan', 7 February 1958.

———, File 1, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art, *Agreement*, 26 February 1957.

———, 'News for Release: Brilliant Exhibition of Korean National Art Treasures at Metropolitan Museum', 7 February 1958, p. 1.

———, Correspondence, Send from Korean Ambassador to Alan Priest (Curator of The Met), 11 February 1958.

———, 'National Art Treasures of Korea', Sent from the Victoria & Albert Museum, Received by the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art', 10 April 1961.

———, 'News for Release: Metropolitan Museum to Show Major Exhibition of Korean Art', December 1980, p. 1.

———, 'Art: A Pageant of Korean Art at The Met', *The New York Times*, 9 January 1981.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, File 2, Loan Exhibition-1958, Masterpieces of Korean Art, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary to President Rhee, Received by James E. Wilson, 10 May 1956.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs, Received by James J. Rorimer (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 23 May 1956.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary of The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a Response of Department of State, 28 May 1956, p. 2.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Secretary of The Metropolitan Museum of Art as a Response of Department of State, 28 May 1956, p. 1.

———, ‘Interdepartmental Memorandum: Memo on the Korean Show’, Sent from Alan Priest (the Curator), To James J. Rorimer (the Director), 30 July 1956.

———, Correspondence, Sent from Norman De Haan (Department of Design of Container Corporation of America), Received by James (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 14 September 1956.

———, ‘Department of State for the Press’, 17 September 1956.

———, News clipping, ‘Korean Art Show Will Tour in U.S.’, *The New York Times*, 4 November 1956, p. 86.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Director of the National Gallery of Art, Received by the Director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 8 May 1957.

———, ‘Interdepartmental Memorandum’, Sent from Alan Priest, To the Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 8 May 1957.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the South Korea’s First Lady, Francesca Rhee, Received by Alan Priest (Curator of The Metropolitan Museum of Art), 10 April 1958.

———, Correspondence, Sent from the Department of States in Washington, Received by the James J. Rorimer (Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), 19 June 1959.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Loan Exhibition-1981, 5000 Years of Korean Art, ‘News for Release: Metropolitan Museum to Show Major Exhibition of Korean Art’, December 1980.

———, ‘A Trove of Unfamiliar Art from Korea’, *The New York Times*, 4 January 1981.

———, Exhibition Pamphlet, *Introduction To “5000 Years of Korean Art”*, 10 January 1981.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, New York, Loan Exhibition-1998, Arts of Korea Gallery (Inaugural Exhibition), ‘News Release: Arts of Korea Gallery Planned at Metropolitan Museum of Art’, 24 October 1995.

———, “‘News Release: Metropolitan Museum of Art To Open New Gallery For Korean Art On June 9 - Grand Asian Museum within the Museum’ Completed after Three Decades’ 20 May 1998.

———, ‘A Jewel Box of Korean Culture’, *New York Times*, 12 June 1998.

News Archives

Maeil Business News Korea (매일경제), ‘Want to Know Korean Culture More (한국문화 더 알고싶다)’, 1 September 1976, p. 7.

———, ‘Toward A New Chapter of Friendship and Understanding, Confirmation of the Centennial Anniversary of Korea–US Diplomatic Relations (우정과 이해의 새로운 장을, 한미수교 100주년 기념사업 확정)’, 29 December 1981, p. 9.

The Choson Ilbo (조선일보), ‘Regarding Real Meaning of the 5000 Years of Korean Art (한국미술 5천년전 참뜻을 살핀다)’, 18 February 1976, p. 11.

———, ‘Bodhisattva Maitreya No. 78, The Highest Insurance Rating, 48 Billion (미륵보살 78호 보험평가액 최고, 480억)’, 29 April 1998, p. 11.

The Dong-A Ilbo (동아일보), ‘The Public Propaganda Should Be Strengthened (대외선전이 강화되어야한다)’, 11 August 1962, p. 1.

———, ‘350 Objects Confirmed for 5000 Years of Korean Art (한국미술 5천년전, 출품작 3백 50점을 확정)’, 22 December 1975.

———, ‘Newly Felt Korean Cultural Identity, Professor Ueda Highly Proclaimed in Korean Art Exhibition Lecture (한국문화주체성 새삼느껴, 우에다 교수, 한국미술전강연회서 격찬)’, 26 February 1976, p. 7.

———, ‘Japanese Critic’s Evaluation on 5000 Years of Korean Art Exhibition, “Japan’s Ancient Culture is Relic of Korea” (“일고대문화는 한국의 잔영”, 일평론가 5천년전 평가)’, 15 July 1976, p. 7.

———, ‘Korean Culture is Root of Japanese History (한국문화는 일본사의 뿌리)’, 27 July 1976, p. 10.

———, ‘5000 Years of Korean Art Exhibition Scheduled in London About to be Cancelled Because of No Accident Compensation (런던개최예정 한국미술 5천년전 사고보상 안돼 무산될듯)’, 21 December 1983, p. 11.

———, ‘Britain’s Expectation to 5000 Years of Korean Art (한국미술 5천년전 영국의 기대)’, 19 January 1984, p. 7.

———, ‘Here is New York, “Korean Cultural Objects” Soothing Homesickness (여기는 뉴욕, 향수 달래주는 “한국문화재”)', 6 November 1985, p. 9.

———, ‘South·North Korea-US, Looking for “A Way Together” (남북한-미국 ‘함께 가는길’ 모색)', 9 June 1998.

The Kyunghyang Shinmun (경향신문), ‘Our Culture To the World Plaza (우리문화 세계의 광장에)', 21 June 1969, p. 5.

———, ““5000 Years of Korean Art” Stirred Ancient History of Japan, “Cultural Identity is Korean” (한국미술 5 천년전이 몰아온 파장, 흔들리는 일본고대사 “문화주체는 한국인”)', 31 March 1976, p. 5.

———, ‘5000 Years of Korean Art, First Show in US (한국미술 5 천년전 미국에 첫선)', 6 March 1979, p. 5.

———, ‘5000 Years of Korean Art: A Wider Range of Cultural Exchange Expected Through Exhibition in US (한국미술 5 천년전, 미국전시 계기로 문화교류폭 더욱 넓히길)', 1 May 1979, p. 3.

———, ‘Sophisticated Korean Art was Recognised (세련된 한국미술 인식시켰다)', 19 October 1981, p. 3.

———, ‘Speaker of House of Commons of West Berlin Visit to Korea to Host 5000 Years of Korean Art Exhibition: Unification Without War is Difficult But Keep Up the Effort (서베를린 하원의장 한국미술 5 천년전 유치위해 내한: 전쟁없는 통일 어렵지만 계속노력)', 30 March 1982, p. 3.

———, ‘5000 Years of Korean Art in Cologne: Vice-Minister of Culture and Public Information, Mr. Heo Attended (한국미술 5 천년전 쾰른전: 허 문공차관 참관)', 15 October 1984, p. 3.

———, ‘Appraised Joseon White Porcelain, “The Best Beauty of the World” (조선백자 감상 “세계 최고美” 극찬)', 21 April 1999, p. 5.

The Hankook Ilbo (한국일보), ‘Worried About 121 Cultural Properties’ Long Overseas Travelling (문화재 121 점 긴 해외여행, 조마조마)', 24 May 1998, p. 1.

Webpages and Online Resources

ABC News, ‘British Museum Director Looks at the Story Behind Objects’, 25 March 2011 <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjzmGyswHC0>> [accessed 20 April 2017].

ASEMUS (Asia-Europe Museum Network), ‘Guimet Museum of Asian Art, France’, 2018 <<http://asemus.museum/museum/musee-national-des-arts-asiatiques-guimet/>> [accessed 20 October 2018].

BBC Radio 1, *K-Pop: Korea's Secret Weapon?*, 18 January 2018
<<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cIXOslwjPrc>> [accessed 19 January 2018].

Hammond, Jonathan and McDermott, Imelda, 'Policy Document Analysis', *Methods@Manchester*, University of Manchester, 2015
<<https://www.methods.manchester.ac.uk/themes/qualitative-methods/policy-document-analysis/>> [accessed 16 December 2016].

Heo, Yun-hee, 'K-Pop and K-Drama, the Rush of Requests for Exhibiting Korean Cultural Objects from Around the World—From North America/Western Europe to South America/Eastern Europe (K 팝·드라마 빠진 각국서 한국문화재 전시 요청 쇄도-美·서유럽뿐 아니라 남미·동유럽까지)', *Chosun Ilbo*, 9 February 2012
<http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2012/02/09/2012020900140.html>
[accessed 16 March 2018].

Hyde, Colin, 'Interviewing Skills for Researchers', Session delivered at the University of Leicester, 8 November 2017, Taken via online, 20 November 2017.

Kim, Soo-hye, 'My best Achievement is the display of the Full Moon Jar in the British Museum (내 최고 업적은 대영박물관에 달항아리 전시한 것)', *Chosun Ilbo* (조선일보), 1 October 2008
<http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2008/09/30/2008093001620.html>
[accessed 1 October 2016].

Leeum, Introduction of Special Exhibition *Buncheong: Traces of the Mind* (22 March–7 August 2016) <http://www.leeum.org/html_eng/exhibition/main_view.asp> [accessed 1 November 2018].

Mun, Bo-kyung, 'Yong Hoseong, Director of Korean Cultural Centre UK, "Spread of Korean Culture through Partnership" (파트너십 통해 한국문화 전파)', *Electronic Times News*, 12 September 2017 <<http://www.etnews.com/20170912000279>> [accessed 20 December 2017].

Musée Guimet, 2019 <<http://www.guimet.fr/>> [accessed 30 March 2019].

Nisbett, Melissa, 'Who Holds the Power in Soft Power?', *Arts & International Affairs*, 13 March 2016 <<https://theartsjournal.net/2016/03/13/nisbett/>> [accessed 22 September 2017].

NY Culture Beat, 'Dialogue between Kang Ik-joong's "Samramansang" and Joseon Full Moon Jar', 15 December 2014
<https://www.nyculturebeat.com/index.php?mid=Art&document_srl=3168766>
[accessed 10 April 2018].

Office of The Historian, Department of State, 'A New Framework for Foreign Affairs' <<https://history.state.gov/departments/history/short-history/framework>> [accessed 6 February 2019]

Office of the Historian, 'Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume I, Foundations of Foreign Policy, 1969–1972, Document 60' (Washington: Foreign Service Institute, United States Department of State, 1970)
<<https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v01/d60>> [accessed 1 March 2019].

Perkins, Neil, 'Interviewing "elite" Groups', *Methods@Manchester*, University of Manchester, 2015 <<https://www.methods.manchester.ac.uk/themes/qualitative-methods/interviewing-elite-groups/>> [accessed 16 May 2017].

Romer, Christy, 'Culture Used by Political Figures to "Exert Power and Control"', *Arts Professional*, 9 November 2017 <https://www.artspprofessional.co.uk/news/culture-used-political-figures-exert-power-and-control?utm_source=Weekly-News&utm_medium=email&utm_content=nid-206927&utm_campaign=10th-November-2017> [accessed 10 November 2017].

Priewe, Sascha and Miles, Ellie, 'Facelift: the New Korea Foundation Gallery', *The British Museum Blog*, 27 January 2015, The British Museum
<<https://artsdelacoree.hypotheses.org/1748>> [accessed 28 June 2015].

The British Museum, Collection online, 'Samramansang'
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3626649&partId=1&searchText=samramansang&page=1> [accessed 23 April 2018].

The British Museum, 'The Korean Moon Jar'
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2007/the_korean_moon_jar.aspx> [accessed 18 December 2016].

The Korea Foundation, 'Korean Galleries in Overseas Museums', 2016
<<http://www.kf.or.kr/?menuno=3683>> [accessed 30 June 2016].

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Webpage, 2018 <<https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met>> [accessed 16 March 2018].

The Metropolitan Museum of Art webpage, *Poetry in Clay*,
<<https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2011/buncheong-ceramics/photo-gallery>> [accessed 9 April 2018].

USA.gov, 'Department of State'
<<https://web.archive.org/web/20161125045405/https://www.usa.gov/federal-agencies/department-of-state>> [accessed 6 February 2019].

Wikipedia, 'Koreagate' <<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Koreagate>> [accessed 1 March 2019].

World Bank, *GDP Growth Rates and Civil Servants Growth Rates in Korea (from 1966 to 2011)* <<http://databank.worldbank.org>> [accessed 18 August 2016].