

University of Central Florida

STARS

Honors Undergraduate Theses

UCF Theses and Dissertations

2022

Transformations of Hanbok in the Age of Hallyu: Fashion, Cultural Hybridization, and the Construction of Vernacular Korean Nationalism

Katharine V. Smith

University of Central Florida



Part of the [Critical and Cultural Studies Commons](#), and the [Korean Studies Commons](#)

Find similar works at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/honorsthesis>

University of Central Florida Libraries <http://library.ucf.edu>

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the UCF Theses and Dissertations at STARS. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Undergraduate Theses by an authorized administrator of STARS. For more information, please contact STARS@ucf.edu.

Recommended Citation

Smith, Katharine V., "Transformations of Hanbok in the Age of Hallyu: Fashion, Cultural Hybridization, and the Construction of Vernacular Korean Nationalism" (2022). *Honors Undergraduate Theses*. 1210.
<https://stars.library.ucf.edu/honorsthesis/1210>

TRANSFORMATIONS OF HANBOK IN THE AGE OF HALLYU:
Fashion, Cultural Hybridization, and the Construction of Vernacular Korean Nationalism.

by

KATHARINE V. SMITH

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Honors in the Major Program in Humanities and Cultural Studies
in the College of Arts and Humanities
and in the Burnett Honors College
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

Spring Term
2022

Thesis Chair: Christian Ravela, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Hanbok is the traditional fashion of South Korea, and literally translates to “Korean clothing.” Once worn every day, today hanbok is reserved for special occasions and holidays; however new “modern” versions of the attire are becoming more and more popular for everyday wear. This new iteration of the traditional clothing created a new vernacular of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness” through the incorporation of modern fashion trends and traditional Korean aesthetics. Modern hanbok represents the unique relationship between nationalism, globalization, and fashion, and can be seen as an example of cultural hybridization. Looking at modern hanbok through the lens of Hallyu, or the Korean wave, provides insight into how constructions of Korean nationalism and notions of “Koreanness” are created, maintained, and change over time. In order to examine how modern hanbok operates as a new form of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness,” this thesis explores the hanbok tourism industry and the K-Pop industry in conversation with one another. Together these analyses highlight how globalization and nationalism interact with one another in different ways, and showcases Korea’s efforts to create and maintain a national imaginary while negotiating their growing economic, cultural, and political power in the world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
On Hallyu: A Literature Review.....	4
Modern Hanbok, Nationalism and Globalization	9
Chapter Descriptions	10
CHAPTER TWO: FASHIONING NATIONAL IDENTITY	13
On Fashion Theory	13
On Hanbok.....	17
CHAPTER THREE: WEARING “KOREANNESS”: HANBOK TOURISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF KOREAN NATIONAL IDENTITY.....	22
KOREA Magazine & Webzine	25
HanbokNam.....	31
Moon Bear Travel.....	35
Modern Hanbok Tourism	40
Conclusion.....	42
CHAPTER FOUR: LEESLE x KARD.....	44
LEESLE x KARD: A Case Study of Nation-Building in the Age of Globalization	45
The LEESLE x KARD Collection and Traditional Hanbok.....	51
Hidden Moon	53
Korean Street.....	57
Conclusion.....	60
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION.....	62
REFERENCES	63

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. BLACKPINK in modern hanbok for the music video of their song “How You Like That”.	2
Figure 2. Family wearing traditional hanbok.	19
Figure 3. Modern hanbok by the brands Danha, LEESLE, and Seorinarae.	21
Figure 4. Spread about popular tourist sites for hanbok tourism.	29
Figure 5. HanbokNam Hanbok Rental page, showcasing the different types of hanbok they offer for rent.	34
Figure 6. Moon Bear Travel’s blog post on renting hanbok in Korea.	39
Figure 7. KARD wearing the modern hanbok from their collaborative collection with LEESLE.	45
Figure 8. Original sketches by LEESLE for their collaboration with KARD.	48
Figure 9. Polaroid event as part of the promotion of the LEESLE x KARD collaboration.	50
Figure 10. Cup holder event as part of the promotion of the LEESLE x KARD collaboration.	51
Figure 11. “Moonlight Phoenix Waist Belt.”	56
Figure 12. “Moonlight Peony Cropped Tube Top.”	56
Figure 13. “Moonlight Changdoek Robe” in Ivory.	57
Figure 14. KARD member BM wearing the “Dragon Gilded Anorak” jacket.	59
Figure 15. “Tweed Short Vest” in Ivory.	60

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In June of 2020, K-Pop girl group BLACKPINK released their single “How You Like That” with a music video. Among the scenes of the four members singing and rapping in elegant gowns in front of elaborate sets are clips of them dancing in what looked like hanbok, South Korea’s traditional clothing, with a twist. The garments, made specifically for the four girls, feature traditional fabrics, colors, and prints associated with hanbok, but are cropped, cut, and fashioned in ways unlike the traditional clothing. Being tighter and shorter, these new versions of hanbok reflect a perfect combination of modern fashion trends and traditional Korean aesthetics (See Fig. 1). In recent years, many K-Pop groups have taken to wearing this modern hanbok in their music videos, special performances, and at award shows, showing an increase in popularity of the transformed garment. With the growing popularity of modern hanbok among K-Pop idols, questions surrounding how the garment has changed, and what these changes mean for the cultural and national importance traditional hanbok holds, have started to arise. How does modern hanbok simultaneously invoke and change notions of “Koreanness”? How do these modern iterations showcase the impact of globalization on Korean national identity?¹ In what ways does modern hanbok provide a new vernacular of Korean nationalism through its combination of modern fashion standards and traditional Korean aesthetics?

¹ In this context, “globalization” refers to the process of cultural hybridization or how cultures incorporate different aspects of other cultures.



Figure 1. BLACKPINK in modern hanbok for the music video of their song “How You Like That” from: Lim, J. “BLACKPINK’s ‘How You Like That’ MV Sets New Record As It Surpasses 200 Million Views.” Soompi, 3 July 2020, <https://www.soompi.com/article/1410678w>.

This thesis explores these questions by examining the changes and revisions made to traditional hanbok produced by both the K-Pop and tourist industry in Korea. The most obvious changes to hanbok have come in the form of color schemes and silhouettes, with these industries producing hanbok in non-traditional color stories that maintain the aesthetics of traditional hanbok while straying away from traditional shapes and forms. The tourism industry has transformed hanbok by exposing the clothing to non-Koreans through marketing materials and tourist activities, such as hanbok tourism. In creating a specific type of tourism dedicating to the clothing, hanbok tourism has impacted the meanings associated with hanbok through the emphasis on visual aesthetics and the idea of a ‘real’ Korea that can be experienced through wearing the nation’s clothing. On the other hand, the K-Pop industry has affected hanbok by creating changes in hanbok’s composition and use. Moving away from only wearing hanbok on special occasions and holidays, K-Pop groups have begun wearing modern iterations of hanbok on TV shows, in music videos and during performances. These new uses allow for the groups to

express themselves and their groups' concept, or theme, through modern hanbok by producing garments that take on new silhouettes and colors that are derived from Western fashion trends. Moving from light to vibrant hues, modern hanbok used by K-Pop groups are vastly different than traditional hanbok, yet maintain some of the key characteristics of hanbok, such as the use of traditional imagery and traditional design techniques. As such, these industries have played a huge role in reinventing the hanbok fashion market and rearticulating the meanings associated with the traditional clothing.

Importantly, the K-Pop and tourist industries have never been directed solely at a domestic audience but also, if not more so, an international audience. As such, a query into them and their relationships with modern hanbok provides insight into how modern hanbok presents itself as garments reflecting both globalization and Korean nationalism, and what this means when non-Koreans wear them. With globalization directly impacting tourism through the increased movement of people, means of communication, and exchange of cultures, an analysis of tourism, and hanbok tourism in particular, allows for the opportunity to understand the relationship between globalization and notions of nationalism and national identity. The K-Pop industry in particular has an interesting relationship with globalization and nationalism through its creation as part of Hallyu, or the popularity of Korean pop culture worldwide. As K-Pop idols have begun to wear modern hanbok, it is important to understand the garments in the context of Hallyu, globalization, and nationalism, as modern hanbok has clearly been impacted by globalization with the influences of Western fashion trends and the modification of the traditional attire. As Hallyu has had an impact on Korean tourism through the increased popularity of Korean pop culture such as Korean movies, dramas and music, looking at these two industries in conversation with one another allows for the understanding of how globalization

and nationalism interact with each other in different capacities. However, considering how non-Korean tourists utilize modern hanbok when they come to Korea complicates this narrative and makes the conversation surrounding clothes signifying “Koreanness” all the more interesting, especially when contemplating the influence of Hallyu. Thus, by examining the revisions of hanbok by the K-Pop industry, the Korean fashion industry and the tourist industry, I aim to unpack the values, norms, and ideas around globalization, tradition, and nationalism that compose a vernacular form of Korean national identity in the age of Hallyu.

On Hallyu: A Literature Review

With its establishment in the late 1990s, there has been an increase in scholarship on Hallyu, or the global popularity of Korean pop culture, since the early 2000s. As Hallyu encompasses so much, research pertaining to it is vast and ever-changing, but most of this research focuses on the history and importance of Hallyu, analyzes Hallyu’s relationship with nationalism and globalization, and critically looks at the different examples of successful cultural products that are a part of Hallyu. Generally, most scholars agree that the term ‘Hallyu’ was coined sometime between 1997 and 1999 to describe the popularity of Korean television dramas in China, and translates to “Korean Wave” (Shim 28; B. Kim 154; E. Kim & Ryoo 120; Sangjoon Lee 6). Although first used to explain the popularity of Korean dramas (K-dramas), since the 1990s Hallyu has come to embody the popularity of anything Korean, including, but not limited to, music, movies, beauty products, fashion, food, and even plastic surgery (E. Kim & Ryoo 120; Shim 29). Consequently, some scholars have denoted different iterations of Hallyu to signify the popularity of different cultural products. Bok-rae Kim, for example, separates Hallyu into 4 phases, with the success of Korean TV shows in the late 1990s as Hallyu 1.0, the growing

popularity of K-pop in the early 2000s as Hallyu 2.0, the prominence of Korean traditional culture as Hallyu 3.0, and lastly the new vogue of Korean fashion and style as Hallyu 4.0 (157).

With the scope of the term ‘Hallyu’ expanding further, research on the topic started to look at how the popularity of Korean cultural products became so massive and widespread. In their immensely influential article on Hallyu, Doobo Shim theorizes that Hallyu became so successful due to the combination of Korean government-sponsored initiatives and the theory of globalization that focuses on the notion of cultural hybridity (27). Focusing first on how the Korean government propelled the success of Hallyu, Shim and other scholars note the many policies and initiatives that were put in place in order to bolster the global popularity and exportability of Korean cultural products. Specifically, Shim notes the liberalization and development of Korean media in the 1980s and 1990s that caused Korea’s cultural industry to boom and initiated the success of K-dramas abroad (31). Notably, the attention given to Korean media and cultural products compelled the Korean government to establish the Cultural Industry Bureau within the Ministry of Culture and Sports in the mid-1990s (Shim 32). Other scholars note that the Korean government funded numerous research projects, grants and fellowships on the study of Hallyu and cultural products, and gave financial support and incentives to research institutions and universities working on the subject (E. Kim & Ryoo 144; Sangjoon Lee 9). Seung-Ho Kwon and Joseph Kim explain the ways in which the Korean government has supported Korean cultural industries since the late 1990s through the development of production technology and a skilled workforce in their article that highlights the numerous policies the Korean government put in place to support the success of Hallyu (423, 424). As such, the involvement of the Korean government in the production of Korean cultural products and the maintenance of the global popularity of Hallyu is noteworthy and integral to the success of

Hallyu, but scholars differ on the reason why the Korean government so heavily supports these industries.

Most researchers note the importance Hallyu has to Korean national identity, as the success of Hallyu is seen as the success of Korean culture (J. Kim 48). Eun Mee Kim and Jiwon Ryoo argue that the news of the success of Hallyu overseas was embraced as a source of national pride, and as such the government recreated and propelled the Hallyu boom within and outside of South Korea (119). Among these scholars, it is thought that the Korean government heavily supports Korean cultural products and Hallyu due to Korea's history of colonization by surrounding countries such as China and Japan (J. Kim 54; E. Kim & Ryoo 142). Thus, this nationalism tied to the recreation and maintenance of the success of Hallyu has been argued to be based in the want to be successful and influential among Korea's neighbors (J. Kim 50). On the other hand, some argue that the Korean government's involvement in Hallyu has to do with the economy. For instance, Seung-Ho Kwon and Joseph Kim argue that the Korean government implemented policies and funded initiatives that would bolster the success and popularity of Hallyu because they wanted to further develop the national economy (424). Realistically, it is safe to assume that some combination of the two motives is likely to be the reason behind government involvement in the immense popularity of Hallyu globally.

In addition to the Korean government's involvement in Hallyu, as mentioned earlier Shim and other scholars note the importance of globalization to the popularity and success of the Korean Wave. Shim describes globalization as a term referring to the process of the world becoming integrated, and multiple different theorizations have been used to explain the popularity of Hallyu and Korea's cultural products internationally (26). Such theorizations, as laid out by Shim, include the idea that globalization is an outgrowth of cultural imperialism, that

globalization is an outcome of the project of modernity, that globalization is the result of cultural proximity, and lastly, that globalization is the product of cultural hybridity (26, 27). It is this last theorization that Shim and other researchers subscribe to, as cultural hybridization allows for people to both interact with other cultures and create a new appreciation for their own (Shim 27). Seung-Ho Kwon and Joseph Kim argue that the theorization of globalization as cultural hybridity is useful to discern against the notion of cultural imperialism to explain the stream of cultural products in the global market, especially from countries considered to be in the periphery, like Korea, to more dominant countries, like the United States (423). Other scholars note the overall significance of globalization in the creation and preservation of Hallyu, stating that it has allowed for the homogenization and diversification of cultures, the renewed sense of importance of local cultures, and the hybridization of these local cultures in the global context (E. Kim & Ryoo 124; Shim 38). It is through this lens that research on the different cultural products that make up Hallyu takes place.

Most of the research on particular cultural products that are a part of Hallyu focuses on traditional media such as movies, TV shows, and music. Due to the creation of Hallyu being related to the success of K-dramas, much of the early scholarship on Hallyu focuses on the popularity of Korean TV shows in other countries, but namely in Korea's neighbors such as Japan and China. When discussing the success and significance of Hallyu, Jeongmee Kim looks at the importance of Hallyu in relation to well-liked K-dramas abroad, and focuses on the success of dramas like *Autumn in My Heart* and its sequel *Winter Sonata* in Japan, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia and Thailand (52). J. Kim relates this to the underlying nationalism that comes along with Hallyu through its popularity in neighboring countries and analyzes the appeal of the dramas by pointing out the combination of traditional values in a modern life and

the picturesque representation of Korea (49-53). Similarly, Eun Mee Kim and Jiwon Ryoo look at *Winter Sonata* when discussing the popularity of Hallyu, and point out the “Asian” values found throughout the show, such as the proverb “the good will always conquer evil,” which is the foundation of the story (128). Many other scholars looking at K-dramas follow this same path, illustrating the aspects of K-dramas that appeal to the masses, explaining, as E. Kim and Ryoo claim, that Hallyu has elements of both the West and the East in it (132). As such, many of the analyses of K-dramas and Korean TV shows examine examples of cultural hybridization, and use this as a method of illustrating Hallyu’s success worldwide.

The two other topics of interest in the study of Hallyu are movies and Korean popular music, also known as K-pop. Doobo Shim’s influential article pays attention to both movies and K-pop, analyzing the significance of films such as *Sopyonje*, *Old Boy*, and *Silmido*, among others, and the cultural hybridization found in K-pop groups by specifically looking at the groundbreaking boy group Seo Taiji and Boys (34, 35). Shim looks at the success of Korean movies and how they propelled Hallyu into the global market, as do many other scholars. Similarly to those analyzing K-dramas and TV shows, the appeal to worldwide audiences is studied, and parallel notions of cultural hybridization and the mix of traditional and modern values is asserted as an explanation to this global success. Numerous scholars have studied K-pop in many different regards; some, such as Shim, look at the influences of other cultures’ music in K-pop, while others think critically about the relationship between K-pop and gender and sexuality, K-pop and technology, and K-pop and nations far from Korea both geographically and ideologically, such as the Middle East.

As K-pop is a relatively recent phenomenon, research on the subject is vast and abundant, with practically any and every topic imaginable studied in relation to K-pop. Indeed, K-pop has

added a significant amount of work to the body of Hallyu research, and yet many cultural forms of Hallyu haven't been discussed in academia. Whereas the traditional media forms discussed above have had extensive research done on them, fashion has seen little attention beyond the occasional mention or reference to K-Pop idols. Many of the scholars discussed have made the specific reference to fashion as a product of Hallyu when considering what the phenomenon includes, but beyond it being listed as a form of Hallyu, fashion has been the topic of very little research. Of the little work that has discussed fashion and Hallyu, much of it is focused on what K-Pop idols are wearing, and how this fashion is received by viewers and fans. The emphasis of this research is placed on K-Pop as a cultural form and internationally popular industry, with no specific mention of fashion as a cultural product. Although the clothing choices and styling of its stars has played a role in the success of specific forms of Hallyu, in recent years fashion has become a distinct cultural product of Hallyu, making fashion worthy of further study as its own category of Hallyu and not just how it relates to other well-known Hallyu products. Considering fashion has a unique relationship with identity, looking critically at fashion provides insight into how the clothes we wear constructs and showcases our identities. Thinking specifically about fashion as a form of Hallyu, examining fashion allows for new understandings of the garments we wear and the meanings they hold, and how they interact with and are impacted by globalization and notions of nationalism.

Modern Hanbok, Nationalism and Globalization

Looking specifically at modern hanbok as an example of fashion as a form of Hallyu allows for the examination of the impact of globalization on culturally and historically significant garments, and how these influences have changed or transformed nationalistic

meanings imbued in the clothing. Modern hanbok exemplifies the theory of globalization as cultural hybridization as it has elements of East and West, just as Eun Mee Kim and Jiwon Ryoo assert is the case with most forms of Hallyu (132). As Doobo Shim argues that cultural hybridization encourages people to interact with other cultures while discovering a new appreciation for their own, modern hanbok embodies the ways in which different cultures can have an impact on a nation's traditional clothing, while still maintaining the clothing's importance to the nation's people. As such, modern hanbok reflects the unique relationship between nationalism, globalization, and fashion, as the impacts of globalization is seen in the construction of these garments that are nationally and culturally significant. By expressing cultural hybridization modern hanbok showcases Korea's growing economic, political, and cultural power around the world, while also illustrating the cultural negotiation and struggle of maintaining a coherent sense of national identity.

Chapter Descriptions

CHAPTER TWO: FASHIONING NATIONAL IDENTITY

I will begin by examining prominent fashion theories laid out in Susan B. Kaiser's book *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, in order to learn how we can read and understand the clothing we wear. Focusing specifically on nationalistic clothing, I will utilize Kaiser's assertions about traditional, national and folk clothing and Kaiser's application of the cultural studies practice of articulation to inform my analysis and understanding of traditional and modern hanbok in the tourism and K-Pop industry. This chapter will also provide basic information about the composition and history of hanbok, which will then lead us to the discussion of hanbok tourism.

CHAPTER THREE: WEARING “KOREANNESS”: HANBOK TOURISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF KOREAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

This chapter will examine three different forms of visual hanbok tourism media, and the various meanings and representation of “Koreanness” demonstrated within them. In looking at a magazine spread developed by the Korean government, the hanbok rental information page by a private hanbok tourism business, and the blogpost about hanbok tourism by a Westerner’s travel and lifestyle blog, I aim to examine the different articulations of a ‘true’ Korean experience and notion of “Koreanness” while being experienced and worn by both Korean and non-Korean people.

CHAPTER FOUR: LEESLE x KARD

After coming to an understanding of the importance hanbok plays to the development of the nation, I will turn to the collaboration of the modern hanbok brand LEESLE and K-Pop group KARD. This analysis will showcase the ways in which the LEESLE x KARD collaboration utilize important K-Pop fan interactions and practices to create a novel form of nation-building as they went about creating their collection. Following that is a study of a few pieces from the collection, which tells the story of a nation moving from antiquity to modernity through the use of traditional motifs in a new way.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

Together, these analyses provide an understanding of modern hanbok as a new and unique form of expression of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness.” It considers the impact of

globalization on nation-building and meanings of nationalism, while also pointing to how fashion can become a site of nationalistic expressions that change and shift overtime.

CHAPTER TWO: FASHIONING NATIONAL IDENTITY

Before examining examples of modern hanbok and how it can be used to express Korean nationalism and a notion of “Koreanness,” we must first make the connection between fashion and nationalism. As such, this chapter aims to lay the foundation for the analysis of modern hanbok by briefly examining the history of fashion theory before focusing closely on Susan B. Kaiser’s application of the cultural studies concept of articulation to fashion. Through the use of articulation, Kaiser will make the connection between fashion and nationalism, and we will examine how fashion can be seen as an expression of nationalism especially when applied to hanbok. This chapter will conclude with a brief history of hanbok, as well as an examination of the relationship between hanbok and modern hanbok and the expression of Korean nationalism.

On Fashion Theory

As it is an interdisciplinary field, fashion theory has a long history filled with many different understandings and theorizations. Many of these theorizations focus on culture, social class, and modernity in the Western world, with special emphasis on sex, gender, and social ranking (Kaiser 8). In her book *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, Susan B. Kaiser briefly lays out some of the major theorizations throughout history in fashion theory before discussing her own theorization that focuses on a collaboration between fashion theory and cultural studies. Kaiser begins with a notable example of early fashion theory from German sociologist Georg Simmel, in which they focused on the relationship between wanting to be like others and wanting to distinguish oneself from others (8). She elaborates that the “processes of imitating others (belonging) and differentiating from others (demarcating) become inseparable” as we do both at

the same time (Kaiser 22). Simmel says this outright in his article “Fashion,” wherein he states, “Two social tendencies are essential to the establishment of fashion, namely, the need of union on the one hand and the need of isolation on the other. Should one of these be absent, fashion will not be formed – its sway will abruptly end” (qtd. in Kaiser 22). Simmel argued that this interplay propelled changes in fashion in modern societies, as did other theorists like Thorstein Veblen, who attributed fashion changes to social mobility in an open society (Kaiser 8). These early theorizations led to important notions in fashion theory, such as Fred Davis ascribing changes in fashion to “culturally-coded identities,” like gender, social class, and other identity issues (Kaiser 9). As such, a lot of fashion theory focuses on the relationships between identities and fashion choices, and explains changing fashion through these connections.

Building on the notion of fashion and identity, Kaiser looks at fashion through the lens of cultural studies, noting that “fashion, like culture, is both a social process and a material practice” (12). Kaiser connects fashion theory and cultural studies through the cultural studies concept of articulation, meaning both the connection or link between two or more things, and to express something (4). Kaiser is able to do this through the notion that fashion can be understood as a form of code, and thus can be ‘read’. Like text, you can pull out meanings from fashion by making connections between the fashion and who is wearing it, what they’re doing in it, what they’re wearing it for, etc. Because of this, analyzing fashion depends largely on the conception of fashion as a historical concept that is shaped and transformed by existing cultures and social ideas. As such, in order to analyze or ‘read’ fashion in a meaningful way, we have to recognize the historical and cultural underpinnings that allow for particular fashions to exist. As Edward Sapir notes, “a specific fashion is utterly unintelligible if lifted out of its place in a sequence of forms” (61). Thus, applying the cultural studies notion of articulation to fashion makes sense as

just as other cultural forms, fashion too is a social practice that can be ‘read’ and understood. As Kaiser notes, “articulation becomes a metaphor for having a voice or a sense of agency through everyday looks or fashionings of the body,” allowing for explanation as to how people put together and express their clothing choices with their multiple identities, thoughts and motives (5). It is through this application of articulation that the connection between fashion and nationalism can be made.

When looking at the concept of nationalism, we must turn to Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, which defines the nation as “an imagined political community” (6). Anderson explains that the nation is “imagined” because despite people never actually knowing everyone within their nation, they have the shared “image of their communion” within “finite, if elastic, boundaries” (6). The nation is imagined as a “community” because “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson 7). Thus, the idea of the nation and national identity serves as a way of creating unity despite differences, oppression, and diversity, linking each of us to a particular locale and a set of cultural and historical notions specific to our nation.

With this understanding of the nation in mind, Kaiser uses the notion of articulation to explain the relationship between fashion and national identities as she goes through why nation and fashion are tied together in the chapter “Fashioning the National Subject.” Kaiser states that “national identities had to be created to make people feel that they were internally united and different from people in other nations,” and this is seen through the national dress that a nation’s people takes up (53). Often reminiscent of the past, an important dynamic of the national sartorial representation of the nation is the “frequently nostalgic relationship to rural, peasant, ethnic attire,” so ethnic or traditional forms of dress are often used to capture a sense of a

nostalgic imagined community (Kaiser 53). Indeed, national dress often calls back to the folk-like garments of the past, relying on the notion of a collective cultural form of fashion tied to the peasantry or the every-day people of the nation.

It is here where we can see “tradition” and “modern” used as idioms of nationalist forms of thinking, as the folk-like garments of the past serve as a nostalgic anchoring point for the concept of the nation. This anchoring point is the imagined community and boundaries of the nation, which helps unite a nation’s people as the nation moves into the future. Thus, “tradition” and “modern” operate as ways to connect people together and tie them to a particular conception of the nation. “Tradition” can be seen as the imagined nationalism, while “modern” provides for future imagining of nationalism. Significantly, “tradition” and “modern” are not opposed to one another, but are in constant conversation with each other.

Kaiser argues that the interest in the peasantry fashions of the past may be because of “cultural anxieties regarding a loss of authenticity in the context of industrialization and urbanization,” causing a nation’s national dress to revert back to a time before modernization, industrialization, and globalization (53). Kaiser defines this cultural anxiety as “collective sense of free-floating uncertainty, coupled with emotions ranging from fear and dread to hope and anticipation,” which can be seen in many nationalistic movements around the world (44). In addition to this desire to recreate ethnic or traditional fashion, Kaiser argues that fashion imbued with nationalism often comes about because of globalization and the “blurring of national economic and cultural boundaries” (57). Indeed, Edward Sapir states that “perhaps the most important of the special factors which encourage the spread of fashion today is the increased facility for the production and transportation of goods and for communication, either personally or by correspondence from the centers of fashion, to the outmost periphery of the civilized

world” (63). Though “civilized world” is an outdated phrase, Sapir is correct in asserting that increased production, transportation, and communication has influenced the spread of fashion, just as it has also contributed to new and transformed fashion all around the world.

With digital technologies and globalization challenging the physical and cultural boundaries of a nation, Kaiser argues that the cultural anxiety of having to rethink the meaning of the nation in this global context could have contributed to a “renewed interest in nationalism” (60). To withstand the pressures of maintaining a distinct nationalist cultural imaginary, Korea utilizes cultural hybridization to produce a new form of hanbok that incorporates the aesthetics of traditional hanbok and design elements of Western fashion. As such, looking critically at traditional and modern hanbok can provide insight into how fashion choices can be used as an expression of nationalism, and how globalization impacts this expression.

On Hanbok

In order to understand how fashion can articulate forms of Korean nationalism, we must examine a fashion that has a long and significant cultural history. As such, analyzing hanbok, and later modern hanbok, provides the opportunity to utilize fashion theory to explore how fashion can serve as an expression of nationalism. To begin doing so, we must first look at a brief history of hanbok, and its relationship to Korean identity, nationalism, and internal and external pressures such as globalization and internal inequalities.

Hanbok is Korea’s traditional clothing, consisting of a wrapped jacket (jeogori), a high waisted skirt for women (chima), and loose pants for men (baji), as seen in Figure 2 (Samuel Lee 17). Once worn every day, hanbok was made of vibrant colors and went through many changes over centuries, kingdoms and periods of foreign occupation. Artifacts show evidence of

variations in the length and closures of jeogori throughout the reign of the Three Kingdoms (57 BC – 668 AD), with the jeogori getting shorter in length throughout the Goryeo (918-1392) and Joseon (1392-1897) periods (Samuel Lee 12). As Genghis Khan and the Mongol Empire rose to power during the 13th century, the Goryeo Dynasty became increasingly influenced by the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) with their official military and civilian attire changing to that of Yuan costume system (Samuel Lee 15). With the fall of the Goryeo Dynasty and rise of the Joseon Dynasty in 1392, an emphasis on simplicity and austerity began to influence hanbok as Neo-Confucian principles became the “guiding force of the Joseon Dynasty” (Samuel Lee 16). Such details from the Joseon Dynasty can be seen in the fundamental features and basic designs of hanbok today (Samuel Lee 16). Nowadays, Koreans enjoy wearing hanbok as a reflection of their culture, particularly for special events such as weddings, birthdays, Korean holidays and festivals such as Chuseok, the Korean Thanksgiving, because it is seen as “distinctly Korean” (Geum and DeLong 57, 67). In their essay titled “Korean Traditional Dress as an Expression of Heritage,” Key-Sook Geum and Marilyn Revell DeLong argue that the transition of hanbok from every day dress to a particular attire for special occasions allowed for the traditional dress to become a more unifying statement, solidifying Korean identity (67).



Figure 2. Family wearing traditional hanbok from: "The history of Hanbok and the traditional Hanbok." Mokkoji, <https://www.mokkojikorea.com/wiki/11>.

The importance of hanbok to the nation and culture of Korea can especially be seen in the ways in which it was worn to combat external pressures and reflect internal changes, for instance by Korea's neighbor, Japan. In the 19th century, Korean officials, influenced by Japan, began wearing Western forms of clothing and encouraged the Korean population to do so as well (Joo 144). As such, hanbok became reserved for special occasions, government proceedings and national holidays. The insistence of wearing Western clothing instead of hanbok was furthered by the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula during the early 20th century, but as a sign of resistance to Japanese imperialism, Korean women continued to wear their hanbok as a symbol of their national identity (Joo 149). Being the original clothing of the country, hanbok already has strong national and cultural meanings, but these women gave hanbok an even stronger sense of national importance. Following the Korean War, Korea went through a period of rapid modernization and globalization, and the 21st century has continued and accelerated these changes. Korea has seen the effects of globalization and modernization on its industries,

traditions, and nation as a whole, and hanbok has been no exception to these transformations. Due to its history and use, hanbok serves as a symbol of national identity and holds a lot of significance for Koreans, and as such, Koreans are quick to protect hanbok's cultural integrity. Still, hanbok has undergone transformations that reflect the influences of globalization and cultural hybridization.

As seen in Figure 3, the most evident changes in what is now being called modern hanbok are the changes in silhouette, from very loose to more tight-fitting, and changes in color stories and textiles. Many of these changes are influenced by Western fashion notions and standards, and have been made in an effort to modernize the garment so that Koreans will incorporate hanbok back into their daily dress. Indeed, modern hanbok designers have worked hard to make these changes while maintaining the beauty and national and cultural significance of traditional hanbok so that a new, more wearable version of the nationalistic attire can be worn by Koreans every day (Y. Lee 27). Thus, modern hanbok expresses a unique relationship between globalization and nationalism, but more importantly, provides Korean wearers with a new way to express Korean nationalism beyond traditional nationalistic avenues like language, symbols, or ideology. In utilizing the notion of national dress as inspired by and derived from peasantry attire and the way nationalism is understood as a response to global forces, as theorized by Kaiser, modern hanbok serves as a representation of how fashion can be used as more than just an expression of individual identities, but as a collective idiom for an imagined community.



Figure 3. Modern hanbok by the brands Danha, LEESLE, and Seorinarae from: B, Emily, "Modern Hanbok: Traditional With A Contemporary Twist." *The Kraze*, 17 March 2021, <https://thekrazemag.com/latest-updates/2021/3/17/modern-hanbok-traditional-with-a-contemporary-t>

CHAPTER THREE: WEARING “KOREANNESS”:

HANBOK TOURISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF KOREAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

When searching for things to do while visiting South Korea, one of the many activities that come up is renting hanbok to wear to tourist attractions and historic landmarks. In fact, a large part of the tourism industry of South Korea is dedicated to renting the traditional clothing out to foreign and Korean tourists alike, encouraging them to don the attire while visiting many of Korea’s historically and culturally significant sites. Through the use of traditional hanbok and the imagery and landmarks of the Joseon dynasty, hanbok tourism hinges on the relationship between traditional hanbok today and the folk-like hanbok of the past to create an ‘essence of Korea’ for tourists to experience. Considering the sartorial representation of a nation has a “frequently nostalgic relationship to rural, peasant, ethnic attire,” hanbok tourism utilizes this notion to play up the authenticity of tourist experiences in Korea, and thus upholds many of the nationalistic meanings associated with hanbok despite the clothing being worn on non-Korean bodies (Kaiser 53).

Considering globalization has had a direct impact on tourism by increasing the mobility of people, methods of communication, and exchanges of cultures, examining tourism provides insights into how globalization has the potential to impact national identity, particularly when analyzing forms of tourism that rely on culturally and historically significant items, such as hanbok. As an example of cultural tourism, hanbok tourism provides the opportunity to understand how the use of the traditional clothing instills notions of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism while being on non-Korean persons. Because of the efforts by the Korean government and private companies to encourage tourists, whether foreign or Korean, to

participate in hanbok tourism, this industry serves as the perfect example of the different articulations of a ‘true’ or ‘real’ Korean experience and conceptions of “Koreanness.”

To fully understand how hanbok tourism is able to demonstrate how hanbok is an expression of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness,” let us turn to three examples of hanbok tourism materials, and examine the visual representations of hanbok presented in each one. Each of the three examples discussed below provide a different expression of the desire to experience a ‘real’ Korea, as well as the fantasy of being a Korean native. The first example is a two-page spread from *KOREA* magazine, a digital and print magazine created by the Korean government under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. This spread provides information about four sites where tourists can wear hanbok, and features images of foreign and Korean tourists wearing the clothing, as well as information about discounts and free admissions to the landmarks they discuss. This spread in tandem with the Korean government produces a notion of hanbok as a valid expression of “Koreanness” through the reliance on a folk conception of Korea that is reminiscent of the Joseon period. As an article created and published by the Korean government, this example manages to create a particular sense of legitimacy as it displays and discusses real landmarks that hold historic and cultural significance.

The second example comes from a private hanbok rental company called HanbokNam. Based in many cities around Korea, the company states that their goal is to make wearing hanbok in Korea a must-do activity for tourists. Unlike the *KOREA* spread, the HanbokNam “Hanbok Rental” page provides images of Koreans wearing the clothing and doing more everyday activities, like going out to eat and hanging out with friends. In doing so, HanbokNam conveys a different image of hanbok as an expression of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism, as HanbokNam ties hanbok to the real-life experiences of Koreans and to modern Korea, rather

than to palaces of the past as does the *KOREA* spread. The final example is from a travel blog called Moon Bear Travel, which consists of blog posts about the lives and adventures of two Western women living in Korea. Providing information on size-inclusive places to rent hanbok, the blog post examined here serves as a cultural translator for their Western audiences looking to visit to Korea. The author provides information that suits the needs and concerns of Westerners, as they address expanded sizes, potential encounters with transphobia, among other things. Donning the clothing themselves, the authors invoke notions of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness” tied to hanbok through the ways they emphasize the importance of the clothing to the country and to the tourist experience of Korea. This final example provides a different representation of hanbok tourism that incorporates aspects of the *KOREA* spread and HanbokNam representations of hanbok tourism in that they include going to historical landmarks and doing everyday activities as a key part of hanbok tourism, but they produce this information with specifically a Western and non-Korean audience in mind.

In analyzing these visual representations of hanbok in different tourism materials, the relationship between globalization and nationalism comes to light, as hanbok tourism highlights the impact globalization has had not only on tourism but on sartorial nationalistic representations, such as hanbok. As Kaiser asserts, national clothing, such as hanbok, are often nostalgic representations of a “rural, peasant, ethnic attire” and thus are used to create a sense of unity and connection to the past in times of change (53). This is particularly seen through times of globalization and the “blurring of national, economic and cultural boundaries,” as “cultural anxieties” surrounding a loss of “authenticity in the context of industrialization and urbanization” cause a nation to revert to a time before globalization (Kaiser 53, 57). Hanbok tourism, then, has a unique relationship with globalization as it has allowed for the increased exchanges of cultures,

methods of communication, and movement of people, thus fueling the tourism industry, but has also seen the effects of the “cultural anxieties” that comes along with globalization as it depends on the traditional, ethnic clothing of the past to communicate Korean nationalism and notions of “Koreanness” today.

KOREA Magazine & Webzine

KOREA is a magazine and webzine produced by the Korean Culture Information Service under the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism that features stories about Korean culture, food, entertainment, and fashion. Found in both print and digital form, new editions of *KOREA* come out every month highlighting different aspects of Korean culture, with seventeen volumes published to date. As a webzine, *KOREA* features on the front page of Korea.net, South Korea’s website dedicated to news, information, and media. Significantly, the magazine and webzine are entirely in English, pointing towards the target audience of the publication, making it clear that the magazine is clearly for the consumption of English speakers interested in Korea and Korean culture.

For the sixteenth volume of *KOREA*, which was published throughout 2020, each edition focused on a different aspect of Korean culture, including stories highlighting Korean music, food, and art. The third edition, published in March of 2020, focuses on hanbok with the cover, cover story, and multiple other articles focusing on everything about hanbok, from its history to modern uses and iterations of the attire. Within this edition is a two-page spread spotlighting hanbok tourism titled “Captivating in Costume: 4 Hanbok Hotspots,” which showcases images of foreigners and tourists wearing hanbok around Korean landmarks (See Figure 4). The spread by Samuel Kim focuses on four locations that are not only historically and culturally important

to Korea, but are integral to hanbok tourism; giving readers general information about each location and highlighting that wearing hanbok gives visitors free or discounted admission to the landmarks and centers.

Before looking to the “Hanbok Hotspots,” Kim begins by noting the popularity of hanbok among visitors to Korea due to Korean films and TV shows, and continues by stating that “merely wearing the clothing that sports exquisite colors and designs is not enough; walking in areas where Korean royalty once roamed are a must for those donning the costumes” (S. Kim 20). With this, Kim illustrates the influence Hallyu has had on the popularity of hanbok tourism among visitors to Korea, and also notes the importance of wearing the attire in particular areas around Korea. This helps construct particular images of experiencing Korea in the minds of tourists and also provides a sense of authenticity to these images. Consequently, *KOREA* and this spread present a particular representation of the Korean nation and the notion of “Koreanness” through the articulation of hanbok and historical landmarks as one of the best representations of experiencing a ‘true’ Korea.

The four locations noted in the spread are the Seoul Global Cultural Center, Gyeongbokgung Palace, Jeonju Hanok Village, and Korean Folk Village. Kim describes some of the places tourists can take photos at these locations, as well as where and how to rent hanbok for many of the locations. Significantly, a key point mentioned in each of the descriptions of the locations are the discounts and free admissions available to those wearing hanbok. This can be viewed as the Korean government’s support of hanbok tourism as many of these sites are operated by the government. Discounts and free admission surely encourage foreigners to take up the opportunity to not only wear hanbok but to visit and experience aspects of Korean culture and history. Thus, in conjunction with the fact that this spread is in a magazine created by the

government, it is clear that the Korean government fully supports the hanbok tourism industry. This is really interesting considering the meanings associated with the traditional attire, especially those surrounding Korean nationalism and “Koreanness.”

Considering Hallyu is oftentimes foreigners’ first experience with hanbok, Hallyu heavily informs the imagined identity of Koreans in the minds of these tourists. Thus, the influence of these movies and shows, paired with the push by the government to wear hanbok at historical locations, creates notions of “Koreanness” that hinge on the imagined traditional culture of Korea. Indeed, particular notions of Korean culture and “Koreanness” are constructed as being closely associated with the “exquisite colors and designs” of hanbok that pair with traditional and historic landmarks (Kim 20). As such, the notion of an authentic “Koreanness” for the Korean government becomes entwined with a conception of traditional Korean culture that is based off of images of Korean royalty, dynasties, and villages that reflect a period before the industrialization and globalization of the country that appeal to tourists. These conceptions are then given authenticity through the Korean government’s support of them, solidifying the nationalist meanings associated with hanbok through their efforts to create and maintain hanbok tourism.

The significance of this notion of “Koreanness” is interesting when assessed next to the images within the spread; namely those of non-Korean Westerners wearing the attire at these historical and cultural locations. In three of the four locations described, there are images of non-Koreans wearing hanbok and posing for photos. The first image on the bottom left corner of the spread shows a family posing for a photo at the Seoul Global Cultural Center in traditional hanbok and accessories. This photo is part of the Center’s “Traditional Costume Experience,” a popular activity for tourists that allows visitors to partake in “traditional” Korean culture. This

“traditional” Korean culture is constructed around the notions of “Koreanness” that rely on tourism strategies to bring in tourists. However, these images are paired with images of Korean’s also wearing hanbok and partaking in hanbok tourism, highlighting the effectiveness of the government’s representation of hanbok tourism at historical landmarks as a form of authentic “Koreanness” and as a valid form of nationalism. Paired with the fact that the Korean government is featuring these photos in their magazine about Korean culture, these constructions of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness” through hanbok and hanbok tourism are validated and reinforced.

Captivating in Costume

4 Hanbok Hotspots

Many visitors to Korea are fans of Hanbok thanks to seeing the traditional attire in numerous Korean films and TV dramas. Merely wearing the clothing that sports exquisite colors and designs is not enough; walking in areas where Korean royalty once roamed are a must for those donning the costumes. Here are four places ideal for that purpose.

Written by **Kim Samuel**

• Seoul Global Cultural Center

Located in the bustling downtown district of Myeong-dong, the Seoul Global Cultural Center has extensive information on tourism in Seoul with consultation available in English, Japanese and Chinese. Among the center's event offerings, the Traditional Costume Experience is especially popular among tourists, who dress up in Hanbok and ornaments to pose for snapshots. The activity is free for visitors who sign up for admission between 10 a.m. and 5 p.m.



5F, M-Plaza, Myeong-dong 8-gil 27, Jung-gu District, Seoul
www.seoulculturalcenter.com/en/

• Gyeongbokgung Palace

Among the five palaces built during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), Gyeongbokgung is the largest in size and the first to be established. In Joseon's early years, the palace was the hub of the dynasty. Entrance to all five palaces is free for anyone wearing Hanbok, and visitors wearing the traditional attire create marvelous scenes.

Geunjeongjeon Hall is a prime photogenic spot due to its spatial dynamics. Gyeonghoeru Pavilion, where foreign envoys were greeted or banquets were held, also boasts beautiful views year-round. Hyangwonjeong Pavilion, where the emperor is known to have rested or seen artistic performances, has a dainty charm. The circular island on a square-shaped pond and a second-floored gazebo atop it offers the best spot to savor the luxurious setting in Hanbok.



© Jeon Han, Korea.net



Sajik-ro 161, Jongno-gu District, Seoul
www.royalpalace.go.kr

Figure 4. Spread about popular tourist sites for hanbok tourism from: Kim, Samuel. "Captivating in Costume," KOREA, April 2020, pp. 20-21, <https://www.korea.net/Resources/Publications/KOREA-Magazines/view?articleId=9513&pageIndex=3>.



Eojin-gil 29, Wansan-gu District, Jeonju-si, Jeollabuk-do Province
jeonjucity.kr

• Jeonju Hanok Village

Boasting over 10 million visitors every year, Jeonju Hanok Village is a can't-miss tourist destination. In defiance to Japan's growing imperialistic domination, Korea's gentry and laypeople designed and produced more modern and revamped Hanok. As an area rich in culture and wealth, prestigious educational institutions joined forces once Korea was liberated from Japanese rule in 1945. In 1977, the village was designated a Hanok preservation area.

Today, the village also hosts annual Hanbok festivals. For example, a Hanbok-themed celebration was held on Halloween last year. Gyeonggijeon and Jeondong Catholic Church, set against the backdrop of exotic Hanok scenery, are exceptionally prime spots to visit for those dressed in Hanbok. Every fourth Saturday of the month is "Hanbok Day," when those wearing Hanbok can get into Gyeonggijeon for half price. Hanbok rentals are also available, and three hours are sufficient for a stroll around scintillating scenery. More admission discounts are available online.

• Korean Folk Village

Occupying a cozily situated basin amid greenery and unsullied streams is the Korean Folk Village, where 500 years of the Joseon era remain kempt. Visitors dressed in Hanbok get a discount on admission. Onsite staff actors play various roles from beggars to magistrates to heighten the realism of the village.

Reenacted on around 245 acres are sites featuring ancient lifestyles, district offices, farms, and thatched or tile-roofed homes. About 270 structures have the characteristics of each of the eight Korean provinces including the islands of Jeju and Ulleungdo. Reconstructed smithies, bronze workshops, home schooling or herbal medicine rooms, and a gentry house encompassing 99 rooms offer experiential activities. Taste regional delicacies at the village market and check out ceremonies on the UNESCO Intangible Heritage list such as traditional farmer performances or traditional marriages. The village last year attracted an estimated 1.8 million visitors.



167-29, 2697beon-gil, Gyeongchoongdae-ro, Icheon-si, Gyeonggi-do Province
www.kocof.org/eng

HanbokNam

HanbokNam is a hanbok culture-entertainment company dedicated to promoting hanbok tourism in Korea. The main aspect of their business is providing hanbok rentals to tourists in Korea, but their website and locations also give information about traveling to Korea, places to wear hanbok, and other tourist attractions visitors can go to. With this, they state that their goal is to make the “sightseeing in hanbok experience a compulsory part of the Korean experience for tourists,” and they achieve this goal through their extensive services (HanbokNam). By having locations around popular places to wear hanbok, such as Gyeongbokgung Palace, HanbokNam situates themselves at a desirable spot in the hanbok tourism industry. Unlike smaller hanbok rental shops, HanbokNam makes use of the internet to further their company, allowing tourists to look at locations, types of hanbok, and ways to travel well in advance of their visit. With their website being in Korean, English, Chinese, and Japanese, HanbokNam appeals not only to foreign tourists, but also Korean tourists visiting these historical locations.

Looking to their “Hanbok Rental” page on their website, HanbokNam begins by detailing the process of renting hanbok through them, from registering, choosing your hanbok and hair style, to fees and payment. As seen in Figure 5, large part of the “Hanbok Rental” page is dedicated to the different types of hanbok available for rental, including themed, traditional, character, wedding, lifestyle (what they call modern hanbok), and children’s hanbok. Each type of hanbok features an array of promotional photos of the hanbok, as well as a brief description of what makes up each type of hanbok. For instance, for character hanboks, HanbokNam tells visitors to “time travel back to the Chosun [Joseon] Dynasty and become a King, a Queen or a Scholar” alongside images of men wearing a depiction of a King’s hanbok (“Hanbok Rental Service”). Interestingly, all of the images accompanying the different types of hanbok feature

Koreans and are clearly promotional pictures for HanbokNam rather than tourists' photos they asked to use. This isn't unusual for a private company, but when it comes to the creation of notions of "Koreanness" associated with hanbok, these photos hold significance as they solidify ties between hanbok and tourist experiences in Korea. Not only do these images point to the inclusion of Koreans as part of the audience of hanbok tourism, but they also create a sense of authenticity to the viewer through the specific use of Korean bodies as agents of hanbok tourism.

Unlike *KOREA* magazine, HanbokNam showcases Koreans wearing hanbok doing everyday things like going out to eat and hanging out with friends, thus creating a new sense of the 'real' Korean experience and 'essence of Korea' that includes normal activities in more modern settings. Although HanbokNam still encourages their customers to visit historic landmarks such as Gyeongbokgung Palace, they also highlight the many ways one can experience the 'true' Korea and fulfill the tourist fantasy of becoming a Korean native outside of visiting these locations. Here, the tourist fantasy is fulfilled through a kind of "folk" life that is of the everyday people of modern Korea, who wear hanbok while going shopping and spending time in cafes, rather than going to palaces and traditional villages. With Hallyu's impact on tourism in Korea, this form of the 'essence of Korea' is in line with what many fans of Hallyu imagine Korea to be. Hallyu oftentimes represents Korea as its traditional past or modern present, and as the *KOREA* spread reflects the Hallyu imageries from Korea's traditional past, HanbokNam creates similar images of Korea's modern present.

Not only are the people pictured on HanbokNam's hanbok rental page Korean, but they also are young and beautiful, reflecting the current beauty standards in Korea. Looking like they are straight out of a Korean drama, the women pictured have pale faces with perfect makeup, while the men are clean-shaven with sharp jawlines. With these images, HanbokNam is not only

representing a sort of “Koreanness” that showcases Korean people wearing hanbok and participating in hanbok tourism, but also represents a notion of “Koreanness” that is tied to physical appearances. This connects to the tourist fantasy of being a Korean native, as it almost tells tourists that they’ll be these beautiful people too if they rent and wear these hanboks around Korea. Indeed, these images create a particular notion of “Koreanness” and a ‘true’ experience of Korea that is heavily related to young beautiful people that you would see in Korean dramas and K-Pop music videos.

HanbokNam’s representation of hanbok tourism creates a particular construction of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness” that largely depends upon images of young and beautiful Koreans wearing hanbok outside cafes and in parks. Relying heavily on Hallyu imagery and representations of Korea and Koreans, HanbokNam constructs a ‘real’ notion of “Koreanness,” as it is linked to hanbok, through the incorporation of the imaginations of non-Korean tourists who aim to experience the life of a native in modern Korea. Though they encourage tourists to visit historical landmarks while wearing hanbok, HanbokNam focuses mainly on creating an “authentic” experience of Korea through wearing hanbok to do everyday activities. As such, HanbokNam reflects a different articulation of “Koreanness” than that of the *KOREA* spread, as this version of a ‘real’ Korea hinges on Korea of today and not Korea of the past.



If you want to do Hanbok rental while travelling around Gyeongbokgung Palace, Changdeokgung Palace and Hongik University or Jeonju Hanok Village, you can easily do Hanbok rental at Hanboknam Branch. and If you want to enhance the satisfaction of hanbok experience rather than simply hanbok rental, please visit to Hanboknam.
Hanboknam attached a description of how to use and explain of the item to hanbok rental. Enjoy hanbok rental in Hanboknam!

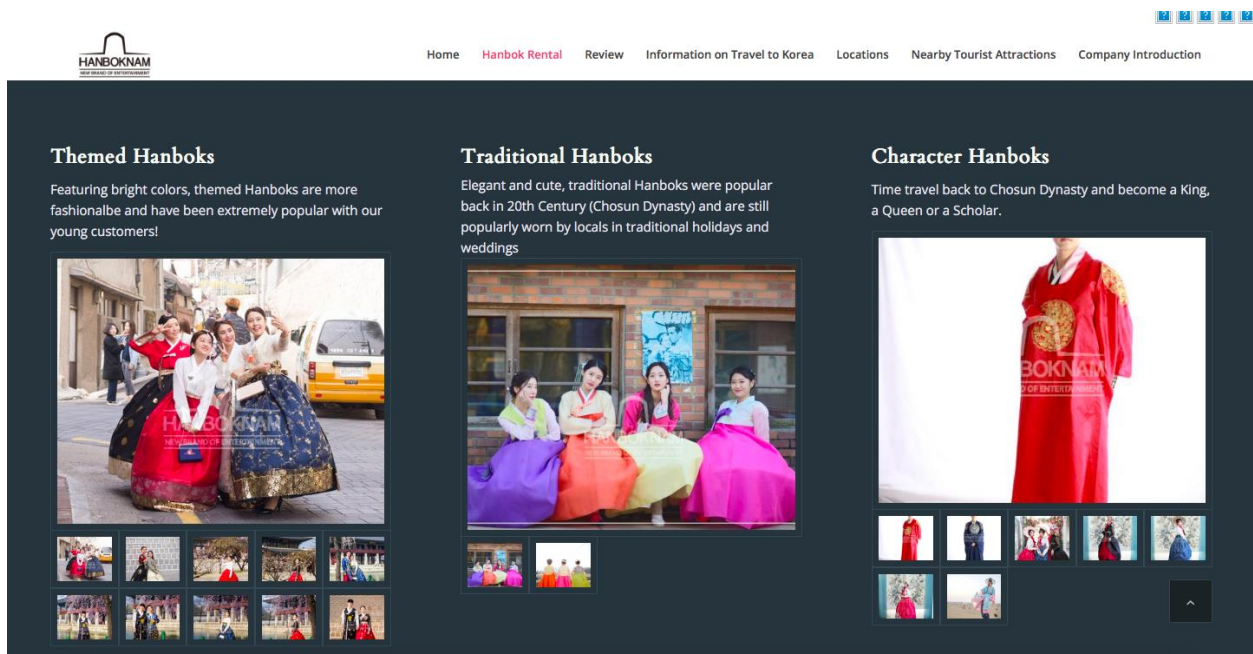


Figure 5. HanbokNam Hanbok Rental page, showcasing the different types of hanbok they offer for rent from: “Hanbok Rental Service by Hanboknam,” <http://hanboknamglobal.com/hanbok-rental/>.

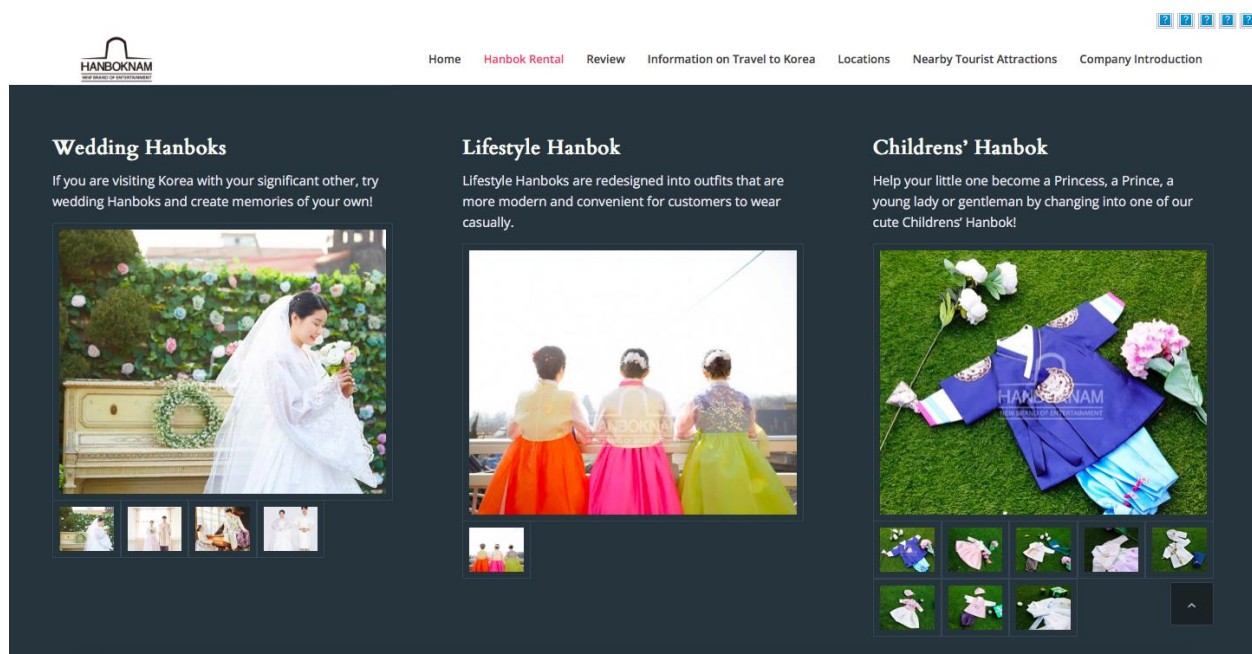


Figure 5. Continued.

Moon Bear Travel

Moon Bear Travel is a part of Pinpoint Korea, a travel blog created by Allison Needels, a Korean archaeologist and art historian. Created with the intention of offering “a more in-depth look for people across the globe who already have a prior interest in Korea, but want to know more,” the blog features multiple entries and articles about Korean food, culture, fashion and experiences (Roberts, “Hanbok Rental”). As the site was created by Westerners living and working in Korea, the authors serve as cultural translators for their mainly Western audience, providing information about hanbok as it relates to the history of Korea and Korean nationalism. Providing a sort of anthropological lens to the experiences to be had in South Korea, their representation of hanbok tourism upholds hanbok as a vernacular for Korean nationalism through their depiction of wearing hanbok as “one the most popular pastimes for tourists visiting Korea” and for those who live there (Roberts, “Hanbok Rental”). Considering they specifically cater to a

Western audience, Moon Bear Travel and their blog post on hanbok rentals is able to present hanbok as an expression of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism by using Western terms and understandings of Korea, especially when they address concerns over authenticity of hanbok rentals. Whereas the *KOREA* spread depends on traditional imagery of Korea and historical landmarks, and the HanbokNam “Hanbok Rental” page relies on imageries from Hallyu and modern representations of everyday life in Korea, Moon Bear Travel creates a different sense of authenticity of hanbok tourism as an expression of a ‘real’ “Koreanness.”

Moon Bear Travel has many articles relating to hanbok, but one in particular focuses on hanbok tourism, giving information about where to rent and wear hanbok. The blog titled “Hanbok Rental in Korea: Everything You Need to Know (Size-Inclusive)” does just that, providing a brief overview of what hanbok is, information on locations to rent hanbok that have larger size options, and where to wear hanbok (See Figure 6). Similarly to Kim Samuel’s “Hanbok Hotspots” spread in *KOREA*, Hannah Roberts, a guest writer for the site, notes the popularity of wearing hanbok among tourists by asserting that “trying on Korean hanbok is one of the most popular pastimes for tourists visiting Korea, and even for some of us who live here” (Roberts, “Hanbok Rental”). In doing so, Roberts, like Kim, reinforces the significance of hanbok tourism, and in turn how the use of hanbok in hanbok tourism contributes to the creation of particular notions of “Koreanness.”

The entire site, including this post, are obviously targeted towards Westerners interested in traveling to Korea considering the blog is entirely in English and features information that is clearly for those from Western nations. Just the fact that the article aim is size-inclusivity is proof enough that the article is targeted towards Westerners, as they are more aware of the experiences and struggles of plus-size individuals. Elsewhere, Westerners as the target audience

of the blog is particularly seen in some of the “Notes” and “Tips” throughout the Hanbok Rental article, such as one that points out that the hanbok offered to rent in these shops are “not the most authentic version of the traditional outfit” (Roberts, “Hanbok Rental”). Roberts continues by adding that it is “good to recognize that the hanbok available for rent in these shops would not have been seen in past” (“Hanbok Rental”). With this note, Roberts is clearly trying to be culturally-mindful, and to encourage her Western audience to do so as well. Elsewhere Roberts gives information about free entry in to the five royal palaces in Seoul, which states, “free entry is only officially granted to people wearing the hanbok designated to the wearer’s legal sex. It seems as though this rule varies according to the person working in the ticket booth, but it can and has presented problems with transphobic attitudes” (Roberts, “Hanbok Rental”). Information such as this focuses on particular notions, attitudes, and expectations Westerners may have as a result of our societies and cultures. Thus, it is clear that Moon Bear Travel is directly speaking to a particular population when it comes to hanbok tourism, and is basing their representation of hanbok as a form of Korean nationalism within the terms and understandings of this population.

As a part of their travel blog, most of the images feature Hannah Roberts donning hanbok in various locations around Korea, but also includes images of Koreans wearing the clothing as well. As a White woman wearing the clothing, Roberts creates and maintains a level of distance between herself and Western tourists and hanbok and hanbok tourism. Unlike in the *KOREA* spread, which showcases White Western tourists wearing hanbok and participating in the fantasy of being a Korean native in the past through the use and importance of cultural and historical landmarks, Moon Bear Travel and Hannah Roberts emphasize her and her audiences’ non-“Koreanness” through the way the blog is constructed and articulated in Western terms and understandings. Paired with how Roberts focuses on showcasing the importance of hanbok to the

Korean people and Korea, while maintaining her distance as a respectable tourist, illustrates how hanbok relates to Korean nationalism and notions of “Koreanness.”

Despite the distance, Roberts wearing hanbok as a White person constructs notions of “Koreanness” by pointing to the very real nature of these constructions via the influence and significance of hanbok tourism in Korea. Whereas HanbokNam creates notions of “Koreanness” through the use of Korean people participating in hanbok tourism, Roberts constructs a notion of “Koreanness” by emphasizing the “Koreanness” of hanbok and hanbok tourism for the Western tourist. Her wearing hanbok illustrates the connections between hanbok and notions of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism as her Whiteness does not change the meanings associated with the clothing. Hanbok, even when worn by Roberts, maintains its strong cultural and national ties to Korea, and conveys notions of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism even as she wears it.



Hanbok Rental in Korea: Everything You Need to Know (Size-Inclusive)



Where to Rent

There is a plethora of *hanbok* rental shops surrounding most traditional locations in Korea that are popular with tourists. If you're



Figure 6. Moon Bear Travel's blog post on renting hanbok in Korea from: "Hanbok Rental in Korea: Everything You Need to Know (Size-Inclusive)" <https://www.pinpointkorea.com/hanbok-rental-korea-size-inclusive/>.



Figure 6. Continued.

Modern Hanbok Tourism

Briefly discussed by Moon Bear Travel in their article titled “Hanbok Rental in Korea: Everything You Need to Know (Size-Inclusive),” modern hanbok is growing in popularity not only among Koreans but also among tourists. Moon Bear Travel actually has another post dedicated to modern hanbok detailing what modern hanbok is, where to buy it and how to wear it, in which they observe the increasing popularity of modern hanbok by stating the clothing is “a more casual, more stylish version of its traditional ancestor, and it’s becoming a popular option for young people and tourists alike for its comfort and variety” (Roberts, “Modern Hanbok”).

Similarly to Kim Samuel's spread spotlighting places to wear hanbok, Moon Bear Travel notes the influence Hallyu has had on the popularity of modern hanbok when they mention the "rise in idols being styled" in the new iterations (Roberts, "Modern Hanbok"). Other travel blogs, like Be Marie Korea, also write about the increase in popularity of modern hanbok among tourists, making it clear that modern hanbok tourism is an imminent form of hanbok tourism.

With the emergence of modern hanbok tourism comes changes to prevailing conceptions of "Koreanness" that rely on traditional imagery. Whereas traditional hanbok tourism creates notions of "Koreanness" and Korean nationalism that hinge on traditional hanbok that coincide with historic locations that are untouched by industrialization and modernity, modern hanbok and modern hanbok tourism shifts the narratives creating notions of Korean nationalism and "Koreanness" through the fashion of hanbok by appropriating and resignifying traditional imagery, themes and silhouettes. Taking these traditional imageries and pairing them with modern technologies, textiles, and trends produces something entirely new that reflects Korean nationalism and "Koreanness" through the design and wear of modern hanbok, disrupting the previous conceptions of "Koreanness" through hanbok by incorporating new means of production, design, and distribution.

With these modern twists on the national clothing, modern hanbok tourism combines aspects of traditional hanbok tourism with modern fashion trends, allowing for tourists to experience Korea through a unique combination of traditional and modern Korean fashion. As modern hanbok becomes more and more popular for everyday wear among young Koreans, it will continue to transform into a sustainable iteration of the traditional national dress, and will continue to hold significance to Korean nationalism, although in a different way than its traditional counterpart. In incorporating modern fashion trends in these new iterations of hanbok,

modern hanbok transforms notions of “Koreanness” by expressing the unique relationship Korea has with tradition and modernity in a post-industrialization and globalized era.

Conclusion

By analyzing hanbok tourism, it has been made clear that the use of the traditional clothing instills notions of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism while being on both Korean and non-Korean bodies through articulations of a ‘true’ or ‘real’ Korean experience. This analysis explores the impact of globalization on hanbok through the connection between tourism and globalization by understanding how notions of “Koreanness” are expressed by different tourism agencies, and how non-Korean bodies influence these expressions and meanings. Looking specifically at visual marketing and informational materials created by the government, a private company, and a Westerner’s travel blog, this analysis highlighted the different conceptions of “Koreanness” expressed that are all tied to wearing hanbok. For *KOREA* magazine, the ‘true’ essence of Korea was tied largely to wearing hanbok at traditional and historical monuments, showcasing both Korean and non-Koreans donning the clothing at these landmarks. HanbokNam showcased the daily lives of young, beautiful Koreans going to cafes and stores in hanbok as a ‘real’ expression of “Koreanness,” connecting this notion to current beauty standards in Korea and invoking many of the representations of Koreans in different forms of Hallyu. Moon Bear Travel represents hanbok tourism through a Western lens, expressing the desire to experience a ‘real’ Korea and the fantasy of being a Korean native through the combination of visiting historical sites and going to cafes and stores, all within Western terms. Each example showcases the different articulations of “Koreanness” and the ‘true’ experience or essence of Korea, but all illustrate the importance of hanbok to the

conceptions of Korea, thus showing how hanbok is tied to notions of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism.

The expression of these three distinct notions of “Koreanness” showcase Korea’s efforts to establish and maintain a coherent national identity. Korea does so by tying the conception of the national imaginary to hanbok, utilizing the clothing’s long history and cultural importance to create a unifying image of Korea. Within this image of Korea, comes different conceptions of “Koreanness,” as seen in the different articulations put forth by the three examples examined here. Still, hanbok tourism illustrates Kaiser’s assertion that national clothing is often nostalgic of the past, including “rural, peasant, ethnic attire,” and particularly becomes important through times of globalization and the “blurring of national, economic and cultural boundaries” (53, 57). Through hanbok tourism, Korea utilizes globalization to further their growing economic, political, and cultural power by engaging foreign tourists in Korean culture, while still creating and maintaining a clear imagery of a national imaginary through the articulation of hanbok on Korean and non-Korean bodies.

CHAPTER FOUR: LEESLE x KARD

On October 20, 2020, the popular K-Pop group KARD released a collection of modern hanbok attire in collaboration with the modern hanbok brand LEESLE (Figure 7). The collection featured two distinct themes of ‘Hidden Moon’ and ‘Korean Street,’ both relating to KARD’s music, performance, and fashion concepts. The successful group and clothing brand came together in an effort to showcase the beauty of modern hanbok and Korean culture through an initiative by the Korean Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism called the CAST (Connect, Accompany to make Synergy and Transformation) Project, which aims to support and create collaborative content relating to Hallyu. Through this connection via the Korean government, KARD, as a representative of K-Pop, and LEESLE, as a representative of modern Korean fashion, were able to utilize fan interactions that are unique to the K-Pop and Hallyu fandom, thus allowing for many Korean and international fans to take part in the collaboration as well. This partnership was entirely based on the unparalleled existence of Hallyu and the efforts from the government to advance and support the existence and expansion of Korean culture. Through the unique relationship between K-Pop, Hallyu, fashion, and fan interactions, the LEESLE x KARD collection produces a novel form of nation-building by utilizing the connections between these things to produce a collection that both furthers the globalization of Korean culture, as well as solidifies modern hanbok as a new expression of Korean nationalism.



Figure 7. KARD wearing the modern hanbok from their collaborative collection with LEESLE from: LEESLE, <https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-eunwol-phoenix-waist-belt/1254/category/28/display/1/>.

LEESLE x KARD: A Case Study of Nation-Building in the Age of Globalization

In order to look at how this collection came to be, and the meanings associated with the pieces of this collaboration, we have to first understand the two partners individually and how they became connected. KARD is a four-member, co-ed group formed under the Korean entertainment company DSP media in 2017. Featuring members BM, Somin, Jiwoo and J.Seph, KARD mainly makes contemporary house and dancehall music, making them widely popular both in Korea and worldwide. Fashion plays a key role in all K-Pop groups' concepts and performances, but none more so than KARD, as their concept relies heavily on their style, which

combines high fashion with streetwear. In using fashion as a keystone of their concept, KARD is able to reflect the themes of their music through what they are wearing, creating unique imagery in the imaginations of their fans and spectators. With their edgy fashion style and unique and eye-catching choreography, KARD's popularity within K-Pop and as part of Hallyu is well-known to those familiar with both. Similarly, the modern hanbok brand LEESLE is a powerhouse in their own right, being immensely popular in Korea, and consistently generating a large number of sales internationally. LEESLE focuses on creating hanbok that embraces the long-established aesthetics and looks of the garments while making them more wearable for every day, creating a perfect balance of modern and tradition. Considering the wide success of both the brand and the group, a collection designed and created by them was no doubt going to be successful, and that is exactly why the Korean government assisted in creating this union.

The LEESLE x KARD collaboration is a unique partnership in that it came to be through the collaboration of state and civil society through programs such as CAST, which created the relationship between the brand and group. In the beginning of 2020, the Korean government, and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in particular, set out to create meaningful partnerships between different aspects of Hallyu in order to maintain the popularity of Hallyu in Korea and further its popularity worldwide ("Korea to Drive New Hallyu"). One such way they did this was through the CAST project, which aims to connect different entities within Hallyu with one another so that they may create unique content that appeals to both Koreans and foreigners. As a CAST project, the LEESLE x KARD collaboration was hosted, organized and promoted by multiple different Korean cultural departments, such as the Hanbok Promotion Center (@leesle_official). Such government involvement in the creation, development and promotion of cultural institutions and products intensifies the meanings associated with these

institutions and products, and in the case of modern hanbok, their existence as a vernacular of Korean nationalism is expressed and fortified through such collaborations as LEESLE x KARD. As both entities are uniquely Korean in many different ways, their creation of hanbok that is outside of what is traditionally associated with the clothing allowed for the creation of new ways of expressing “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism. With traditional hanbok already being imbued with cultural and national significance, modern iterations carry on these meanings in new ways, and these meanings are amplified through the support and advancement of it by the Korean government and cultural departments and institutions.

In creating such a partnership between two different parts of Hallyu, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism was able to encourage LEESLE and KARD to partake in the act of nation-building by utilizing the unique nature of Hallyu fandoms and fan interactions. Hallyu, and K-Pop in particular, have very specific ways of constructing and participating in fandom, and the LEESLE x KARD collaboration made great use of these unique fandom practices to promote the collection and engage with fans. From the very beginning, fans were involved in the creation of the collection through fan-voting on what exactly the collection would look like. The LEESLE Twitter account posted four sketches featuring different themes and asked fans to vote for their favorite of the themes, from which LEESLE would produce two collections. In doing so, LEESLE urged fans to conceptualize the pieces, imagine them on the KARD members and on themselves, allowing for them to play a role in the nation-building the collection did. Each of the sketches had a theme that related to KARD and either their music, concept or fashion style, and the two themes chosen perfectly embodied the group, with “Hidden Moon” being inspired by the groups’ latest album *Red Moon* and the name of their fandom, and “Korean Street” reflecting KARD’s affinity for Korean street fashion (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Original sketches by LEESLE for their collaboration with KARD from: leesle_official, Twitter, 31 July 2020, https://twitter.com/leesle_official/status/1289091796752936960.

After the themes of the collection were chosen and created, LEESLE and KARD began promoting the collection through common K-Pop fan events, such as a polaroid event and a cup holder event, which is related to the significant part of Hallyu fandom that is collecting (Shown in Figures 9 and 10). In particular, a big aspect of K-Pop fandom is collecting different things that are included in K-Pop albums, such as photocards, postcards, and posters. LEESLE and KARD made use of this aspect of fandom by putting on events that further fan engagement with

and excitement for the collection. The polaroid is significant because polaroids are highly coveted goods for K-Pop fans due to their rarity and exclusivity. LEESLE and KARD gave fans the opportunity to win one of eight signed polaroids by having fans repost a photo of the collaboration on Instagram, name which member's polaroid they wanted, and tag specific hashtags. This event even allowed for international fans to participate, as long as they had some sort of Korean address the polaroid could be mailed to, which is available through proxy mail services. In doing so, LEESLE and KARD encouraged fans to further partake in the development and promotion of the collaboration.

Another fan event they did was a cup holder event, which is a common K-Fan practice usually put on by the fans themselves. Fans will organize cup holder events for their favorite K-Pop idols birthday, group's new releases, debuts, or other special events, for themselves and other fans to enjoy. These events always take place in cafés, and fans who come get a custom-made cup sleeve for the drink they purchase, as well as other goods fans create, such as photocards and slogan banners. Cup holder events are used as means to connect with other fans, create fan-made freebies for fans to take, and possibly get the chance to meet K-Pop idols as they try to go to events near them. In this case, LEESLE and KARD put on a cup holder event for the fans, and in doing so, they sort of reversed the roles. This reversal of fan and idol roles created a great sense of excitement around the event, which helped with the publicity of both the event and the collaboration. Again playing into the collecting nature of K-Pop fans, LEESLE and KARD generated further anticipation for the collection through the ultra-exclusive goods given to fans at this event, such as a cup holder, four exclusive photocards of the members, among other items. With the opportunity to see the collection in person for the first time and pre-order items from

the collection at a discounted price well before anyone else, this notion of fan exclusivity was furthered during the event.

Considering how significant cup holder events and collecting polaroids are to K-Pop fans, LEESLE and KARD effectively engaged with fans to help create and promote the collection. As the polaroid event and fan-voting allowed for both Korean and international fans to interact with the collection, where the cup holder event did not due to the COVID-19 pandemic, LEESLE and KARD allowed for Korean fans to more actively engage with modern hanbok as a Korean cultural product, exposed many international fans to the beauty of modern hanbok, and allowed for all fans to partake in the nation-building this collaboration presents.



Figure 9. Polaroid event as part of the promotion of the LEESLE x KARD collaboration from: leesle_official, Twitter, 16 October 2020, https://twitter.com/leesle_official/status/1315519733798629377.

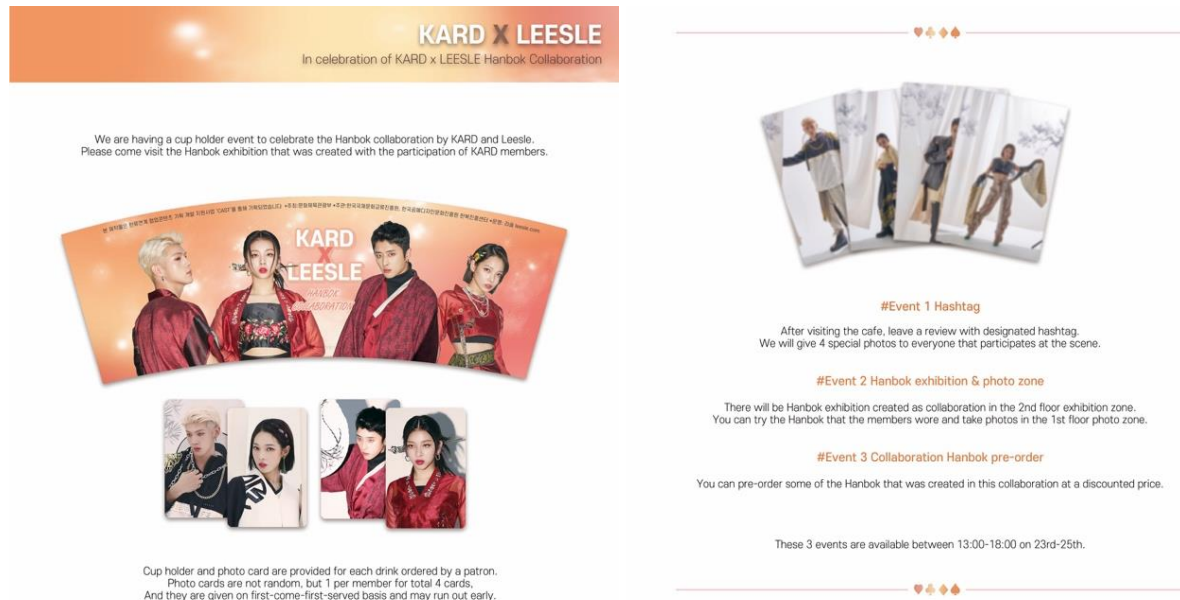


Figure 10. Cup holder event as part of the promotion of the LEESLE x KARD collaboration from: leesle_official, Twitter, 16 October 2020, https://twitter.com/leesle_official/status/1317015025165377537.

The LEESLE x KARD Collection and Traditional Hanbok

Not only does the fan involvement make the LEESLE x KARD collaboration a unique example of the creation and expression of Korean nationalism, but the fashion itself provides for a novel expression of Korean national identity and “Koreanness.” This collection creates a story of the nation moving from tradition to modernity by using traditional class signifiers in new ways. By rearticulating these traditional signifiers into new class distinctions and representations, the collection is able to create a new expression of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism through the meanings associated with traditional imagery. Through its unique incorporation of traditional motifs and symbolism with modern materials, silhouettes and colors, the LEESLE x KARD collection tells the story of a nation while distinguishing itself from other modern hanbok collections through their unique collaboration.

When looking to traditional forms of hanbok worn on special occasions and in the past, they are typically made out of natural textiles such as silk, cotton, hemp and ramie, and in subtle, earthy colors made from natural dyes. Brighter colors, such as red, yellow, blue and black were worn by upper class and court figures, and as time went on, these colors were adopted by the general population once Western clothing was introduced into Korea (Samuel Lee 17). Hanbok worn today during special occasions feature these colors and natural textiles, but as the fashion industry progresses both within and outside of Korea, so too does hanbok. Modern hanbok is typically characterized by different colors, textiles, and silhouettes than that of traditional hanbok, and LEESLE's hanbok definitely fits this description. With many of LEESLE's garments being made from high quality synthetic textiles, in unique color schemes, and in tighter, shorter, and overall more "modern" figures, LEESLE perfectly encompasses what it means to create modern hanbok. Their collection with KARD, however, pushes the envelope as it embraces traditional motifs and symbolism while utilizing modern technology and textiles, creating a unique balance of old and new.

Differing from their usually minimalistic and simplistic designs, the collection with KARD is much more dramatic and regal than anything LEESLE has done in past. This is accomplished through the combination of bold colors, unique materials, and traditional motifs attributed to upper class royal Koreans during the Three Kingdoms period. With the modern and exciting themes of "Hidden Moon" and "Korean Street," LEESLE produces unique interpretations of modern hanbok, creating a collection of clothing that can both stand alone with their respective themes, and can also be mix and matched and paired together. The themes distinguish themselves based on their colors and materials, but LEESLE cleverly utilizes the color gold as a thread between the two lines, connecting them together perfectly. As this gold is

used almost exclusively in the representations and patterns of traditional symbolism and imagery, it provides a continuity to the entire collection and adds to the overall luxurious nature of the collection. In utilizing these traditionally privileged imageries, LEESLE and KARD effectively creates a collection that represents and showcases hanbok's beauty in new and modern ways. Indeed, the LEESLE x KARD collaboration perfectly combines tradition and modern to form a dynamic collection that both reflects KARD's concept and aesthetics, while honoring the beauty and history of hanbok.

Hidden Moon

The line 'Hidden Moon' was inspired by KARD's song and album *Red Moon* and their fandom name "Hidden KARD." On their website, LEESLE notes that the concept of 'Hidden Moon' is expressed throughout the collection through transparent materials (LEESLE). There is an emphasis on the chicness and subtlety of the light fabrics that are paired with the dark and contrasting red and black colors seen throughout this theme. Indeed, the 'Hidden Moon' line serves as a high fashion representation of KARD, their music, and the group's concept. LEESLE modernizes hanbok in this part of the collection through the use and juxtaposition of these striking colors and light materials, a stark difference to the characteristics of traditional hanbok. Through the use of distinctive colors, the 'Hidden Moon' line utilizes traditional Korean symbolism through the elaborate embroidery and patterns found throughout the collection. We see here the resignification of traditional imagery of class distinctions being used to denote wealth and regality in a new way, as these images are used to convey particular notions through fashion within a new class order.

The ‘Moonlight Phoenix Waist Belt,’ as seen in Figure 11, showcases a gold pattern on black fabric that incorporates a phoenix, the LEESLE logo, and clouds all drawn in a way that pays homage to traditional Korean art, which features Chinese influences. During the Three Kingdoms period, the imagery of the phoenix was reserved for those of the privileged class, as it represented and symbolized royalty and high-ranking civil and military officials (Samuel Lee 36). Considering such class distinctions ascribed to clothing aren’t a common phenomenon today, LEESLE is resignifying this imagery through modern hanbok and its association with KARD, creating a new meaning for the iconography of a phoenix that modernizes it. In making use of the phoenix imagery through new notions of wealth and status under a different class order than that of the past, LEESLE is able to make the phoenix an accessible image while still maintaining the wealthy and regal nature of it through the color gold and the image’s original meaning. In doing so, LEESLE effectively conveys the “cool and sophisticated atmosphere” the ‘Hidden Moon’ line aims to create (LEESLE).

Another example of the use of traditional Korean symbolism on the ‘Moonlight Peony Cropped Tube Top,’ a polyester crop top featuring a machine-embroidered collection of pink and red peonies across the front and back (Figure 12). Made to look like embroidered silk, the peonies were known as the “king” among flowers due to their large petals, and thus were oftentimes associated with royalty (“Peony”). They also were tied to wealth and honor, as they represent prosperity and nobility, but much like the phoenix, these peonies are given new meaning through LEESLE’s use of them (Samuel Lee 36). Still imbued with notions of wealth and prosperity, these flowers now represent a wealth that embodies high fashion while appealing to modern trends and silhouettes with its cropped and tight-fitting shape.

Beyond creating new notions of wealth and meanings for traditional imagery, the ‘Hidden Moon’ line also makes use of traditional Korean iconography to create pieces that are distinctively modern with a clear traditional influence and aesthetic. This influence goes as far as using actual artifacts to create the pieces in this collection, a practice that is not uncommon among modern hanbok creators and brands (“BLACKPINK Hanbok Designer Danha”). For example, the ‘Moonlight Changdeok Robe,’ a unisex piece from the ‘Hidden Moon’ line, LEESLE directly references an artifact cataloged in the Encyclopedia of Korean National Culture (Figure 13). The reference piece was a Cheollick, or clothing worn by military officers during the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties, and was discovered in General Lee Eung-hae’s grave, shown in Figure 13 (LEESLE). The ‘Moonlight Changdeok Robe’ clearly reflects a relaxed version of the artifact’s silhouette, and mirrors the repeated pattern throughout the garment as does the Cheollick. Thus, LEESLE not only incorporates traditional imagery into the KARD collection, but makes use of available artifacts to provide inspiration, creating a unique line of clothing that invoke images of traditional royal garbs in modern silhouettes. In doing so, the ‘Hidden Moon’ line comes to represent a modern and high fashion take on traditional motifs and garments, and also effectively represent KARD’s concept.



Figure 11. "Moonlight Phoenix Waist Belt." LEESLE, <https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-eunwol-phoenix-waist-belt/1254/category/28/display/1/>.



LEESLE X KARD
LIMITED
Limited quantity limited sale



Figure 12. "Moonlight Peony Cropped Tube Top." LEESLE, <https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-moonlight-peony-cropped-tube-top/1247/category/49/display/1/>.



Figure 13. “Moonlight Changdoek Robe” in Ivory. LEESLE, <https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-moonlight-changdeok-robe-ivory/1269/category/50/display/1/>.

Korean Street

The second part of the collection is the ‘Korean Street’ line, featuring items straight out of Korean streetwear blogs, with pieces like a lambskin leather jacket and a short tweed vest. In embracing the influences of Korean streetwear and street fashion on KARD’s fashion, concept, and aesthetic, this part of the collection places an emphasis on “contradictory materials,” like leather, tweed, and gold hem (LEESLE). Indeed, the primary modernizing factor of this line are the materials, as it features more muted and traditional colors, with white, tan, black, and navy taking the forefront of the collection, though gold also features prominently, connecting the two lines together through its use in patterns and traditional imagery. Much like the ‘Hidden Moon’ line, the ‘Korean Street’ line also uses traditional imagery that was once used to denote class and social standing to convey a new sense of wealth and elegance. With pieces reflecting traditional motifs being made from everything from polyester blends to waterproof nylon, the ‘Korean

Street' line represents modernity through a combination of imagery and fabrics that don't normally go together. In creating these combinations, this line is able to play on juxtapositions while embracing the latest sartorial trends that are based on the renewed popularity of 90s and Y2K fashions.

One such piece, the 'Dragon Gilded Anorak,' features traditional Korean symbols and royal attributes with the inclusion of a dragon in the intricate motifs found on the shoulders of the two-toned jacket (Figure 14). This shoulder detail, traditionally called "bo," is the motif worn exclusively by kings and their families during the Three Kingdoms period (Samuel Lee 48). Paired with the dragon imagery used solely by privileged classes, much like the imagery of the phoenix and peony, and distinctively representing the king, this piece in particular exudes regality in every fiber of it's being. LEESLE and KARD utilize this imagery in juxtaposition to the nylon waterproof material of the jacket, creating a piece that's ever unique. Being in a similar material and silhouette of a tracksuit jacket from the 1990s, the 'Dragon Gilded Anorak' represents the latest sartorial trends that are reminiscent of '90s and Y2K fashion with modern twists. As such, the 'Dragon Gilded Anorak' perfectly encapsulates the relationship between modern and traditional that LEESLE aims to accomplish. In utilizing traditionally privileged imagery on accessible styles, LEESLE and KARD manage to produce a piece that is distinctively representative of Korea today.

In a similar fashion as the 'Dragon Gilded Anorak,' another piece in the 'Korean Street' line is made of a unique fabric choice and calls back to previous and current fashion trends. Seen in Figure 15, the 'Tweed Short Vest' is a cropped tweed vest that is evocative of the iconic two-piece suits by Chanel, while being in the distinctive silhouette and cut of a hanbok jeogori, or jacket. Just like the 1990s tracksuit jacket, these Chanel tweed suits of the 1990s are also back in

style, and this vest wholly reflects that. Just missing the sleeves, this vest includes the same neckline and length as traditional hanbok jeogori, but maintains its modernity through the fabric choice and a gold circle clasp in the front, as opposed to a silk tie. With this piece, much like the ‘Dragon Gilded Anorak,’ LEESLE and KARD produce a garment that is reflective of modern trends while still calling back to the past.



Figure 14. KARD member BM wearing the “Dragon Gilded Anorak” jacket from: Ow, Victoria. “KARD X LEESLE Collab Brings Fierce Modern Hanboks To The Table.” TheSmartLocal, 26 October 2020, <https://thesmartlocal.com/korea/kard-leesle-modern-hanboks/>.



Figure 15. “Tweed Short Vest” in Ivory. LEESLE, <https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-tweed-short-vest-ivory/1249/category/50/display/1/>.

Conclusion

This analysis looked at the storytelling of a nation through clothing, as this collection used traditional motifs in new ways to express a new form of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness.” The LEESLE x KARD collaboration used uniquely Hallyu fan interactions to

create a one of a kind modern hanbok collection, allowing Korean fans to engage with modern hanbok as a Korean cultural product, exposing international fans to the beauty of modern hanbok, and allowing all fans to partake in the storytelling of the nation that this collaboration presents. The analyses of the two themes of the collection illustrate the ways in which the clothing comes to represent a unique form of “Koreanness” and expression of Korean identity, particularly through the resignification of traditional imagery and motifs.

As Doobo Shim argues, cultural hybridization provides the opportunity for people to interact with other cultures while discovering a new appreciation for their own, and this collaboration illustrates that notion by fusing together traditional Korean imagery and designs with Western fashion trends and modern textiles. LEESLE x KARD reflects modern hanbok’s unique relationship with nationalism and globalization, as the collaboration showed the process of nation-building through the design and construction of the clothing, while showcasing the effects of globalization through the incorporation of non-Korean fashion aesthetics on these new iterations of hanbok. In utilizing the effects of globalization as cultural hybridization, the LEESLE x KARD collection shows one example of how Korea can employ hanbok in new and unique ways to reproduce and maintain a coherent national identity despite their growing position in the world politically, culturally, and economically.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

When BLACKPINK wore modern hanbok in their “How You Like That” music video, they showcased a unique kind of sartorial nationalism that reflects the impacts of globalization on expressions of national identity. This new iteration of the traditional clothing created a new vernacular of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness” through the incorporation of modern and Western fashion trends and traditional Korean aesthetics. Modern hanbok represents the unique relationship between nationalism, globalization, and fashion, and can be seen as an example of cultural hybridization. Looking at modern hanbok through the lens of Hallyu, or the Korean wave, provides insight into how constructions of Korean nationalism and notions of “Koreanness” are created, maintained, and change over time. These constructions illustrate how Korea negotiates their growing economic, cultural, and political power in the world, while maintaining a strong sense of national identity.

In order to examine how modern hanbok operates as a new form of Korean nationalism and “Koreanness,” this thesis explored the hanbok tourism industry and the K-Pop industry in conversation with one another. By looking at visual materials produced by three different entities in the hanbok tourism industries, we were able to see the creation of three unique representations of “Koreanness” and the ‘true’ Korean experience. For the *KOREA* spread produced by the Korean government, the ‘real’ articulation of “Koreanness” was tied to historical landmarks, while HanbokNam pointed to the daily lives of young beautiful Koreans as the ‘true’ experience of Korea. Moon Bear Travel represented hanbok tourism through a Western lens, presenting information in Western terms and understandings as they served as a cultural translator. The analyses of these three examples showcases the many different articulations of “Koreanness,” yet

all point to the importance of hanbok in the conception of “Koreanness” and Korean nationalism. The analysis of the collaboration between the modern hanbok brand LEESLE and the K-Pop group KARD explored the storytelling of a nation moving from tradition to modernity. Through the use of Hallyu fan interactions and practices, LEESLE x KARD participates in a unique form of nation-building as they resignify and rearticulate traditional Korean motifs onto new pieces of clothing. The incorporation of these traditional imageries paired with modern textiles, silhouettes and color stories creates a unique form of “Koreanness” and expression of Korean nationalism. Together these analyses highlight how globalization and nationalism interact with one another in different ways, and showcases Korea’s efforts to create and maintain a national imaginary.

Looking at sartorial representations of nationalism such as modern hanbok provides the opportunity to explore how the clothes we wear represent parts of our identity, and how these clothes are impacted by forces such as globalization. With hanbok’s long history and importance to Korea, understanding modern iterations of the clothing allows for new articulations of Korean nationalism and notions of “Koreanness,” as well as an understanding of how these articulations are shaped by forms of globalization like cultural hybridization. This thesis focused on examples of modern hanbok in the tourism and K-Pop industry, but further research should be done in order to gain a greater sense of the impact globalization has had on hanbok. As the analyses here were done with English sources and translations, some of nuance and meaning may have been lost or not fully understood. As such, research done in Korean or by a fluent Korean speaker would be greatly beneficial in supplementing some of the intricacies and complexities that might have been missed here.

This thesis is limited to two small parts of larger industries, therefore more expansive research would provide more understanding to how modern hanbok is used and what exactly

these uses mean. Within these two industries alone, many more questions can be asked and answered regarding the significance of modern hanbok to the national identity of Koreans. For instance, an examination of non-Korean K-Pop idols wearing modern hanbok could lead to interesting assessments of the meanings subscribed to modern hanbok and how modern hanbok represents notions of “Koreanness” on non-Korean agents of Hallyu.

Using Hallyu as the lens through which this thesis operates due to its relationship with nationalism and globalization, this thesis looked at how modern hanbok both invokes and changes notions of “Koreanness” and serves as a new expression of Korean nationalism. By showcasing how modern hanbok reflects the impact of globalization on Korean national identity, we can see how articulations of “Koreanness” change and shift over time. Modern hanbok thus serves as a way for Korea to create a coherent national identity that incorporates the culturally significant clothing hanbok and modern fashion trends.

REFERENCES

- @leesle_official. “본 한복은 「한류연계 협업콘텐츠 기획 개발 지원 사업 "CAST"」를 통해 기획되었습니다. 주최:문화체육관광부. 주관:한국국제문화교류진흥원, 한국공예디자인문화진흥원한복진흥센터.#리슬#생활한복#leesle#한류연계협업콘텐츠기획개발지원사업 #한국국제문화교류진흥원 #한복진흥센터 #kard” *Twitter*, 21 Oct. 2020, https://twitter.com/leesle_official/status/1318789416547090438.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 2016.
- “BLACKPINK Hanbok Designer Danha Reveals Secrets! [Tea Time With David.” *YouTube*, uploaded by DKDKTV, 12 July 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FhVnkHToDrY&t=1252s>.
- Geum, Key-Sook and Marilyn Revell DeLong. "Korean Traditional Dress as an Expression of Heritage." *Dress*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1992, pp. 57–68.
- HanbokNam. “HanbokNam Will Be Your Guide To Your Hanbok Life.” <http://hanboknamglobal.com/company-introduction/>
- “Hanbok Rental Service By HanbokNam.” *Hanboknamglobal.com*, <http://hanboknamglobal.com/hanbok-rental/>.
- Joo, Kyeongmi. “Gendered Differences in Modern Korea Toward Western Luxuries.” *Fashion, Identity, and Power in Modern Asia*, edited by Kyunghee Pyun and Aida Yuen Wong, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 143-166.
- Kaiser, Susan B. *Fashion and Cultural Studies*. Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2021.
- Kim, Bok-rae. “Past, Present and Future of Hallyu (Korean Wave).” *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol. 5, No. 5, October 2015, 154-160.
- Kim, Eun Mee & Jiwon Ryoo. “South Korean Culture Goes Global: K-Pop and the Korean Wave.” *Korean Social Science Journal*, Vol. 34, No. 1, 2007, 117-152.
- Kim, Jeongmee. “Why Does Hallyu Matter? The Significance of the Korean Wave in South Korea.” *Critical Studies in Television: The International Journal of Television Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2007, 47-59.
- “Korea to Drive New Hallyu and Foster a Cultural Economy with Content Intellectual Property in the Contactless Era.” Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism of the Republic of Korea, 4, Sept.2020, <http://www.mcst.go.kr/english/policy/pressView.jsp?pSeq=6>.
- Kwon, Seung-Ho & Joseph Kim. “The cultural industry policies of the Korean government and the Korean Wave.” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 20, No 4, 2014, 422-439.
- Lee, Samuel Songhoon. *Hanbok: Timeless Fashion Tradition*. Seoul Selection, 2013.
- Lee, Sangjoon. “Introduction: A Decade of Hallyu Scholarship: Toward a New Direction in Hallyu 2.0.” *Hallyu 2.0, the Korean Wave in the Age of Social Media*, edited by Sangjoon Lee and Abe Mark Nornes, University of Michigan Press, 2015, 1-27.

- LEESLE. “[LEESLE X KARD] Eunwol Phoenix Waist Belt.” *LEESLE*,
<https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-eunwol-phoenix-waist-belt/1254/category/28/display/1/>.
- LEESLE. “[LEESLE X KARD] Tweed Short Vest Ivory.” *LEESLE*,
<https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-tweed-short-vest-ivory/1249/category/50/display/1/>.
- LEESLE. “[LEESLE X KARD] Moonlight Changdeok Robe [Ivory].” *LEESLE*,
<https://leesle.kr/product/leesle-x-kard-moonlight-changdeok-robe-ivory/1269/category/50/display/1/>.
- “Peony.” *NATIONAL MUSEUM OF KOREA*,
<https://www.museum.go.kr/site/eng/relic/represent/view?relicId=608>.
- Roberts, Hannah. “Hanbok Rental in Korea: Everything You Need to Know (Size Inclusive).” *Pinpoint Korea*, 17 Jan. 2021, <https://www.pinpointkorea.com/hanbok-rental-korea-size-inclusive/>.
- Roberts, Hannah. “Modern Hanbok: Where to Buy and How to Wear.” *Pinpoint Korea*, 22 Mar. 2021, <https://www.pinpointkorea.com/modern-hanbok-buy-wear-guide/>.
- Sapir, Edward. “Fashion.” *Fashion Theory*, edited by Malcolm Barnard, Routledge, 2007, pp. 59-65.
- Shim, Doobo. “Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia.” *Media, Culture & Society*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2006, 25-44.