

The Placelessness of Korean Folk Dances

– Focusing on Public Stadiums in the 1970s' Korea

Yoon, Ji Hyun*

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I. Introduction

This study examines public stadiums¹⁾ as a case showing ‘placelessness’ of Korean folk dances, applying the discussion of a humanistic geographer, Edward Relph. The public stadiums were places where Korean Folk Arts Festival(below the Festival)²⁾ was held annually in the 1970s. Korean folk arts including dances were contested in a public stadium, the very symbolic space of modernization. The Festival in those days, was a national event for contests of folk arts. By the way, the public stadiums were odd places, and the competitions were odd contexts for restoring Korean folk arts. They originally belonged to traditional local communities. They seemed to have been performed out of their own contexts since the time when the Festival began and even earlier than that, in the 1930s. Korean folk arts were forced to perform in the very modern place. They were forced to compete with other folklores and verify their artistic superiorities.

The Festival was one of the government-led nationalistic cultural projects. The Festival has prevented Korean traditional cultures from disappearing in the process of rapid modernization. Many folk dances performed till these days could be handed down due to the Festival. The public stadiums

* Lecturer, Korea National University of Arts, jhydance@gmail.com

1) Public Stadiums, Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, <<http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=%EA%B3%B5%EC%84%A4%EC%9A%B4%EB%8F%99%EC%9E%A5&ridx=0&tot=6>>, 2018. 6. 20.>

2) In this paper, Korean Folk Arts Festival and the National Folk Arts Contest are mix-used depending on the context, but they refer to the same event. They are abbreviated as the Festival or the Contest.

can be the places where Korean folk dances have been restored and recognized, because the stadiums were the places where the Festival was held. At the same time, the public stadiums can be seen as the places implying the contextual loss of Korean folk dances. That means they can be seen as the places showing the placelessness of Korean folk dances.

Here the study sets up following research questions. First, what is ‘place, placeness, and placelessness of Korean folk dances? Second, how are public stadiums connected with the placelessness of Korean folk dances? Third, how did the news frames in the 1970s show and strengthen the placelessness of Korean folk dances? For answering these questions, the study examines the preceding studies on Korean Folk Arts Festival. The Festival was an institution designed by the government that had tried to carry out the nationalistic cultural policies. Many of Korean folk dances could be restored through the Festival. In this respect, Korean folk dances can be treated as samples of "invented tradition."³⁾ Along with the literature review on Korean Folk Arts Festival, the study introduces theoretical background. It summarizes the concepts and theoretical implications of the terms such as ‘place, placeness and placelessness’ which have discussed in disciplines of humanities and social sciences. Centering on the discussions of Relph’s ‘placelessness’, the study tries to express skepticism about the nationalistic view that regards the present Korean folk dances as the equivalent of prototype of Korean traditional culture. Next, the study analyzes the frames of news articles related to Korean Folk Arts Festival on daily newspapers in the 1970s. The frame analysis of the news articles for 13 years, from 1968 to 1980, uses the data collected by the news search and scrap system of the Naver News Library⁴⁾. The collected articles are classified according to vocabularies and subjects in order to extract the frames.

Through the study, it tries to extract the social and historical implication of public stadiums centered on Korean Folk Arts Festival. The study tries to approach its socio-cultural mechanism for preserving Korean folk dances. It helps us to understand the process and context that Korean folk dances were reconstructed and recognized in the 1970s’ public stadium. It overlaps with the reality and context of today’s Asian folk dances including the ethnic minorities’ dances in China. In this context, the study can give a big implication to the present and future prospects of Asian traditional dances as well.

3) E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger(ed.)(1983), *The Invention of Tradition*(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-14.

4) Naver News Library, <<http://newslibrary.naver.com/>, 2018. 6. 10.-2018. 6. 30.>.

II. Place, Placeness and Placelessness

1. Korean Folk Dances in Korean Folk Arts Festival

Korean Folk Arts Festival started as ‘National Folk Arts Contest’(below the Contest) in 1958, and its title was changed to ‘Korean Folk Arts Festival’ later. It started as an event to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the government. It was held annually since 1961 under the sponsorship of the Public Affairs Department (now the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism). It was held in Seoul until 1966, but since 1967 it has been held in other cities throughout the country. In 1999, its title was changed from the Contest to the Festival. It celebrated its 58th event in 2017.

It was held every year in order to restore and preserve the folk arts in Korean traditional culture. The representatives of cities and provinces participated in the contests. There are five competition categories of performances: farm music, folk plays, folk dances, folk songs and the traditional community events. The Festival has restored more than 400 folk art events. Among them, more than 140 folk arts have been designated as national and regional intangible cultural properties. In particular, Namsadang Play(1964, 2009), Kangangsullae(1966, 2009), Bongsan Mask Drama(1967), Anseong Namsadang Windmill Play(1989)⁵⁾ and so on, were unearthed and re-recognized. Even some of them were listed as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage. There was no disagreement on the point that the greatest achievement of the Contest is the restoration of many folk arts and the enhancement of their values as intangible cultural properties.

It was the mid 1980s that some scholars in folklore studies started to criticise the customized managements of the National Folk Arts Contest.⁶⁾ The discussions of researchers were based on the questions : whether folk arts could be the object of the contest, what the contribution to preserving the folk arts was, and what the purposes of the National Folk Arts Contest were. The researchers also raised the questions relating to the gap between the original purposes and their actual performances of the Contest. The folklorist also asked some questions: whether the contests had a function of social integration or not, whether the processes of judging were fair or not, whether the judges were qualified in folklore or not, and so on.

The researchers in folklore had similar viewpoints that the context of competition was not suitable for restoration of folk arts. They thought it could distort folk arts. Lim’s assertion below, is not more special than other researchers.’

5) Inside () is the designated year of a national important intangible cultural heritage. In cases that there are two numbers, the second one is the designated year of an UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage.

6) There are many researches, including Ju-Geun Jang(1988), Byung-Ho Jeong(1988), Jae-Hae Lim(1996), Kun-Wu Nam(2009) and Bo-Hyung Lee(2009) that are cited in this paper.

Folklore can exist normally only in the social, cultural and natural environment where it has been formed and handed down. Its significance can be exhibited properly in that environment. Therefore, if you go to an artificially created theater, the essence of folklore would be distorted.⁷⁾

As folk scholars who are members of the Cultural Heritage Administration participate in the festival as judges of the National Folk Arts Contest, 'folk arts' are judged by two evaluation indicators which are folklore prototype and artistry. As a result, these two indicators have resulted in promoting the artistic development of all folklore participating in the contest, and the winning local folklore has been granted the artistry as well as the prototypes.⁸⁾

The criticism on the context of competition was expanded to raise questions about the place of folk arts. It was argued that the public stadium, the place where the contests took places, was not appropriate as a place for folk arts. The citations below, show that the researchers at the time, had similar viewpoints on this.

Originally, most folklore events are village events. It is natural that the people in a village participate and enjoy themselves. The context of the Contest brought up folk arts to public stadiums, made them enlarged, and put them in competition. So that even hundreds of people were forced to participate in and folk arts were getting exaggerated to make them stand out. As a result, the simplicity and purity of folklore has disappeared and folklore events have become fakelores. It has come to destroy the real folklores.⁹⁾

The Contest was held on a public stadium and it is not undeniable that a large number of people were participated to create a spectacle suitable for a large space, and that the contest items were getting larger in size. In such a case, I have heard the gossip that the folk arts are distorted due to the exaggerating trends for the competition. In the worst case, in order to adapt to the enlargement, some producers inserted some parts that had not been in the original source material. (···) Moreover, since the Contest is held on a big public stadiums, the spectators have watched from a distance. It can not be denied that the characteristic as folk festival is weakened due to the absence of the interlocking action that the spectators respond to the performer's actions in direct.¹⁰⁾

Since the spot of the spectators is the stand of the stadium, the spectators are not structurally entangled in the folk arts scenes performing on the ground in the middle of the stadium. The event

7) Jae-Hae Lim(1986), *The Study of Folk Culture*(Seoul: Moonji Publishing), p.192.

8) Kun-Wu Nam(2009), The Concours of Folklore, Its Transformation into Art, *The Studies in Korea Literature* 36, p.321.

9) Ju-Geun Jang(1988), The Achievement and Negligence of the National Folk Art Contest, *Korean Folklore* 21, p.301.

10) Bo-Hyung Lee(2009, 2013). The Keynote Speech for the 50th Anniversary Seminar of Korean Folk Arts Festival in 2009(co-hosted by the 50th Korean Folk Arts Festival Committee and Korean Folklore Society. National Gugak Center. Sep. 7. 2009.) p.147.

staffs controlled the accesses of in and out all over the stadium, so it is not actually possible that performers and spectators meet and mix together.¹¹⁾

it(a folk art) is reproduced by fitting it to the time and space of the contest. Therefore the results of the Festival is getting different from the goals set in the beginning of the Festival such as restoration and preservation of folk arts.¹²⁾

The essence of folk art which all members of a local community participate in, is that there is no distinction between those who do and those who watch. The active involvement of viewers can bring about collective spirituality. However, the form of contest held in public stadiums or gymnasiums is structurally controlled and distorted folk arts and dances. In addition, it is pointed out that the contests would produce folk arts that have been ‘made’ and ‘invented’ to be a winner. In this point, the public stadiums can be said to structuralize the loss of the place identities of folk arts and folk dances. Therefore, public stadiums that folk dances were performed for the competitions in the 1970s are shown as an example of the placelessness of the folk dances.

In the next section, the paper looks at the concept of place, placeness, and placelessness, focusing on the discussion of Relph. These concepts and discussions will be served as a theoretical framework to track the loss of place in the paper. The public stadiums where Korea folk dances were performed in the 1970s, are observed as the place that distorted the contexts of restoring and preserving the authentic Korean folk dances.

2. Place, Placeness and Placelessness of Korean Folk Arts¹³⁾

Where do you go in order to experience Korean folk dances in contemporary Korean society? We might think some specialized theatres for Korean folk arts such as National Gugak Centre, Korean Folk Villages, Namsan Hanok Villages and so on. And we add some streets and event sites of cities where local festivals are held. However these places are not the original places for Korean folk dances.

In the course of urbanization and globalization in the 20th century, the traditional places as a premodern living environment were dismantled and rapidly replaced by modern places. The context and form of folk dances were also hard to escape from the influence of these changes. Following the proliferation of modernization, premodern living culture has been shrunk and folk dances have lost their own places. They have been uprooted from their own contexts, where they where they belonged

11) Jae-Hae Lim(1996), The Critical Review and Productive Approach to the Alternative of the National Folk Art Contest, *Asian Comparative Folklore* 13, p.55.

12) Ibid., p.74.

13) The theoretical debate about ‘placeness’ and ‘placelessness’ of this paper owes much to the discussion of Jung, Heon-Mok. Heon-Mok Jung(2013), A Review of Studies on ‘Non-place’ of Marc Auge, *Cross-Cultural Studies* 19(1), pp. 107-141.

to belonged to. In that point, it seems quite clear that Korean folk dances are the cases of placelessness. For discussing the placelessness of Korean folk dances, this chapter attempts to introduce some terms of humanistic geography such as space and place, placeness and placelessness.

The attention to space and place has been linked to socio-cultural changes due to rapid urbanization and globalization since the mid-20th century. It has been accepted that modernization has caused the loss of meaningful places or loss of significance. These are followed by the dissolution of local communities. Some academic disciplines like geography, sociology, and anthropology have begun to discuss the change or disappearance of these 'traditional places'. Representatively, Relph(2005 (1976)) tried to explain the changes surrounding space and place introducing the concepts and theories of 'placelessness'.

The academic discourses surrounding the concept of place appear to have been influenced by the social changes of modernization. In humanities and social sciences, the concept of 'place' goes far beyond the dictionary definition, 'where some events are happened or are happening'. If the concept of place is understood in relation to human experience or real life, the concept of 'space' can be understood somewhat differently from the concept of 'place'. According to another humanistic geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan(1977), "space" is more abstract than "place". He explained that starting from an unspecialized space, space becomes a place as people become better acquainted and value the space.¹⁴⁾ A space can become a place when human practices have been added to and people have given significance to it. The place of Korean folk dances are not any space but a specific place for the members of a local community.

Humanistic geographers insisted that their studies consisted of how people experience places they encounter. They observed that every human-environmental relationship was determined by the importance that people gave to their surroundings. The point is not about describing places in detail, but finding the different ways in which people experience places. In many cases, the social scientific implication of a place pointed to that it was a product of social practices. The concept of place encompasses elements of human practices. It is not only the physical or geographical location. Citing Heidegger's, Relph insisted that 'place' placed human beings in the way that identified human freedom and the depth of reality, and at the same time, revealed the bonds that human existence made with the outside.¹⁵⁾ According to Relph, the place must be understood in terms of the profound and complex aspects of human experiences. The place is to be seen as 'a meaningful center in which we experience the world directly, because it is a fusion of human order and natural order.'¹⁶⁾ Tuan also

14) Y. Tuan(1977), *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*(Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press), p.6.

15) M. Heidegger(1958), *An Ontological Consideration of Place*, In M. Heidegger(ed.), *The Question of Being*(New York: Twayne Publishers), p.19. recited from Relph(2005), p.25.

16) E. Relph(2005), *Place and Placelessness*, trans. Deok-Hyun Kim, Hyun-Ju Kim, Seung-Hee Sim(Seoul: NonHyung), p.287.

explained that objects and places acquired concrete reality when human experience of objects and places was made through all senses in total life. In this way, Relph and Tuan viewed the place as a phenomenon of experiencing the lived world rather than an abstract concept.

Next, Relph's definition of placeness can be summarized as 'the ability to distinguish the identity of a place.' His concepts of place, the identity of the place, and the sense of place would not be different from each other. According to Relph, a place necessarily includes the people who experience the place. The identity of a place means the unique characteristic of a place that has been formed in the relation to the human beings. It is a place-focused concept. The sense of place, that is the placeness means how human beings perceive, experience, and make sense of place. It differs from the identity of the place in that it is a human-focused concept. For him, a real sense of place is, first and foremost, 'a feeling that it is in and belongs to the place as a person and as a member of the community'¹⁷⁾. Relating to Korean folk dances, the dances were performed in a place where people had lived in and had been well-acquainted with. The placeness of Korean folk dances were where the people felt the sense of being in and also being belonged to. It is natural to say that it was connected to the traditional ways of life and premodern living contexts.

Meanwhile the concept of Relph's placelessness was formed on the base of his observation that the traditional place identity of the community had been weakened in while the landscapes were uniformized due to industrialization. The attitudes separated from place identity and the emergence of unauthentic attitude toward the place, can be defined as placelessness. It is defined as "planned for the pursuit of efficiency and derived from the trust of objective technology,"¹⁸⁾ which is also observed to be strengthened and disseminated by the mass media. With the prevalence of these attitudes, placelessness can be defined as "a term that describes both the environment that does not have a meaningful place and the potential attitude that does not recognize the meaning of the place."¹⁹⁾ According to him, placelessness is characterized by the conversion of the diversity of human experiences of place into the uniformity and the conversion of empirical order into conceptual order.²⁰⁾ Considering the fact that the places that are not 'traditional' in the modern society have increasing influence on human life, we pay attention to the implication of the discussions on 'placelessness.' In relation to this study, the public stadiums, the space where the Festival took places in the 1970s can be contrasted to the open spaces in the local villages where the traditional folk events had taken places, such as market places, river banks or hillsides. The public stadium is not a traditional place. It is a very modernized place. The change of the place in relation to the folk dances makes the study's attention bring to the discussion on the placelessness.

17) Ibid., p.150.

18) Ibid., p.183.

19) Ibid., p.183.

20) Ibid., p.290.

Today, folk arts and folk dances in Korea exist not in the real life but out of the real life as refined traditional arts. The public stadiums in the 1970s and the Festival in the stadiums showed the process of folk arts and folk dances losing their original contexts and meanings by losing their places. In the next chapter, the study examines the process how Korean folk dances have lost their own places. For this, the study analyses the news frames of articles that dealt Korean Folk Arts Festival, in those days titled as the National Folk Arts Contest, on daily newspapers. It will make confirm that the Contest in the public stadiums, was difficult to meet its original purposes. The processes that folk dances were drawn into the public stadiums and performed for the competitions, could be seen as processes of losing their original places and distorting own contexts and forms.

III. News Frames of Korean Folk Arts Festival in the 1970s

1. Frame Analysis for Understanding Korean Folk Arts Festival

There are two steps to analyze news frames in the study. One is analyzing the compositional and formal characteristics of the news and the other is analyzing the characteristics of contents. Regarding the formal characteristics, Iyengar(1991) distinguished between episodic and thematic frames. According to him, when news is framed episodically, a news article focuses on individuals that illustrate and exemplify an issue. That is like descriptive news articles dealing the participant groups and people in the Festival. In contrast, the thematic frames emphasize broader trends or backgrounds, providing more “in-depth, interpretive analysis.”²¹⁾ For example, the news articles tend to discuss about the meanings of the event, evaluate the performances of the year and so on. Iyengar found evidence that episodic frames were less likely to consider social responsibility than the thematic frames. The thematic frames were less likely to consider individuals’ responsibility than the episodic frames.

Regarding framing, it involves selection and salience. Selecting particular aspects of reality and making them more salient in the processes of reporting news is a way of framing. Through tracing these features of frames, according to Gamson, “frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe a point explored most thoroughly.”²²⁾ Entman clarified this,

Frames, then, define problems – determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; diagnose causes – identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments – evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies – offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects.²³⁾

21) S. Iyengar(1991), *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*(Chicago: University of Chicago Press), p.14.

22) W. Gamson(1992), *Talking Politics*(New York: Cambridge University Press), quoted from R. Entman(1993), p.52.

The method of framing news can be divided into the deductive approach and the inductive approach. The deductive method is to analyze the news by applying the frames derived from the previous researches. The inductive method is to extract frames analyzing the frequently used words and phrases in the texts of news. In this study, the news frames were analyzed by applying both deductive and inductive methods complementarily. As shown in the previous chapter(II-1) of the study, through the literature review on the preceding researches, some critical points around the Festival and the issues of restoring Korean folk dances were briefly examined. On the basis of the literature review, the study extracted news frames by analyzing texts of the news articles which were classified as thematic frames. The reason why the study chose these articles for the analysis, was that most of them contained conflicting issues, various positions and evaluations relating to the Festival.

The study tried to collect relevant articles from the daily newspapers such as *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Kyung Hyang Newspaper* and *Maeil Business Newspaper* in the 1970s.²⁴⁾ It used a keyword, “the National Folk Art Contest” for searching and collecting the articles from Naver News Library, Korean Internet Portal. The study found 294 articles for the words, ‘the National Folk Arts Contest’. Besides it collected 210 articles for the words “folk dance contests,” 367 articles for “folk arts contest.” These results included considerable quantities of articles related to the other folk arts events and contests which were held during the same period. It implied that there were many other events for the similar purpose. This has important implication because it shows the social interests and atmosphere at that time.

294 articles were found by the keyword of ‘the National Folk Arts Contest.’ These articles had been reported on daily newspapers in Korea, for 13 years from January 1, 1968 to December 31, 1980. 124 articles were found in *Kyunghyang Newspaper*, 109 articles in *Dong-A Ilbo*, and 61 articles in *Maeil Business Newspaper*. The study removed irrelevant articles to the events and collected the rest of them. The collected 227 articles were analyzed with the tool of Iyengar’s classification. And then the articles classified as thematic frames were reanalyzed for extracting news frames based on Gamson’s view.

First the articles were classified to two formal frames such as episodic and thematic frames. Episodic frames are mainly short stories, and announce the events and the results of the Festival. These are interpreted as customary reports on the annual national event. <Table 1> shows the formal characteristics of news frames about Korean Folk Arts Festival. As shown in the <Table 1>, 187

23) R. Entman(1993), Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm, *Journal of Communication* 43(4), p.52.

24) 210 articles for the term of ‘folk dance contest’ and 367 articles for the term of ‘folk art contest’ were searched. These results included other folk art events and contests held during the same period. It meant that there were many folk art events in the 1970s. It also implied social interests and atmosphere at that time. In order to narrow down the scope of the news frame analysis, the study gathered data on the event name, ‘the National Folk Art Contest.’ Naver News Library, <<http://newslibrary.naver.com/>, 2018. 6. 10.-2018. 6. 30.>.

articles are classified as episodic frames and 40 articles are classified as thematic frames. About 82% is episodic and 18% is thematic.

<Table 1> The compositional characteristics of news frame about 'Korean Folk Arts Festival'

Year / Classification	Episodic Frame	Thematic Frame	Total
1968	9	1	10
1969	13	0	13
1970	16	4	20
1971	15	3	18
1972	17	5	22
1973	11	3	14
1974	13	3	16
1975	19	2	21
1976	15	3	18
1977	14	5	19
1978	14	3	17
1979	12	4	16
1980	19	4	23
Total	187(82%)	40(18%)	227(100%)

In the compositional characteristics of news frames about 'Korean Folk Arts Festival', the proportion of the episodic frames is much bigger. It is because there were many simple and short reports on the holding and progress of the folk art contest. There were some critical views and conflicts regarding the performance and evaluation of the folk art contest. Nevertheless, it was not treated as a subject of constant social attention. These conflicting issues and alternatives were sought during only the period of the Festival. The Contest was held annually and the daily newspapers treated some critical issues seriously only around the period of the event or soon after the event. Therefore, most articles classified as thematic frames were shown before and after the event. In this regard, preservation and transmission of folk arts seemed to be handled lightly compared to other political or economic issues.

By the way, most news reports on the Festival were arranged together with photographs of the performance of folk arts. The articles with photographs seemed to be treated with great care. After the Contest, the result was often handled as a pictorial accompanied by photographs of the performing scenes of the winning folklore. Given the limited space of the daily newspapers in the 1970s, it revealed social interests and cultural weight of the folk arts contest. Nonetheless, since it was treated as a visual texts rather than written texts, the practice of folk arts was treated as one of the 'spectacles' rather than a serious social issue. The scenes captured folk arts performed in public stadiums or the

participant team marching on the street of host cities were reported. It was not uncommon because the Contest was accepted as the event for restoring folk arts newly and preserving them.

2. News Frames of Korean Folk Arts Festival in the 1970s

The study analyzed frames of the news articles in thematic frames. It extracted three frames which were consisted of ‘competition rather than festival’, ‘efficiency for preserving Korean folk dances’, ‘folk arts for cultural globalization and merchandization.’

A. Competition Rather Than Festival

In connection with the Contest, the public stadium became a place where the repertoire of folk arts as the representative of the region, competed with representative items of other regions. It was proceeded like sports events. The Contest was held as a national event. The folklorists specialized in judging and selecting the award winning works and the state sponsored and carried out the events. The public stadium was provided as a venue for such competition. This resulted in competition between the regions participating in. The performers of the traditional folk arts should come to the public stadium after a regional preliminary process like the national athletics. Most of them were the ordinary local people. As it proceeded in the form of competitions, it was difficult to control the intervention of artistic production and enlargement of folk events to make spectacles. As time goes by, the format of the contest, which assesses the expertise of the performers or the artistry of the running event, is unlikely to be consistent with the original purpose of the event. It was because folk arts can keep its own meaning when the members of the local community at the village level, involved all together, even though their performances are not good and defined either

In this context, it is difficult to say that the news frame adequately addressed the essence of the issue. The news frame centered on regional competition as a contest event rather than a national festival that focused on preserving the traditional folk arts. In the ‘contest rather than festival’ frame, the daily newspapers featured the concerns of the researchers in folklore, whose concern was about the format of contests. But the news on the issues was reported annually around the period of the contest. The news frame does not seem to emphasize its importance as an ongoing socio-cultural issue. Especially, these reports emphasized the size of the group that participated as a local representative, and the proportion of the photographs and pictorials appealing to the visual effect as a new 'spectacle' is high.

B. Efficiency for Preserving Korean Folk Dances

It is natural if one thinks of an important intangible cultural property system as one of the efficient institutions that has contributed to the preservation traditional folk dances. The folk arts and folk

dances were in danger of disappearing in the rapid process of modernization. They could be reconstructed and preserved through the National Folk Arts Contests held in public stadiums. They could regain the social attention and secure a path for preservation through designating the intangible cultural property system.

The Contest and later titled as Korean Folk Arts Festival held in public stadiums, provided an effective way and motivation to restore and preserve folk arts and dances. However, the efficiency revealed the chaos and the crisis of the placeness that Korean folk dances implied. The format of competition seemed efficient and reasonable for selecting the folk arts to be restored. The winners of the Contest were designated as the intangible cultural properties. But the format of competition was criticised for its insufficient adequacy to the traditional folk arts, Public stadiums were perceived as an unadequate place for folk arts. The public stadiums seemed to symbolize the loss of place of folk arts.

C. Cultural Globalization and Merchandisation

The culture and arts policies that have managed intangible cultural heritages including folk dances, have undergone changes. Public stadium is the place where the folk arts festivals in Korea have been held. Public stadiums have been regarded as very modernized places. In that context, the placeness of public stadiums overlapped the nationalistic cultural policies. Under the nationalistic policies of folk arts, it seemed natural that preservation of traditional folklores was influenced and even determined by the intervention of the government. Folk arts based on premodern lifestyles are in the situation where they could not be preserved without the institutional supports. In addition, since 2000, the situations facing the globalized market and the weakness of national geographical boundaries have influenced on it. In response to the threat of cultural homogenization and market opening, local cultures responded by strengthening own characteristics of local cultures. This indicated a tendency to secure market competitiveness.

The public stadium attracted the attention of the study as the place where nationalistic cultural policies penetrated. This situation of Korean folk dances overlaps with Chinese and Asian folk dances, today. The context that Asian folk dances are located, is connected with post-colonial situations and commercialization of local culture for tourists, which are interpreted as post-capitalist phenomenon.

IV. Public Stadiums, the Placelessness of Korean Folk Dances

As a place for the restoration and recognition of folk dances, public stadiums were where the national culture and art policies penetrated through the times. The policies were established for

erasing the scars of Japanese colonial rule quickly and recovering the self-esteem of the national culture through preserving and expanding traditional folklores. However, since the middle of the last century, Korean society has been devoted to economic development accompanied by rapid industrialization and urbanization, and it has experienced social changes like rapid increase of intercultural and cultural exchanges brought about by globalization. Due to these social changes, the folklores belonged to the past including folk dances have disappeared into the backdrop of the times. In this sense, restoring the folk dances and giving the value to the mission has been done through the artificial mechanism such as the intervention by the government rather than the result of the actual life. The public stadium is a space representing nationalism and artificiality that permeates the preservation policies of folk dances.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the loss of the place of folk dance by industrialization and urbanization has been anticipated as a fact. In the process of modernization, the traditional industries and lifestyles have declined. Along with that trend, the folklores and folk arts have disappeared. In the 1970s, the National Folk Arts Contest was held for the purpose of preservation of folk arts. The folk arts had rapidly disappeared with the change of traditional lifestyle. The holding of the Contest was interpreted as an effort to preserve these disappearing folk arts. The effort to capture the disappearing folklore has its own meaningful results. But it was limited. The Contest become the event to confirm the loss of the place of folk arts, too. Public stadiums as place and competitions as context has escaped the original context of folk arts and dances. Despite the significant achievements such as preservation of traditional folk arts, the National Folk Art Contest also reveals the limitation. The Contest has not only proved to be difficult to overcome the mainstream of social change, but also proved to be criticized for distorting the original form of folk arts and dances.

The public stadium as a holding place of the Contest, not only clarified the nature of the contest, but also reinforced its characteristics. The study approached the public stadium, which was the space of the National Folk Arts Contests in the 1970s, as a space representing the placelessness of traditional folk dances.

V. Conclusion

Is there any authentic places for Korean traditional folk dances today? The answer is not positive. The social changes caused by the modernization, urbanization, industrialization and globalization have made nearly all the meaningful places for the members of traditional local communities disappeared. The folk dances, the belongings of traditional local communities, have lost their own authentic places. This circumstance of folk dances is not much different from other traditional

folklores. Relating to this, public stadiums in the 1970s' Korea can be seen as a case of the 'placelessness' of Korean folk dances.

The placelessness of Korean folk dances is still in progress beyond the limited time of the 1970s. It is because the concept of placelessness helps us to understand the social and cultural backgrounds of contemporary Korean folk dances. The effect also transcends geographical boundaries. It overlaps with the mechanisms and contexts that folk dances have been restored in other Asian countries. Many Asian countries experienced colonial rules during the last century. Since their liberations, they have tried restoring their folk arts and folk dances for the nationalistic needs. In this respect, many Asian folk dances can be understood as products of nationalistic cultural policies in each country.

The format of competition is the point that traditional folk dances are connected with public stadiums. The stadiums have been the space for reconstructing and recognizing folk dances. The placelessness of the folk dances has extended beyond the boundaries of time, from past to present, and also across geographical boundaries. It is because the phenomena are linked to the policy mechanisms and contexts having operated in the process of restoring and recognizing folk dances. These days, Asian traditional cultures including folk dances are facing the expansion of international exchanges and global tourism. That means these dances would be regarded as the by-products of the market demands.

The meaning of the study can be summarized in two ways. First, it helps to understand the contemporary Korean and Asian folk dances. Folk dances are often defined as 'dances that belong to the subculture of low class people, not culture of upper classes which is highly related to the traditional and agricultural life inherited from past.'²⁵⁾ The environments of life based on agriculture have changed due to urbanization and industrialization. The foundation of folk dances that was passed down from the past, has also changed and even collapsed. This is why the folk dances of contemporary Korean society had been restored and reconstructed. The processes were quite artificial. The processes could not be natural but by the intentional intervention by the policy. The placelessness of the traditional folk dances relating to the public stadiums, is the concept that helps us to understand the social status and role of the traditional folk dances in contemporary world. Nearly all folk dances that every member of local communities participated and played together on the working fields, do not exist. They are now changed to the dances on the stages making the spectacles for the tourists in the name of traditional arts. The authentic places for the traditional folk dances are not in the contemporary world. Then there are no more authentic the traditional folk arts and dances, except for the museum's stuffed arts and dances.

Secondly, it helps to understand the hybridity of contemporary folk dances. This is related to

25) Definitions and concepts commonly used for 'Korean folk dancing' can be found in Naver, the internet portal. See <http://navercast.naver.com/magazine_contents.nhn?rid=1526&contents_id=18847, 2018.06.20.>.

interculturalism²⁶⁾ as a mechanism of cultural changes in the era of globalization. Contemporary interculturality is observed not only within the geographical boundaries that can be assumed ‘between’ national and ethnic cultures, but also ‘within’ the national and ethnic boundaries, such as generational boundaries and artistic hierarchies, etc. The cultural globalization in response to the expansion of the market, has been accompanied by the development and diffusion of electronic media such as the internet. It is followed by the westernization or homogenization of world culture. However, in reality, the observation and argument of fragmentation that attracted attention to the emergence of diverse cultures are arising. It still causes controversies. The contemporary situation that most folk dances in Korea and Asia countries face, seems to be developed in the aspect of emphasizing the locality of traditional cultures. It is because the local tries to preserve its culture surviving in the crisis of cultural homogenization. It seems that folk dances become an important case of intercultural arts and also an axis of fragmentations of global culture. The placelessness of the folk dances shows the artificial mechanism and influence of nationalistic policies on the restoration of traditional folk dances. Here public stadiums in the 1970s’ Korea, are given as clear cases.

26) Interculturalism can be defined as theory of culture that the cultural contacts and exchanges promote cultural hybridization and become a basis for the birth of a new culture.

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The Placelessness of Korean Folk Dances

Focusing on Public Stadiums in the 1970s' Korea

Yoon, JiHyun

Lecturer, Korea National University of Arts

This paper deals public stadiums in the 1970s' Korea as a case showing the placelessness of folk dances. The essence of folk arts is that the members of a local community participate in all together and that there is no distinction between those who perform and watch. The active involvement of viewers could evoke collective spirituality. However Korean Folk Arts Festival held in public stadiums, structurally distorted folk arts including folk dances. It was held in a national contest format. In limited time and space of the competitions, Korean Folk Arts Festival tended to endorse folk arts that were 'made' as prize-winning repertoires. In this regard, the public stadiums can be understood as places where the folk dances were inherently lost. Therefore public stadiums become the space representing the loss of place identity, that is, the case of placelessness of Korean folk dances.

Keywords: Placelessness(무장소성), Korean Folk Arts Festival(한국민속예술축제), Folk dance(민속춤), Public stadium(공설운동장), Frame analysis(프레임 분석)