

Self-Representation:

The Visualization of Koreanness in Tourism Posters during the 1970s and the 1980s

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Abstract

The central theme of this research rests on how images of Korea have been established and recreated. The important point is not to focus on how the images or identity of Korean culture have been formulated from the outside but to examine the methods Korea, exercising its own agency, has employed in shaping it. For that purpose, this paper proposes to examine how Koreans themselves have constituted and represented their culture through special tourism posters by analyzing the inherent themes, distinctiveness, and meaning.

As argued in the paper, the images of Korea utilized to attract foreign tourists embodied the desires of the Western gaze. The themes and symbols supporting Orientalist images of women and tradition were direct responses to what the West desired from the Orient.

The double gaze of the Other that is hidden in the recreation of the self is a fundamental condition of "Korea on Display." Images of Korea from the 1960s to the 1980s, which were generally mesmerized by the Western gaze, demonstrate the process through which Korea became exoticized and orientalized, and duly decontextualized and gendered.

Keywords: representation, national identity, images of Korea, orientalism, tourism

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Introduction

Humankind has created signs and symbols that identify and represent groups. Symbols associated with specific cultures or nations were produced through historical conditions and are a representation of political motives in being the mechanism utilized to distinguish one organized group from another. What are the symbolic images and meanings given to a culture or a nation? What are the symbols and representations of Korea?

One of the spaces critical to answering such questions is the stretch of two kilometers from central Seoul to the statue of Yi Sun-sin near Gwanghwamun gate. The described area with the official name of Sejongno touts at one end the southern gate of the palace where the kings of the Joseon dynasty resided for 500 years and administrative offices during the Joseon dynasty on both sides of the road, at the other. Its spatial significance and function continue to be surprisingly well-maintained to the present day as here was the site of a former president Kim Dae-jung's inauguration; bureaucratic buildings called the Central Government Complex as well as government agencies, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the U.S. Embassy line the street. Of course, the importance of the space does not lie in its long history or in the number of important government buildings.

The items of note here are the gigantic billboards that hang in the central island, on the outer walls of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and on the entrance to the Central Government Complex. It is significant that it is government-related billboards that crowd the streets of the space where advertisements would have been posted only at great cost. What is the significance and meaning behind the images and symbols that appear in these public advertisements? I would argue that the contents of these billboards provide important clues in understanding contemporary Korean culture, and furthermore, lead to a better understanding of the discursive body of representations through which Koreans define themselves.

The slogan "Dynamic Korea" embodies more meaning than simply the two words (or eight syllables in Korean) printed on the bill-



Figure 1. "Dynamic Korea! The Hub of Asia"¹

board hanging at the entrance of the Central Government Complex. It resonates as the official slogan of the astonishing number and variety of government publications that propagate information about Korea and is contained in the millions of posters printed by the Korea National Tourism Organization distributed throughout the world. But the more fundamental meaning lies in the fact that the slogan alludes to new stirrings and trends in the systematic representation of self-identity that modern Koreans assume for themselves.

The impetus for this paper began with the following questions. What are the images provoked by the words "Dynamic Korea"? What are the motives and conditions behind describing Korea as "dynamic"? What are the images of Korea that have been generated historically? Undoubtedly, the most recent catalyst for intensifying both

1. This is the content of the billboard that graced the entrance to the Central Government Complex in January 2003 that was mentioned above.

national as well as international interest in Korean identity has been the 2002 FIFA World Cup cohosted by Korea and Japan. The question was raised not only by international media affected by the wild waves of "Red Devils" cheering on their team, but also by Koreans who were forced to question their sense of identity. What does it mean exactly to be Korean? What and who is Korean exactly?

Korean broadcasting companies began to air special programs on this topic. Academic conferences were organized to discuss issues surrounding the "new Korean" and Korean culture. Topics spanned from the effects of international exposure through foreign media coverage of the World Cup to calculations of economic benefits to analyses of the praise from international media of the dynamic cheering of Korean fans, and even included evaluations of the sense of patriotism exhibited through voluntary street cleaning. The discussion evolved from complaints about the dearth of outside knowledge about Korean culture in comparison to China and Japan and the plethora of misinformation to self-criticism that quickly became a newfound determination to correctly propagate the real Korea. It became imperative to update notions of Korean culture set in backward and traditional images to take into consideration the dynamism and modernity demonstrated through Korea's modernization process.

There were even criticisms of the overly self-satisfied reaction towards the foreign media's positive interest in Korea. Suddenly complex questions were raised about self-identity. Problems of identity are intertwined with Korea's past and present along with new ambitions towards the future. From being asked who they are by outsiders, the questions have developed to who they wished to be. The question of how to propagate Korea to the outside world surfaced as a serious task for Koreans even before the 2002 World Cup, and "Korea on Display" remains the underlying consciousness of all Koreans (including, of course, the organizing committees and the government), exemplified through the hosting of international events such as the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics. The success of these events became the barometer by which to measure Korea's progress in modernization and Koreans had to toil and transform

themselves in order to reach the next level. The prospects for Korea's hosting of the 2010 World Expo were anticipated in the wake of 2002 World Cup.² Ceaseless transformations undertaken in efforts to create a "Proud Korea" can be seen as acts that attempt to proudly display the results to another viewer. One must then consider what aspects of Korea were chosen for display and who the intended audience was.

The central theme of this research rests on how images of Korea have been established and recreated. The important point is not to focus on how Korean cultural identity or images are formulated from the outside but to examine the methods Koreans, utilizing their own agency, have employed in envisioning their own nation. For that purpose, this paper examines how Koreans themselves have represented their culture through special tourism posters by analyzing the inherent themes, uniqueness, as well as meaning.

Content and Object of Research

The scope of "Korea" or "Koreanness" embedded in images are limited to being conceptual and cannot demarcate either concrete or physical boundaries. But the singular concept representing Korea's image can only be very general if it attempts to encompass all things "Korean." "All things Korean" automatically signifies internalizing significant variety as well as different elements within, not to mention vast selections in the external form of the image (i.e. font, pictures, diagram, photographs and graphics). Different perspectives and conditions in accordance with respective periods inform "Koreanness" and also add to already existent differences.

With these points in mind, this study has selected a single point

² Although the South Korean government lobbied to host the 2010 World Expo in Yeosu as soon as the World Cup was over, the privilege went to the city of Beijing. Despite the time difference from the location where the final vote that would determine the host city took place, a significant number of Koreans waited in the early morning to listen to the broadcasting companies' special reports.

of analysis among a vast number of research possibilities for studying the images of Korea that hopefully marks a starting point for continuous research. The tourism posters, selected as objects of analysis for this paper among many representative Korean images, were manufactured under very specific conditions. Tourism demarcates a unique stratum in that it is where individuals meet other individuals as well as one culture another under various conditions. Institutions that hope to attract tourists strategically disseminate their image to the outside world through the invited (ensnared) tourists. Tourists in return are inclined to make observations under the unique conditions and perspectives of being a tourist. This process in the end involves a double layer of perspectives from strategic selections and exclusions in terms of self-image formation (whether that of an individual or a group) that also requires evaluating its own image through the eyes of tourists. The desire to be seen in a certain way by another necessarily results in the inclusion of the perspective of the outsider within its own vision.

From these points of view, the two distinct perspectives of Korea, as it sees itself and how an outsider may see it, must be investigated simultaneously in order to comprehend how images of Korea have been created and recreated through the tourism posters. The point of contention here is not the true image of Korea (whether that exists or not is also a complex issue) but how these images of Korea become constructed through these two perspectives and what that signifies.

First, I would like to begin by examining the historical background of the formation of images of Korea. Although the history of Korea's image-making created through Korea's relation to the outside world goes back to the ancient periods, this paper will only focus on from the 1960s to the 1980s, the period in which the modernization process began in earnest. The period from the 1960s to the 1980s bears special significance for research on the images of Korea and serves as a very important basis for understanding the changes brought about in the images of Korea in the 1990s. Second, I will attempt to decipher how Korea was symbolized through the images presented on tourism posters and their unique characteristics. I will

look for main themes and symbols that often appear on tourism posters selected through contests open to the general public. At the same time, I will examine how these themes and symbols resonate visually through unique formal and technical characteristics.

The posters discussed in this research are posters that were used in tourist brochures as well as general publications after receiving grand, gold, silver and honorable mention prizes in public contests held by the Korea National Tourism Organization³ from 1973 to 1988.⁴ Selected pieces were also regularly compiled and published as a serial volume entitled *Beautiful Korea*. Although the posters in this study date from 1973 to 1988, since the posters from 1975 to 1980 are not featured in *Beautiful Korea*, the actual period covered by this article is ten years with a total of 57 posters.⁵ These pieces were selected on a scale of Grand/Excellent/Distinction/Honorable Mention prizes with slight variation in the number of pieces selected each year. The most was nine and the least five with an average of six selected pieces. Although the grand prize was awarded to a single piece, other prizes were often awarded to multiple recipients. (There was no grand prize selection in 1973 or in 1982.) The judges were artists and employees of the organization and they were to judge with the purpose of selecting effective advertisements for attracting foreign tourists.⁶ A trophy and a modest cash prize were awarded to the persons whose submissions were selected. The posters from the period

3 The Korea National Tourism Organization (KNTO) was established under the promulgation of the International Tourism Organization Law on 26 June 1963. The slogan featured on their website in 2003 is as follows: To let the world know the superiority of Korean Culture, to provide the new vision for Korean Tourism, we (KNTO) will lead the way!

4 Public contests continue to this day. The Department of Images and Visual Advertisements is responsible for hosting these contests. They also produce and distribute motion pictures along with photographs and posters.

5 Although I could not find the reasons why the posters from 1975 to 1980 were not featured, it also seems reasonable to guess that the posters would not differ greatly from the ones featured around the same period in their form or content.

6 The photograph contests continue to this day but poster contests have not been held for the last ten years. Thousands of photographs are submitted every year with 7,000 photographs submitted in 2002.

covered were mostly designed to target English-speaking tourists, and were therefore written in English.⁷

Thus far, the analysis has been limited to delineating main characteristics, symbols, forms, patterns or modes of expression that frequently appear in the pieces without paying attention to the level of prize received by the pieces. Again, tourism posters were produced under special conditions and compose only one dimension of creating images of Korea. It is not the purpose of this paper to suggest that these posters represent the general images of Korea, and the analysis presented here must be understood as one particular interpretation centered on the works among many tourism posters that caught this particular researcher's interest.

Historical Background

The very first visual image of Korea presented to Westerners was a map produced in the twelfth century in the West. Korea was depicted as an island country in this very first map where it made its appearance. From the Western perspective, Korea meant the end of the Orient, an unknown country past China where one must cross yet another ocean to reach. Korea was an isolated island country that was even further than the vaguely known Eastern world. The earliest written record about Korea goes all the way back to the seventh century when Arabs recorded their exchange with the Silla Kingdom (57 B.C.–935). But the first serious record was by a Dutchman named Hendrik Hamel who was shipwrecked on his way to Japan and drifted to Korea's Jeju Island in 1653. (He remained in Korea from 1653–1666.) Hamel's 13-year experience in Korea was published in the Netherlands with the help of his comrades who escaped Korea togeth-

7. With the expanding role of advertisement to attract tourism from overseas, diverse strategies have been employed to reach different audiences. As of January 2003, 20 different overseas branches are producing posters that meet the needs of different languages and cultures.

er in 1668. Before Westerners willingly came to discover Korea on their own in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Hamel's introduction to Korean culture remained the only material on Korea available to Western audiences. In 1875, Korea launched into newfound relations with the outside world and began to shed her mysterious image. Images of Korea in the early twentieth century were by diverse Western figures who established some kind of contact with Korean culture, such as missionaries, diplomats, explorers who recorded their exploits in the form of travelogues and reports. The most striking image of Korea for most of these authors was related to huge hats and white clothing. Korea began to be called "the land of the morning calm," "the hermit kingdom" or "the land of white pajamas."

Korean culture or images of Korea seen through the Western audience still stir great interest even in the twenty-first century, one example of which is the recently published book *Sages of the Gentle, Primitive East: Korea Viewed by Westerners* by Frédéric Boulesteix. Boulesteix retraces 800 years of European records, especially that of France, after the twelfth century to present images of Korea documented by the West. How Korean culture appears to outsiders also became a commemorative exhibit entitled "Sketches of Korea by Westerners-100 Years Ago" hosted by the National Folk Museum in honor of the 2002 World Cup. His book and the above exhibition are the results of comprehensive research on Korea's contact with the outside world. But it seems necessary to point out that while research on how Korea has been perceived by the outside world has slowly grown, there is comparatively little research on the specific attributes of Koreans' own vision of Korea. Therefore, it is of no slight significance to consider what those attributes might be and to explore the historical context in which they took shape.

In modern terms, it was in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, with the opening of Korea and the so-called "enlightenment" process that images of Korea first began to be visualized by Koreans. It was during this period, specifically in 1882, that the Korean flag (taegeukgi) was designed. A flag, the symbol for a modern nation, was a necessity to fit into the mold of new interna-

tional relations. Beginning with the Ganghwa Treaty with Japan in 1876, Korea entered into international treaties and established amicable relations with foreign nations. Besides the flag, the royal house designated a plum-shape design (1897) as one of the visual symbols used to represent itself to other nations. But before Korea was able to newly establish itself as a modern nation and appear to the outside world, the production of Korea's image encountered a serious obstacle. Japan's forced annexation of Korea in 1910 resulted in Korea's image being controlled by Japanese colonial forces. Korea's image began to be changed and distorted by the Japanese colonial government as Korea was depicted only as a vassal state of the Japanese Empire. Although Korea was liberated in 1945, the extreme realities of ensuing internal struggles that culminated in the Korean War made it impossible to contribute to creating its own self-image.

In this vein, it is reasonable to argue that it was only under the Park Chung-hee administration's cultural policies that brought in vigorous industrialization during the 1960s and 1970s that Koreans began to earnestly envision their own images of Korea. Koreans' strides to understand themselves and their culture were limited in the 1950s in the aftermath of the Korean War due to political instability and painful recovery efforts. The 1960s and 1970s form the period in which Korea overcame these difficulties and launched a full-scale commitment to modernization and industrialization. This period is also marked by Park Chung-hee's authoritarian regime after he ascended to power with a military coup d'état. All citizens were called upon to participate in the Park regime's proposed modernization of the fatherland and plans for economic development. The only Korea allowed was Park Chung-hee's version of Korea. After delineating what Korean culture was and where it must be headed, Park's military government established a set of comprehensive cultural policies to "Create a New Culture." The symbols and images selected for the purpose of prescribing Korean characteristics and culture were utilized as powerful methods to unify the society. Besides the obvious tools of laws and policies, cultural administrative organs were constructed and through the "declaration of cultural restoration,"

Park pursued his own nationalistic cultural discourse. The Korea National Tourism Organization, which produces the posters that are the focus of this research, was established in 1963.

The images of Korea propagated by Park Chung-hee's administration obviously took on government-inspired characteristics. It is difficult to deny that these images of the swelling urban population, the expansion of mass media and education became an abundant wellspring from which all Koreans were able to construct images of themselves as Korea became more industrialized. The Park regime's all-encompassing cultural policies undeniably became the most powerful cornerstone for modern Koreans in defining themselves and their culture.



Figure 2. A poster in the 3-4th grade textbook in 1971.
The text: a glorious future awaits us explains the picture full
of images of industrialization and urbanization.

Posters from the 1960s and 1970s especially take on a great significance. Posters are generally the most effective medium to transmit messages to the public. The fact that they can be reproduced in unlimited quantities gives the posters a broad distribution, not to mention the clear and powerful transmission of messages characteristic of advertisements. Drawing posters became a regular feature of the everyday curriculum of elementary school students in the 1960s and 1970s. Along with anticommunist posters, students were required to draw various posters for public announcements and the acts went beyond mere creative activity as submissions were made to public competitions. Posters lined not only classrooms, but also the school's outer walls as well as each and every street corner. Posters during the Park Chung-hee era had the unique characteristic of an effective medium within the modern education process.

The ultimate goal of education at the time was to raise up human beings who could contribute to national profit and development. The National Charter of Education declared on 5 December 1968 gives supremacy to the ideal of individuals who fulfill their responsibility towards the nation before individual rights or freedoms. Korean culture, history and tradition were chosen and strengthened through this filter of nationalism. Images of generals who had saved the country from the catastrophe of war began to be highlighted not only in the classrooms but also in the streets. The statue of General Yi Sun-sin, mentioned at the very beginning of this article, is the most representative of the pieces constructed in such fervor. These efforts also helped Park Chung-hee, who had come to power by mobilizing a military coup, maintain his power through nationalism.

But these images were displays made especially for domestic use. What images and representations, then, were found in the tourism posters made in the same period that were to introduce Korea to the outside world?

Analysis of Images in Korean Tourism Posters

By utilizing visual impressions, posters arouse a viewer's conscious

response to transmit and advertise a message. Although this may appear to be a simple form of communication, the process itself is very complex and abstract. The process of delivering and receiving meanings is affected by various components including an individual's biological, psychological, social conditions as well as situational elements. It is also impossible to unilaterally explain the meanings and symbolic effects behind the form, color, composition, copy, and size of these posters. Therefore, the following analysis can only be subjective and based on individual experience. If we acknowledge the fact that no analysis can be completely objective, a perfect analysis is an ideal that cannot be attained.

1. Femininity

One of the biggest characteristics of this period is the utilization of these traditional images of women. In Figure 3, five women in traditional Korean costume form a curve, with their fans unfolded, a part of a circular fan dance formation. The woman in the front is sitting in the lowest position looking straight ahead and the members towards the back slowly rise in succession so that the larger formation as well as every performer can be seen. All of the fans that are fully unfolded have three yin and yang symbols drawn on them, the middle being the largest. The faces of the five women have different dimensions as well as proportions depending on the direction they face. With the exception of red lips, their facial features are nearly blank. The neckline and bow on the front of their dresses and the skirts are all red. The most striking feature of the poster is not the picture or figures but the composition of a simple shape. On the upper left upper corner is stated "Korea, Traditional Folk Fan Dance" in English with the romanization of the Korean word for "fan dance" in the lower right corner.

Out of 57 posters, 29 contain images of women in part or in whole. The images of women in the 29 posters can be divided into three large categories. The one that makes the most frequent appearance is the figure of the traditional bride. The second is that of a dancer performing a traditional dance, with the fan dance being the most popular. Besides the fan dance, the drum dance (three drum



Figure 3. Grand prize winner in 1985

dance), Zen dance and dance of exorcism (salpuri) are depicted. Women sometimes appear playing traditional musical instruments of daegeum or gayageum. The last category is not that of a bride, dancer or a musician, but of an average married women. Figures of women bathing that appeared in genre paintings during late Joseon dynasty and women of Jeju Island carrying water jars each make a single appearance.

Posters that use these images of traditional women persist without fail from the very inception of these contests in 1973 to 1988. This also applies to tourist pictures from the same period. As can be seen in Figure 5, traditional dance, especially the fan dance, is a favorite in



Figure 4. Meritorious prize winner in 1973. In one frame, all kinds of images of traditional women are put together from a traditional bride, women dancers, women in bathing depicted in genre painting.



Figure 5. 1973 grand prize winner captures a special outdoor performance performed for foreign tourists.

entertaining foreign tourists. The photographs of dancers posing especially for foreign tourists were also selected as tourism shots.

What are the reasons behind these continual appearances of women's images, such as the portrayal of a blushing bride, dancers performing the fan dance, and a housewife who appears to be awaiting from within the gates the arrival of her husband? What are the messages transmitted through these images?

Here lies the connection between two divergent roads of significance. The first is composed of tourism, the entertainment of guests and women. It is often believed that the role of entertaining guests falls on the shoulders of women. In patriarchal societies, leisure, rest and play belong to men, and women's labor is mobilized to fulfill men's pleasure. Secondly, they reenact the West's Orientalist views that mystify and gender the East to arouse and fulfill the desires of the targeted tourists.



Figure 6. 1987 excellence (left) and meritorious (right) awards recipients.
The image of a dancer performing a traditional dance continually appears in tourism posters.

The view that the East is a terrain that must be discovered, with Korea as the most mysterious country among them all, can clearly be seen not only in the visual elements, but also in the written messages of the posters. "The Unexplored Orient: Korea-1973," "The Hidden Beauty of Korea" and "Discover, the Unexplored Land of Korea" all unmistakably provide material for analyses that match the visual representations.

The internalized Western perspectives within these tourism posters are supported through modes of visual expression on the outside. Rather than using real photographs or realistic depictions, "mysterious and hidden" images are reinforced through utilizing omissions as the basis on which to create abstract shapes.

2. Tradition

Along with Orientalist images of women, the other theme that frequently appears on the posters is "tradition" or "traditionalism." The image of "the New Pearl of the Orient, Korea" by focusing on nature scenes suggests and creates visual effects of traditional images. Images of mountains that contain ancient temples appear frequently as the central theme or background of these posters. Of course, the nature scenes that appear in these posters are not direct portrayals of Korea's natural scenery, but are transformed to fit the vision of the intended observer. "Tradition that is still alive or in other words the Orient that still retains its traditional culture" is completed as tradition is grafted onto the backgrounds of nature scenes that exemplify "Beautiful Korea."

The most frequently employed material from traditional culture are nongak (farmer's music), mask dances, chajeon plays with folk masks often singularly carved out for different uses. Scenes of traditional music performances are also often used with the most typical representative being daegeum (large transverse bamboo flute) and janggu (two-sided drums). Along with folk performances related to traditional everyday life, it may be worth noting that Buddhist images from Buddhist statues (mostly from Seokguram grotto) to Buddhist



Figure 7. 1973 excellence award winner reinforces the mysterious and hidden images of Korea through extreme omissions that verge on abstraction.

temples (mostly Bulguksa temple) are frequently used. In terms of symbolism, the tiger, the crane, or yin and yang serve as the main symbols of Korean culture.

Some unique characteristics surface upon examination of the form or meanings behind the theme of tradition (or traditionalism). First, the folk traditions from nongak and mask dances depicted in the tourism posters of this period were traditions that had either disappeared or were recreated by the time these posters were printed. They were images from an agrarian society that no longer existed. In contrast to the rapid industrialization that enveloped the entire nation at the time, these posters focused on the past.

Furthermore, although the geographical conditions or objects in

the backgrounds of the folk performance posters are supposed to suggest traditional everyday life, in actuality, the objects displayed often had no substantial relation to the subject in the foreground. For example, in the back of a Buddhist statue, a shy bride who awaits a traditional Confucian wedding ceremony smiles coquettishly—a juxtaposition that bears no cultural relations to any Korean tradition. These elements indicate a process of reconfiguration where various cultural elements were lifted from their natural habitat and transformed to produce these images of Korea.

The traditional space depicted on these posters was also recreated in real physical space. The Korean government, in order to fulfill Western interests, created a traditional and yet also artificial “Korean space” called the Korean Folk Village (Minsokchon). The Korean Folk Village, which opened its doors in 1974, is a recreation of a traditional Korean village where foreigners can actually experience Korean traditions. Mask dances and other traditional folk performances are also held there.

Such strategic reenactments of tradition underwent changes in the late 1980s. Suddenly, images that centered on the natural environment and tradition were supplanted by images of modern urban development in the face of the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Along with images of the “hidden Orient,” skyscrapers and urban surroundings made joint appearances in tourism posters as well as photographs. Palaces and other traditional architecture that stood in the midst of a forest of high-rises gave birth to new images that included tradition as well as modernity. Tradition after 1990 was no longer simply tradition but analyzed as indicative of a new set of aesthetics where tradition was harmoniously arranged with modernity. This tendency has continued from the 1990s to the present-day as the main representatives of the images of Korea. Discussion of tourism posters after 1990 will be presented in a future study that will be a continuation of this research.



Figure 8. Compositions such as this where nature is juxtaposed with ancient temples are the most salient representations featuring Korean sceneries.



Figure 9. Poster selected in 1974 portrays the entrance to the Korean Folk Village with Caucasian tourists.

Conclusion

Images are produced according to particular values and ideologies and are also used as a means to project those values. The purpose of this research was to examine not how Korea is viewed from the outside but how Korea itself actively created its own images. It was through tourism posters, a site closest to the view of outsiders in terms of strategy, that this article attempted to analyze how images of Korea were created.

As discussed above, images of Korea utilized to attract foreign tourists embodied the desires of the Western gaze. The themes and symbols supporting the creation of particular images of women and tradition were direct responses to what Western travelers expected or desired from the Orient. As suggested by Lacan, in order to become a subject, the Other is incorporated into a basic component of oneself. The double gaze of the Other that is hidden in the recreation of the self is a fundamental condition of "Korea on Display." Images of Korea were produced with the full consciousness of the gaze of the Other/outsider that also determined what Korea was. The images in the end merely followed the gaze transmitted to the East from the West and purchase Orientalist images of itself wholesale.

Images of Korea from the 1960s through the 1980s, in being mesmerized by the Western gaze, demonstrate a process through which Korea became exoticized and orientalized and duly decontextualized and gendered. However, a new energy is surfacing in 2003. Copies of posters that clearly state "Dynamic Korea—the Hub of Asia" with a picture of the cheering Red Devils in the background can be seen on every street corner. Images of Korea that stand in stark contrast to the passive, gendered images of hidden beauty or land that awaits discovery are making their entrance. The appearance of a new image of Korea marks the dawning of a new identity for Korea.

The confidence earned through relatively quick recovery from the recent economic crisis, along with the honor of being a quarter-finalist in the World Cup, became the catalyst for a newfound sense of pride in their nation for many Koreans. Although far from expan-

sionist policies, the slogan “the Hub of Asia” is an historically unprecedented marker that exemplifies present-day Korea’s confidence in its identity and future. Korea was unexplored terrain even among the Eastern nations in the 1973 tourism poster but the 2003 poster projects Korea as the center of Asia.

This paper was an examination of a single facet of how images of Korea were created and transformed but this research also signals the possibility of important changes in Korean culture. The future task of deciphering how Korea is going to enter the twenty-first century remains before us.

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GLOSSARY

Bulguksa	佛國寺	salpuri	살풀이
daegeum	大筍	Seokguram	石窟庵
gayageum	伽椰琴	taegeukgi	太極旗
janggu	장구	yang (Ch.)	陽
nongak	農樂	ying (Ch.)	陰

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