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Declaration

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Abstract

The Korean National Ballet (KNB), founded in 1962, is a pivotal, government-funded ballet company which acts as a national representative both domestically and internationally. This thesis investigates how the KNB has contributed to the formation of ‘Korean ballet’, a complex phenomenon interpreted through Homi Bhabha’s concept of post-colonial hybridity as a ‘doubling’ of the Western ballet form which simultaneously resists it through indigenisation. It examines the company’s artistic trajectory and repertoire, and analyses how it translates the codified ballet vocabulary to develop its own distinct movement style. The central concern is to show how such hybridisation enables the KNB to fulfil its role as a national organisation charged with representing Korean identity.

While the introduction of ballet into Korea is a classic example of cultural imperialism in Edward Said’s sense, the nineteenth-century Russian ballet tradition, particularly Yuri Grigorovich’s interpretations, has exerted more direct authority, foisting colonial sentiments and demands onto the KNB via its set criteria and conventions. Thus a coloniser/colonised division separates the Russian and Korean ballet fields, as colonialism refers not to a past political system but to present sentiments and strategies inscribed in the process of continuing imperialism. The thesis evaluates how the KNB subverts these colonial demands to appropriate ballet as a legitimate means of articulating Korean identity. In the process, it negotiates various forms of state-led nationalism, supporting and shaping cultural policy by absorbing and transforming indigenous elements to bolster and reshape the national image propagated by the state. Paul Gilroy’s work on camp-thinking provides the theoretical foundation for understanding the political reshaping of national identity, while his reflections on the black diaspora confirm the hybrid cultural space as a new site of identity-formation. Thus the thesis nominates the KNB as a crucial institution in the development and reshaping of national identity in Korea.
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Chapter One
Introduction
The Korean National Ballet, founded in 1962, represents the nation as a professional ballet company. Offering the nation’s top dancers and a diverse repertoire, the Korean National Ballet takes the lead in developing the field of performance...The Korean National Ballet...under the slogan ‘Globalization, Refinement and Popularization’...[aims] to rise to the status of a world class ballet company.

KNB, 2012, 1

1.1 The field of research
The Korean National Ballet (KNB) is, as it claims, a pivotal ballet company, setting the standards for, and creating and continuing the history of, ballet in Korea. The KNB, the foremost government-funded company, is the oldest surviving professional ballet company in Korea, marking its fiftieth year in 2012. It is an ambitious company, eager to progress towards the world stage by securing and expanding its repertoire, by embarking on numerous international tours and by fostering artistic exchanges with a diverse array of distinguished foreign ballet companies. The company strives to develop a balanced repertoire by creating its own ballets as well as by securing other ballets imported from abroad, and includes works by Yuri Grigorovich, Roland Petit, Jean-Christophe Maillot, Boris Yakovlevich Eifman and Mats Ek. Recently, the KNB has produced a new ballet based on a Korean traditional tale, Prince Hodong (Moon, 2009). This ballet has been developed as part of the National Brand policy of the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (MCST), with the aim of serving the role of national representation on the global domain. As a means of fulfilling this intention, this newly produced work reached its first international stage, San Carlos Theatre in Naples, Italy, in October 2011, after undergoing several modification processes over the preceding two years.

The intention behind the creation of Prince Hodong provides insight into the company’s strategy, in particular, its pursuit of one of its mottos, ‘Globalisation’. The KNB, in order to reach out to a global audience, has more recently been striving to construct and secure its own repertoire, one that draws on the national culture rather than continuously relying on the importation of already recognised Western ballet
classics. The company also emphasises that the work represents the nation and national culture, which resonates with Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman’s argument (2005, 1) that the development of globalisation, rather than halting nationalism, ‘has fostered an increasing attachment to supposedly endangered national identities’. This strategy can be seen as the KNB’s way of finding its own identity in the manner described by Paul Gilroy (2005, 161), who argues that ‘identity has come to supply something of an anchor amid the turbulent waters of de-industrialization and...“globalization”’. Following Gilroy’s argument, the thesis sets out to argue that the KNB aims to establish its historical and institutional uniqueness through the articulation of national identity, which functions as a source of stability amidst increasing levels of global exchange. It, thus, primarily addresses how and to what extent this identification process is achieved.

San Carlos Theatre in Naples, Italy
12th October 2011, 7.30pm

Entering the San Carlos Theatre, I felt as though I had travelled to a grand Western palace. I was struck by the red and gold contrast interior design of the auditorium, which goes six floors up with a large golden crown installed in the middle. My eyes landed on the ceiling where an unknown Western painting of heaven and angels was positioned to maximise the sensation of being at the heart of the Western heritage, held here in one piece. Shortly, I encountered the Korean traditional figures impressively painted on the front-drop of Prince Hodong, yet surrounded by the Western historic atmosphere. ‘What a fascinating harmony of West and East’, I felt. This peculiar but interesting harmony of Korean and Western culture soon blossomed fully through the performance of Prince Hodong, articulating the historical stories of ancient Korea by using the technique and conventions of the Western art form of ballet.

Extract derived from personal fieldnotes, 2011

This extract describes the interesting experience of witnessing, on the occasion of the first international performance of Prince Hodong, the representation of Korean cultural themes in a historic Western venue and through the language of Western art forms. It captures instantly the practical harmonisation of the idea of Korean identity with the Western dance form of ballet through which the KNB’s process of self-identification takes place, raising questions about the ways in which this ballet articulates and builds this harmony. At one and the same time, the company
demonstrates its technical standard on the world stage by mastering the fixed

technique, rules and conventions of classical ballet (the transnational property of the

ballet genre), even while it intends to develop its own power and uniqueness by

injecting domestic traditional and cultural elements into that form. The above-

mentioned experience neatly summarises the central concern of this thesis, namely,

the way in which the KNB, through its artistic trajectory and repertoire, has been

involved in a process of hybridisation whereby representations of Korean identity are

amalgamated with the Western dance form of ballet. In order to express this process

in a single concept, I argue that the KNB puts forward and embodies, through its

repertoire, something that must be described with the hybrid term, Korean ballet. The

thesis therefore sets out to question whether and how the company succeeds in

establishing Korean ballet, as well as to determine the fundamental characteristics,

both theoretical and aesthetic, of this phenomenon. At the same time, it aims to assess

the KNB’s strategy of representing the nation by questioning the ways in which it

references and reshapes the idea of national identity through the process of

constructing Korean ballet. Moreover, because such hybridity involves the expression

not only of Korean identity but also the identity of an individual ballet company,

further questions arise concerning the strategies through which the KNB distinguishes

itself from other companies in the world by evolving its own dance-movement style

within the constraints of the formal traditions and vocabulary of classical ballet.

While more in-depth considerations of the ideas of national identity, Korean ballet

and dance-movement style are given in the following two chapters, I shall provide a

general introduction to these concepts here in order to explain how they serve to
develop my primary research questions. Importantly, all of the theories discussed

below and employed throughout have been selected not to argue that they are the

dominant ones in the current academic field, but rather and simply because they have

presented themselves as being the most adequate ones for the research topic at hand.

Moreover, it is crucial to note that these concepts have emerged out of my early

researches and ongoing encounters with the company and its works. Therefore, I do

not intent to research into these key terms per se, but aim to use these ideas creatively

in order to mediate between the dual imperatives of concrete empirical description

and abstract theoretical analysis. Because my usage is often syncretistic, idiosyncratic

3
and creative, I will here restrict myself to a general enumeration and explanation of the ways in which I utilise and define these concepts within this thesis, saving further description and justification of my choices for the following chapters.

There are numerous scholarly debates surrounding the origin of the concept of the nation. Gi Wook Shin (2006, 4) points out that some scholars argue that the nation needs to be recognised as something new, as ‘constructed’ through modern history (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983; Giddens ,1984; Hobsbawn, 1990). In contrast, others argue for a more ‘primordial’ conception of the nation as an extension of long-standing patterns of ethnicity, and developed on pre-existing geographic or cultural grounds (Connor, 1994; Geertz, 1963; Smith 1986, 1991). Instead of choosing sides in this debate, I focus on the history of modern nation-building in Korea, drawing on key studies of Korean nationalism – for example, recent work by Shin and Kyong Ju Kim (2006), who emphasise the role of political movements that recall shared, pre-modern sentiments and culture in order to construct and instil a collective sense of national belonging. Focusing on this process of national identity construction, I highlight the problems with assuming the existence of any pre-established, long-standing, totally distinct and self-same category comprising what is ‘purely Korean’.

Accordingly, although Korea’s condition is rather more subtle than the examples given by him, the term ‘national identity’ in this thesis follows Gilroy’s concept of camp-thinking (further justifications is provided in Chapter 2). Gilroy argues that ‘calculating the relationship between identity and difference, sameness and otherness is an intrinsically political operation’, and hence that national camps are essentially a political technology that develops the sense of belonging to the nation by evoking primordial feelings, a mystical sense of kinship, ethnic homogeneity and nationalistic history. Gilroy also states that ‘if identity and difference are fundamental, then they are not amenable to being re-tooled by crude political methods’ (2005, 160), which is to say that identity is always fluid rather than fixed and that the boundaries between sameness and difference can always be moved and modified. Hence, the notion of national identity, in this thesis, is not a trans-historic or already-given entity, but rather a politically constructed concept closely tied to ethnicity, culture and history, and possessing the capacity for constant modification.
The fluid characteristic of the concept of national identity highlights the possibility of re-negotiation processes between the boundaries of the self and the other. This opens up the possibility of hybridisation, as different socio-political conditions and agendas may schematically embrace non-national or transnational ideas in reforming the notion of national identity. Drawing on Edward Said’s (1993) work on culture and imperialism, the introduction of the ballet genre in Korea is identified as an extension of Western cultural imperialism. Taken in combination with Homi Bhabha’s concepts of post-colonial mimicry and hybridity (1994), this enables understanding of the particular colonial sentiments and orders that can be exerted through such ongoing cultural imperialism. Bhabha examines the conditions of actual, historical colonial settlement to explain the impossibility of achieving a complete, authoritative idea of Western colonisation, as the cultural products imposed by the dominant culture are appropriated by the minor culture through a subversive doubling process by which the work is differentiated and reinterpreted in accordance with local knowledge and practices. In this thesis, then colonialism is not understood in the restricted sense of a violent past political system, but rather signifies the continuation of the imperialist idea of a Western-oriented cultural hierarchy – one that is able, for example, to push the KNB to forge direct partnerships, or to rely on the artistic authority of a specific Western ballet centre – which builds up a kind of colonial settlement out of the set artistic criteria and conventions. In Bhabha’s terms, the KNB is thus regarded as a subaltern agency that can resist both the dominant discourse of the Western ballet tradition and the colonial force of certain ballet centres, by differentiating itself through the creation of its own ballets which reference national culture. In this thesis, the KNB’s method of hybridisation is viewed in two distinct ways: first, as a reversal of cultural imperialism that embraces certain colonial conditions, and second, as an act of differentiation deployed to survive the wave of globalisation.

Theoretically, the concept of Korean ballet also references an analogous phenomenon in Korean film studies known as hangukhyeong beulleokbeoseuteo: the Korean blockbuster. So Young Kim explains the hangukhyeong beulleokbeoseuteo as ‘both a voluntary mimicry of, as well as [an] imagined resistance to, large Hollywood productions, playing off various logics of both identity and difference in the global cultural industry’ (Kim in Jung, 2011, 14). Accordingly, in this thesis, the concept of
Korean ballet can be understood as a new, Koreanised version of ballet, one which has developed through both voluntary imitation of, and thoughtful or unconscious resistance to, the Western ballet classics. Here, the concept of Korean ballet points to a constant process of negotiation vis-à-vis the Western ballet genre (including its technique, rules and canon) and Korean national identity (as a constructed and movable concept that draws on national culture, beliefs, and history).

By clarifying the research topic and issues and by addressing the above key research aim, various domains of investigation arise. Gilroy’s notion of national identity and Bhabha’s idea of hybridity highlight the need to evaluate the socio-political conditions of Korea in relation to the KNB’s activities, that is, to view the KNB as an institution that functions on both the social and political level, particularly in relation to the political construction of national identity. The KNB’s repertoire is obviously a key area of research as it provides evidence for the claim that the company demonstrates Korean ballet and its particularity. From the audience’s perspective, watching a performance by the KNB is a phenomenologically entangling experience that embraces the production as a whole – its choreography, music, set design, costumes, and performance of skills, quality and overall aesthetic. Therefore, in analysing the company’s works, I propose to view the piece as a performance event, rather than just as choreography, and hence the diverse features of the performance are taken into consideration.

The hybrid nature of the Korean ballet not only involves the expression of Korean identity, but also requires the exposure of an individual ballet identity. While the traits of incorporated national identity can be identified through an analysis of all of the performance aspects, the company’s individuality in ballet terms can profitably be traced through the performance of ballet movements, for instance through their quality and aesthetics. This individuality can be referred to as the movement style, which shows the KNB’s distinctiveness in ballet terms. This entails questioning how ballet movements performed by the KNB dancers differ from the same movements performed by the dancers of other ballet companies. Ramsay Burt (2004, 30) argues that ‘too often dance analysis means the analysis of a disembodied ideal essence conventionally called “choreography” – rather than an analysis of the performance of
that choreography by sometimes troubling and disturbingly material dancing bodies’. Similarly Sally Banes (1998, 9) discusses the idea of ‘performance vs. plot’ to claim that ‘a score or text…provides the skeleton on which the musculature of the individual performer’s interpretation is built’. Here both scholars make a distinction between choreography and the performance of movements, supporting the necessity of an analysis of the performed movement style.

In the studies of the ballet profession, there is a general acceptance of stylistic differences in the work of various choreographers, and David Vaughan (1996) is one ballet scholar who stresses the choreographer’s contribution in defining a company’s style. Geraldine Morris (2003) furthers this argument to highlight the importance of both the choreographer and the various training systems in producing differently styled dancers and choreography. Following their arguments, although the ballet technique has set conventions and rules of execution, numerous stylistic variations can occur in the performance of the ballet vocabulary, as dancers may have an inclination toward the works of a particular choreographer(s), while also possessing different training backgrounds. Here, as the thesis focuses on the KNB, not on the individual dancers, I highlight another principle of a ballet company’s performing the ballet classics, namely the necessity to exhibit corps de ballet works with a unified style. Accordingly, the term ‘style’ refers, in this thesis, to a certain company’s overall movement quality and technique (that which is evident through the performance of a company’s dancers en masse), which results from the interaction of the significant choreographer(s), trainer(s) and teacher(s) who contributed to the formation of the repertoire and the training method. Moreover, developing Morris’s argument further, I investigate whether the performance of codified movement can be influenced by the cultural and aesthetic values of Korea, as is open to personal interpretations and be controlled by the key artists or the directors situated in Korea. Identification of the company’s style is thus understood as the key factor in demonstrating the ways in which the company, while working within the constraints of the formal traditions and vocabulary of classical ballet, translates the codified ballet vocabulary in reference to its artistic trajectory and local aesthetic values. In this sense, it is what differentiates the KNB from other ballet companies in the world and contributes to the formation of Korean ballet.
This more syncretistic approach to the concepts of national identity, hybridity and style opens up three specific research questions: first, to what extent does the KNB copy and yet disavow the Western ballet tradition through its history and repertoire; second, how are both the company’s artistic history and Korean aesthetic values incorporated into its movement style; and third, how does this process of forming Korean ballet contribute to the expression of national identity? In answering these questions, the above discussion of the terms allows the thesis to posit the following four objectives: first, to identify the socio-political conditions of Korea that pertain to the KNB’s actions, particularly in relation to the discourse of Korean nationalism; second, to appreciate the artistic legacy of and influences on the company, especially in relation to the development of its key repertoire; third, to distinguish the specific traits of the company’s movement style through analysis of its work; and fourth, to isolate, within its repertoire, aspects that show both cultural mimicry and resistance. Given these four objectives, the thesis is divided into three sections: the first part explains the key theoretical concepts and analytic approaches used; the second part presents a historical evaluation of the socio-political conditions and artistic influences, by viewing the company as an institution; and the third part involves a repertoire analysis that closely examines the company’s productions in order to isolate its key movement-stylistic features and to describe the process of hybridisation.

1.2 Rationale

The idea for this topic grew out of my previous studies into the dominant ballet centres, including Russia, the UK and the US. Not only is there a remarkable amount of scholarly writings on these centres, but there are also numerous texts involving detailed movement-stylistic analyses of the works of particular companies and choreographers. There are also several in-depth investigations into particular companies and choreographers in relation to their national context, raising debates concerning the expression of national traits through the ballet works. For instance, Geraldine Morris (2001) investigates dancers’ contributions to Frederick Ashton’s choreographic style, while Richard Glasstone (1996) explains the influence of Enrico Cecchetti on Ashton’s style, which Glasstone considers the epitome of English ballet. Lynn Garafola (1999) explores the history of the New York City Ballet and relates the company’s choreography, dancers, dancing style and music to the lifestyle, landscape,
artistic trends and rhythm of the US, showing how the company expresses the overall atmosphere and life of America. Likewise, Tim Scholl (2004), by focusing on a specific ballet, *Sleeping Beauty* (Petipa, 1890), shows how the Soviet political/ideological myth of chauvinism encouraged intellectuals and writers to promote and secure the ballets of Marius Petipa as distinctively Russian. Such academic discussions have contributed to the enhancement of these ballet centres’ status by justifying their significance and uniqueness.

By comparison, the existing scholarly research on the Korean ballet field shows little interest either in the KNB’s movement style or in its role as a national ambassador. There are three main studies on the idea of Korean ballet, namely, by Ok Hee Jeong (2005), Young Jaee Roh (2005), and Kyung Hee Kim and Hyun Jung Kim (2008); the first two examine the Universal Ballet’s production of *Shim Chung* (Dellas, 1986), and the third looks at the initial version of *Prince Hodong* (Lim, 1988) by the KNB. Jeong mainly focuses on the idea of postcolonial identity, as represented in *Shim Chung*, by referencing Chong In Kang’s four strategies (2004) (assimilative, reverse, hybrid, and deconstructive); Roh, in contrast, is interested in the ways in which the oppressed image of the female figure in the same ballet reflects both global and local discourses. Their studies, while trying to articulate the incorporated idea of Korean-ness, only examine one particular piece of the repertoire, with the aim of providing a sound example that elaborates the concept and identity of Korean ballet. The study by Kim and Kim is more relevant to this thesis, as it highlights the difference between the government-funded KNB and the private Universal Ballet, with emphasis on the KNB’s role in representing the nation. Nonetheless, while they examines how the earlier *Prince Hodong* reproduces the patriarchal ideology of gendered nationalism, a more updated study on the KNB is called for, as this production has not been performed since 1992, and the recently created 2009 ballet shows only passing allusions to the earlier version, and involves wholly new choreography by Byung Nam Moon. Moreover, and in contrast to the above-mentioned studies on Western ballet centres, none of these studies shows consideration of the movement-stylistic aspects. This makes the present investigation all the more timely inasmuch as it can potentially generate increased awareness, as well as contribute to the enrichment of overall perceptions, of the KNB and Korean ballet more broadly, thus further
developing the body of scholarly research on the KNB’s recent history, productions and movement style, with particular focus on its role in representing the nation.

Moreover, the existing literature on Korean nationalism focuses primarily on political and social contexts and pays little attention to the artistic field, and particularly to the discipline of dance. For instance, Shin (2006, 3), in Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy, develops a notion of ethnic nationalism to identify ‘the historical process through which Koreans came to develop national identity based on [a] shared bloodline’, but focuses mainly on socio-political conditions and on various trans-national or non-national ideas (such as Pan-Asianism, colonialism, socialism, communism and capitalism). Kim’s The Development of Modern South Korea: State formation, capitalist development and national identity (2006) also focuses on the socio-political conditions of Korea, with an emphasis on the role of Confucian thought in developing nationalism in Korea.

There are some studies that address the idea of national identity in relation to various cultural fields besides the dance sector; for instance, Hyang Jin Lee’s Contemporary Korean cinema: identity, culture and politics (2000) focuses specifically on one form of cultural activity, cinema. Nak Young Jung’s research, A Study on National Identity in the Exhibition for the National Museum (2008), centres on a particular national institution, the National Museum of Korea (NMK), and En Young Ahn concentrates on the overseas Korean art exhibitions through Korean Studies in the World: Democracy, Peace, Prosperity and Culture (Yang, Choi and Choi eds., 2008). The function of education in establishing national identity is also one of the key research areas, an exemplary study being The Korean Language Textbook and National Ideology (Kang ed., 2007). However, there is no literature that addresses dance productions in relation to the spread of nationalism in Korea, and the studies on Korean national identity tend to concentrate more on the role of written texts and/or visual representations such as exhibitions. This scant attention paid to the subject of dance and the idea of bodies in motion in the studies of Korean nationalism and national identity provides another reason for pursuing my research. Through this research, I aim to nominate the KNB as an institution which is crucial for the development of national identity, and by doing so hope to highlight the significance of
dance performances and moving bodies within such events as an innovative medium for establishing and displaying national identity.

A further rationale is provided by noting that academic research on the KNB is mostly domestic (e.g. Young Hee Kim, 2008, 2009; Jeon and Jee Yeon Kim, 2007, 2008), indicating the absence of international scholarly interest in or engagement with the KNB and Korean ballet in general. This is due in part to the lack of attention paid to Korean ballet activities by Western dance researchers. But the problem cuts both ways. Not only is the KNB severely underrepresented in Western academic discourse, but it is also evident that the domestic research itself is hindered by certain limitations that result directly from this neglect. It suffices to say that these deficiencies can most likely be attributed to the lack of Western literature translated into Korean as well as to the unreliability of the translated materials. This disconnect between Western and Korean dance scholarship – which may be at the root of the general inadequacy (both quantitative and qualitative) of scholarship on the KNB – leads to realisation of the necessity of filling it, thus building the initial catalyst for my research into the KNB.

More generally, the initial impetus for this project stems largely from my personal background and current status. As a young ballet dancer in Korea I was accepted to the leading arts school, Yewon School, where I underwent two years of ballet training. Then I moved to the UK, at the age of thirteen, to study at the Elmhurst School for Dance in association with the Birmingham Royal Ballet. Continuing to stay in the UK, I completed higher education at the Royal Academy of Dance, then proceeded to the MA level at Roehampton University, and currently I am studying dance at the doctoral level at the University of Surrey. As I have gone through the UK educational system since secondary school, I have acquired an in-depth understanding of both Western vocational ballet training and the Western academic study of dance. Moreover, although I left Korea at an early age, I have retained, and am continually reminded of, my distinct sense of being Korean. I was brought up under parents who strictly respect Korean customs and traditions, and who have constantly stressed the importance of understanding Korean history and heritage, especially as I have been living abroad. Frequent returns to Korea during breaks also aided my understanding of Korean norms and customs.
It should be added that it was precisely this experience of frequent travelling that first brought my research question into focus, as it gave me numerous opportunities to observe, compare and contrast ballet performances in England and Korea, and in particular the performances of the Royal Ballet and the KNB. From my earliest observations, I recognised that there was something different in their respective productions (even of the same work, such as *Swan Lake*), and I became curious about this ‘something’ that made the KNB different from other major companies. The fact that there were very few studies on this subject allowed me to formulate a new line of enquiry: namely, to bring the methods and procedures utilised by the contemporary academic discipline of dance research to bear on the subject of the KNB and its distinctiveness. I felt I occupied an advantageous position for carrying out the task of introducing Korean ballet to the ‘outside’ world and bringing the subject out from the margins of international dance scholarship. In sum, then, my research attempts, firstly, to highlight Korean ballet and the KNB as a legitimate and rewarding area of study, both in itself and for the West, and secondly, to bridge the current gulf separating the dance scholarship of Korea and the West. Lastly, I seek to inspire and instigate further investigation into both Korean ballet in general and the KNB in particular.

### 1.3 Theoretical approaches

In order to address the above research questions, I employ two complementary approaches: historical contextualisation and repertoire analysis. The contextual analysis of the thesis (which forms Part Two) mainly draws on Pierre Bourdieu’s theory (1993) of the field of cultural production and Stephen Greenblatt’s idea (1980) of power. First, Bourdieu’s theory of the field of cultural production provides the essential theoretical grounding, as it calls for a transparent and intensive contextual analysis of cultural producers, practices, and products, and their relationship with the society. Bourdieu highlights symbolic capital (that is, artistic prestige, honour or consecration) as the vital aspect of the cultural field and asserts that it provides both the field’s own logic and its autonomy from external determinants, especially from the laws of the economic and political fields. Nonetheless, by situating the cultural field within the field of power, he argues that, whatever its degree of independence, it is always influenced by the logic of the other fields that embrace it (for instance, the fields of power and class relations). Bourdieu’s model allows the research to situate
the KNB within the field of state power, enabling recognition of the shifts in the company’s position between the autonomous pole (for retaining artistic power) and the heteronomous pole (for political profit), in a relational manner. Therefore, it allows for analysis of a socially constructed, external political power that encourages the KNB to plan and execute particular practices aimed at representing the nation, while also facilitating evaluation of the company’s concentration on stylistic development and artistic refinement. Moreover, Bourdieu’s theory draws attention to those figures influential in the creation of ballet productions (artists, choreographers, directors, teachers, critics, etc.). In this way, Bourdieu’s model not only allows the thesis to analyse the KNB in relation to social situations, but also provides a method for examining the artistic conditions of the company and of the ballet field in Korea.

Nonetheless, as Bourdieu pays less attention to the specific relationship between the cultural field and the field of political power, Greenblatt’s idea of power is applied in order to examine the operational mechanism of power holding between the KNB and the state. Greenblatt highlights the role of cultural forms in the construction of power and therefore stresses the importance of cultural practices as influential instruments of power frequently used by the ruling group(s) (for instance, the courts, the state, etc.). He also argues that subversion is always contained by, and even interacts with, the dominant power (particularly state power), thus reinforcing its strength. Although this might sound like a rather deterministic view of power, considering the KNB’s position as a government-funded national organisation, Greenblatt’s theory allows for analysis of the KNB’s relationship to state policy and its contribution to developing a particular kind of national identity that is encouraged by the state. Furthermore, as the theories of both Bourdieu and Greenblatt highlight the centrality of historical enquiry, Part Two of the thesis presents a historical contextualisation of the company in relation to both its concrete socio-political conditions and its artistic development.

The third part of the thesis, the repertoire analysis, centrally employs Janet Lansdale’s (formally Adshead-Lansdale) employment of intertextuality theory to dance analysis (1999) and the Effort and Shape aspects of Laban Movement Analysis (LMA). Firstly, Lansdale’s intertextuality theory (1999) of dance interpretation is chosen as it allows for analysis of the production as a complete performance piece, drawing attention to
diverse aspects of the performance such as choreography, music, plot, movement, designs, images and representations, all of which, in Lansdale’s terms, can be considered and ‘read’ as ‘texts’. Lansdale does consider the wider socio-political situation of a dance as an important aspect in creating a new text for interpretation, yet provides no specific method for analysing the contribution of socio-cultural elements to a dance production, which provides a rationale for combining repertoire-analytic theories with the above-mentioned models of Bourdieu and Greenblatt. Further analytic tools are borrowed from LMA, as the thesis specifically pays attention to the KNB’s movement style. I especially draw on the Effort and Shape aspects of LMA, as those elements allow for analysis of the quality and process of movements and hence for identification of major stylistic features. Further theoretical considerations for both the historical and analytic evaluations will be provided in Chapter 3, which will lay out a more detailed and rigorous exposition of the overall theoretical framework.

As for the method of the repertoire analysis, I propose to analyse the KNB’s performances of the classical ballets such as Swan Lake (Petipa, 1895) for identifying the KNB’s movement style, as this allows for an isolated examination of movement features as well as a comparative analysis with other companies’ performances. Two ballets are chosen from the classical repertoire, Swan Lake (Grigorovich, 1969) and Spartacus (Grigorovich, 1968), as these programmes are performed most frequently as part of the KNB’s set repertoire and consequently are key productions that have represented the company on international tours (Appendix A, 274). Next, one newly created work based on a Korean traditional tale, Prince Hodong, is selected, as this ballet embraces various socio-cultural aspects of Korea, revealing the ways in which the company forms the idea of Korean ballet. Here, the analyses of the imported ballets concentrate on the identification of the KNB’s movement style, whereas the analysis of Prince Hodong also considers the isolation of embedded Korean characteristics and beliefs. Therefore a slightly different mode of treatment is required for each category.

Although individual methods will be elaborated later on in Chapter 3, for each of the foreign works I will select exemplary scenes and compare the KNB’s production with the version produced by the company where the programme was initially mounted,
which is the Bolshoi Ballet (Bolshoi) for both cases. The Bolshoi’s version is selected for the comparison as it demonstrates approximately identical choreography, and moreover, both companies have mounted the ballets under the direction of Grigorovich; hence it can be said that the two companies share the same guidance set by Grigorovich in preparing and performing the productions. Nonetheless, the dancers of each company have all been trained by and have rehearsed with their respective artistic staff. Therefore, if the two companies show differences in the performance of the choreographed ballet movements, I can isolate such traits to declare the existence of a distinctive KNB style. The stylistic features of the KNB that differ from the Bolshoi will be considered as the elements of this distinctive style. Further, similarities between the two companies will allow for recognition of the choreographer’s contribution; therefore such traits will be carefully monitored to assess whether the KNB dancers have settled on the choreographic aspects as constitutive of their own distinct style. As for Prince Hodong, the method by which the company copies the Western ballet tradition and the scenes that utilise Korean cultural elements will be subjected to analysis. This analysis will frequently refer to the historical chapters, particularly where these discuss studies pertaining to Korean national identity, to track down and identify the Korean characteristics of the work. The dominant movement features of the ballet will also be considered as possible traits of the KNB movement style.

1.4 Source materials
In evaluating the key sources of my research, I follow Lena Hammergren’s argument (2004) that primary sources are not any ‘rawer’ than secondary sources; that is to say, hierarchical prioritisation of sources is no longer considered a justifiable methodological presupposition. All historical sources, whether printed or visual, primary or secondary, are texts that demand interpretation and reinterpretation, rewriting and re-contextualisation, and none are any closer to the ‘truth’ than any other. For this reason, both primary and secondary sources are selected for evaluation without any hierarchical presupposition. The main focus in evaluating the sources is the recognition of the author(s)’ agency and standpoint, and other social structures (whether economic, political or educational) that influence the voice of the author(s). This recognition allows me to acknowledge multiple voices in various sources and to
treat different sources as ‘texts’ to develop an intertextual and critical interpretation of the selected sources. For instance, when evaluating the socio-political conditions of Korea, the key sources are the governmental publications, as the main focus centres on the evaluation of cultural policy set by the government. Here, the annual Cultural Policy White Paper (White Paper), published by the Korean government since 2001, is given necessary priority, as it contains comprehensive official data on cultural policy. This includes each government’s strategic plans for cultural policy; numerous plans and reports from MCST; a wealth of statistical data on financial support for the cultural sector; lists of changes to the constitution or to laws and regulations pertaining to cultural policy; and the main cultural policy objectives and tasks of a particular year or government. Nonetheless, I examine the strong political imperatives of the governmental documents, and highlight that the White Paper not only enables the collection of factual data on cultural policy but also facilitates assessment of a particular government’s political characteristics and its vision for the cultural sector, as well as revealing each government’s views on preceding governments’ cultural policies. As the White Paper has been published since 2001, former governments’ cultural policies and policy changes are included in the issues of 2001 and 2002, demonstrating the Kim Dae Jung government’s reading of preceding administrations’ cultural policy.

Another key source for the historical evaluation is Hak Soon Yim’s book (2003), The Emergence and Change of Cultural Policy in South Korea. Yim worked for The Korea Cultural Policy Institute between 1994 and 2000, then went on to become the Director of the Department of Policy Development in the Korea Culture and Contents Agency, which was established by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (MCT) in 2001. This book examines cultural policy in Korea since 1948 up until approximately 2002. The main sources for Yim’s research are the comprehensive plans for cultural policy established by the government; in addition she draws on business plans and annual reports by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (former version of MCST), as well as the formal speeches of former Korean presidents. Given the absence of the White Paper in the years before 2001, this book provides further evidence and extensive analysis of cultural policy in the early years. Moreover, the programme notes of the KNB’s performances also serve as key sources in reading both the
company’s intention and the political interventions made in the preparation of a particular production, as they include the director’s introduction and greeting notes from various political figures. Hence, the company’s programme notes are continuously referenced throughout the thesis to identify the company’s standpoint and to analyse its own justification of the performances.

The source list for the reading of the artistic history of the KNB can be divided into two categories: firstly, the books on the dance history of Korea; secondly, the actual dance journals, newspapers and television news scripts that make up the dance-critical circle of Korea. The first category can be divided into general historical writings and (auto)biographical writings. There are no general history books that deal solely with the ballet history of Korea or with the KNB itself. Out of the many general history books surveyed, the most relevant material comes from a publication of the National Theatre of Korea (NTK), *The 50 Years of the National Theatre of Korea* (2000), which contains production listings, photographs and programme notes for performances held in the NTK, where the KNB resided until 2000. It also includes a chapter on the history of the KNB by a former professor at Suwon Women’s College, Tae Hoon Kim. Although Kim declares his intention to maintain ‘objectivity’ throughout, as he himself admits, frequently compromised by certain subjective presuppositions that naturally creep into his narrative. The literature is useful in identifying Kim’s assessment of the KNB’s achievements as well as his understanding of the major tendencies of its different directors. Nonetheless, as the KNB moved out of the NTK to the Seoul Arts Centre (SAC) in 1999, the book excludes the company’s more recent history.

The six-volume *The Contemporary History of the Arts in Korea* (1999-2005), published by the Korean Arts Research Institution of Korean National University of Arts, comprises the most significant collection of dance history writings to date. Each volume covers a different period: Volume I, titled ‘Independence and Division of the Country’, from 1945-1953; Volume II, from 1953 through the late 1950s, starting from the post-war period; Volume III, the 1960s; Volume IV, the 1970s; Volume V, the 1980s; and Volume VI, the 1990s. All volumes include historical chapters on literature, drama, film, fine art, music, dance, comic books and architecture, with the
exception of the final volume, in which the dance history chapter alone is omitted. The editor has attempted to change the authors for each volume so that different periods are treated by experts specialising in that particular period, and also to select professionals who are not witnesses of the chosen era in order to maintain critical distance from the events. All volumes include some evaluation of dance criticism, drawing attention to the importance and power of criticism as a tool or lens for viewing the history of dance. I used this publication to evaluate the secondary interpretations of dance criticism and the biases of those reviewing the KNB’s performances and directions in different eras.

As far as the biographical writings are concerned, I examined two books both written by Young Tae Kim: *We are nothing, but we are ‘here’* (2002), and *Live Dance, Poem Written With Eyes* (2004). His books examine the lives of certain notable figures in Korean ballet, some of whom served as artistic directors of the KNB. Young Tae Kim was a major contributor to the field for nearly forty years, from 1969 up until his death in 2007. Noting his contribution, a memorial performance was organised by well-known Korean dance professionals in 2008. As his writings involve detailed background information on his chosen subjects, ranging from their early dance training to their desires as director, these works shed light on the early influences that formed the different directors’ respective inclinations. Thus, his two books are useful for determining the contributions that certain pivotal figures made to the development of the KNB, and for revealing the intentions behind their achievements and failures.

Regarding the dance journals, although dance writings in Korea are present from as far back as the 1920s, due to difficulties encountered in tracking down some early articles, I have mainly focused on the criticism of the 1960s, as the KND, the forerunner of the KNB, was founded in 1962. The dance criticism of the 1970s is most significant, as criticism began to be systematised with the first specialised dance journal, *Choom*, which was issued in 1976 as a periodical magazine. The main sources of the articles are *Choom* and *Auditorium* (the major professional arts magazine in Korea, first issued in March 1984); concentrating on these two periodicals has made it easier to analyse the writings of certain notable critics over an extended period of time, a strategy that helps to reveal each writer’s characteristics as
well as to identify the major critical trends of different periods. An article by Sung Nam Lim, the first artistic director of the company, titled ‘Comments for the Development of Korean Ballet’ in Arts Thesis (1998), provides detailed information about the early introduction of ballet into Korea, and his interpretation has itself become a subject of critical evaluation. Moreover, short performance reviews, publicity materials and some dance forum writings from various newspapers are also referenced in order to seize on hidden favouritism or hostility towards the KNB. Finally, online news sources have been useful, as major newspaper websites now routinely provide access to stories archived within the past ten years. All of these sources enable identification of the various tendencies, interests, background events and even personal relationships of the most influential critics. Furthermore, notable national beliefs or cultural biases present in the criticism itself can be evaluated to illuminate the broader cultural and philosophical tendencies in Korea.

Regarding the repertoire analyses, the performance DVDs of the selected ballets are used as the key sources. For the comparative analysis of Swan Lake, I draw on two recordings of re-worked version by Grigorovich, based on the choreography by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov (1895). First, the KNB’s internal recording of its performance in December 2009 at the SAC, Opera House; and the Bolshoi’s performance, recorded in 1989 at the Bolshoi Theatre (Appendix B, 275). As the selected recordings are separated by a relatively significant period of time, the analysis does not accommodate any possible changes in the Bolshoi’s movement style since 1989. This is due to the availability of the recordings, as I was able to obtain the most recent recording of the KNB’s performance with internal access to the KNB’s resources, while the Bolshoi’s 1989 version was the only recording in the public domain. Nonetheless, this difference in recording date is not considered a major problem, as I do not aim to claim anything about the current style of the Bolshoi, but rather focus only on the KNB’s movement style as it has developed over time and is evident in recent performances, using the Bolshoi’s version only as a reference point.

For the comparison of Spartacus, I also draw on two recordings: the KNB’s in-house recording of the performance in August 2001 at the SAC, Opera House, and the Bolshoi’s performance, recorded in 1984 at the Bolshoi Theatre. Both productions
present choreography revised by Grigorovich (Appendix B, 275). Although the KNB’s recording of Spartacus in 2007 is the most recent copy available for analysis, it is deemed inappropriate for this study as the performance, being a collaborative production, features the dancers of both the KNB and the Novosibirsk Ballet. The mixed casting of the dancers in the corps de ballet section obstructs analysis of the movement style of the KNB’s dancers; hence the recording of the KNB’s solitary performance of Spartacus in 2001 is chosen, as it is the next most recent copy available from the company’s internal archive. The DVD of the Bolshoi’s Spartacus in 2008 is also obtainable; however, this is not chosen for the analysis as it was filmed at the Opéra National de Paris, Palais Garnie, not at the Bolshoi Theatre, and changes in the performance space can modify the ways the dancers move. Hence the selected recordings are the most recently available ones suitable for the analysis.

The analysis of Prince Hodong mainly draws on the DVD recording of the 2011 version of Prince Hodong, filmed in April 2011 at the SAC, Opera House. This recording displays the most up-to-date and complete production of Prince Hodong, and includes all modifications made since the 2009 version. The ballet has gone through several changes in all performance aspects (including choreography, music and set design) to facilitate the realisation of its international ambitions, and hence I take note of major changes from the initial production where relevant. Here, as I aim to isolate the infusion of national culture and ideology into the production, the literature evaluated for the historical analysis is also referenced to provide further interpretation.

For my own data collection, I visited the KNB daily for two weeks in July and August 2010, conducting interviews and observing rehearsals and performances. During this time I conducted interviews with Tae Ji Choi, the present director, and Byung Nam Moon, the choreographer of Prince Hodong, on the subjects of Prince Hodong (especially the process of creation and the purpose of the production), other pieces of the KNB’s repertoire, as well as the future artistic and administrative plans for the KNB. I also gained Choi’s formal consent to collect and use performance DVDs, programme notes, photographs and administrative data. The analytic evaluations of the company’s repertoire also refer to those interviews in order to distinguish their
intentions in preparing the selected productions. Hence the thesis critically utilises a vast range of sources, including books, journals, theses, programme notes, pictures, DVDs and interviews in order to carry out the declared research aims.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

Given the aims and objectives identified on p. 8, Chapter 2 sketches out a general ‘genealogy’ of nationalism to isolate a suitable theoretical model that can be used to make sense of the complex ideas of nation and national identity in the Korean context. Gilroy’s work on racial politics and camp mentality is used to understand Korea’s historically shifting geo-political position vis-à-vis its Asian neighbours and the West, and also to provide an understanding of the term ‘national identity’ as it is used within this thesis. In Chapter 3, Said’s concept of cultural imperialism, Bhabha’s concept of hybridity, and various studies on the term ‘style’ will be evaluated in order to illustrate the idea of Korean ballet, further clarifying the detailed objectives of this research. Chapter 4 explains how the theories of Bourdieu and Greenblatt will be used to develop the methodological framework for the historical chapters, while further explanation of both Lansdale’s intertextuality theory of dance interpretation and LMA will round out the theoretical understanding of the repertoire-analysis chapters.

Chapter 5 initiates the actual historical evaluations, providing an overview of the socio-political history of Korea in order to identify its impact on the KNB’s trajectory. This chapter also draws on the studies of Korean nationalism and Korean national identity in order to determine the ways in which national identity is constructed through other cultural, social and political institutions. Chapter 6 examines the history of ballet in Korea from its inception to 2012, with special focus on the history of the KNB from its founding in 1962 onward. While providing a general introduction the company’s artistic transitions, this chapter aims to present the core influences (both domestic and foreign) on the development of the KNB’s repertoire.

Chapter 7 proceeds to a detailed movement analysis of the KNB’s foreign classical works, more specifically the ballets of Grigorovich. The aim here is to identify the stylistic features of the KNB’s movements. Two ballets, *Swan Lake* and *Spartacus*, are chosen for analysis, the former work prominently featuring female dancers, the
latter largely male dancers. As noted in section 1.4, both productions are compared to the Bolshoi’s production. Chapter 8 turns to the KNB’s newly created ballet, *Prince Hodong*, to demonstrate how the KNB fruitfully displays the idea of Korean ballet. The analysis deals with both external elements (socio-political influences and the impact of the production crew) and internal elements (movements, music, costumes, subject matter and narrative) of the production. Finally, the conclusion will draw together the evidence provided in the previous chapters in order to argue for a distinctive movement style of the KNB and to state the ways in which the company integrates traits of national culture into its repertoire. By doing so, I demonstrate how the company establishes the concept of Korean ballet and recreates the notion of national identity, and in that way I aim to assert the significance and distinctiveness of the KNB.
Part One

Theoretical Concepts and Analytical Approaches
Chapter Two
Korea and National Identity

There is no one ‘true’ version against which other fabricated versions can be measured and found wanting. Rather, one has to think about particular nations as the products of different imaginative styles, each nationalism telling its own particular story, drawing on its own material.

Spencer and Wollman, 2005, 5

Scholars of nationalism debate the relationships among nation, nationalism, and ethnicity. Their dialogue centers (sic) around the extent to which the nation should be understood as something new and modern (“constructed,” cf. Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Giddens 1984; Hobsbawm 1990), or as a continuation of long-standing patterns of ethnicity, built on pre-existing geographic or cultural foundations (“primordial,” cf. Connor 1994; Geertz 1963; Smith 1986,1991)...The issue is particularly complicated in the Korean context, where there exists substantial overlap between the levels of race, ethnicity, and nation.

Shin, 2006, 4

2.1 Introduction
As outlined in Chapter 1, this thesis presents a critical enquiry into the ways in which the KNB forms the concept of ‘Korean ballet’ and defines its own movement style to articulate the idea of national identity. In this way, the three key themes of the thesis are isolated: (1) national identity, (2) Korean ballet, and (3) the company’s movement style. This chapter provides a theoretical elucidation of the first of these key concepts, national identity, in order to demonstrate the ways in which the term is utilised in this thesis. Singling out the idea of national identity as the overarching concept of the thesis, the chapter starts with Gi Wook Shin’s engagement with the scholarly debates surrounding the concepts of nation and nationalism. As there are contending views on the origins of nationalism, Shin highlights the complexity and difficulty in following one particular theory in viewing the Korean case. Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman’s statement cited above, although initially intended to illustrate Benedict Anderson’s notion of imagined community (which will be discussed further in the
following section), highlights the importance of individual circumstances in each instance of nation-building, as developing separate or diverse types of nationalism.

Therefore, in order to identify a suitable theoretical framework for the concept of national identity for this thesis, I begin the chapter with a brief introduction to theories of nationalism to locate Korea’s case within the general discourse of nationalism, acknowledging the debates over the origin of the concepts of nationalism. Subsequent application of these theories of nationalism to the Korean case is achieved by focusing on the studies of Shin, Michael Robinson (2007) and Kyong Ju Kim (2006); here emphasis is placed more on the process, rather than the origin, of building nationalist sentiments in Korea. In doing so, I isolate the particular historical conditions of Korea that have been the major forces behind the development and spread of nationalism. The necessity of focusing on historical circumstances is made clear in Paul Gilroy’s work (2004) on the role of racial politics and camp-thinking in modern nation-building, which is accordingly discussed in relation to the isolated historical situation of Korea in order to distinguish between Western-based racial thinking on the one hand and the specificity of the Korean case on the other, and hence to understand the complexity of Korean nationalism. The formal definition of national identity as used in this thesis emerges primarily out of this engagement with Gilroy’s work.

2.2 Debates on nationalism and the specific case of the Korean nation

One major issue in studies of nationalism is the debate over the origins of the nation, for instance, when and why the concept emerged and gained prominence. The key scholars in this debate are Anthony Smith, Ernest Gellner, Benedict Anderson and John Breuilly; the latter three view nationalism as mainly a recent phenomenon associated with modernity (each theorist pointing to different aspects of modernity), while Smith emphasises the deeper roots of nationalism, grounding it in a pre-existing geographical and cultural basis. While the origin of Korean nationalism is not the key focus of this research, a brief overview of this debate is necessary as it explains the difficulty in locating the ideas of the Korean nation and nation-building in a particular side or argument, and also to eliminate certain features that are significant in the process of spreading nationalism in contemporary Korea, a matter that is more central to my research.
As one of the main defenders of the modernist approach, Gellner (1997) rejects the idea of a deeply rooted, pre-existing nationalism, asserting that nationalism is fundamentally a modern phenomenon that occurs in response to major societal transitions. In particular, he argues that the shift from agrarian societies to modern industrial societies led to the development of the idea of the nation as it is perceived today, as this new societal form encouraged and intensified communication between members of the society while the older form restricted literacy to elite groups. Anderson (1983), on the other hand, considers capitalism as the major factor in constructing the sense of nation and hence in the spread of nationalism. He explains that capitalism brought about significant technological development, including the creation of printing, leading to print-capitalism. According to Anderson, this allowed people to form connections with others who were formerly alien to them, forming an imaginary community and a sense of nationalism.

Breuilly’s study (1994) on nationalism emphasises the role of politics, as central to the idea of modernity. He (1994, 2) defines nationalism as referring to ‘political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments’, and highlights the emergence of the modern state, with its consolidation of power and control over resources, as the central locus in building nationalism. In Breuilly’s view (1994, 369), ‘the modern state is the possessor of sovereignty over a given territory’, and thus the state’s duty is to maintain and use its sovereignty against external and internal threats. He argues that the external parameter of sovereignty is set in relation to the sovereignty of other states, as the world is composed of multiple sovereign state territories, while the internal parameter is given by the division between the public and the private spheres. In his view, the state maintains direct control over the public sphere, whereas it simply provides rules for the private sphere, which it can nonetheless enforce if they are broken.

Breuilly (1994) explains how the abstract notion of sovereignty and the territorial idea of the state emerged in Western Europe, i.e. mainly through negotiation between monarchs and the political community, especially when a few monarchies possessed sufficient control over resources through control of taxation, the church and the courts, and represented their power through particular institutions. This combining of the
rules of the monarch with the institutions of the political community facilitated the transition of the kingdoms of Western Europe into national states, as the institutions of the political community that maintained the monarchy could also refuse the demands of the monarchy itself in some situations. In Breuilly’s view this process of creating the modern notion of the state is what developed the political sense of nation and presented the initial move towards nationalism.

In contrast, Smith (1999, 9) criticises the modernists’ analysis, i.e. that of Gellner, Anderson, and Breuilly, by arguing that they all fail to recognise the significance of the ‘pre-existing cultures and ethnic ties of the nations that emerged in the modern epoch’, and therefore exclude ‘any understanding of the popular roots and widespread appeal of nationalism’, due to their strong focus on elite actions. In challenging the modernist view, Smith proposes the term ethno-symbolism, and argues that the appeal of nationalism is acquired by

the myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritages and the ways in which a popular living past has been, and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias.

Smith, 1999, 9

As one of the key motifs of the ethno-symbolic approach, he highlights the historical trace and the long potential future duration (la longue durée) of the ideas of the nation and nationalism, by emphasising that

nations are historical phenomena, not only in the generic sense that they are embedded in particular collective pasts and emerge, sometimes over long time-spans, through specific historical processes, but also because, by definition, they embody shared memories, traditions, and hopes of the populations designated as part of the nation.

Smith, 1999, 10

However, it is important to note that Smith does not claim anything like an immemorial existence of nations, and thus distinguishes his view from primordialism or perennialism. In contrast he posits the concept of ethnies, i.e. ethnic communities, which he defines as
a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories and one or more common elements of culture, including an association with a homeland, and some degree of solidarity, at least among the élites.

Smith, 1999, 13

The idea of ethno-symbolism therefore allows Smith to identify significant continuity from *ethnie* to nation while simultaneously distinguishing the one from the other, noting the development of nations in the modern context. In doing so, he (1999, 9) acknowledges the generational (re)constitutional process of modern national identity formation, whereby ‘the nation becomes more inclusive…as its members cope with new challenges’, by emphasising the elements of myth, symbol, tradition and memory.

Similarly contesting arguments concerning the origins of nationalism are found in the study of Korean nationalism; these are explicitly described by Shin in his *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (2006). Shin highlights these conflicting views by drawing attention to the fact that the earlier literature on the subject – mostly written by Korean scholars based in Korea who adopted an insider’s point of view and were thoroughly immersed in the history of Korea and its colonial oppression – exhibits a strong nationalistic tendency. Here Shin (2006, 4-5) lists various intellectuals and political leaders as representative of those who have viewed Korea as a naturally ethnic nation, its people bound by a single bloodline and fate as the descendants of *Tan’gun*, the legendary founder of Gojoseon, argued to be the first kingdom of Korea, founded in 2333 BCE. These claims were confronted and attacked by Western scholars, or by Korean researchers who had received a Western education, approaching the subject from a more objective and detached perspective. These scholars argued, for instance, that the earlier studies tended to emphasise Korea’s ‘common blood, territory, language, culture, and historical destiny for thousands of years’ (Pang in Shin, 2006, 5), and to overstate the role of independence movements during the Japanese colonial period (1910-45), in order to argue for a strong sense of nationalism in Korea. Other Western scholars tended to refer to Koreans’ awareness of their ethnic homogeneity in much harsher terms, as a ‘myth’, ‘fantasy’ or ‘illusion’ with little historical foundation (Grinker in Shin, 2006, 6). For Shin, the dispute is mainly between the ‘ethnicists/primordialists’ on the one hand (mostly Korean
scholars who argue that the notion of the Korean nation existed even in pre-modern Korea), and the ‘modernists/constructionists’ on the other hand (mostly Western-based scholars who claim that the concept of the nation is only a product of a modern nationalist ideology that developed toward the end of the Chosŏn dynasty in the late nineteenth century). Shin also identifies a third group that denies both positions yet shares, to a certain extent, the acceptance of the existence of a pre-modern Korea exhibiting long-standing stability of territorial boundaries and an enduring bureaucratic state, which allowed a rather quick settlement of modern nationalism in Korea in the late nineteenth century.

Shin’s account of this scholarly debate over the origins of Korean nationalism is at least partially compatible with Smith’s idea of ethno-symbolism. Following Smith – but crucially in such a way as to avoid or transcend the ‘ethnicist/primordialist’ versus ‘modernist/constructionist’ dichotomy altogether – the concept of the Korean nation is seen as referring simply to a population that exhibits the modern idea of national identity in virtue of the central function played by common ancestry myths and the shared memories and history associated with the given territory. However, Smith’s view also overlooks the extensive constructionist role of nationalist intellectuals and political leaders in fostering this primordialistic reading of Korean history, which is another key feature in the development of nationalism in modern Korea. This failure recalls Breuilly’s focus on the role of politics in the emergence of the nation-state.

Kyong Ju Kim, in The Development of Modern South Korea: State Formation, Capitalist Development and National Identity (2006), further emphasises the political implications of the development of nationalism in Korea and its impact on the formation of Korean national identity. She argues that

nationalism in Korea can be viewed from two angles: as a distinctive philosophy or ideology; and as the overall policy and program of the state. While there can be no doubt that nationalism has been an important factor in state formation and developmental policies, it has also had great appeal as a basis for identity formation.

Kim, 2006, 5
Discussing identity formation, Kim (2006, 152) refers to both Andre Schmid (1997) and Shin (1999), who argue that ‘the Korean nation was highly homogeneous, believing in a common origin in pre-history, producing a strong collective sense of “oneness”’. Nevertheless, according to Kim (2006, 152), ‘the establishment of a unified ethno-national identity in Korea can be interpreted as a response to the threat of foreign powers’. This has justified the state’s utilisation of nationalism as a political ideology after independence, arguing for its function as ‘the primary force behind political and economic development’ (Kim, 2006, 157). Here, Breuilly’s emphasis on the role of political movements and the modern state’s duty to sustain its sovereignty against external and internal threats as a main feature of the development of nationalism can be traced in the spreading of nationalism in modern Korea. However, his neglect of pre-modern roots as a key force behind the building of the idea of the nation highlights an unsatisfactory element in solely following his theory in the Korean case.

While the studies of Smith and Breuilly both show partially relevant attributes in discussing Korean nationalism – notions of pre-existing and ethnic-based community on the one hand, and political operations on the other – the inappropriateness of combining these two theories is also evident by the fact that these two scholars have themselves so far been unable to reconcile their competing views. Smith (1999, 7) argues that Breuilly’s emphasis on nationalist ideologies and intellectuals provides a partial or one-sided explanation, as ‘they are [only] able to mobilize, co-ordinate, and legitimize the various sub-elites who seek power through control of the modern state’. By referring to Breuilly’s study as ‘a narrowly defined state-centred modernism’, Smith (1999, 7) highlights Breuilly’s failure in overlooking the sentiment of cultural identity and the role of collective (public) choice. In opposition, although he concedes that Smith rightly separates nationalism from ethnocentrism, Breuilly (1994, 3) highlights the problems in Smith’s study by asserting that one needs to ‘exclude many statements with ethnocentric character from the category of nationalism’. In this way Breuilly rather ruthlessly dispenses with Smith’s study insofar as it still relies on the idea of belief in historically rooted ethnic communities as a main source of continuing and spreading nationalism.
A similar conflict is evident in the contrasting emphases in theories of Korean nationalism such as those of Shin and Kim. While Shin (2006) argues that the state relied on the force of ethnic homogeneity and belief in a unique history and culture in legitimating its power and policies, Kim (2006, 157) goes further to assert that the state’s authority and control have derived from the fact that ‘the state has been able to represent the normative order where the Confucian ethic was appealed [to] in order to shape modern social behaviour’. Kim argues that it was initially the political machinations of the state that reinstated the Confucian ideas as deeply embedded in pre-modern Korean ideology, stressing that the notion of respect for the sovereign caused state-oriented norms to appeal to the Korean population, thereby fostering the idea that it is morally correct to follow the nation’s leader and his rule, which required a strong sense of nationalism and a nation-centred mindset. This conflicting yet interrelated and co-determining impact of politics and long-standing ethnic homogeneity in the discussion of Korean nationalism highlights the difficulty in following any one particular theory, or even in combining both theories, in this research, as the positions staked out by Breuilly and Smith appear to be incompatible: that is, the emergence and spread of nationalism is either principally governed by the political movements of elites or else by the collective will of the population grounded in shared pre-modern sentiments.

Shin further highlights this difficulty by isolating a particular term, ‘*minjok*’, which exemplifies an exceptional complexity in the notions of race, ethnicity and nation in Korea, as they all intersect. In particular, he (2006, 4) argues that *race* (understood as ‘a collectivity defined by innate and immutable phenotypic and genotypic characteristics’) and *ethnicity* (as a term ‘generally regarded as a cultural phenomenon based on a common language and history’) should be discriminated from a strictly academic point of view (cf. Yoshino, 1992). Nevertheless, with respect to the actual history of Korea, he (2006, 4) argues that ‘race has served as a marker that strengthened ethnic identity, which in turn was instrumental in defining the nation’. As evidence, he explains that *minjok* is a ‘conflate’ term: the most widely used word for nation in Korea, it also refers to ethnicity or race (Shin, 2006, 4). Shin’s study also emphasises the frequent use of this term by nationalist elites and political leaders in the process of modern Korean nation-building. In short, in the Korean case, the idea
of identity is a thoroughly syncretistic one: while recalling natural and pre-existing sentiments, it cannot be disentangled from the notion of something cultural and constructed, and which political utilisations play a contributing role in spreading.

Through this explanation, Shin rightfully demonstrates the sterility and arbitrariness of the debate over whether Korean nationalism is originally a modern or primordial phenomenon, as well as shows the inappropriateness of mechanically employing Western models to understand the Korean case. Instead, he emphasises the importance of viewing the unique historical process by which Korea has developed a sense of national identity, hence directing the present study to focus on the specific conditions and routes of Korea’s modern nation-building. Shin identifies three distinctive aspects of the Korean case. First, unlike most Western countries, Korea has for centuries maintained a stable territorial boundary and a reasonably homogeneous and coherent ethnico-political communal identity involving a modern notion of ‘nation’; second, unlike European colonialism, Japanese colonial rule aimed ‘to assimilate Koreans into the Japanese empire as imperial subjects’ (Shin, 2006, 19), causing nationalism to function as a force of anti-colonialism with positive implications; and lastly, while Korea may be thought to resemble divided Germany, Korea, unlike Germany, where a strong ethnic nationalism was considered dishonourable after the Second World War due to Nazism, has promoted and even intensified ethnic nationalism through political means in its postcolonial period. Shin also rightfully points out that ‘today, Korea is the only place in which ethnic homogeneity (real or perceived) remains broken into two political entities’ (2006, 19), and in which authoritarian politics in both North and South Korea have created distinctive types of ethnic nationalism combining elements of communism and fascism in North and South Korea respectively. Shin highlights that, in South Korea’s case, the successive states, from the beginning of modern nation-building, promoted nationalism to legitimise their authority, thus contributing to the formation of a highly nationalistic state. Here, the longstanding military rule (over thirty years) is identified as the major factor in requiring such legitimacy. This shows the unique experience of the Korean nation and thus illustrates the need to treat Korean nationalism with specific insight. Such historical conditions are discussed in more depth in the subsequent sections, as they serve as the essential milestones in defining the idea of national identity as implied in this thesis.
2.3 Gilroy’s idea of racial politics and ethnic-based liberal movements in Korea

Shin’s argument isolates three major historical elements or conditions that contributed to modern nation-building in Korea: firstly, Japanese colonial rule (1910-45); secondly, the end of the Second World War (1939-45), which led to the Korean War (1950-53) and national division; and finally, the military-based authoritarian states in both North and South Korea, and particularly the infusion of fascism in the South. In this section, therefore, the historical experiences of Japanese colonial rule, national division, and the development of successive military regimes in South Korea are discussed in depth in relation to Gilroy’s work on racial politics, fascist nationalism, and the idea of camp-thinking, in order to provide a more nuanced view of Korean nationalism. In this section, Gilroy’s theories help to clarify the similarities and differences between the experiences of ‘blacks’ (in the West) and ‘yellows’ (in particular of East Asia, including Korea) in the systems and conditions of building national identity. This locates the discussion of Korea’s modern nation-building in the Western-oriented discourse of nationalism and racial politics, viewing Korean history in the context of wider transnational or international phenomena, hence leading the research to provide a formal definition of national identity as applied in this thesis.

By focusing on the emergence, consolidation, and transformation of ‘raciology’ (in regards to the white and black races), Gilroy (2004, x) presents an extensive ‘genealogy for racialized politics’, linking the history of European empires and colonies with the conditions of modernity, while also emphasising the impact of fascism and nationalism. His persistent and intensive evaluation of race-thinking, in relation to the forces of modernity and the Western imperial/colonial legacy, explains how the rise of the modern nation-state and governmental authority fomented racial division between whites and blacks which has by now settled into a kind of prima facie natural order – the former generally described as in a position of superiority (as ex-coloniser) and the latter as in a position of inferiority (as ex-colonised). Although he acknowledges that race-thinking existed even in much earlier periods, Gilroy stresses the impact of modernity on transforming and settling the idea of race and the practices of racial politics. Referencing the founding myth of Robinson Crusoe, he states that
[the] ethical boundaries of that colonial modernity were memorably signalled by the fact that Crusoe felt free to take the lives of the natives, “whose barbarous customs were their own disaster,” irrespective of the divine sanction that ordained their life of savagery.

Gilroy, 2004, 55

In this way Gilroy explains how modernity encompasses the arrival of the European world and its typical employment of violence as key elements in the building up of an historical understanding of antagonistically arranged discrete national units. He (2004, 55) describes modernity as ‘a distinctive ecology of belonging’ that transforms the relationship between place, individuality and society, and that entails the emergence of national states and governmental powers that consolidate, systematise, and exploit racial differences as a ‘political aesthetic’ useful for promoting a new sense of solidarity and belonging.

Accordingly, it is because Gilroy understands modernity as inseparable from imperial conquest that he regards it as establishing a racial hierarchy within which colonised blacks are subsumed under the category of ‘barbarians’ vis-à-vis their ‘civilised’ white colonisers. Gilroy points to the example of Immanuel Kant’s description of the figure of ‘the Negro’ in his early aesthetic work, Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and the Sublime (1960), in which he posits fundamental differences between whites and blacks in terms of their talents and capacities. According to Gilroy (2004, 59), Kant, while not entirely excluding Negroes from humanity, nevertheless relegates them ‘to the lowest positions within a single, nominally inclusive species stratified by the workings of natural law against racial assimilation’. Gilroy stresses that race and racial division are dynamic and socio-historically constructed concepts (i.e. not reducible to any simple innate and immutable ‘real’ genotype), and in particular, concepts generated through particular relations of power and knowledge characteristic of modernity which engender racial hierarchies. Accordingly, Gilroy underlines the role of the confluence of raciology and statecraft, and the merger of modern political systems with the principles of colonial power, in establishing and reproducing racial division.

In highlighting these modern patterns of power-knowledge relations that contributed
to the emergence of the nation-state and transformed the rules of political and ethical behaviour, Gilroy draws attention both to the creation of racial hierarchies and to the differences between earlier hierarchies and those of twentieth-century fascism. For instance, while Gilroy acknowledges that Kant does not advocate genocide, he also points out (2004, 60-1) that Berel Lang’s study opens by linking Kant’s work to ‘the philosophical prehistory of the Nazi genocide’ by explaining ‘how national limits could readily be applied to the formal universalizing mechanisms that regulate the conduct of moral agents in Kant’s system’. Likewise, Gilroy argues that the post-1945 writings of Aimé Césaire and Hannah Arendt, although they adopt a very different tone compared to Lang’s work, trace the linkage between Kantian principles and modern patterns of governmental order on the one hand and the development of Hitler and Hitlerism on the other. Criticising race-thinking on the grounds that it undermines the Enlightenment ideal of universal human selfhood, Gilroy nonetheless recognises that it was precisely these notions of natural racial division and the dangers of racial intermixture and assimilation encountered in the core texts of Enlightenment thought that constituted some of the most significant factors in the rise of the modern nationalist and imperialist order.

Moreover, Gilroy (2004, 63) shows how Claude Lefort’s work on modern racialised nationalist theory explains the ways in which the members of a given nation can, over time, come to regard themselves as biologically superior, i.e. as those who would be ‘discovered to exist in the strict organic patterns of a natural hierarchy that continued and extended the premodern typologies of race-thinking in the direction of a totalizing biosocial science’. According to Gilroy (2004, 63), Houston Stewart Chamberlain theorised that freedom in the private and inner sphere ‘required a voluntary submission to outward political authority that could be justified in turn as a matter of biological necessity’, in such a way as to legitimise the arrangement and regulation of society along the lines laid down by racial ‘science’. Here, then, the idea of race in nationalist theories is maintained and fortified by pseudo-scientific ethnological works planned and carried out by the state, and thus Gilroy highlights how racial science and biopolitics have served as essential tools of the modern nation-state and colonial power for inscribing national units with deeply embedded notions of racial hierarchy. As Gilroy shows (2004, 67), this point is also well captured by Foucault,
who ‘presents modernity as the progression from [an] anatomo-politics of the human body to a biopolitics of the population’, showing the legacy of fascism.

Gilroy’s extensive treatment of racial politics shows the importance of understanding the relationship between modernity and racialised nationalism dominated by the West. At the same time, the employment of Gilroy’s study in the Korean context allows the research to demonstrate the ways in which the ideas of modernity and nationalism are thoroughly intermingled with the history of (post)colonial struggles for independence in Korea. Here, I briefly review the period of the late Chosŏn dynasty, when Western ideologies were introduced and Japan’s imperialist ambitions were becoming visible with the collapse of an enduring, China-centred regional order in East Asia. This highlights the complex historical conditions of Korea as it faced the twin forces of, on one hand, the impact of a Western-oriented modernity that transformed the world order through the extension of white European imperialism, and on the other hand, Japanese expansionism in East Asia which led to the implementation of colonial rule in Korea.

As various scholars of Korean nationalism explain (cf. Shin, 2006; Robinson 2007), the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) ended the rivalry between China and Japan, which had already forced Korea to open its doors to Japan in 1876. Shin (2006, 25) highlights the role of the introduction of Western ideologies in Korea, often via Japan (specifically, theories of civilisation, enlightenment, social Darwinism, nationalism, and liberalism), while also stressing the invigoration of old ideologies (e.g. Confucianism) and new indigenous religions (e.g. Tonghak, Eastern Learning). According to Shin (2006), Western ‘civilisation’ was widely embraced during this period by the East Asian countries, yet Japanese and Koreans appropriated this concept in accordance with their own socio-political contexts, inverting the logic of social Darwinism to function as a defence mechanism against the intensive civilising force of the West. Hence, during the late nineteenth century Korea was trying to locate its position in both the newly rising regional order (exemplified in the struggle between China and Japan) and the rapidly shifting world order (vis-à-vis the invasive presence of the West in East Asia), leading to the development, at the turn of the century, of the two competing ideologies of pan-Asianism and nationalism.
Pan-Asianists saw race as the basic organising unit of the modern world, recognising specifically the ‘white’ and ‘yellow’ races, and calling for alliance and solidarity among the various factions of the yellow race. Robinson (2007, 31) defines this group as comprising those who ‘[defied] the universalist claims of Western superiority’ by juxtaposing East and West. The solidarity of the yellow race was restricted to the idea of the East, with particular reference to the geographical proximity of China, Japan and Korea, while also highlighting the shared cultural heritage between these three nations. As Shin (2006, 33) explains, Japan was regarded as an important ally and as the leader, as the Pan-Asianists viewed ‘Japan as a nation that could elevate Asian civilization to another level…[and thus] advocated Japanese leadership for regional security’, viz. by defeating the threat of white Western imperialism. In contrast, the nationalists viewed the modern world as ‘an arena of struggle between imperialism and nationalism, not among races’ (Shin, 2006, 35), and imperialist countries, including Japan, were considered oppositional forces threatening national security. Shin explains that while the concept of pan-Asian solidarity initially served to conceal Japanese imperialist aims, these aims were soon revealed after Japan’s victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), and its betrayal of its early promise of Pan-Asian solidarity was made explicit through the 1905 protectorate treaty.iii The nationalists called for the necessity of redefining Korean identity vis-à-vis Chinese and Japanese through a reinterpretation of Korean history that posited Korea as an ethnically homogeneous nation united by a common bloodline and shared ancestry. Thus, the combined forces of Western modernity, which brought a new world order defined and structured by national units, and Japanese imperialism, which led to anti-Pan-Asianism, together constituted the initial push that fomented and supported the idea of deep ethnic differences between East Asian countries as a political and intellectual aesthetic useful for promoting a new and exclusively ethnic-based sense of solidarity in Korea, which became a core element of Korean nationalism.

The official implementation of Japanese colonial rule in 1910 eliminated the justification of pan-Asianism, and the nationalist ideas of the pre-colonial period served as basic sources for the building of a national liberal movement during the period of colonisation. Shin (2006, 42) explains that Japan utilised ‘colonial racism’ as a guiding principle in the early colonial stages, which eventually became the basis
for the later cultural assimilation policy, harshly implemented by the military-based colonial police under the leadership of sōtokufu (governor-general).iv Japan’s cultural assimilation policy allowed it to pretend that Koreans and Japanese belonged to the same race, even as it aimed to ‘civilise’ Koreans, claiming it had followed ‘a different, more beneficial path of evolution and has now turned to help lift up its backward cousins’ (Robinson, 2007, 92). In fact, Japan’s ultimate goal was to instil in Koreans the belief that they did belong to Japanese society, but as a lower, servile class, or at worst, as ‘draft labor (sic), cannon fodder, and sexual slaves’ (Robinson, 2007, 97). Here, Japan’s policy of stressing the common history and cultural heritage of the various East Asian peoples reflects its claim of pan-Asianism during the late nineteenth century.

In implementing its assimilation policy, Japan established departments to ‘investigate Korean customs, cultures, traditions, rituals, religions, and institutions, with the explicit purpose of providing a “scientific basis” for colonial racism’ (Shin, 2006, 44). For example, Japan isolated the similarities between Shamanism (a folk-religion of the Chosŏn dynasty) and Japanese Shintoism to argue that Japanese and Koreans both descended from the ‘nikkan’ race. In this sense, the Western idea of a race-based hierarchy, viz. between whites and blacks, is replaced by an ethnic-based one, viz. between Japanese and Koreans, and moreover is justified through a similar merging of ethnology and politics. However, the major difference between Western race-based politics and Japanese colonial rule is shown through the fact that Japan’s implementation of ethnic ‘science’ was based on acceptance of the ethnic/racial unity of Koreans and Japanese (as opposed to Western biopolitics as, according to Gilroy, a political technology that necessarily affirms essential racial divisions).

 Nevertheless, various Korean scholars have drawn attention to the unrealistic goals of Japan’s cultural assimilation policy (cf. Shin, 2006; Robinson, 2007) and argued that it did not succeed. Contradiction within the assimilation system itself is one possible major reason for this, as Robinson argues:

[T]here was a twist to the Japanese obsession with Korean culture; the Japanese were bent on producing knowledge that proved a link between Japan and Korea…Concurrently, however, much of the
ethnography of Korea produced...emphasized Korea’s premodernity and difference from Japan.

Robinson, 2007, 93

A further reason, evident especially from the 1920s, is Japan’s reaction to the March First Movement, when Japan allowed limited space for Korean cultural activities, which later became the core site of nationalist movements. Japan made a pretence of supporting Korean culture, but only insofar as it did not directly challenge Japanese colonial policy. Korean nationalists engaged in diverse cultural activities to stress Korea’s singular ethnic origin and identity and to highlight its distinct historical and cultural heritage, and promoted a Korean-centred view of East Asia to mobilise Koreans against Japanese assimilationism and colonial racism. As Henry Em (1999) points out, the Japanese term ‘Chōsenjin’ inscribed and differentiated Koreans as inferior, but for that very reason engendered a profound sense of resentment that served to strengthen the bonds between Koreans across class, gender, and regional lines. In that way, the Japanese assimilation policy intensified rather than diminished Korean national consciousness; it fostered a sense of nationalism and a yearning for independence that drew on Korea’s ethnic homogeneity and distinctness as its main driving force.

Nevertheless, even if, as stated above, the case of Japanese assimilationism reveals a displacement of Western race-based divisions in favour of intra-racial ethnic divisions, the problem remains complex insofar as the emergence of Korean nationalism was a response both to Japanese colonialism (which necessitated differentiation of Koreans from Japanese) and to the intrusion of the forces of Western modernity (for which nationalism was a function of a new world order based on discrete national governing units). Korean nationalists merged ethnology with a kind of intellectual crafting (i.e. cultural activities) as a way to establish ethnic division within the East Asia region. The historical conditions of Korea – where racial division between whites and yellows did not secure national sovereignty, as Japan used the solidarity of the yellow race as a pretext to govern Korea – rather led to the importance of establishing a firm ethnic division between the nations of East Asia and thus of valuing national units over racial division.
2.4. ‘Camp-thinking’ and Gilroy’s approach to national identity

Gilroy’s study of racial politics enabled the research to identify crucial ethnic-based notions that have been central to nationalist thinking in Korea. Robinson (1988, 2007) refers to this phenomenon of national liberation movements against Japanese colonial rule as ‘cultural nationalism’, due primarily to their focus on cultural activities in non-political spaces. Drawing on numerous newspaper and magazine publications from this culture-oriented liberation movement, Shin (2006) claims that Korea witnessed the significant growth of what Anderson (1983) calls ‘print capitalism’. However, Anderson’s study is not seen as providing an appropriate theoretical framework for this research as it mainly assists the understanding of the cultural independence movement during the Japanese colonial era. Instead, Gilroy’s idea of modernity (as discussed in the preceding section), in conjunction with his idea of camp-thinking and the role of fascism in fomenting nationalism (as will be discussed in this section), is employed, as it aids the research in focusing on the period of modern nation-building in Korea, i.e. after independence in 1945 and national division in 1953. This period is vital for this research, as it was only by that time, and in virtue of its regained sovereignty, that Korea was capable of operating and deploying official, modern political systems (as opposed to cultural activities) to put the ideas of ethnic-based national solidarity and nationalism into practice. Hence, the methods of implementing the sense of national belonging since the establishment of the first government of Rhee Sung Man (1948-60), and through the subsequent military regimes (1961-93) starting with the Park Chung Hee government in 1961, will be discussed in this section in relation to Gilroy’s notion of camp-thinking, in order to be referenced in Chapter 5 and also to develop the concept of national identity as it is understood and used in this thesis.

To explain the concept of camp mentality, I begin where Gilroy highlights the impact of fascism in altering the character of national communities, transforming European nation-states into martial camps. Here, he argues that

[this] process of consolidation and authoritarian reintegration should not be identified exclusively with the exceptional patterns exhibited where fascists triumphed. Colonial domination suggests that this process has a longer history and a more general significance. The nationalization, rationalization, and militarization of government
communicated not only the entrance of “race” into the operations of modern political culture but also the confluence of “race” and nation in the service of authoritarian ends.

Gilroy, 2004, 81-2

This statement explains how nation states, in justifying their authoritarian rule, have closely associated race and nation, consolidating the idea of nation and conferring legitimacy on forcing people to belong to the nation. According to Gilroy (2004, 82), each country has developed different or even opposing forms of nationalisation, yet ‘the dominant varieties were bound to the subordinate by their shared notions of what nationality entailed’. Gilroy posits that this kind of nationalism is the model of camp-thinking. In this sense, the transformation of European nation-states into militarised authoritarian national units, in Gilroy’s view, is an important shift in the patterns of world order that evolved various dominant camps. He (2004, 82) explains that these camps exhibited firm rules and regulations, covering any conflict between various practitioners with ‘shared patterns of thought about self and other, friend and stranger; about culture and nature as binding agents and about the technological institution of political collectivities to which one can be compelled to belong’.

Gilroy highlights the way in which this process of encampment entails a shift in the concept of politics, which is concomitantly reformed and reconstructed as a two-way conflict between friends and enemies, and argues that the basis of these camps is martial phenomena, which often necessitate, as their most extreme manifestation, the complete deterioration of citizens into soldiers and the total militarisation of political operations. Although his references to Alexander Kluge and Oscar Negt serve to link the history of camp mentality with class-based identification, nevertheless Gilroy (2004, 83) restricts his focus to nation-based camp mentalities, which are ‘constituted by appeals to “race”, nation, and ethnic difference, by the lore of blood, bodies and fantasies of absolute cultural identity’. Gilroy points to four basic traits associated with these kinds of camp mentalities. The first is the promotion of ethnic or national purity, biopolitically provoking the regulation of fertility and homogeneity. Second, national camps stifle cultural development, as cultural practices are regulated by national obligations, placing restrictions on change and forcing the recycling of tradition as simple repetition. The third trait is the development of nationalistic history,
i.e. the crafting of a well-constructed historical narrative through a process of erring and forgetting. The final feature is chronic conflict – persistent antagonism veiled or obvious; a war, potential or existing, always being waged in the background – which serves to foster a state of permanent emergency and hence to legitimise the severe control of and respect for marital-authoritarian rule. Although Gilroy later opens up the possibility of complicating this picture (viz. in his discussion of the black diaspora, elaborated in Chapter 3.5), in this section, these four traits of national camps will be evaluated in relation to the conditions following the Korean War in order to test their historical impact.

Before doing so, it will be useful to consider Gilroy’s discussion of Rwanda, where he describes how precolonial conflicts grounded in ethnic absolutism were strengthened by various forces including the colonial mission of ‘civilisation’, using modern cultural technologies as well as obligations of raciology and francophony. Pointing to the emergence of camp-thinking, he writes (2004, 86) that ‘militaristic, camp-style nationality, and encamped ethnicity – the key features of the first kind of camps – have been implicated in the institution of camps of the second variety’. For Gilroy (2004, 86), the situation in Rwanda reveals that encampment is not associated solely with far-reaching colonial examples of European mass slaughter or with a catastrophic modernity, but rather stresses the necessity of recognising ‘the conditions of permanent emergency associated with the second type of camp’, which it ‘both feeds on and creates’. Nonetheless, Gilroy argues, citing Primo Levi, that terroristic and extreme state-governmental violence is not an essential requirement of this second type of camp. For Levi, according to Gilroy, the situation is more subtle, in the sense that

[if] we wish to live a good life and enjoy just relations with our fellows, our conduct must be closely guided not just by this terrible history but by the knowledge that these awful possibilities are always much closer than we like to imagine.

Gilroy, 2004, 86

Mass slaughter and brutal military rule are not essential features of camps of this kind, which in any case have most likely already suffered the cruelty of camps of the first
kind. Instead, consolidation of the awareness of a terrible past, and anticipation of its potential reoccurrence, are considered prime factors in establishing the governing rules of camps of the second type, as these serve as an important moral resource.

In line with Gilroy’s research, Korea, especially given its history of post-colonial nation-building and the divided state formations after the Korean War, can also be described as conforming to the second kind of camp. Although Korea is a far subtler case than Rwanda with respect to issues such as genocide, Gilroy’s engagement with Levi’s work justifies this assertion. Especially since independence and the Korean War, the South Korean state has exhibited some of the key attributes of a national camp mentality and of the second camp variety highlighted by Gilroy. For instance, the successive South Korean governments (especially the first Rhee government and the subsequent military regimes) all mobilised the idea of ethnic homogeneity as the prime legacy of the nation. Rhee (the first president of ROK) proclaimed Ilmin Chuŭi (that is, ‘One Peoplism’, the ideology of a single people), asserting that ‘[we] are one people,’ and ‘[one] people has the same blood-line, the same fate, and the same ideology’ (An in Shin, 2006, 102). Here Rhee’s famous phrase, ‘we will die if divided but will live if united’, is worth quoting to show how he elevated unity as the only redeeming method for survival (Rhee in Shin, 2006, 101). Moreover, the arrival of authoritarian military rule in South Korea, with Park as the first military president, led to the strictly regulated cultural practices as the means to preserve tradition, only permitting cultural activities that were conducive to their policies. The successive military regimes also re-interpreted nationalistic history, often highlighting the ‘Tan’gun’ myth, all of which recalls and further articulates the attributes of camp-thinking described by Gilroy. This merger of restricted political methods with the idea of ethnic homogeneity, especially as it was articulated in cultural and historical discourse, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The most significant feature of the camp mentality shown during the successive South Korean military regimes, particularly during the Park government, was the infusion of the political methods of fascism (as stated by Shin in section 2.2). This signals the bewildering moment when the cruel history of the Japanese fascist system during its colonial rule was re-inscribed and reproduced by the Korean leadership for alternative
national ends. Although the external threat of Japanese fascist violence receded after its defeat in the Pacific War, a new threat to the solidarity of the South developed out of the internal conflict between the North and the South, particularly caused by North Korea’s insistence on communism, which led to chronic tension on the Korean peninsula. Here, although the territorial and ideological divisions between North and South Korea were no doubt related to the external conditions of the Cold War, this discussion is saved for Chapter 5.1, as for now I aim to focus only on the internal antagonism. Considering this antagonism, anti-communism is isolated as a critical ideology that was strongly infused with national camp-thinking, particularly during the successive military regimes. The terrible and shocking experience of internal war and the national devastation caused by the staggering number of casualties can be interpreted as a state of concealed or obvious hostility that engenders anxiety about its potential reappearance. Park and the other military leaders skilfully played up and exploited this antagonism and anxiety about potential aggression in South Korea by fusing nationalism with anti-communism and developmentalism. This is shown clearly by Shin (2006), who argues that Korea in modernisation, combined with the promotion of a national consciousness, aimed to establish the sovereignty of the ROK against colonial and communist rule.

Although military rule in Korea did not lead to genocide, strong anti-communism infused with nationalism nevertheless encouraged and legitimised active, aggressive suppression of any pro-communist acts and also any movements, even those in which pro-communist attributes were not clearly identified, that did not conform to state policy, as these were considered significant threats to national sovereignty. This recalls the extreme use of military force under Japanese fascism, especially from the 1930s to 1945. Shin (2006, 109) likewise highlights the influence of Japanese nationalist and fascist ambitions on Korean nationalism, stating that ‘it was no coincidence that both North and South Korea developed a system similar to a prewar Japanese state, nationalist, militaristic, and fascist, in the post-1945 period’. Moreover, this history of internal division and hostility between North and South Korea, which continues to the present, ensures perpetual activation of that permanent state of emergency that serves as a key resource for sustaining camp-thinking. Here, US military engagement, especially during the Cold War (discussed in Chapter 5.1), as
well as enduring conflict between China, Japan and Korea concerning the real history of colonialism and invasion, can also be considered additional potential threats further fostering the sense of a perennial state of emergency in Korea. Such a state, while serving as one of the main factors fomenting national camp-thinking, also allows other shifting ideologies to be infused with a nationalist camp mentality, enabling transformation or modification of the mode of encampment according to political needs or changing socio-political conditions. Moreover, furthering the discussion of varying modes of encampment in different locations (especially with the emergence of secondary camps), Gilroy (2004, 93) shows the possibility of temporal diversity, stating that ‘[t]oday the need to find an answer to globalization has stimulated some new and even more desperate varieties of camp-thinking’. Thus this temporal process of differential national camp-thinking in Korea is a major concern in the following discussion of the idea of national identity, and hence serves as key concept throughout the thesis.

Given the relevance of Gilroy’s theory for the case of Korea, I also utilise his idea of national identity, which is fundamentally bound up with camp-thinking. Gilroy acknowledges that there can be various modes of camp-thinking, partnering with ideas of class, race, gender, nation and so on. But regardless of its mode, Gilroy (2004, 99) highlights that the concept of identity always entails the characteristics of bonding and particularity, as this ‘helps us to comprehend the formation of that perilous pronoun “we” and to reckon with the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that it cannot help creating’. He argues that the shared concern over the importance of sameness and difference is politically conceptualised to instil the idea of belonging:

[C]alculating the relationship between identity and difference, sameness and otherness is an intrinsically political operation. It happens when political collectivities reflect on what makes their binding connection possible. It is a fundamental part of how they comprehend their kinship – which may be an imaginary connection, though nonetheless powerful for that.

Gilroy, 2004, 99

Thus the power of the concept of identity is not produced only by political methods, but in addition by lending strength from its own invisible and immaterialised attribute
of imaginary bonding. Nonetheless, as soon as a group tries to recognise itself in a political form – for example, a nation, class, movement, or certain combinations of these – Gilroy (2004, 99) argues that identity ‘becomes a question of power and authority’. In recognising the nation as a political body, Gilroy references Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who highlights the provisions that unify people through a common identity (ascribing citizens to the fatherland and vice versa) and the institutions of authority and control that are the key loci of that political procedure. Moreover, and with respect to the topic of this research, it is precisely for this reason that the relation of the KNB, as a national organisation, to the successive state regimes in Korea is isolated as a major focus of critical analysis in this thesis.

Citing Rousseau’s text on the history of the Children of Israel, Gilroy points out that Rousseau demonstrates how a certain amount and kind of work needs to be done in order to call forth the particularity of a given identity, although this sense of identity is often felt as if it is the automatic result of some governing tradition or culture that stipulates fundamental and absolute distinctions between people. Here, the consciousness of identity gains additional power from the idea that it is not the end product of one great man’s ‘audacity’ but an outcome of shared and rooted experience tied, in particular, to place, location, language, and mutuality.

Gilroy, 2004, 100

Thus Gilroy highlights that identity is not the result of natural phenomena, however much it may be collectively experienced as such, i.e. as something bestowed and empowered by an outside force or entity. At the same time, he (2004, 100) continues to argue that although the actual history of the process of identity-formation is often concealed, still, realising the historico-political grounds and drivers of this process is crucial for understanding identity as ‘a premise of modern political culture’.

In line with Gilroy, then, the idea of national identity is here understood as a mode of politically constructed camp-thinking that binds people together into a collective unit through an understanding of mutual affinity, constituting a strong collective identity by drawing on shared social, cultural and historical conditions. Gilroy’s work clarifies
what this demands for the present thesis, namely, the need to analyse how the various Korean regimes have systematically engendered and reproduced basic experiences of sameness and difference. The successive Korean states’ political schemes for building up this sense of belonging – along with the ways in which these schemes interact with other cultural and historical discourses – are therefore further evaluated in Chapter 5. Here it is worth pointing out that one of the limitations of Gilroy’s theory is that, in discussing the idea of culture, he uses the term ‘language’ almost always to refer to the spoken/written language and rarely to the language of the body. Thus, it is important to point out that this thesis, by focusing on the various ways in which the KNB summons a sense of shared, mutual history and location in order to shape and define national identity, aims to highlight the place and role of bodily language and moving bodies.

Another significant feature of national identity in Gilroy’s sense is that it is never static but always fluid. He states (2004, 105) that ‘if identity and difference are fundamental, then they are not amenable to being retooled by crude political methods’, thus arguing that the parameters that distinguish sameness and difference can be moved and modified in relation to shifts in political and social conditions. Referring to historical atrocities such as tribal mass slaughter, he warns of the dangers of defining a fixed identity that is not open to change. This fluidity of the idea of identity reemphasises the temporal modifications of Korean nationalism, which has been repeatedly challenged and influenced by, and hence infused with, non-national and transnational forces in different periods. Shin identifies the shifts in Korean nationalism that distinctively appropriated transnational forces, ranging from civilisation (in the late nineteenth century), colonial racism and international socialism (1910-45), and modernisation and anti-communism (Park’s regime, 1960s-70s), to democracy (the student movements in the 1980s) and globalisation (1990s-the early twenty-first century). These transformations of Korean nationalism and the shifting notions of national identity are central topics of this thesis, the focus of which is the analysis of the KNB’s role in this ongoing process of national identity-formation. Thus Gilroy’s work contributes to a general understanding of the concept of ‘national identity’ as it is used in this thesis, viz. as referring to a politically constructed idea that builds up a sense of mutual affinity and rootedness between people through
referencing ethnicity, culture and history, and that possesses the capacity for constant modification in accordance with specific changes in socio-political conditions.

Next, according to Gilroy (2004, 101), identity-formation must then undergo a process of implantation, insofar as ‘grave moral and political consequences have followed once the magic identity has been engaged tactically or in manipulative, deliberately over-simple ways’. Here, Gilroy enumerates various tactics for building up the sense of identity psychologically. Firstly, he indicates the ways in which identity-formation incorporates military practices such as the use of uniforms, flags and synchronised body movements. Although Gilroy focuses on military parades, I aim to discuss the idea of synchronised body movements (in Chapters 7 and 8) in order to demonstrate the power of the KNB’s homogeneous movement style to build up a distinctive, collective company identity that is also tied in with broader experiences of Korean identity. Secondly, the political crafting of biblico-religious stories of nation-building is another method of identity-formation, whereby notions of heavenly origins and destiny are manipulated to justify moral consent to ideas of national belonging. The use of the *Tan’gun* myth by the various Korean states for building up an imaginary ethnic unity and singular origin of the Korean people has already been highlighted above (section 2.3); in what follows, the KNB’s interpretation of certain historical narratives and events in its repertoire is also a key focus of this thesis.

Lastly, Gilroy highlights the utilisation of cultural and communication technologies (e.g. film, radio, sound recording, television) for disseminating political values and effects and for mediating the idea of identity. While the Korean states’ utilisation of these cultural technologies is further discussed in Chapter 5, the KNB’s use of communicative technologies such as TV and news broadcasts is also analysed in order to reveal the KNB’s role in the process of identity-making. Gilroy (2004, 110) argues that communication technology has the power to create ‘forms of solidarity and national consciousness’ that ‘[propel] the idea of belonging far beyond anything that [was] achieved in the nineteenth century by the industrialization of print and the formalization of national languages’. Thus use of Gilroy’s work is again justified, as the thesis centres on the period of Korean nation-building after 1945 (up to 2012), and
especially from the founding period of the KNB in the 1960s, when significant technological developments in the cultural and communication sectors were being made, influencing the dissemination of the values and attributes of national identity.

2.5 Conclusion
Overall, these investigations into a general ‘genealogy’ of nationalism have revealed the importance of examining the historical context and experiences of Korea as a specific case, and thus of isolating a suitable theoretical model that can be used to make sense of the complex ideas of nation and national identity. Use of Gilroy’s work on racial politics and camp mentality was justified on this account, in particular in that it provided a useful framework for tracking Korea’s historically shifting geo-political position vis-à-vis its Asian neighbours and the West. His work on black politics in the West drew attention to the complex conditions of Korea, especially from the late Chosŏn dynasty, when Korea faced the combined external threats of Western imperial ideology and Japanese colonial rule. The movement toward integration as a national unit brought about by Western notions of modernity, combined with anti-colonial sentiments toward the Japanese empire, led to the building up of a sense of ethnic homogeneity and distinctness (vis-à-vis China and Japan) that also served as a major driver of the formation of liberation movements. This idea of ethnic homogeneity has continued to serve as a key feature of state-led nationalism since independence and the Korean War. Here, Gilroy’s intensive analysis of racial politics in relation to the socio-political transformation of the old European empires into discrete national units, and the domination of European fascist national camps and emergence of secondary camps, provide solid support to the idea that nationalism and modernity on the one hand, and (post-)colonial resistance struggles for national liberation on the other, were very much entangled and interrelated in the Korean case.

Moreover, following Gilroy’s idea of secondary camps, Korea may be nominated as just such a secondary camp. Although the Korean case is far more nuanced than the examples chosen by Gilroy, nevertheless it was shown above that Korea’s chronic national division and permanent state of emergency both function as key resources for creating and legitimising a nation-centred mindset (one often instilled by the state and hence also used for justifying the authoritative political rule of the state). This sense of
emergency also accounts for the general tendency of the successive Korean states to subtly transform the attributes of state-led nationalism by embracing different transnational ideologies in accordance with shifting socio-historical and political conditions. Here, the active but concealed political role of the state in building up the sense of national belonging is seen as another key trait of Korean nationalism. Use of Gilroy’s work, along with in-depth discussion of the historical conditions of Korea, has therefore brought to light three major traits of Korean nationalism: first, a drive for political operation; second, an emphasis on ethnic-based cultural homogeneity; and third and finally, a penchant for transformation. These three key traits of Korean nationalism justify the employment of Gilroy’s theory as it is useful for developing a general understanding of the term ‘national identity’, which is used in this thesis to refer to a politically constructed idea, closely tied to ethnicity, culture and history, possessing the ability for continuous modification.

On the basis of this concept of national identity, the KNB, as a national arts institution, is nominated as one of the key cultural resources of the politics of shaping the idea of nation and the concomitant sense of national belonging, and accordingly it becomes important to examine the inevitable influences of state-led nationalism on the KNB’s actions. Hence the relationship between the state and the KNB is isolated as one of the principal concerns of this research, in particular the ways in which the KNB engages in or contributes to the process of identity-formation in Korea. Here, just as Gilroy revealed various methods of implementing the constructed national identity (including the use of military practices, nationalistic history and communication technologies like television, radio, and sound recording), the thesis also questions whether and how these methods are used by the state as well as the KNB. To conclude, as this chapter focused mostly on the idea of national identity, the theoretical approach to the other two key concepts of this thesis – viz. the hybrid term ‘Korean ballet’ and the idea of movement style, as outlined at the outset – will be provided in the following chapter, along with further reference to Gilroy’s notion of diaspora, to establish the overall theoretical framework for this research.
The Tan’gun myth is a founding legend of the Korean nation; Tan’gun, is viewed as the grandson of Heaven and the founder of the first Korean Kingdom, Gojoseon, which, according to the legend, was founded in 2333 BCE (Appendix C, 276-78). Many Korean nationalists, like Ch’oe Namsŏn, insisted on the originality and importance of this founding myth to argue for Korea’s ethnic homogeneity.

The Chosŏn dynasty ruled the Korean peninsula between 1392 and 1910 with a succession of 27 kings. It fell with the Japanese invasion, commencing the colonial era in Korea.

The 1905 protectorate treaty was an agreement made between the Japanese empire and the Korean empire (Chosŏn) in 1905. This treaty deprived Korea of diplomatic sovereignty, and forced Korea to be a protectorate of Japan.

The Japanese colonial era is generally divided into three stages: first, the period of strong military repression, with colonial racism (1910-19); second, the initiation of the cultural assimilation policy, after the March First Movement (1919-31); and third, the attempt to transform Korea’s land into a Japanese military base and its people into an armed force to be deployed in the service of Japan’s wars of aggression (1931-45), including the Manchurian Incident (1931), the Sino-Japanese War (1937) and the Pacific War (1941).

The March First Movement was one of the earliest Korean independence movements during the Japanese rule of Korea. It began on 1 March 1919 and spread throughout Korea, unifying the Korean population (Wikipedia, 2010). In fact it was the March First Movement that shocked the Japanese and forced them to soften their rule, at least on the surface, thus opening up cultural space for Koreans.

During Japanese colonial rule, Korea experienced Japanese fascism as the dominating force of colonisation from the start of Japan’s aggressive wars in the Manchurian region (known as the Manchurian Incident) in 1931, leading to Japan’s withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933. Fascist Japan allied itself with Germany and Italy to initiate the Sino-Japanese War (1937) and the Pacific War (1941). While there was mass killing of Koreans in various places, especially in reaction to the March First Movement in 1919, nevertheless, with the widening of the war in the later colonial period, Koreans were conscripted into the Japanese military all over Asia and mobilised as workers in factories or mines, while women were taken to Japanese military brothels in order to ‘[service] the sexual needs of Japanese soldiers and officers’, gathered under the name of the ‘comfort corps’ (wianfu) (Robinson, 2007, 97).
Chapter Three
Ideas of Hybridity and Korean Ballet

Ballet sometimes rests at the non-Korean end of the continuum with contemporary dance, and sometimes slips closer to the middle, where creative dance lies. Clearly rooted in an imported dance style, ballet in Korea continues to demonstrate its classical European origin, as well as Korean influences.

Van Zile, 2011, 250

The diversity of dance that can be readily seen in Korea today reflects a tolerance for a broad range of approaches…There is a concern with perpetuating the dances of the past that bear an unmistakable “Korean” stamp; at the same time, however, there is a desire to try out dances that are not Korean – a fascination with the foreign…What is perhaps most interesting today are the dances that do not lie so conveniently at one end or the other of the Korean/non-Korean continuum, and the ways in which they are identified by Koreans. These dances and their classifications reflect the kinds of things that are conceived of as being representative of Korean culture – as symbolizing, via dance, Korean-ness…With so many changes in the concrete things from the past that easily identified Korean-ness, what are the signs of identity that apply today? Are there non-concrete elements that can serve as such makers?

Van Zile, 2011, 251

3.1 Introduction
These passages by Judy Van Zile, from an extract of her overview of the new trends in the Korean dance field, accurately capture the diversity and hybridity of dance works in contemporary Korea. The first emphasises that the Korean ballet field is a site where this intermixture is especially evident, while the second, although she does not complicate the idea of an ‘unmistakeable Korean stamp’ (somewhat simplistically linking it to ‘dances of the past’), reflects Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s idea of invented tradition, thus providing an illustration of one of the key terms, viz. tradition, used throughout this thesis. In The Invention of Tradition (1983), Hobsbawm and Ranger demonstrate clearly and through extensive research how traditions which are typically considered to be ancient in origin are in fact nineteenth- and twentieth-century inventions, fabricated through
a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past.

Hobsbawm, 2013, 1

This thesis endorses and follows Hobsbawm’s concept of tradition as a process of artificial construction whereby certain values, elements and customs are linked to the past as tradition, often to the exclusion of other unwanted traits, traces and narratives. In this way ‘tradition’ is understood as a modern construction involving the connection of particular elements, norms and values of a given society with its past, and with manipulative exclusions made according to its needs. In this sense, Van Zile’s notion of an ‘unmistakable Korean stamp’ is considered to refer, not to any primal elements of an immemorial past or ancient origin of Korea, but rather to traits that Korean society has explicitly or implicitly claimed and linked with its past, and appropriated as its tradition, over the course of its history and in accordance with the practices and exigencies of the project of modern nation-building.

The idea of Korean-ness can likewise be understood in the light of the concept of invented tradition, as Van Zile highlights the possibility of changing the contemporary meaning of Korean-ness. This implies not only that the process of the invention of tradition is a continuous one, but moreover that it is current and ongoing, and in this case, that Korean-ness is still being formed, revised and reshaped. In this sense, Van Zile’s focus on the cultural forms that lie in the middle of the Korean/non-Korean continuum points to those hybridised cultural activities that entail the intermixture of national and foreign cultural elements. Likewise, her use of polar terms like ‘concrete’ and ‘non-concrete’ – the former implying old Korean-ness and the latter hinting at new Korean-ness or non-Korean-ness – is intended not to draw attention to any firm, radical division between the poles themselves, but rather to articulate the ambiguity and unsettledness of the space that separates them and holds them apart. Moreover, in asking about the ‘signs of identity that apply today’, she suggests that these hybrid cultural forms are complicating and changing the notion of Korean-ness, and in doing so hints at the potential grafting of non-Korean/foreign attributes onto this concept. This complex interaction between hybridity and Korean-ness encapsulates the central
concern of this chapter, and of the thesis in general, questioning the shifting notion of Korean identity with reference to this hybridised cultural space.

Noting this phenomenon of intermixed cultural activities in contemporary Korea, the chapter begins by examining Edward Said’s work (1993) on cultural imperialism to provide a theoretical explanation for the influx of Western cultural forms into Korea. It then proceeds to an analysis of Homi Bhabha’s work (1994) on the post-colonial concepts of mimicry and hybridity in order to focus on the phenomenon of Korean ballet more specifically. Bhabha’s reading of Frantz Fanon’s work (1952) on the colonial mentality will figure prominently here, and greatly aid the understanding of the concept of mimicry. As the conditions of (post-)colonialism and emancipation referred to in Bhabha’s and Fanon’s work are considered to have ceased with the termination of direct colonial rule as a political system, their studies are employed in combination with Said’s work in order to provide a theoretical understanding of the continuation and extension of imperialism as cultural imperialism, that is, a mode of imperialism that involves the continued dominance of a certain Western cultural colonial authority and sentiments in contemporary Korea under globalisation. Moreover, although the ideas of race and racial division are the major topics of these studies – for instance, the idea of hierarchical division between the West and non-West as between white and black – it must be stressed that this thesis does not aim to use these studies to focus on the idea of racial division between ‘white and yellow’. Rather the thesis focuses centrally on the idea of nation, understanding the continuation of imperial power and inscribed colonial order as a universal or global force, and viewing the cultural interaction with this force in national terms. As I focus specifically on the Korean case, the word ‘Western’ is often used as the counterpart of the term ‘Korean’ (just as ‘white’ is often used as the counterpart of ‘black’), yet this is merely a convention that facilitates evaluation of the intertwined relationships between these ideas, as exhibited in the kinds of mixed cultural spaces referenced above.

Finally, explication of the hybrid nature of Korean ballet leads the chapter to evaluate another key concept, viz. movement style. The studies of Geraldine Morris (2003) and Steven Wainwright, Clare Williams and Bryan Turner (2007) provide the theoretical
underpinning for grasping the ways in which the codified ballet vocabulary can be executed in various movement styles. The chapter closes with a further discussion of Gilroy’s idea of the black diaspora, which addresses the problems associated with asserting any fundamental rootedness of the notion of national identity, and critically evaluates hybridised and intermixed cultural zones as new sites for identity formation. In this way the idea of identity is evaluated in explicit connection with its relationship to the hybrid cultural space, which thus becomes a key focus of the chapter.

3.2 Said’s approach to cultural imperialism

While in the previous chapter Gilroy’s idea of camp-thinking highlighted the Korean state’s authority in regulating cultural activities, including the formation and actions of the KNB, in this section Said’s notion of cultural imperialism is employed in order to provide theoretical understanding of the forces behind the vast influx of Western culture and its impact on the Korean cultural field, especially on establishing the Korean ballet field and the KNB. In his early work, *Orientalism* (1978), Said shows how Western discourses construct an imperialistic dichotomy by dividing the world into the West and the non-West, or ‘Orient’, stereotyping the Orient with ideas such as barbarism, stupidity, nature and the mystical to develop the idea of a supposedly superior Western ‘Self’ and supposedly inferior non-Western ‘Other’. In *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Said extends his work in *Orientalism* to highlight the historical impact of the Western empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially of the continued transmission of Western culture to distant nations and territories. Focusing particularly on cultural forms such as novels, he explains how the Western empires used cultural discourses to generate stereotypes of overseas territories and people, e.g. through the idea of introducing ‘civilisation’ to ‘primitives’ and ‘savages’, as a means of extending and consolidating their rule and to embed the idea that certain territories and peoples not only can but indeed have a responsibility to dominate other societies and lands.

While the impact of political and economic factors is also acknowledged, Said states that nonetheless
scarcely any attention has been paid to what I believe is the
privileged role of culture in the modern imperial experience, and
little notice taken of the fact that the extraordinary global reach of
classical nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century European
imperialism still casts a considerable shadow over our times.

Said, 1993, 5

In thus stressing the role and importance of culture, Said points (1993, 8) to the
climax of Western imperial power in the nineteenth century, i.e. ‘the rise of the West’,
which enabled imperial metropolitan centres – mainly in Britain and France, and later
other Western countries, especially the US – to secure and accumulate territories on
an unprecedented scale. Citing Victor G. Kiernan (1974), he argues that all modern
empires were in competition with each other to gain more colonies, and hence
imitated one another in investigating, implementing, and ruling other territories under
their command. Said develops this argument with reference to Richard Van Alstyne’s
work *Rising American Empire* (1974) to demonstrate how the American experience
was likewise constructed in the same manner as classical imperialism. Said argues
that the fight for the North American territory was initially a fight over the power to
dominate the indigenous population, after which, and once the new republic had
attained a certain degree of permanence and stability, other lands and people were
drawn into its orbit of influence and authority, including the Philippines, the
Caribbean islands, most of Central America, parts of Europe, the Middle East,
Vietnam, and also Korea. Here Said criticises the infrequent (and only recent)
accounts associating the American case with the ideology of imperialism. Exposing
the hubris inherent in the idea of American leadership, expressed in the way in which
the United States has sought to present itself as embodying and propagating a ‘New
World Order’ since the end of the Cold War, Said argues that the current political,
cultural, and historical milieux of America are extensions of a more universal imperial
order and ideological system.

While America’s intervention in the Korean territory will be further discussed later in
this section, for now I focus on how Said views imperialism as a continuing force in
current times. Said notes the Western empires’ discontinuation of their practice of
direct colonisation (mostly after the Second World War), and distinguishes between
the interrelated concepts of ‘imperialism’ and ‘colonialism’. The former, according to
Said (1993, 9), implies ‘the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center (sic) ruling a distant territory’, while the latter is ‘almost always a consequence of imperialism’, viz. the actual ‘implanting of settlements on distant territory’. Citing Michael Doyle, he argues that empire is ultimately a matter of one state controlling, officially or unofficially, the political sovereignty of another society, which can be achieved not only through direct violence and political partnership, but also through economic, social and cultural dependence. Thus, Said writes, although ‘in our time, direct colonialism has largely ended’, nevertheless imperialism

lingers where it has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.

Said, 1993, 9

More generally, Said highlights the role and importance of cultural affairs for the modern Western empires (including the US) in laying the foundations of the kind of global interconnectedness that now characterises every dimension of social life in order to argue for the persistence of cultural imperialism, under conditions of globalisation, into recent times. While, this distinction usefully clarifies the ways in which Western domination can still be said to remain intact despite the withering of actual past colonial settlements; nonetheless, the concept of colonialism, as employed in this thesis, is further defined in the following section.

In emphasising the role of culture, Said identifies two important traits of culture, which can be considered the key elements necessary for extending the global reach of Western imperialism. First, he (1993, xii) highlights that cultural practices ‘have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms’ and thus ‘often exist in aesthetic forms one of whose principal aims is pleasure’. This particular trait of culture, viz. its embodiment in aesthetic forms, implies easier acceptance from the receivers’ point of view, as the purported aim or rationale is pleasure, which in turn allows more aggressive policies and initiatives to be pursued in the economic, political and social realms. Second, Said (1993, xiii) posits that culture, almost imperceptibly, ‘is a concept that includes a refining and elevating element, each society’s reservoir of the best that has been known and thought’. Here, he (1993, xiii)
mentions Dante and Shakespeare, arguing that their works are read ‘in order to keep up with the best that was thought and known, and also to see yourself, your people, society, and tradition in their best lights’. In this way Said highlights the possible input of artists and their capacity for demonstrating and elevating certain aspects as the apex of their society. He also highlights the way in which societies select particular works as exemplary, displaying advanced or polished interpretations of their culture and people. This trait, then, reveals the process of selecting or sanctioning certain cultural productions as canonical, hence as those which serve as major resources in establishing Western imperialism and its authority. Said’s linking of the degree of autonomy possessed by the cultural field with the relationship of artists and social sanction will be further be discussed in Chapter 4.2, in reference to Pierre Bourdieu’s work (1993).

In emphasising these two attributes of culture, Said also explains his reasons for focusing his analysis on one particular cultural form, the novel. Although he denies that the novel is the only important imperialist cultural form, he (1993, xiii) argues that ‘[the] power to narrate, or block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism’. Said stresses the importance of possessing power over culture, specifically over the novel, as this cultural form, with its narrative structure, serves the central means of imperialism (i.e. battling over lands and people). In this sense, the authority to sanction certain works as comprising the cultural canon, or ‘the classics’, is a key method of imperialism, tightening the connection between culture and imperialism. While Said mainly focuses on the role of the novel, in this thesis I nominate classical ballet as one of the major imperial cultural forms that have been used to promote and perpetuate Western imperialism in distant territories. In general the ballet genre is considered to be a cultural product of the Western imperial states, originating in the courts of Italy and France from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and later rising to the renowned status of ‘classical ballet’ (interchangeable with ‘academic ballet’ or ‘imperial ballet’) in Russian imperial theatres during the late nineteenth century, with productions like The Sleeping Beauty (Petipa, 1980) and Swan Lake (Petipa & Ivanov, 1895). Susan Au (2002, 62) explains that the term ‘classical ballet’ generally indicates ‘a concept of choreography that stresses formal values such as clarity, harmony, symmetry and order’. Here, she draws attention to the
establishment of specific codes and conventions embraced within the choreography of classical ballet, while further highlighting the supremacy of the academic ballet technique, which rarely entails the transgression of the codified rules. Owing to these specific technical rules and choreographic conventions, established through the Russian imperial ballets, these works, created in the late nineteenth century, are generally respected as the canon, and thus as that tradition within the total ballet genre that possesses artistic authority and sanction.

A point to note is that these ballets are renowned for their grandeur, massive scale, and elaborate display of magnificent Western imperial settings through their narratives and scenery. In this sense, the canonical works of classical ballet, just as with the established literary classics, are regarded as encapsulating and expressing the zenith of the Western empires. Here, the narrative features of these Russian imperial ballets have the important role of uniting the West in opposition to the non-West, as, despite their origins in Russia, stories about the court-lives of princes and princesses are not restricted to the Russian empire only, but rather conceived as depicting the conditions of the empires of the West more generally. Moreover, there are debates about how certain imperial ballets draw on and disseminate stereotyped images of an inferior ‘Orient’ or non-West. For instance, Ok Hee Jeong (2004) argues that La Bayadère (Petipa, 1877) exhibits all the characteristics of classic orientalism through its use of overtly sexual, brutal and sacred imagery in its portrayal of the Indian temple dancer. In this sense, the raison d’être of the narrative features of the classical or canonical ballets is arguably very similar to that of the major imperial novels, as these features serve as a key element in elevating and refining the image and status of the Western empires, and in fostering, within the ballet field, the imperialist idea of a division between West and non-West.

Nonetheless, it must be made clear that the focus of the present thesis is not on the ways in which the narratives and stage representations generate either stereotypes of the non-West or a more refined image of the Western empires, as such features are not considered major sources of retention and perpetuation of Western cultural superiority and authority in distant lands up to the present time. Instead, I pay more attention to the already established and codified technical vocabulary and conventions of such
canonical works, as these attributes are what enable the transnational travel of the ballet genre even in the contemporary period. As there is a general understanding that such choreographic conventions and technical vocabulary were developed in the West, and given the dominant status of the major canonical works, the relationship of the superior West to the inferior non-West continues to be maintained in the ballet field. For instance, there is recent debate about when and how these Russian imperial ballet works, with their set rules, gained artistic authority and became the established canon (for example, Tim Scholl [2004] highlights the effects of Soviet ideology; Beth Genné [2000] emphasises the role of British ballet; and Jennifer Fisher [2007] points to the contribution of George Balanchine’s work in the US). Although this debate can be seen as pertaining to individual contributions, it also reveals the fact that artistic sanction is almost always bestowed by the West, as only Western countries – mainly Russia, Britain and America, all considered major empires in Said’s study – are argued to have built up this canonical repertoire and to have established the defining traditions of the genre. In this sense, the classical ballet canon and its technical conventions became the artistic legacy and tradition of the West exclusively.

Said also argues, importantly, that we should consider imperialism as a process occurring as part of the metropolitan culture, which at times acknowledges, at other times obscures the sustained business of the empire itself. The important point...is how the national British, French, and American cultures maintained hegemony over the peripheries.

Said, 1993, 51

In this respect, the tradition of ballet, as an imperial cultural form, is preserved and restored in modern metropolises such as London, Paris, New York and St. Petersburg, revealing how the genre continues to exist as a product and support of Western cultural hegemony, now as a significant element of metropolitan culture. This hegemony (which at times, to be sure, elicits various subversive reactions) is thus continuously reclaimed by the West as the generally accepted universal law of the genre, inscribing the idea that artistic sanction can only be given from these Western ballet centres to the rest of the world. In this sense, the introduction and settlement of the ballet genre in Korea, as the extension of Western imperial/metropolitan culture in
a distant territory, is an obvious iteration of the historical phenomenon of cultural imperialism in our own time, just as, and by the same token, the KNB serves as a site where the artistic authority and superiority of Western ballet are reflected and practiced. Thus Said’s work directs the research to analyse how these imperial ideas are placed, reflected and contested in the site of the KNB, while also identifying the ways in which the KNB deals with this Western authority.

Said’s analysis of the significance of the resistance of the formerly colonised world, as an unavoidable reaction to Western imperialism, is likewise important to evaluate. Said recognises the complex relationship between ruler and ruled, as the ruling society comes to depend uncritically on the natives and their perception of the need for civilisation. In doing so, Said (1993, xxiv) shows how imperial advancement always tends to encourage resistance to that very advancement itself, arguing that ‘Western imperialism and Third World nationalism feed off each other’. While Said emphasises the interdependency and overlapping of imperialism and nationalism, he (1993, xiii) nonetheless places more emphasis on the transformation of the imperial system resulting from the internal appeal of nationalist narratives in the colonial states themselves, in the way that, for example, ‘many Europeans and Americans were also stirred by these stories and their protagonists’, and hence ‘fought for new narratives of equality and human community’. Here, Said stresses the prolonged influence of imperial dynamics, and the reactions they engender, by demonstrating the role of metropolitan cultural texts in recasting the idea of Western imperialism in a more positive light, in such a way that the imperial powers are able to enlist and retain apologists even among their former colonial subjects. Nevertheless, Said’s focus on the continuing and often overpowering influence of imperialism in contemporary times is considered a limitation for this research, as it does not provide much theoretical insight into what happens at the level of these non-Western sites of resistance such as the KNB. Accordingly further theoretical assistance is lent from Bhabha, as discussed in the following section.

Before proceeding to Bhabha, however, it will be instructive to apply Said’s insights to the historical conditions of Korea. Employing Said’s study, the idea of pan-Asianism, as discussed in Chapter 2.3, is recalled as an initial term of resistance to
Western imperialism, as it was developed in East Asia as a way of pushing back against the expansion of the European empires in the nineteenth century. Said’s idea of the continuation of cultural imperialism nonetheless becomes more complex when viewing the confrontation with two major axes of authority in Korea (as identified in Chapter 2.3), in the form of European imperialism on the one hand and the expansion of the Japanese empire further into East Asia on the other, leading to Japanese colonial rule in Korea. While the differences between the Europeans’ imperialist ambitions and the Japanese policy of assimilation, and subsequently the moment when Japanese cultural domination of Korea finally collapsed, were discussed in Chapter 2.3, the application of Said’s theory reveals a further way in which the conditions of Korea are unique, namely, in the possibility of the continuation of Japanese imperial culture, and, more importantly, Japanese interpretations of Western imperial culture and ideology, in Korea. Notably, as a large number of Western dance forms were introduced into South Korea during Japanese colonial rule, including ballet in the 1920-30s (Jeong, 2005), Said’s work directs the research to examine the impact of Japanese interpretations on the introduction and propagation of the ballet genre in Korea, and also on the KNB.

Moreover, although Said has not provided any investigation into the influence of the Cold War (especially of Soviet intervention), the power struggle between the USSR and America, the two global superpowers of the last century, had significant effects on the development of the complex historical and cultural conditions of Korea. In particular, as the Japanese surrender led only to formal independence but not yet to the establishment of a sovereign Korean state, it was left to the US and the USSR to carve up the country along the 38th parallel and administer it. According to Charles K. Armstrong (2014) the Korean War was a result of this conflict, and that the separate states of North and South Korea are a product of the Cold War, one for which mutual damage or destruction remains a real possibility up to the present. Given this recognition of the significance of the Cold War for the Korean War and subsequent national division, there is some justification for beginning the actual historical analysis of Chapter 5 with a brief overview of the historical conditions of Korea during the beginning of the Cold War, in order to demonstrate the complexity of the
phenomenon of cultural imperialism in Korea, which has been shaped by Japanese, Soviet-Russian, and American intervention over the years.

3.3 Bhabha and the concept of mimicry

Bhabha’s work on postcolonialism, most significantly his *The Location of Culture* (1994), presents an intensive examination of the history of colonialism and the idea of emancipation, both of which are often considered to have ended with the actual termination of direct colonial rule as a political system, in Said’s sense. However, instead of simply considering colonialism as a political system of the past, David Huddart (2006, 1), in demonstrating the practical applications Bhabha’s work, argues for the continuation of colonial conditions in the present time, ‘in a world marked by paradoxical combination of violently proclaimed cultural difference and the complexly interconnected networks of globalization’, similar to the way in which Said argues for the continuation of cultural imperialism. Following this line of enquiry, while Bhabha deals with the actual historical conditions of colonial settlement, the concept of colonialism, in this thesis, is used to refer to a more universal and ongoing process of implementing certain colonial attitudes and strategies to secure the imperialist cultural hierarchical differentiation in the world market and in the manifold networks of globalisation.

Hence, the employment of Bhabha’s work does not imply that the present thesis argues for the existence of harsh physical violence or a firm colonial system imposed on the KNB. Rather it understands the set conventions and principles of the Russian ballet classics as the ‘must-be-followed’ rules that serve to practically constitute the colonial order and the strategies that assist the settling and hardening of the cultural hierarchies imposed by imperialism, and thus as injecting colonial sentiments into the KNB. Moreover, as the Russian ballet classics are reproduced in various Western ballet centres, in accordance with particular aesthetic values and regulations, the terms ‘coloniser’ and ‘colonised’ are used here as ways of identifying particular countries (or companies) which have intruded on the KNB’s autonomy and therefore exert an extreme degree of artistic control over its repertoire, demanding obedience to set criteria and conventions as compensation for the forging of direct artistic partnerships. In this sense, the established vocabulary and technique of the Western ballet genre are
generally understood as the continuation and extension of certain universal rules in the now globalised and interconnected ballet world, while the KNB’s direct relationship with a particular Western ballet centre is considered the key factor determining certain aesthetic criteria and artistic regulations as the colonial order.

Employment of Bhabha’s work lends further theoretical support to the task of explicating both the nature and role of the KNB (and Korea more generally) as an agent of resistance towards the Western cultural dominance, and the ongoing process of cultural hybridisation in Korea. Huddart (2006, 2) explains that ‘Bhabha’s close textual analysis finds the hidden gaps and anxieties present in the colonial situation’. These gaps and anxieties are central points of Bhabha’s reading of post-colonial perspectives, and complicate the relationship of the coloniser dominating the colonised by revealing that the coloniser is never as powerful as it seems, but rather always opens up a place for the colonised to resist the dominance imposed on it. In doing so, his work develops and deploys a challenging set of concepts which are central to post-colonial studies, viz. difference, ambivalence, mimicry and hybridity. While these concepts are interrelated in Bhabha’s work, the concepts of mimicry and hybridity in particular are most relevant here given the focus of the thesis, which sets out to enquire into the hybrid phenomenon of Korean ballet, as mimicry of imperial culture.

Bhabha draws his concept of anxiety largely from Fanon, who is notable for illuminating the psychological structure of racism and colonialism. In his work *Black Skin White Mask* (1952), which discusses and criticalises the colonial idea that skin colour is the ground and expression of an essential identity, Fanon, as Bhabha (2008, xxiii) puts it, ‘illuminates the “madness” of racism’. In doing so, Fanon’s work focuses on the ways in which colonial discourse visually stereotypes people, above all according to skin colour (particularly as black or white), and sketches an extensive psychoanalytic portrait of the colonised black subject. While the application of his study to the present research may imply enquiry into the idea of the traditional Western aesthetic perspective of the dancing body which has dominated the classical ballet genre (i.e. with prime value being placed on the vertical alignment of the torso, straight knees, high arched feet with long limbs, etc.), and correspondingly into how
non-Western dancing bodies are stereotyped as somehow inappropriate or deficient, nevertheless, the visual archetype of the classical ballet dancing body in relation to the stereotyped Asian (or yellow) dancing body (just as, for instance, Brenda Dixon Gottschild critically discusses the stereotype of the black dancing body) is also not the focus of this research. Moreover, this research does not aim to present a psychoanalytic treatment of the KNB’s artists qua colonial subjects struggling to appropriate an alien culture. The thesis rather employs Fanon’s work to understand the classical ballet tradition and its principles as constituting a universal law (discussed in Chapter 3.2) and a colonial force stemming from a deeply inscribed historical experience of Western superiority and authority, and to examine the colonial conditions that the KNB perpetuates by performing this Western art form, ballet, in a non-Western, i.e. Korean, setting.

Fanon (2008, 114), in his psychoanalysis of the Antillean, explains that as long as young black boy remains in Antilles with his own people he goes through more or less the same course of psychological development as the white boy; that is, ‘the Antillean does not think of himself as a black man’, but rather, subjectively speaking, ‘conducts himself like a white man’. Nonetheless, the moment the Antilleans encounter Europe, they recognise that both they themselves and the Senegalese are classed under the same category, ‘Negro’. According to Fanon (2008, 115), this is when ‘the Negro makes himself inferior’, or rather ‘he is made inferior’. Here, having learned to associate Negroes with ideas of barbarism, wickedness, and sloppiness, their collective unconscious is laced with Negrophobia; they come to understand that to behave as moral agents, and to be opposed to moral wickedness, is incompatible with being a Negro, and therefore that they are white.

Comparing Antillean’s experience with the KNB, it likewise embraces its historically Western artistic lineage and subsequently comes to regard itself as a ballet company coexisting with its fellow Western ballet companies, as the Western category of ‘the other’ in the Korean cultural field can then be allocated to Korean traditional culture itself, and not to ballet or the KNB. Nonetheless, when the KNB directly encounters Western ballet centres, it can come to recognise that it too is included in the category of ‘the other’; a key moment in the formation of certain colonial sentiments of
inferiority. Following Fanon, all ballet centres in non-Western countries can be seen as victims of the Western ballet tradition – of its canon, rules and set aesthetics – which hangs over everything as an untouchable archetype, and which leads them, unconsciously as it were, to posit and treat themselves as inferior. In this sense, there can be a kind of collective unconscious of the KNB which leads it to behave in the manner of a distinguished Western ballet company – for example, by performing only the proper works in the proper style, according to the proper conventions, etc. – and perhaps concomitantly and unconsciously to reject Korean tradition or the idea of Korean-ness. Nonetheless, just as Fanon (2008, 150) argues that ‘a Negro is forever in combat with his own image’, insofar as the ‘moral consciousness implies a kind of scission, a fracture of consciousness into a bright part and an opposing black part’, such that in achieving ‘morality’ the Negro disappears from consciousness, so too is the KNB involved in a constant struggle with and for its own image, as the achievement of the Western ideal implies the complete nullification or even removal of its Korean orientation.

Fanon’s work, especially through Bhabha’s reading, elaborates on this struggle that ensues when the black man encounters the white world, developing and complicating the understanding of the act of self-hate or self-refusal in colonial situations. Bhabha cites Fanon to describe the point when the white man gazes on the black body:

I had to meet the white man’s eyes. An unfamiliar weight burdened me. In the white world the man of color (sic) encounters difficulties in the development of his bodily schema… I was battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects… I took myself far off from my own presence… What else could it be for me but an amputation, an excision, a haemorrhage that spattered my whole body with black blood?

Fanon in Bhabha, 2008, xxv

Fanon’s description reveals the process of self-torture that the black man undergoes in his encounter with the white man. Bhabha (2008, xxv) explains that ‘[the] white man’s eyes break up the black man’s body and in that act of epistemic violence its own frame of reference [for instance, civil virtue or civil progress, ‘a space for the Socius’] is transgressed, its field of vision disturbed’. Here, Bhabha (2008, xxvi)
argues that the social and psychic dismemberment, alienation, and violence presented in Fanon’s psychoanalysis (including ideas such as madness, self-hate and betrayal) reveal ‘the perverse reflections of a “civil virtue” in the alienating act of colonial governance’, and hence must not be comprehended as required conditions of civil authority or uncertain effects of social instinct. In this sense, the act of colonial stereotyping is shown to be false in the sense that it runs contrary to its own stated goal of civil virtue. Accordingly, Bhabha argues that the colonial alienation and marginalisation of the black man reveal the white man’s ultimate ambition of the cultural mummification of the other, his desire to supervise the other, and his anxiety over the legitimacy of his violence against the other, all of which seems to be covered under and cloaked by the idea of the wisdom of the West.

Such white anxiety is further captured in another passage by Fanon, cited by Bhabha:

Look, a Negro!…Mama, see the Negro! I’m frightened!...I could no longer laugh, because I already knew there were legends, stories, history and above all historicity…Then, assailed at various points, the corporal schema crumbled, its place taken by racial epidermal schema…It was no longer a question of being aware of my body in the third person but in a triple person…I was responsible for my body, for my race, for my ancestors.

Fanon in Bhabha, 2008, xxix

Fanon’s psychoanalytic description of the moment when a black man encounters a white child reveals the white man’s fear of the black man, showing that the white man’s identity is not as stable and complete as he had claimed through his colonial discourse. According to Fanon, the black man’s inscription of his inferiority and the white man’s inscription of his superiority are similar and reciprocal behaviours that betray an underlying neurosis, i.e. an obsessive fixation which serves only to reveal the subject’s own unfixedness. In this sense, the white man’s fear, manifested in his desire to secure his own historicity through his stereotyping of the black man, is as neurotic as the black man’s own self-enslavement and self-debasement through his internalisation of inferiority; both behaviours expose the fragility and instability at the heart of colonial stereotyping.
Here, Bhabha’s reference to Lacan’s concept of the mirror stage further develops this ambivalence in the colonial discourse’s stereotyping. As with the mirror phase, writes Bhabha (2004, 110), “the fullness” of the stereotype – its image as identity – is always threatened by lack. For instance, Bhabha explains that in the process of colonial identification, the subject’s discovery of the other through an image almost always entails the threat of the other’s returning the look in a way that is alienating for the subject itself, antagonistic to its own self-image. Therefore, even if the white man looks at the black man and fixes him in place, the black man always looks back in such a way as to threaten the white man’s view of himself, as there is always an element of loss or absence at work in that very act of fixation. In Bhabha’s work, such fixation is understood as a kind of fetishism interwoven with narcissism and aggression. Huddart explains by writing that

[the] coloniser aggressively states his superiority to the colonised, but is always [narcissistically and] anxiously contemplating his own identity, which is never quite as stable as his aggression implies.

Huddart, 2006, 43

For Bhabha, this idea of narcissistic and aggressive identification and fixation reveals that there is no pure ‘fact’ of blackness or whiteness as such, as the subject is always already inscribed with a lack that opens its own identity out toward the very other that it seeks to exclude.

In order to be able to apply Fanon and Bhabha’s work to the situation of the KNB, it is first necessary to recall the critical overview (in section 3.2) of the ways in which the Western classical ballet tradition and its principles have become established, universal laws. There is a general understanding in the ballet field that anyone participating in the ballet genre (including ballet dancers or companies in non-Western countries) must follow these universal rules and conventions (everyone should be able to conform to the archetype, master the required principles, and so forth). However, the Western gaze serves to differentiate the KNB by constantly inscribing the idea of Western superiority and authority, thus leading the KNB to undergo its own process of self-torturing, by internalising and inscribing itself with the idea of inferiority. This act of differentiation thus contradicts the idea of
universality proclaimed in the Western ballet tradition (usually self-proclaimed). Moreover, the neurotic fixation of this tradition on itself as archetype, and on the non-Western as stereotype (as the offense), reveals the anxiety embedded in its core, and which often demands the narcissistic and aggressive inscription of its own self-image and superiority. The Western ballet tradition and its authority, therefore, are never as fixed or as stable as that tradition claims, or as they may appear to be, in the discourse of classical ballet.

Bhabha (2004, 108) goes on to argue that these scenes demonstrate ‘the site of fantasy and desire and…the sight of subjectification and power’. Here, Bhabha (2004, 117) focuses on the agency of the colonised, stating that by ‘acceding to the wildest fantasies (in the popular sense) of the colonizer, the stereotyped Other reveals something of the “fantasy” (as desire, defence) of that position of mastery’. For instance, the threat of the counter-look by the colonised that questions the coloniser’s own image and identity, or the uncertainty created through the white child’s meeting the black man, develops the idea of colonial anxiety and the ontological lack inherent in the very gesture of colonial stereotyping, opening up a space for Bhabha to discuss the desire of the colonised. Bhabha again cites Fanon:

As soon as I desire I ask to be considered…I demand that notice be taken of my negating activity…

I occupied space. I moved towards the other…and the evanescent other, hostile but not opaque, transparent, not there, disappeared. Nausea.

Fanon in Bhabha, 2008, xxx

Here Bhabha focuses on the desire of the colonised, namely his desire to be recognised and to negate the image of the other (the artifice of the white man). For Bhabha, there is a split between the colonial demand and desire; for instance, the black man fantasises about occupying the master’s position, yet under colonial control he maintains his position as slave and retaliates with anger. This moment of desire and vengeful anger develops the negating activity of the other, contesting the idea of otherness.
Bhabha thus argues that he has found an answer to Fanon’s persistent question, ‘What does a black man want?’, stating that

[from] that overwhelming emptiness of nausea…the black man wants the objectifying confrontation with the otherness, in the colonial psyche there is an unconscious disavowal of the negating, splitting moment of desire.

Bhabha, 2008, xxx

In this sense, Bhabha highlights the unconscious disavowal of the coloniser. However, whether or not such desire meets Fanon’s idea of Hegelian negation is not the primary concern for Bhabha; this is rather a point where Bhabha criticises or further develops Fanon’s study. Instead of juxtaposing the coloniser and the colonised in the colonial discourse’s demand to ‘turn white or disappear’, and instead of searching for a ‘higher unity’ in the Hegelian sense, Bhabha focuses on the tension between the demand and desire, the fissure in colonial discourse, the uncanniness of the colonial figure and perhaps the impossibility of total denial, and, in so doing, develops his concepts of mimicry and hybridity from a more positive perspective. Applying these insights to the KNB, it emerges that the KNB, in executing the conventional bodily movements of the Western ballet tradition, not only reveals its desire to be like the West, but also initiates an act of confrontation toward its inferior image (the artifice of the West) as an expression of its own (and perhaps unconscious) sentiment of disavowal. In doing so, the KNB is neither the Western archetype nor the stereotyped other; instead it situates itself in the interval between these two figures, embodying the tension of demand and desire, or of meaning and being, where Bhabha builds his ideas of mimicry and hybridity.

Acknowledging the colonial desire of the other, Bhabha defines colonial mimicry as

the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference…Mimicry emerges as the representation of a difference that is itself a process of disavowal.

Bhabha, 2004, 122
In other words, it is the ambivalence and anxieties inherent in the colonial discourse itself that enable the colonised to develop colonial mimicry – a process of doubling, which, for Bhabha, is an excessive copying of the ideas, manner, language and culture of the coloniser, yet one which, as excessive, as exaggerated, is also a repetition with a difference. This gesture of differentiation reveals the agency of the colonised, the sentiment of disavowal of, and the act of resistance to, the dominant colonial power, though not necessarily a conscious one. Nonetheless, Bhabha argues (2004, 123) that this excess or slippage intrinsic to the repetition does not simply rupture the discourse; rather the ambivalence of mimicry ‘becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a “partial” presence’, i.e. one that is both incomplete and virtual. Here, Bhabha’s reference to the French philosopher Jacques Derrida is worth noting. Derrida’s early work is concerned with exposing the ‘logocentrism’ inherent in the familiar opposition between speech and writing, the former typically implying something flexible and alive, the latter something dead and concrete, as a supplement to the full presence of speech. The partial presence and the rejection of the other in Bhabha’s concept of colonial mimicry thus reference Derrida’s idea of writing as a gesture similar to and yet slightly different from speech.

Bhabha (2004, 126) argues that mimicry or mimesis occurs in writing, a mode of representation, and that ‘the desire to emerge as “authentic” through mimicry – through a process of writing and repetition – is the final irony of partial representation’. Here, although he argues that mimicry reveals the coloniser’s identity only in partial forms, Bhabha (2004, 126), drawing on Derrida, also points to the contradiction inherent in the desire of the colonised to discover and claim its authenticity in its act of repetition. He thus argues that ‘mimicry conceals no presence or identity behind its mask’. Here, Bhabha, more importantly, emphasises the unconscious act of disavowal, questioning the intention and agency of the colonised. Huddart (2006, 68) explains the different understandings of the consciousness of the colonised in Fanon and Bhabha in this way: while Fanon views the Négritude movement as ‘an intentional construction of a position (of an opposite and opposing position) in relation to colonial discourse’, Bhabha seems to imply that the unconscious and non-intentional strategy of mimicry is the key feature in the mode of resistance to colonial discourse. Here, Huddart (2006, 63) further suggests that, for
Bhabha, ‘not all forms of resistance are actively chosen or visibly oppositional: some resistance is subtle or indeed unconscious’. In this sense, Bhabha values the actual resistance itself, rather than the intent to disavow or the degree of disavowal.

Bhabha’s idea of partial presence, and his focus on the tension between similarity and excess, highlights the act by which the colonised becomes at once extremely familiar and extremely frightening to the coloniser. Bhabha (2004, 123) explains this tension by stating that ‘mimicry is at once resemblance and menace’. Employing Bhabha’s idea of mimicry, the desire of the KNB qua colonised can be articulated in two ways. Firstly, the KNB’s performances of the Western canonical ballets can be seen as an unconscious strategy of colonial mimicry, in which the KNB, by imitating the rules and conventions authorised by the West, turns around and mocks its power, as these rules are seen to be imitable. Here, the idea of the difference intrinsic to mimicry assists recognition of the KNB’s stylistic differences vis-à-vis other ballet companies, as will be further explained in the following section. Secondly, the KNB’s creation of its own ballet, involving the use of Western ballet conventions and techniques, is yet another strategy of colonial mimicry, one which often exaggerates the difference by emphasising Korean-ness as a means of claiming authenticity. Here, the KNB does not hide its identity behind the mask of classical ballet but instead partially reveals itself, and the agency of the KNB may exhibit certain intentional/conscious strategies that Bhabha has not considered as fundamental. These two forms of mimicry on the KNB’s part are well articulated by Bhabha, as he highlights that

the ambivalence of colonial authority repeatedly turns from mimicry – a difference that is almost nothing but not quite – to menace – a difference that is almost total but not quite.

Bhabha, 2004, 131

In the KNB’s case, mimicry corresponds to the repetition with subtle differentiation of the canon, while menace corresponds to the KNB’s creation of its own ballets. Through this illustration of mimicry, Bhabha closes the circle of colonial mimicry, paints a full picture of this process that Huddart (2006, 77) describes as a ‘monstrous doubling’, and in doing so provides a fruitful theoretical foundation for understanding
the KNB’s performances, allowing them to be interpreted as a kind of mimicry that eventually develops into the phenomenon of Korean ballet.

3.4 Dance movement style and Korean ballet

Bhabha (2004, 157-8) argues that in this doubling process ‘resistance is not necessarily an oppositional act of political intention, nor is it the simple negation or exclusion of the “content” of another culture’, as the colonised ‘articulate the signs of cultural difference and re-implicate them within the deferential relations of colonial power – hierarchy, normalization, marinalization…’. He (2004, 159) asserts that the strategy of disavowal is not the repression of what it disavows, but rather is ‘repeated as something different – a mutation, a hybrid’. Bhabha describes this process as cultural hybridisation:

[H]ybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the ‘pure’ and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects.

Bhabha, 2004, 159

In this sense, the doubling process of colonial mimicry is what leads to cultural hybridisation, a shifting of the fixities of colonial discourse; it is a process that embraces the re-articulation of the colonial identity through repeated discriminations, by and in which the colonial identity reclaims its value. Bhabha thus reveals the element of unsettledness inherent in the narcissistic or mimetic demands of colonial power, while opening up a space of subversion in the counter-look that gazes back at the gaze of power.

Employing Bhabha’s idea of cultural hybridisation, the KNB’s own constant doubling activity – viz. its performance of the Western ballet canon on the one hand, and its creation of its own ballet works (often infused with Korean-ness) on the other – is the basis for the proposing of the hybrid term, Korean ballet. Before explaining this term in depth, it will be useful to draw a further parallel with South Korean film studies. Citing Bhabha’s concept of hybridity, So Young Kim (2001, 28) acknowledges a
distinct coloniser/colonised rift, dominated by America (particularly by Hollywood), in the field of South Korean cinema, and accordingly offers the term *hangukhyeong beulleokbeoseuteo* (the Korean blockbuster) as ‘a local translation of the Hollywood blockbuster’. She (2001, 27) argues that the Korean blockbuster is not a simple reproduction or repetition, but rather entails a local or regional process of ‘translation’, which can also constitute a ‘subversive practice’, vis-à-vis the Hollywood blockbuster. Hence, the Korean blockbuster is seen as ‘a compromise between foreign forms and local materials’, presenting ‘both a voluntary mimicry of, as well as imagined resistance to, large Hollywood productions, playing off various logics of both identity and difference in the global cultural industry’ (Kim in Jung, 2011, 14).

In the same manner and by the same logic, I argue that the term ‘Korean ballet’ implying a new, Koreanised form of ballet, one which developed through both voluntary imitation of, and thoughtful or unconscious resistance to, the Western ballet traditions. The thesis thus aims to identify how the KNB grounds and extends the phenomenon of Korean ballet by articulating its identity and difference in both the local and global ballet fields. Here, Figure One (74) provides a somewhat simplified illustration of Korean ballet, encapsulating the main idea which is analysed further and in various ways later on. As seen in Figure One (74), the idea of Korean ballet is a re-articulation of Korean identity, yet one which is only partially present, as it embraces Western ballet traditions. The continuation of cultural imperialism (as discussed in section 3.2) has led to a systemic requirement (analogous to a colonial demand) to follow Western ballet conventions, which are transnationally and universally understood as the defining principles of the ballet genre. For instance, firstly, the ballet tradition comprises the Western ballet classics (primarily, *Swan Lake*, *The Nutcracker*, and *Sleeping Beauty*), which adhere to their own fixed rules and conventions, as its canon. Secondly, it includes a set vocabulary and technique, with established rules and codes of execution; in this way the Western ballet tradition functions as a dominant discourse. Here, the thesis delves into the ways in which the KNB plays an active role in establishing the idea of Korean ballet, through its own interpretations of the Western ballet canon and its technical conventions on the one hand, and through the creation of its own ballets combining Western ballet principles with Korean national themes and indigenised material on the other.
Performance of these works is considered a form of discriminative repetition, and thus the aim is to demonstrate the ways in which the KNB unsettles the fixities of the Western ballet tradition (the colonial rules and boundaries), and, in doing so, how it re-articulates and re-evaluates its own identity. This re-articulation is considered to embrace and reclaim the ideas of Korean identity and authority that emerge through and as a distinctly Korean translation of the Western ballet tradition. The idea of Korean identity is understood as possessing a structural unfixedness, in both Gilroy’s sense of fluidity in national identity (as discussed in Chapter 2.5) and Bhabha’s sense of unstable colonial identity. Nonetheless, while the fixities of Korean identity are constantly shifting in the doubling process of Korean ballet, the thesis aims to evaluate whether and how these fixities are tied to the phenomenon of nationalism (and often linked to state control) and the traits of Korean tradition and culture (in the sense of invented tradition). Here, the relationship between the Western ballet tradition and the presentation of Korean culture and tradition is drawn with a dotted line, as it were, as this connection is questioned throughout the thesis, which aims ultimately to identify the degree to which the Western ballet tradition functions as a framework for the articulation of Korean culture and tradition and hence as the ground and context of the building up of the hybrid phenomenon of Korean ballet.

Furthermore, the properties of the Western ballet tradition are key factors that build the idea of movement style, as they focus attention on the ways in which the set ballet
vocabulary is translated through the KNB dancers’ execution of bodily movements. Here, a further theoretical lens is borrowed from studies on the concept of ballet style. In the ballet field, ‘there is acceptance of stylistic diversity in the works of different choreographers’ (Morris, 2003, 18). For instance, David Vaughan (1996) is one ballet scholar who stresses the choreographer’s contribution in defining a company’s style; likewise, Morris (2006) differentiates the style of Frederick Ashton and Kenneth MacMillan through an analysis of Le Baiser de la Fée. The writings of Adina Armelagos and Mary Sirridge (1977, 1978, and 1984) highlight the dance style as generated by the dancers. Here, Morris supplements their study by commenting that these two are almost alone amongst dance researchers in arguing for the importance of dancers’ style, and notes that not much has been written since their last article. Morris (2003, 19) locates the problem in the ballet profession, lamenting that in the various training manuals and dictionaries, ‘instructions and definitions are presented as autonomous, impersonal prescriptions for executing ballet’s codified steps “correctly”’. Nonetheless, she (2003, 23) argues that each established training system (for example, Royal Academy of Dance, Cecchetti, Vaganova, etc.) has ‘a different approach to the “form” and that each creates stylistic variation’. She explains that, just as different choreographers arrange the steps in particular ways, teachers from different training systems arrange enchaînements in certain ways, and accordingly, depending on how the steps are connected and combined, particular qualities are emphasised in their execution. In this sense, the dancers’ style is derived from the influence of a particular choreographer(s) and training system(s).

Morris’s argument here resonates with Bhabha’s postulation of a time lag. Following Derrida’s novel conceptualisation of text and textuality, Bhabha (2004, 255) argues for a theoretical shift from ‘the cultural as an epistemological object to culture as an enactive, enunciatory site’. According to During (1999, 189), this shift means drawing a distinction between culture as a form or system and cultural practices as individual acts or expressions of that form, a distinction that mirrors the temporal gap between thought and expression, the second part of which is ‘a revision of the first – a revision in which exists the possibility for openness and contingency; the possibility, in short, of a certain freedom’. Applying this idea to ballet, there is a similar sort of time lag between the set ballet vocabulary and the presentation of those steps in which the
translational process occurs according to the dancers’ previous engagements with certain choreographers and training methods.

Wainwright et al.’s study (2007) can be referenced to expand the understanding of training systems, by embracing the ballet company’s training aesthetics developed in daily company classes and in coaching on the repertoire. They (2007, 310) employ Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (understood as ‘an acquired scheme of dispositions’) to thematise the concept of the movement style of a particular company (as institutional habitus), dancer (individual habitus) or choreographer (choreographic habitus). While Bourdieu’s concept of habitus will be further discussed in Chapter 4, this notion of an institutional habitus is briefly discussed here as it correlates with the idea of a company movement style as used in this thesis. Wainwright et al. (2007, 311) argue that the institutional habitus, in the ballet field, is ‘something that varies between institutions’, stating that ‘[as] a dancer, what you learn at ballet school is developed and modified by what you learn when you became a part of a ballet company’, highlighting the transformation of the dancer’s individual habitus in his/her encounter with the institutional habitus. They also highlight the contribution of the choreographic habitus to the formation of a company’s institutional habitus, when a particular choreographer leads the company’s repertoire. Here, their study supports my own use of the term company movement style, as I argue that a company’s style is formed from the artistic heritage of an organisation, and reflects the contributions of a particular choreographer(s), the key pieces of its repertoire, and the main training aesthetics.

Nonetheless, there are recent disputes over the particularity of any given company’s movement style, due to the recent increase in the transnational travel of artists and dancers, and the development of the global network of information exchange. For instance, although Wainwright et al. accept the existence of a company’s movement style with their concept of institutional habitus, their study is aimed to expose the transnational travel of artists and productions, and the economics of the international culture industry, to argue for the increasing erosion of unique company styles in current times. Helena Wulff (1998) is another important scholar who emphasises the transnational nature of the ballet world, for instance by drawing attention to the
international exchange of both personnel (i.e. everyone involved in the making of ballet productions) and actual productions, as well as to resource exchanges between distant countries through media and technology development. While it is often argued that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the uniqueness of a company’s movement style was tied to its associated nation, suggesting a national ballet style, Wulff complicates this idea by highlighting the role of transnational cultural processes in the ballet world, claiming that even this notion can be understood as a kind of national property in relation to the broader transnational context.

However, while all of these studies draw attention to a basic instability in the idea of a distinct company movement style, it is also important to comprehend the existence of stylistic differences between individual companies, which have always been accepted and deputed. Differing from the major ballet companies that these scholars study (e.g. the Royal Ballet, New York City Ballet, American Ballet Theatre, and Royal Danish Ballet), the KNB is much more closed off in terms of exchanging dancers or accepting dancers from abroad, as it comprises all Korean dancers. Although they often invite foreign choreographers, trainers and designers in preparing for certain ballets, the exchange is not as dynamic as with other major metropolitan ballet companies. Taking this into account as a possible source of stability in the establishment of its movement style, the thesis explores the ways in which the KNB’s style is developed through certain choreographers, repertoire and training aesthetics, considering external influences as factors prospectively contributing to the formation of its style.

Returning to the idea of a distinct company movement style tied to the associated nation, Morris (2003, 19) has argued that ‘the technical exercises are open to personal interpretation and subject to changing cultural and aesthetic values’. This idea is employed in conjunction with Bhabha’s concept of cultural hybridity to understand the KNB’s style as one of the major factors contributing to the formation of Korean ballet. In this sense, the company must be seen to demonstrate two attributes: first, acts of resistance that create new ways of executing the codified ballet movements; and second, an effort (either consciously or unconsciously) to indigenise its style through the embracing of local aesthetic and/or cultural values. As there is a critical and ongoing debate over the traditional idea of a national ballet style, this thesis does
not characterise the KNB’s style as stemming from and exhibiting firm national attributes, but rather argues that the basic traits of a distinctive company style can be discerned from the way in which the KNB embraces more local and distinctly Korean features (aesthetic forms, cultural values, audience preferences, etc.).

Making this argument requires focusing on the KNB as a single, collective unit (rather than on individual dancers). Thus Wainwright et al.’s (2007) emphasis on the role of the _corps de ballet_ in presenting the institutional habitus mirrors and bolsters my own focus on the KNB’s _corps de ballet_ works in analysing its unified style. The term ‘style’ thus refers, in this thesis, to a company’s own unique way of approaching the standard, codified movements, i.e. the creation of its overall movement quality and technique, shown through the performance of its dancers _en masse_, on the basis of the interaction of the most significant choreographer(s), trainer(s) and teacher(s) who contribute to the formation of the repertoire and training method, and with possible reference to local aesthetic values. Here, the ‘dotted line’ that links the idea of movement style with the notion of Korean identity in Figure One (74) connotes this possibility, as well as the thesis’s intention to analyse the degree to which the KNB’s movement style references local cultural features. Therefore the historical analyses aim to identify whether the company strives to formulate a particular method of differentiation through the employment of a key choreographer and/or training system or by engaging with local cultural and aesthetic forms and values. However, even if there are no concrete signs of resistance or localisation, following Bhabha’s idea of unconscious disavowal, I plan to examine how the KNB’s dancers (whether they are aware of it or not) translate the codified ballet vocabulary with their bodies in a way which is different from other companies in order to create a unique movement style.

Still, while Bhabha’s notion of disavowal is useful for recognising a subtle and unconscious differentiation of the KNB vis-à-vis other companies, the thesis does not completely neglect the possibility of recognising a particular impulse, i.e. a conscious awareness or a distinctive urge, in the building up of the idea of Korean ballet. Pivoting back to South Korean film studies, Chris Berry (2003, 217), commenting on Chan Wook Park’s film, _Joint Security Area_ (2000), identifies a certain trigger that sparks the process of indigenisation, claiming that
in borrowing the idea and practice of the blockbuster and adapting them to local circumstances, at the very moment of perceiving a local ‘lack’ Park simultaneously de-Westernises it.

Berry, 2003, 217

Citing Berry, Sun Jung (2011, 15) also argues that ‘the postcolonial awareness of the “lack” in local culture is arguably the main source of power to create not only hybrid, but also indigenised, South Korean cinema’. In line with these ideas, the perception of a ‘lack’ in the local culture can be considered as a possible trigger in the building up of the phenomenon of Korean ballet, and moreover as a subversive urge to discriminate Korean ballet from the dominant form. Thus, by examining the KNB’s trajectory, I aim to identify those moments when the company, perceiving a ‘lack’ in the local culture, is led to develop hybrid and indigenised Korean ballets.

3.5 Cultural hybridisation and national identity

By largely focusing on postcolonial cultural hybridity, Bhabha investigates the transnational conditions of postcolonial histories – for instance, cultural displacement through migration, diaspora and relocation. In doing so, he highlights the unfixedness and partial presence of national identity, and his idea of a time-lag (i.e. between form and expression, as discussed above), stresses the ‘narrated’ or ‘imagined’ sense of nations, which Huddart explains as follows:

The identity of a nation is something narrated, but the process is two-fold: there is a pedagogical dimension that foregrounds total sociological facts, and there is a performative dimension reminding us that those total facts are always open, and in fact are being subtly altered every day.

Huddart, 2006, 121

For Bhabha, then, the idea of the nation is not fixed in place as something originary or fundamental, but at every moment is only ever partially present, constantly opened up to future changes, and impossible to pin down in space and time.

While this view allows for recognition of the fluidity of the idea of national identity, it can moreover be considered as expressing a certain hostility to nationalism, with its intensive focus on the temporalising and differentiating aspects of the nation. Studies
of South Korean popular culture are even more extreme in the way in which they highlight this separation of nation and culture through their references to theories of transculturality. For instance, Wolfgang Welsch (1999) has shown that to the extent that cultures are becoming interrelated and entangled, they are no longer subjected to old ideas of straightforward separation or homogenisation. Drawing on Welsch, James Lull (1995) and Koichi Iwabuchi (2002), Jung explains that

transculturation theory is an alternative to the theory of cultural imperialism which emphasizes homogenization over heterogenization, Westernization over indigenization...[as] the concept of transculturality can describe both [the] homogenizing tendencies of globalization and the heterogenizing aspect of local desires...

Jung, 2011, 17

Jung explains how South Korean films have in recent years become more globalised, intermingled and non-nationalistic, which distinguishes them from earlier and more nationalistic films. She (2011, 17) refers to this process with the Korean concept of mugukjeok, which means ‘lacking in or having no nationality’, and argues that mugukjeok is an example of transculturality. Here, Jung’s theory suggests one possible way in which the KNB might be developing the idea of Korean ballet, namely, by striving to achieve global success through an approach that aims at having no or minimal nationality.

It is useful to consider this idea of a radical unfixedness in connection with Gilroy’s discussion of the black diaspora, which opens up a new paradigm for understanding identity without rootedness and thinking its relation to cultural hybridity. Gilroy (2004) points to the works of Olaudah Equiano and Phillis Wheatley, two exemplary figures of eighteenth-century African diaspora literature. Describing their journey from Africa to America and their subsequent several crossings of the Atlantic Ocean (even to London), firstly as slaves and later as free men (although they never returned to Africa), Gilroy highlights, as effects of this forced transition and displacement, their remarkable mastery of style and genre and their expressive use of language in the production of works that accordingly require a mature understanding of cultural syncretism, adjustment, and mixture to be read properly. Rather than stressing either the idea of stability or the lack of African traits, Gilroy (2004, 117) insists that their
works need to be understood ‘as complex, compound formations’ whose ‘legacy is most valuable as a mix, a hybrid’. Moreover, although this compound form inherits its various elements from its ‘parent’ culture, Gilroy (2004, 117) asserts that it is rather ‘assertively and insubordinately a bastard’, and accordingly divorces identity from any notion of purity. Gilroy (2004, 117) presses this argument further by highlighting ‘the purity-defying metamorphoses of individual identity in the “contact-zones” of an imperial metropolis’. Following Gilroy, then, the concept of identity, through travel, relocation and displacement, is open to mutation in accordance with the environment of relocation, and is not required to purely attach to its origin and to the idea of an absolute ethnic, cultural or national foundation. In doing so, Gilroy (2004, 121) separates the ideas of geography and genealogy, which have often been bound together in the construction of identity in encamped nations, as diasporic lives reveal a different way of living ‘in the opposition between geography and genealogy, between land and sea’. The idea of ‘diaspora’, as argued by Gilroy (2004, 122), thus becomes a valuable concept insofar as it ‘makes the spatialization (sic) of identity problematic and interrupts the ontologization (sic) of place’. Thus Gilroy demonstrates how the power of territory, a determining trait in the concept of identity, is disrupted by the idea of the diaspora, as it breaks the simple pattern of links between place and consciousness which are often formed by the contingent political dynamics of celebration.

While Gilroy (2004, 124) stresses that the term diaspora indicates ‘a historical and experiential rift between the location of residence and the locations of belonging’, he also argues that the consciousness of a diasporic association is often opposed to the modes of authority set up by the complex institutions of the nation-state; accordingly their identification appears outside of and even in opposition to the political methods and principles of modern citizenship. This conflict between diasporic consciousness and the political system leads in two different directions: toward settling in the place of the sojourn itself at one end, or returning to the place of origin at the other. Gilroy argues that ‘[in] both oppositions it is the nation-state that brings the spatial and temporal order of diaspora life to an abrupt end’. This termination of diasporic life by the state thus indicates a return to the old model of national camps, where the diasporic community is either assimilated to the national camp of its place of sojourn
or else excluded so as to return to its original camp, a return which is often difficult or impossible to achieve. Here, Gilroy (2004, 123) highlights the ‘forced dispersal and reluctant scattering’ of diaspora lives. For diaspora lives, this forced migration, coupled with the difficulty of returning to the place of origin, perhaps does not provide much opportunity to discard or refuse the obligations of the sojourn. Although this analysis of diaspora life stresses the overarching power of the nation-state, it also complicates the essentialist idea of identity proposed by the nationalists (or by raciological thinking). Gilroy (2004, 125) states that the rootedness of identity ‘made nation and citizenship appear to be natural rather than social phenomena’; at the same time, however, the term diaspora is closely connected to the idea of spreading seed, implicating ‘a disputed legacy and a mixed blessing’. Thus the idea of diaspora encourages evaluation of ‘the significance of the scattering process against the supposed uniformity of that which has been scattered’ (Gilroy, 2004, 125). In revealing this imaginary and unreal uniformity, Gilroy thus proposes diaspora as a key term of a new social ecology of identification, one which is built on an anti-essentialist stance toward identity formation and on constant attention to contingency, uncertainty and conflict.

The employment of Gilroy’s idea of diaspora to this study may lead to an alternative reading of the path along which Korean ballet is developing. The concept of diaspora shows certain similarities to the hybrid phenomenon of Korean ballet, viz. in the shared properties of transnational travel and relocation. The idea of Korean ballet, as already discussed in Chapter 3.4, is understood as a postcolonial intermixture of the different cultural codes of both the origin (the West) and the sojourn (Korea), one which makes it difficult to argue for the products of Korean ballet as being either straightforwardly ‘foreign’ or ‘Korean’. This hybrid cultural process, like the black diaspora, complicates the idea of the territorial rootedness of culture and decouples identity from the idea of purity. In this sense, the idea of Korean cultural purity – attached, in studies of Korean nationalism, to the notion of Korean ethnic homogeneity and the belief in the continuation of a sub-species of primordial kinship (as discussed in the previous chapter) – also becomes problematic. In doing so, it refutes the view that Korean national identity can only make sense in conjunction with the purity of Korean traditional culture, and rather highlights Korea as a hybrid
cultural space that can serve as a new possible site of identification, like the black diaspora.

Nonetheless, certain differences between Gilroy’s notion of the diaspora and the idea of Korean ballet can also be identified. Recognising the enduring presence of ballet in Korea, the KNB becomes a place of residence for this imported Western art form, and the idea of territory, which may be lost through transnational travel (as in diasporic experience), is rather reproduced with the KNB’s rootedness in Korean territory. Here, the company’s international tours are not considered as complicating this permanent residence, as these are mostly done to represent Korea on the international stage rather than to transplant the company into foreign spaces. This geographical rootedness thus serves to differentiate the experience of the KNB from that of itinerant, diasporic lives, as it becomes an encamped institution, rooted in one spot even if the Western imperial ‘tendrils’ extend further. In this sense, Gilroy’s emphasis on the authority over and demands placed on the black diaspora by various Western states can be substituted by the power of the Korean state in the Korean context, i.e. as that which fixes the rules and limits of this place of residence for this imported Western cultural form.

However, while the state thus becomes a governing force generating new obligations and vices related to the place of residence, as the transnational travel of Western imperial cultural stems not from diasporic exile but rather from the historical continuation of European imperialism under globalisation, the authority of the Western ballet tradition is never completely dismissed, but rather provides a certain degree of autonomy to the KNB vis-à-vis the overarching power of the state. The KNB then becomes a site for the regulation and negotiation of the conflicting duties stemming from the place of origin and the place of residence. The combined theoretical approaches of Gilroy, Said and Bhabha direct the research to examine the various clashes of these opposed authorities, as they can be considered valuable moments of contingency integral to the process of identity formation. Here, as seen in Gilroy’s work on the black diaspora, the hybrid cultural phenomenon of Korean ballet, in this thesis, can be analysed as a potential new ecology of identification.
3.6 Conclusion
Overall, this chapter provided a syncretistic discussion of the key concepts of Korean ballet, movement style and national identity, explicating how these concepts are employed and defined in this thesis. It drew on Said’s idea of cultural imperialism, Bhabha’s concept of hybridity and the Korean blockbuster phenomenon discussed in Korean film studies to flesh out the idea of Korean ballet. These theories have assisted understanding of the transnational travel of the Western ballet tradition as a cultural product that furthers Western imperialism under globalisation, as well as facilitated comprehension of ongoing colonial demands and sentiments, entailed in the continuing process of cultural imperialism. Moreover, while Said’s work is useful for establishing the dominance and superiority of the West within the field of ballet, Bhabha’s work, above all his reading of Fanon, enabled the chapter to focus on the agency of the KNB, i.e. as exhibiting the sentiments of the ‘colonised or ruled’. Focusing on Bhabha and references to his work in South Korean film studies, I argued that Korean ballet is produced through both mimicry (conscious or unconscious) and disavowal of the dominant Western ballets and thus as an act of discrimination from the dominant form through local and indigenous translation.

Studies on the concept of movement style, for instance by Morris and Wainwright et al., have enabled the research to recognise the need for examining the ways in which the KNB’s dancers translate the codified ballet vocabulary in unison, creating a distinct company style that serves to distinguish it in ballet terms. Figure One (74) provides a clear illustration of the idea of Korean ballet while also pointing to the specific aims of this thesis: (1) generally to analyse the ways in which the KNB produces ‘doublings’ of the Western ballet tradition, with resistance and disavowal through indigenisation; (2) more specifically, to analyse the degree to which the Western ballet tradition exerts authority over the company’s articulation of Korean culture (i.e. in the discriminatory act through which Korean identity is formed and shaped); and (3) to examine the degree to which Korean culture, tradition and aesthetic values are incorporated into the company’s movement style, as a way of contributing to the formation of Korean ballet.
Moreover, Gilroy’s work on black diaspora was seen to open up problems associated with fixing national camp-mentalities to the idea of territory. In doing so, Gilroy nominated the hybrid cultural space as the site and driver of a new ecology of identification. Here, although Gilroy has drawn attention to the itinerancy of diasporic life, complicating any simplistic attachment of identity to geography, the KNB, given its rootedness in Korea, and accordingly with fewer transnational features compared to other major international ballet companies, rather highlights overarching state power as a significant force in the creation and shaping of this hybrid cultural space. Here, although such focus on the power and authority of the state can be read as merely a reinscription of the old association of territorial culture with national identity, according to Gilroy’s study, there is no need for this territorial culture to be (or to be claimed as) fundamentally traditional, where this is taken to imply a kind of cultural purity.

In general, the different approaches combined in this chapter enabled the recognition of the interjections and interrelations of the two main sources of authority at work within the site of the KNB. The theories of both Said and Bhabha enabled the research to recognise Western imperialism as an external force placed on the KNB – and by extension, the nature and extent of the resistance to that force – while the application of Gilroy’s work served to isolate the race- and ethnicity-based politics of the state (in Chapter 2) and the authority that the Korean state exercises over the KNB (in this chapter). On this basis, the chapter concludes with the overall understanding that the phenomenon of Korean ballet is inextricably linked both to a sense of nationalism associated with modernity and state-control, and to various post-colonial (or anti-imperialist) struggles for national culture. Thus, the thesis aims to question the KNB’s act of resistance towards the Western ballet tradition in relation to state authority, and to analyse the idea of national identity in relation to its reciprocal interactions with hybrid cultural forms. In doing so, the thesis seeks to trace the path along which Korean ballet has developed and continues to develop – for instance, in light of the mugukjeok process or in the direction of achieving a subversive national discrimination.
1 Said lists immense territories including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the colonies of North and South America, the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East (particularly Hong Kong) and the Indian subcontinent, all of which have been under the control of, and eventually were liberated from, British and French power. He also lists the United States, Russia, various other European countries, and even Japan and Turkey, as other nineteenth-century imperial powers.

2 Susan Au, in her general historical overview of ballet in *Ballet and Modern Dance* (2002, 62), states that the term classical ballet is associated with Russian imperial ballet productions like *The Sleeping Beauty* (Petipa, 1890) and *Swan Lake* (Petipa and Ivanov, 1895).

3 Although there are some debates, there is a general understanding that classical ballet has a defined language that transcends local boundaries and conventions. However, this language was developed in the West (Wulff, 1998).

4 Scholl points out how Soviet politico-ideological mythology (chauvinism) encouraged the Soviet cultural intelligentsia to promote Petipa’s work as quintessential Russian ballet, securing his repertoire as the classical canon of Russian ballet. Genné (2000) reveals the significant role of British ballet in revaluing and elevating the nineteenth-century Russian ballets as the canon for the ballet field. Fisher (2007) evaluates how *The Nutcracker* (Ivanov, 1892), the nineteenth-century Russian ballet, was adopted in the US thanks to Balanchine, where it has now become a tradition.

5 Huddart (2006) explains that Bhabha’s reading of Fanon neutralises his revolutionary responsibility, and states that Bhabha’s essay ‘Remembering Fanon’, the forward to *Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon, 1986), is recognised as an essential text.

6 Wainwright, Williams and Turner (2007, 310) state, for Bourdieu ‘physical capital (in the form of body shape, gait, and posture) is socially produced through, for example, sport, food and etiquette’ and the dispositions of habitus is shown through the ways a person treats its body. Therefore, the particular (and perhaps accustomed) ways in which a dancer uses their body in their dancing is understood as the display of dancer’s habitus. They extend Bourdieu’s concept of habitus to demonstrate three forms of habitus, shown in dance field; for instance, in terms of individual, institutional and choreographic habitus. Relating their concept to this thesis, the individual habitus implies a dancer’s style (particularly of a refined/reognised star dancer), the institutional habitus generally refers to a ballet company’s unique style, and the choreographic habitus indicates a refined choreographic style of a certain choreographer.

7 Wainwright, Williams and Turner (2007, 309), by referencing Frederick Ashton’s reputation as the creator of the ‘English ballet style’, also highlight that ‘[b]allet in the 19th century and well into the second half of the 20th century was an important component of diverse projects of cultural nationalism’.
Chapter Four
Analytic Approaches

Each author, school or work which ‘makes its mark’ displaces the whole series of earlier authors, schools or works…[R]eturns to past styles…are never ‘the same thing’, since they are separated from what they return to by negative reference to something which was itself the negation of it…[I]n an artistic field…the history is immanent to the functioning of the field, and to meet the objective demands it implies, as a producer but also as a consumer, one has to possess the whole history of the field.

Bourdieu, 1993, 60-61

The theory of the field [leads] to both a rejection of the direct relating of individual biography to the work of literature (or the relating of the “social class” or origin to the work) and also to a rejection of internal analysis of an individual work or even of intertextual analysis. This is because what we have to do is all these things at the same time.

Bourdieu in Johnson, 1993, 9

4.1 Introduction
The first passage by Pierre Bourdieu reveals a fundamentally historicist standpoint: namely, that the past constitutes and organises the present by significantly determining the currently available modes of thinking and range of actions. He applies this historicist notion to the artistic sphere, arguing that even a new aesthetic movement or revolutionary artwork, which aims to rebel against established artistic conventions or institutions, references its own history in order to claim its difference and denial. This historical understanding is thus considered as the insinuated ground that shapes and explains present concepts and practices. In viewing artistic production, Bourdieu (1993, 37) not only highlights the importance of historical comprehension of the chosen art field, but takes his argument further to stress the necessity of considering ‘the social conditions of the production of a set of objects socially constituted as works of art…which help to define and produce the value of works of art’. Through such statements Bourdieu points to the complexity of the historical dimension, that is, to the fact that it always comprises multiple contexts, all of which contribute to the meaning and value of cultural products and practices.
In this sense, the KNB and its repertoire did not emerge from a void, but rather are grounded in and shaped by a complex matrix of events and practices including the Western ballet tradition, the history of ballet in Korea, as well as the socio-political and economic conditions and cultural forms that have shaped the recent history of Korea. Accordingly, the present investigation into the KNB’s strategies and role in the building of Korean ballet strives to keep the essentially historical nature of the phenomenon constantly in view, especially throughout Part Two. To achieve this it principally employs two studies. First, Bourdieu’s theory of the field of cultural production takes into account both the *autonomous* and *heteronomous* principles of the cultural field in relation to the field of power, thus providing a thorough analytical and contextualising model for the historical analysis. Second, the theoretical approach of New Historicism, in particular, Stephen Greenblatt’s (1980) concentration on the political implications of literary interpretation, is applied to examine the relationship of the KNB’s practices to the larger socio-political milieu. Here, I provide a brief overview and explanation of the ways in which various dance scholars have already drawn attention to and extended Bourdieu’s work in the field of dance studies, as well as clarify how the present thesis contributes to these developments.

In the second passage above, Bourdieu also stresses the need for both an external analysis that takes account of the complexity of the historical conditions of the cultural text, and an internal (or intertextual) reading of the actual cultural production itself. Therefore, in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the KNB’s trajectory and productions, this thesis also presents analyses of the KNB’s works in Part Three. Here, I note the absence of the subject of dance performance and the idea of dancing bodies in the theories of both Bourdieu and Greenblatt. Hence, I turn to Janet Lansdale’s concept of intertextuality in dance analysis (1999), as well as to Laban Movement Analysis (LMA), in order to provide a theoretical framework for the repertoire and dance movement analyses, pertinent to Part Three. Here, LMA is employed to focus on the dance movement specifically, as one of the core elements of the present study. Moreover, Lansdale’s approach allows the research to develop an intertextual reading of the dance text (or of the movement texts analysed through the use of LMA) in relation to other performance texts. Greenblatt’s insistence on the importance of the literary text for any analysis of social power relations is combined
with Lansdale’s approach to develop an intertextual reading that takes account of both
the KNB’s performances and the political situation in Korea (discussed in Part Two).
Accordingly, the principal aim of this chapter is to explain how particular theories are
employed and combined to develop suitable analytical methods and approaches for
subsequent analyses.

4.2 Bourdieu and the field of cultural production
Bourdieu’s major essays on the cultural field were brought together in 1993 in The
Field of Cultural Production. This chapter focuses mainly on two articles contained in
this book: ‘The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed’, and
‘The Market of Symbolic Goods’, as they most explicitly present his theories of the
cultural field and the cultural market. For Bourdieu, the aim of presenting this new
model was to

escape from the correlative dilemma of the charismatic image of
artistic activity as pure, disinterested creation by an isolated artist,
and the reductionist vision which claims to explain the act of
production and its product in terms of their conscious or unconscious
external functions, by referring them, for example, to the interests of
the dominant class or more subtly, to the ethical or aesthetic values
of one or another of its fractions, from which the patrons or
audiences are drawn.

Bourdieu, 1993, 34

Thus Bourdieu was committed to developing a method that avoids the reductionism of
both internal and external readings of cultural productions. In order to confront the
idea that an artist and his/her works are somehow entirely free from external
determinants, Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus, which is defined as

a property of social agents (whether individuals, groups or
institutions) that comprises a “structured and structuring structure”.
It is “structured” by one’s past and present circumstances, such as
family upbringing and educational experience [and] it is “structuring”
in that one’s habitus helps to shape one’s present and future practices
[through a systematic ordering].

Maton, 2008, 51
Habitus embraces a system of dispositions that are ‘durable, in that they last throughout the agent’s lifetime’, and ‘transposable in that they may generate practices in multiple and diverse fields of activity’ (Johnson, 1993, 5).

In Chapter 3.4, I showed how Wainwright et al. (2007) draw on Bourdieu’s concept of habitus to theorise the embodied dispositions of dancers, institutions and choreographers, as shown through the dance movements. They posit three forms of habitus in the dance field – individual, institutional and choreographic – of which the concept of institutional habitus is the most relevant and useful for developing the concept of a company movement style. While their work was seen to be noteworthy in that it contributed to further engagement with Bourdieu in dance studies, additional reference to Geraldine Morris’s work (2003) and Homi Bhabha’s concept of cultural hybridity was required to place the concept of movement style on firmer theoretical footing. Thus Wainwright et al.’s notion of institutional habitus cannot be regarded as equivalent to or a substitute for movement style as it is used here. As seen in Chapter 3.4, instead of employing the concept of habitus to describe the movement aspects of the company, I have preferred the term company movement style, as fleshed out and supported by the various theoretical approaches cited above, to indicate the particular ways in which the KNB’s dancers embody the classical vocabulary and choreography in their corps de ballet works; moreover, I have shown how it is a more widely and generally accepted concept in the ballet field. However, the concept of habitus does play an important role here, viz. in connection with Bourdieu’s theory of the field of cultural production. Accordingly, this chapter explains how the KNB’s habitus is generally understood in terms of certain strategic dispositions (rather than movement-related dispositions) which it exhibits as a national ballet company. This will be explained in greater detail later; likewise, the ways in which the current approach differs from, or perhaps develops, existing applications of Bourdieu’s work will be explained in section 4.3.

To avoid lapsing into the determinism characteristic of external analysis, Bourdieu developed the concept of field, highlighting the fact that the actions of agents are not generated in a void, but rather are acted out in social situations controlled by a series of social relations. Bourdieu argues that ‘any social formation is structured by way of
a hierarchically organized series of fields (the economic field, educational field, the political field, the cultural field, etc.), each defined as a structured space with its own laws of functioning and its own relations of force independent of those of politics and economy, except...in the case of the economic and political fields’ (Johnson, 1993, 6). Each field has structures analogous to others while also maintaining a degree of independence. A shift in an agent’s position inevitably involves a shift in the structure of the field, showing the active property of the field.

Thus the cultural field possesses an operational logic and power independent from those of other fields. Bourdieu argues (1993, 36) that the cultural field’s autonomy and internal laws of functioning are grounded in a specific form of belief: in particular, he states that the work of art is conceived as such only through the collective belief that recognises it as a work of art. Hence, the artwork is not just a material but also a symbolic production, socially discovered as a work of art along with the belief in the value of the work. In order to avoid succumbing to the charismatic image of the work or to the reductionism of external readings, Bourdieu asserts that the analysis of the artwork needs to consider the myriad factors that form the collective belief through which the work is acknowledged as such, including:

- the direct producers of the work...(artist, writer, etc.)
- the producers of the meaning and value of the work – critics, publishers, gallery directors and...teachers (...also families, etc.)
- the social history of art
- the social conditions of the production of artists, art critics, dealers, patrons, etc....[and] also the social conditions of the production of a set of objects socially constituted as works of art...(e.g. museums, galleries, academies, etc.).

Bourdieu, 1993, 37

Bourdieu’s theoretical model of the field of cultural production allows for analysis and contextualisation of all of these factors, which Part Two of the present research takes on board.
Bourdieu sketches a diagram of the field of cultural production in order to explain the field’s logic of operation (Figure Two). The cultural field (3) is situated within the field of power (2), but engages at the negative side (in the dominated position), ensuring relative autonomy, especially from the principles of the economic and political fields. The field of power, which contains the field of cultural production, is located at the dominant pole (at the positive side) of the field of class relations (1). By establishing this positionality of the cultural field within other fields, specifically the fields of power and class, Bourdieu presents the cultural field as the site of a double hierarchy: the heteronomous principle of hierarchization, which would reign unchallenged if, losing all autonomy, the literary and artistic field were to disappear…[and] the autonomous principle of hierarchization, which would reign unchallenged if the field of production were to achieve total autonomy with respect to the laws of the market, [which] is degree specific consecration (literary or artistic prestige).

Bourdieu, 1993, 38
In this sense, the more the cultural field fulfils its own laws and the more it rejects and suspends the heteronomous principle of hierarchization, the more autonomous is the field. However, regardless of its degree of independence, the field is constantly influenced by the laws of the other fields that surround it, and this includes economic and political factors.

Acknowledging this double hierarchization, Bourdieu argues that the cultural field is structured by an opposition between two sub-fields: the field of restricted production and the field of large-scale production. Here, each field draws on the particular forms of capital that it possesses – namely, and most significantly, symbolic and economic capital. The more autonomous the field is, the more it tends to value symbolic power (artistic sanction and prestige); this distinguishes the field of restricted production, in which artists produce for other producers. By contrast, the field of large-scale production tends to be more exposed to the laws of the market, where economic power is dominant and where artists tend to produce works for public consumption.

Due to the large influence of economic capital, Bourdieu states that the field of large-scale production is symbolically excluded and discredited. Here, Bourdieu (1993, 113) views cultural products as ‘a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object’. Commercial value is measured in the field of large-scale production as the cultural product enters into competition on the market, whereas the field of restricted production builds its own criteria for valuation, with the aim of gaining cultural value and credit from other producers and privileged clients.

According to Bourdieu, works belonging to the field of restricted production have three characteristics. First, they are ‘pure’, as their recipients need to have a particular aesthetic taste that matches the laws of their production. Second, they are ‘abstract’, as they require a ‘multiplicity of specific approaches’. Finally, they are ‘esoteric’ in the sense that their complex structure continually implies tacit reference to the entire history of previous structures, and is accessible only to those who possess practical or theoretical mastery of a refined code, of successive codes, and of the code of these codes.

Bourdieu, 1993, 120
Bourdieu argues that while recipients of the works of large-scale production generally need relatively little educational background or knowledge, the works of restricted production are obligated to have a certain cultural rarity that demands a decoding or deciphering process. This rarity typical of works of restricted production generates an imbalanced distribution of the codes and the specific aesthetic taste necessary for reading and understanding them. Such competence in deciphering the cultural codes, usually acquired through education, is what Bourdieu understands with the concept of cultural capital. Here Bourdieu stresses the importance, not only of the institutions that certify knowledgeable consumers, but also of the cultivation of competent artists who are able to renew and reproduce the practices of the restricted arts.

Considering the characteristics of the ballet genre, the KNB’s works fall into the category of restricted production as they also require a process of decoding as well as certain aesthetic attachments on the part of their audience, along with education, specific skills training and expertise in renewing and continuing the ballet works. The KNB’s own claim (cited on p. 1), as part of its core motto, to be contributing to the enhancement of artistic refinement reinforces Bourdieu’s idea of the cultural rarity of works of restricted production. At the same time, however, the KNB’s intention to popularise ballet – the other aspect of its motto – points away from the principles of restricted production. According to Bourdieu, the field of restricted production leads to social distinction due to unequal distribution of specific codes, knowledge and skills, whereas works of large-scale production, on the contrary, are aimed at the widest possible audience. In this sense, the KNB exhibits a certain dualism by possessing the contrasting characteristics of both fields: through its ‘refinement’ and ‘popularisation’ slogan, it seeks to reinforce the specificity and rarity of its artists, who can renew and enhance its productions through focused training, even while it strives to achieve wide dissemination of specific codes for deciphering the works and to maximise the ease of consumption in order to reach out to the wider public.

While this might appear to be an overly simplistic and straightforwardly binary model, Bourdieu shows a subtle awareness of the dialectical interplay of these two aspects.
Within a single universe one always finds the entire range of intermediaries between works produced with reference to the restricted market on the one hand, and works determined by an intuitive representation of the expectations of the widest possible public on the other.

Bourdieu, 1993, 127

Bourdieu emphasises that his model aims to develop a relational method of analysis; thus, instead of seeking to fix the parameters of these two modes of production, he argues that they ‘can only be defined in relation to each other’ and that a cultural work is evaluated through its relations with each mode (Bourdieu, 1993, 127). Consequently, the degree of popularisation of ballet achieved through the KNB’s works can only be examined with reference to the issue of ballet’s rarity, through an evaluation of the company’s scheme for the equal distribution of specific aesthetic codes and an assessment of the degree to which it serves to diminish social distinction within the auditorium. The level of artistic refinement and the degree of cultural authority of the KNB’s productions are also measured, not only in relation to other ballet companies’ works, but also with reference to other popular cultural practices and performances widely available to the public. Johnson (1993, 16) points out that ‘the autonomous pole, based on symbolic capital and thus subject only to internal demands, is marked positively, and the opposite pole, based on subordination to the demands of economic capital, is marked negatively’, and that ‘between these poles is a range of cultural practices which combine the two principles of legitimacy to various degrees’. As, the KNB’s artistic practices combine these two principles to varying degrees, Chapter 6 focuses on the KNB’s struggle to gain both public and symbolic recognition, and the ways in which it shifts between the autonomous and heteronomous poles.

Bourdieu’s model also highlights the need for reviewing both the KNB’s conformity to the ballet field’s own laws and its ability to reject external determinations, with the aim of assessing its degree of autonomy as an arts institution. Here it may be recalled that in the post-colonial theories of Said and Bhabha, these external determining forces were understood in terms of the power of the Western ballet tradition as the continuation of the old colonial/imperial order. In the context of Bourdieu’s work, on the contrary, the Western/foreign ballet tradition is embraced as one of the key
features of the ballet field’s own logic, while the external determining factors are rather identified with various forms of economic and political power (often related to the authority of the state). Thus Bourdieu’s work reveals the internal conflict between the principles of Western ballet (as the internal laws of the field) on the one hand, and significant political and economic imperatives (often those of the state) on the other, to which the KNB itself is always subject, and vis-à-vis which it must constantly and actively position itself. Furthermore, recalling that the phenomenon of Korean ballet is understood, in the light of Bhabha’s theory of mimicry, as a gesture of doubling that resists the Western ballet tradition, the application of Bourdieu’s work shows how this resistance is itself complex, targeting both the extension and continuation of colonial/imperial relations in cultural forms and the major political and economic powers that have an interest in determining the shape and trajectory of Korean ballet.

While Bourdieu’s theory of the cultural field provides a methodological framework for evaluating the degree of the KNB’s autonomy vis-à-vis the laws of the market, his concepts also call into question other aspects of the reading of cultural practices. As a means of understanding artists and their products, Bourdieu (1993, 61) insists that readers acknowledge that ‘they are the result of the meeting of two histories: the history of the positions they occupy and the history of their dispositions’. The field can be seen as a space of possibility, presenting different positions to agents whose individual dispositions mediate their position-taking within the field. In other words,

the objective probabilities (of economic or symbolic profit, for example) inscribed in the field at a given moment only become operative and active through ‘vocations’, ‘aspirations’ and expectations’, i.e. in so far as they are perceived and appreciated through the schemes of perception and appreciation which constitute a habitus.

Bourdieu, 1993, 64

Here Bourdieu draws attention to cultural products and their producers; nevertheless, as the present investigation focuses on the KNB, an arts organisation where the final artistic decisions are made by the director, Chapter 6 evaluates the different directors’ recognition of their duties and desires. Each director’s habitus and position-taking in relation to the autonomous and heteronomous principles are analysed through this
historical enquiry. In doing so, each director’s strategy, understood as ‘the specific orientation of practice’ and ‘a product of the habitus’ (Johnson, 1993, 18), is regarded as forming the KNB’s institutional strategic habitus, which determines its overall trajectory and position-taking within the ballet field. Hence the KNB’s strategic trajectory is understood not merely in terms of various physical or bodily aspects (as in Wainwright et al., 2007), but rather with the aid of the concept of habitus, adding a further layer of complexity.

Bourdieu (1993, 189) defines the term ‘trajectory’ as ‘the series of positions successively occupied by the same writer in the successive states of the literary field, being understood that it is only in the structure of a field that the meaning of these successive positions can be defined’. Here, however, as this thesis focuses not on any single artist but on a particular group of artists, with frequent changes in leadership, this term is employed to address the series of positions taken by the KNB under the guidance of consecutive directors, analysed in relation to the structure of the ballet field. Moreover, inasmuch as Bourdieu asserts that the ‘degree of autonomy varies considerably from one period and one national tradition to another’ (1993, 40), and that the reader ‘has to possess the whole history of the field’ (1993, 61), the historical chapters set out to view the ballet history in Korea, focusing specifically on the KNB, from its early development to 2012, reviewing the transitions from one period to the next.

In doing so, it is crucial to recognise the structure of the ballet field and the delegation of legitimacy in deciding artistic questions, for instance, who is authorised to bestow symbolic sanction, consecrate works as legitimate and valuable, etc. Bourdieu highlights that the process of the production, reproduction and distribution of cultural goods is interceded by the ‘instances’ or ‘institutions’ that implement cultural authority. He cites, as an example, institutions that legitimise certain cultural products – for instance, academies, museums and educational institutions, as they manifest symbolic authority and thus are able to lend credit to certain types of works or to particular artists. Certain organisations, such as critical circles, salons, and groups that publish artistic magazines and journals are also considered as agents determining cultural consecration. A range of instances of legitimisation can be identified
according to the scale (aimed at peer producers or at the larger public) and the type of authority (conservative or challenging). Accordingly, the KNB’s relationships with academic circles, critics, the educational system, and also the public at large are subjected to evaluation in Chapter 6, with the aims of, first, identifying the shifts in symbolic capital generated by these groups; second, examining the degree of symbolic sanction and cultural legitimacy given to the KNB; and third, evaluating the methods for receiving mass recognition.

4.3 Modification of Bourdieu’s model
In dance studies, Bourdieu’s work is generally employed in such a way as to relate the concept of habitus to the idea of the body or bodily movement, as well as to examine an artist’s position within the cultural field in reference to particular forms of capital. For instance, Gay Morris (2001), in analysing Martha Graham’s *Night Journey* (1947), applies Bourdieu’s theory in two ways. Firstly, she shows how the body is central to Bourdieu’s idea of habitus (likewise with Wainwright et al., 2007), while further developing the concept with reference to Susan Foster’s work to argue that bodies, in and through their habitus, can generate socially constructed ideas just as they are capable of producing bodily intelligence (like writing). Secondly, she highlights the inextricable connection between the concepts of habitus and field, arguing that an agent’s position-taking within the cultural field is a struggle for status and domination, often through the various forms of capital which he or she possesses. In doing so, Morris provides an examination of Graham’s position in the cultural field of America at the time of the creating of *Night Journey*, and analyses her choreography in relation to the symbolic capital of that period to demonstrate how she has avoided social ageing as well as reinforced her position as a vanguard leader. In ‘Balanchine’s bodies’ (2005), Morris also analyses George Balanchine’s work, *The Four Temperaments* (1946), in light of the changing symbolic capital in America after the Second World War, particularly as shown through the writing of dance critics and with reference to the idea of national identity.

To an extent, this thesis also applies Bourdieu’s theories in this fashion – for instance, by referencing the bodily dispositions structured into an agent’s habitus in developing the idea of movement style (Chapter 3.4), and by isolating the KNB’s position-taking
within the ballet field (Chapter 6), with an emphasis on analysing the symbolic capital
given or possessed by the groups that provide artistic sanction. Morris’s study (2007)
is useful here, as the relationship between symbolic capital and the idea of national
identity, as well as how the KNB’s works possess or exhibit this capital, are also key
topics of this thesis. Still further employment of Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is
shown through the focus on the strategic schema of the KNB, with the aim of
identifying the strategic habitus of the company as that which produces both its
administrative and artistic trajectory. More significantly, emphasising the company’s
strategic habitus as a social construction, this research uses Bourdieu’s work to
examine how the KNB’s position-taking within the ballet field references the other
fields within which it is situated, particularly the field of power, and which can
mediate its economic, social, symbolic, and cultural capital, and in the process
redefine the possibilities and limits of its position-taking. In sum, then, the thesis
draws extensively on Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field (and
in particular, the
cultural field vis-à-vis other fields) to develop a theoretical framework suitable for the
historical analyses. At the same time, the specific subject matter of the thesis demands
certain modifications of Bourdieu’s work, which must now be explicated.

In ‘The Market of Symbolic Goods’, Bourdieu argues extensively for the importance
of identifying the social function of the artist’s strategies, as his/her position-taking in
the cultural field is always in relation to other fields (particularly power and class). In
this sense, each cultural position-taking requires a dual interpretation: first, in relation
to the cultural field, and second, in relation to homologous (class) or oppositional
(power) fields. Bourdieu (1993, 139) refers to the latter fields as the ‘referential space’
where the artist’s position-taking can be defined in different ways; hence he argues for
a fruitful ‘sociological analysis of the social functions at the basis of the structure and
functioning of any symbolic system’ (1993, 140). His concept of double reading is
explicitly shown through the structure of the historical analysis portion of this
investigation: specifically, Chapter 5 focuses on the KNB’s position-takings in
relation to the referential fields in order to evaluate the social meaning and function of
its strategies through sociological analysis, while Chapter 6 analyses the different
directors’ strategies in relation to the ballet/dance field.
Bourdieu argues that

the public meaning of a work in relation to which the author must define himself originates in the process of circulation and consumption dominated by the objective relations between the institutions and agents implicated in the process. The social relations which produce this public meaning are determined by the relative position these agents occupy in the structure of the field of restricted production. These relations, e.g. between author and publisher, publisher and critic, author and critic, are revealed as the ensemble of relations attendant on the ‘publication’ of the work, that is its becoming a public object. In each of these relations, each of these agents engages not only his own image of other factors in the relationship…which depends on his relative position within the field, but also his image of the other factor’s image of himself, i.e. of the social definition of his objective position in the field.

Bourdieu, 1993, 118-119

In short, the public meaning of the cultural product is generated in the course of its distribution and consumption, or in the case of the KNB, the process through which its repertoire also becomes a public entity. While Bourdieu’s focus here is clearly on the work of particular authors, inasmuch as the present topic is the KNB as a unitary group of artists, this approach must be employed to analyse the public meaning of the company (as an institution) and of its repertoire. Following Bourdieu, it is important to recognise that the KNB is a national arts organisation – this serves as its social definition – funded by the nation-state. In this sense, the relations that generate the public meaning of the KNB involve not only the choreographers, directors and critics, but also the state, which enacts rules and conventions (through cultural policy) and provides financial support, acting analogously to a publisher in Bourdieu’s examples.

Bourdieu’s model of the cultural field provides a useful framework for analysing the degree of the KNB’s artistic autonomy vis-à-vis external forces, above all the source of symbolic sanction and the company’s obeisance to the market laws of symbolic goods. However, in explaining the field of power, his heteronomous principle places a stronger focus on economic rather than political power. This is one of the limitations of Bourdieu’s theory when applied to the present research, as I stress the social position of the KNB as a national organisation monitored by the state. In this sense, the KNB can be seen as an arts institution for whom compliance with state policy and
rules is necessary to ensure its culturally privileged position and to secure its financial capital (the potential influence of state authority on the KNB was also examined in Chapters 2 and 3 in the discussion of Gilroy’s work).

Thus, I present a modified version of his model of the field of cultural production (Figure Three), locating the social position of the KNB (3) within the field of state power (2). Considering its status as a state-funded national organisation, the KNB occupies the dominant position (at the positive pole) in the field of state power, which is itself located at the dominant pole of the field of class relations in Korea (1). Chapter 5 assesses this status and situation of the KNB more closely, using Figure Three as a means of examining its shifting position-takings between the positive and negative poles of the field of state power. In particular, Chapter 5 evaluates the KNB’s trajectory and social function in relation to the socio-political history of Korea, focusing particularly on the relationship between the strategies of different directors and the shifts in Korea’s political regimes.

Figure Three. The KNB’s position within the field of state power and the field of class relations in Korea
To measure the KNB’s degree of autonomy vis-à-vis state power, I have developed a modified version of Bourdieu’s subdivisions of the field of production: the autonomous pole of the field of independent production and the heteronomous pole of the field of state-controlled production (Figure Four). The field of independent production is characterised by the ‘freedom’ of artists possessing complete control over artistic choices or decisions, whereas the field of state-controlled production is defined by obedience to state policy and direction. However, although Figure Four can be misleadingly read as a simple binary framework, it should be emphasised, as Bourdieu also argues, that this model demonstrates how the degree of autonomy of the KNB’s repertoire can only be analysed in relation to the heteronomous principles of state power and vice versa.

Figure Four. Subdivision of the field of the KNB’s production

Here it is necessary to review Bourdieu discussion of the role of the state in general. This entails drawing on the explanation of the role of the educational system, Johnson (1993, 23) glosses Bourdieu’s work in the sociology of education, arguing that, for Bourdieu, ‘the educational system tends to create a transferable cultural disposition to appreciate academically sanctioned works of art and an equally transferable aptitude for artistic classification’, which over time generates a particular aesthetic taste and familiarly to specific social or academic groups. By gathering people according to educational level, Bourdieu argues that the educational system fortifies social differences, and that the freedom of the educational system to distribute cultural capital unequally allows for a further granting of cultural capital to certain groups, reproducing the hierarchy of social classes. Thus cultural productions and practices act as a crucial variable in reinforcing status quo social distinctions and class hierarchy. In articulating the relation between the educational system and the field of cultural production, Bourdieu notes the influential role of the state by asserting that while insubordinate artists’ practices can be constrained by the moral and political values instilled through a bourgeois education, petty bourgeois artists and scholars, on
the other hand, are more directly monitored by the state. He further argues (1993, 125) that ‘the state, after all, has the power to orient intellectual production by means of subsidies, commissions…honorific posts…all of which are for speaking or keeping silent, for compromise or abstention’. In this sense, the state plays a vital role in controlling both the educational system and cultural practices, and therefore in structuring social classes and orders according to its own interests.

According to Bourdieu, the field of cultural production is a site of struggle for a monopolisation of power to confirm the authority and consecration of the artist. In this struggle, artists who follow the laws of the field and who are most concerned with their own autonomy are undermined by their competitors, who seek to take a dominant position in the field with the support of temporary external powers. These competitors launch their assault by making the dominant agents within the field of power hostile to the artists most interested in their autonomy. Hence, ‘in endeavouring to discredit every attempt to impose an autonomous principle of hierarchization, and thus serving their own interests, they serve the interests of the dominant fractions of the dominant class, who obviously have an interest in there being only one hierarchy’ (Bourdieu, 1993, 41). Here, considering the generally accepted understanding of the ballet genre as high art, as well as the KNB’s proclaimed position as Korea’s leading ballet organisation, it is evident that the company is always potentially involved in a struggle to occupy and maintain its high artistic status through possession of cultural and symbolic capital which itself is always open to monitoring and shaping by state policy. In the KNB’s case, the most prominent and influential agent of such external support is the state, as it is the government that assigns economic and cultural capital, as well as lends a degree of symbolic credit, to the company.

4.4 New Historicism and Greenblatt’s concept of power
In order to develop a suitable methodological framework for situating the KNB in the context of political power, further concepts are drawn from the school of New Historicism, which emerged in the early 1980s. New Historicism occupies itself mainly with literature and history, highlighting the fact that literary texts are neither any different than other textual forms nor isolated from the social and political conditions in which they are written. Through this approach, New Historicism
demonstrates the ways in which cultural practices can be used to study general history, often leading to the reading of alternative histories. Johnson (1993) points out the similarities between Bourdieu’s work on the cultural field and the New Historicists’ treatment of literary studies, focusing particularly on the works of Greenblatt, as both aims to construct a methodology that avoids the reductionism of internal and external readings. New Historicism repositions literary works ‘not only in relationship to other genres and modes of discourse but also in relationship to contemporaneous social institutions and non-discursive practices’ (Montrose in Johnson, 1993, 19), while Bourdieu considers literary works as well as other cultural practices with a similar approach. Whilst showing a degree of similarity with Bourdieu, I focus on the New Historicists’ idea of power, particularly through the work of Greenblatt, to explain the theoretical approach used for the present historical enquiry into the KNB’s relation to state power and control, and to demonstrate the divergence between Bourdieu’s and Greenblatt’s conceptions of power.

Greenblatt’s works provide a theoretical understanding of the concept of power by viewing literary texts in relation to the historical context in which they are embedded. In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (1980), Greenblatt, in articulating the concept of ‘improvisation’, explains that a major shift occurred during the period of the Renaissance in the relationship between intellectuals and power, due to the increased strength of the royal court. John Brannigan, in *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism* (1998), draws attention to Greenblatt’s evaluation of Thomas More’s adopted role in the court of Henry VIII. Brannigan argues that, for Greenblatt,

> More must be an astute political mover in the court, a genial family man at home. He must embody the repressive punitive power of the state in public life, the utopian father and husband in private life. To achieve this More must fashion himself into different beings… More’s redefinition and negotiation of his relationship with power takes place within a major epistemic shift for Western society, and his response is characteristic of intellectuals in this time.

Brannigan, 1998, 61-62

For Greenblatt, More’s response is a form of improvisation, which was a major mode of behaviour in the Renaissance period. Brannigan (1998, 62) explains that for Greenblatt, improvisation is ‘primarily the mode of behaviour through which power
adapts to the structures and roles of its other in order to accommodate and appropriate opposition’. Moreover, in ‘Invisible Bullets’ (1981), Greenblatt articulates his idea of power and subversion. Brannigan explains that, for Greenblatt,

subversion is possible, but is always contained by the society’s ability to regulate and check deviations from its constructions of reality and normality…Power depends upon subversive belief in order to reinforce its constructions of reality and normality. Power can only define itself in relation to subversion, to what is alien or other, and at the heart of power is therefore the production and subsequent containment of subversion.

Brannigan, 1998, 64

In this sense, Greenblatt perhaps has an overly totalising view of society and history, inasmuch as he implies that all subversive cultural activities are contained by the dominant mode of power. The precise way and extent to which his approach will be employed here thus requires clarification.

Employment of Greenblatt’s theory is justified insofar as the social position of More in Greenblatt’s study is considered to be analogous to that of the KNB. For instance, insofar as the KNB is perceptive – that is, insofar as it wishes to maintain its artistic status through possession of its symbolic, economic and cultural capital even while being subject to monitoring by the state – it has grown accustomed to adapting itself to the exigencies and demands of state power in building its strategies. This is a form of behaviour which it shares with other national, state-funded cultural organisations. Accordingly, Greenblatt’s study can here be used to provide a model for analysing, in particular, the reactionary relationship between state power and the KNB’s policies. In this context, Greenblatt’s notion of improvisation serves to draw attention to different directors’ responses to successive regime changes, revealing how the KNB has had constantly to re-conceive its relation to new configurations of power. Hence Chapter 5 compares the history of the changes in the KNB’s directorship with the history of successive state regimes in order to evaluate the dynamic interplay of power relations between the KNB and consecutive administrations. Moreover, Greenblatt (1983, 14) demonstrates that each historical epoch is characterised by a dominant mode of power supported by cultural practices, and that ‘in response to the art of the past, we inevitably register, whether we wish to or not, the shifts in value and interest that are
produced in the struggles of social and political life’. Therefore, I aim to evaluate the KNB’s trajectory (and later its repertoire in Part Three) to identify the dominant mode of power of each state regime and the shifts in the symbolic values and cultural interests of Korean society. Here, Brannigan (1998), argues that the New Historicists regard all texts as political tools, acknowledging their capacity to mediate the bases of political, social and cultural formations. For example, Greenblatt (1980, 7) states that ‘the written word is self-consciously embedded in specific communities, life situations, structures of power’, revealing its capacity to restate and rebuild those structures. Likewise, the KNB’s repertoire, as an archive of cultural texts analogous to Greenblatt’s literary texts, may possess another function, viz. that of forming and articulating power. This opens up a further objective of this research, viz. elucidating the manner and extent to which the KNB assumes the role of a free agent or medium which the state can then exploit in the process of consolidating its own power.

It is important to clarify the theoretical distinction between the power of the state and of the colonial authority of the Western ballet tradition. To an extent, Greenblatt’s evaluation of Renaissance behaviour recalls Said’s notion of cultural imperialism, according to which the governing imperial force is itself often reshaped through its response to acts of resistance. However, this somewhat deterministic view was described as a limitation of Said’s theory, which led to further evaluation of the nature and degree of the KNB’s subversive resistance to the extension of colonial power, i.e. in the form of the Western ballet tradition, with the aid of Bhabha’s concept of post-colonial mimicry. Insofar as the aim is to highlight the autonomy of the KNB in the process of doubling while resisting cultural imperialism and colonialism, the authority of the Western ballet tradition and the free agency of the KNB in resisting this tradition are not viewed in the light of Greenblatt’s theory of power, but rather through continuous reference to the post-colonial work of Said, Bhabha and Fanon. Considering the social relations between intellectuals and the state (or court) in the Renaissance period to be roughly analogous to the relation of the KNB to the state, Greenblatt’s theory is applied only to the end of examining power in terms of state authority over cultural productions (i.e. over the KNB and its repertoire). This use of Greenblatt’s theory thus implies the utilisation of two different theoretical approaches to understand the two distinct sources of authority to which the KNB is subject: first,
the continuation of Western imperial power (viewed as a colonial force in the work of Said, Bhabha and Fanon); and second, the authority of the state as an additional socio-political force (analysed with the help of Greenblatt, and in conjunction with the work of Bourdieu and Gilroy).

Greenblatt’s notion of subversion and its containment can also be discussed in relation to Bourdieu’s model of the cultural field. Although Bourdieu highlights the autonomous principle of the cultural field, he also stresses that cultural practices, whatever their degree of independence, are always affected by economic and political power insofar as they are situated within the field of power. His model thus asserts that the laws of the field of power always encompass any cultural form, regardless of its effort to be free from external power. Although Bourdieu’s concept of the field of power may not focus particularly on political power, as with Greenblatt, both theorists highlight the significance of external power as a mediator of cultural forms. The major difference between them is that Bourdieu sees external power as a negative force in the cultural field, whereas Greenblatt understands it in terms of a natural submission. Bourdieu emphasises the possession of symbolic power to reduce or mitigate political and economic power, and considers the autonomous principle as a merit of the field of cultural production. Nonetheless, Greenblatt, by arguing that cultural practices (both subversive and reinforcing) serve to strengthen power, he develops an interactive method for analysing the relationship between political power and cultural forms. Bourdieu’s model thus provides a relational method of analysis to assess the degree of the KNB’s autonomy from state power, while Greenblatt’s interactional theory allows for examination of the functioning mechanism of power, generated between the state and the KNB.

Nonetheless, as Greenblatt also overemphasises the role of culture as an instrument of power and the capacity of power to contain any subversive (and perhaps independent) cultural practices, it is important to evaluate criticism of Greenblatt’s idea of power. Greenblatt stresses that subversion facilitates the growth of power, as its norms are detected and adopted by the dominant mode of power. Carolyn Porter (1988, 765), however, argues that Greenblatt thereby neglects the possibility of resistance, stating that ‘literature might well – at least occasionally – act as an oppositional cultural
agent in history’. She claims that Greenblatt ignores specificity and difference as he views all situations and conditions with the same narrowed-minded principle. Regarding the New Historicists in general, Wai-Chee Dimock (1991) asserts that they uncritically view texts as a function of power, hence fail to recognise the complexity of subjective positions. For Dimock, the New Historicists present the past as a coherent unity, an approach that overlooks the different and diverse experiences of particular texts or events that are grounded in class, race, gender, nationality and other socio-cultural factors. Echoing this criticism, the history of Korean culture does not, of course, present itself as a unitary block under a single dominant mode of power; there is always divergence and resistance. The experience of the past is also different depending on the position of both subject and reader. Accordingly, I am not arguing that my interpretation is the only version of the KNB’s history, nor that the KNB is totally under the thumb of an absolute state power. I agree that not all cultural practices obey or are constrained by political power, and acknowledge the danger of totalising views of power and history.

Here it is relevant to cite Alan Sinfield and Jonathan Dollimore, who point to the New Historicists’ view concerning

the interaction in this [Renaissance] period between State power and cultural forms and, more specifically, with those genre and practices where State and culture most visibly merge…

Sinfield and Dollimore, 1985, 3

In this connection, I argue that, like in the Renaissance period, the strategies of the KNB very often visibly merge with the imperatives and demands of state power, and hence that the KNB is frequently prone to influence by, and subordination to, state control, making its subversive practices more likely to be constrained by such control compared to other private or public cultural forms. Nonetheless, although I employ Greenblatt’s theory to reveal the potential extent of the state’s power over the KNB, still, the degree to which the KNB is able to maintain its independence from state control is also analysed in order to identify periods when the company can be said to be more autonomous in its planning and decision making.
4.5 Intertextuality: Lansdale’s approach to dance

The KNB’s repertoire is further analysed with reference to Lansdale’s employment of intertextual theory in dance analysis (1999). Since the publication of Dance Analysis: theory and practice in 1988, Lansdale has been a fundamental figure in establishing ‘dance analysis as the “central core” of the emerging dance studies discipline’ in Britain (Giersdorf, 2010, 329). Later, in Dancing text: intertextuality in interpretation (1999), Lansdale borrows the concept of ‘intertextuality’ from literary theory for the interpretation of dance, adopting a poststructuralist stance that highlights and values multiple voices in interpreting dance. She considers dances as ‘texts’, emphasising their properties of fluidity and instability, in opposition, on the one hand, to more formalist approaches that rely on the dubious notion of ‘a fixed text, in which properties of the work can be discerned and described’ (Lansdale, 1999, 7), and on the other, to McFee’s argument that performance constitutes an ‘answerable’ source and an ‘authoritative’ document (Lansdale, 1999, 8). In doing so, he refers to the ‘dance text as an open construction, having the fluidity and enigmatic quality of art’ (Lansdale, 1999, 7). In this sense, every interpretation of a dance is also a text, just as are the multiple views and opinions opposed to or supportive of those interpretations. Lansdale argues that this debate will foster a ‘plausibility and inventiveness of interpretation’ (Lansdale, 1999, 7), stating that

the reader is subject to the play of codes – indeed both choreographer and audience become ‘readers’ – equally dependent upon an ability to identify the conventions within which a work is constructed and operates, and to reflect on their own use of such conventions.

Lansdale, 1999, 7

Hence there is no real distinction between spectator and choreographer insofar as both are equally and originally readers of the work. Nonetheless, as the choreographer’s reading of the work can also be considered an additional text that must be taken into account in an intertextual reading of the KNB’s repertoire, I conducted interviews with Tae Ji Choi, the present director (at the time of writing), and Byung Nam Moon, the choreographer of Prince Hodong (2009), especially on the process and purpose of creating Prince Hodong and other pieces of the KNB’s repertoire. Here, it must be said that the information gained from interviewing Choi and Moon should also be regarded as ‘textual’ material facilitating the presentation of a genuinely intertextual
analysis of the KNB’s repertoire, thereby instigating readers’ construction of their own ‘text’ and in that way enriching their perspectives on the work.

Moreover, in explaining the concept of ‘performance text’, Lansdale argues that if any element of a performance – for example an image, a movement, a sound – can be treated as ‘text’, then each element can be ‘read’, singly or in units, through codes on which it draws.

Lansdale, 1999, 9

Here Lansdale refers to the concept of performance components – movement, dancers, visual setting, aural elements – articulated earlier in Dance Analysis, now arguing that these components themselves should be thought of as texts. Regarding the ‘movement’ component, Lansdale highlights the need to incorporate movement-analytic theory. Hence Lansdale’s understanding supports my own use of LMA here in analysing the KNB’s repertoire. Nonetheless, as she also notes the limitations of LMA for interpreting movement, the combination of these approaches is explained further in section 4.6.

In explicating the second component, ‘dancers’, she considers the function of the dancers’ shapes, sizes, sex, age, number and role. It is important to note that the ballet genre demonstrates sexual distinction through the required techniques; for instance, female dancers need to perform the ballet vocabulary en pointe, whereas male dancers are not required to show pointe work and tend to demonstrate larger or more complex jumps. Lansdale’s theory thus enables this thesis to examine the aesthetic difference between female and male dancers in analysing the KNB’s work, especially in Chapter 7. Nonetheless, although the dancers’ previous training and accumulated artistic experiences (as evaluated in 2.4) are essential factors in building the dancers’ movement style, Lansdale neglects to acknowledge such conditions in viewing the idea of dancers as a performance text. Thus I also evaluate such parameters in Chapter 6, in order to identify the cultural and artistic influence in building specific stylistic features in the KNB’s repertoire. Lansdale’s third component, ‘visual setting’, refers to the performance area, clothes and costumes, props and lighting, while the final component, ‘aural elements’, has to do with the sound and music of the dance. In my
analysis, as Lansdale suggests in *Dancing text*, I employ these components as texts to develop an intertextual analysis, whilst the story-line and subject matter of the production are also considered as texts enhancing the intertextual process of interpretation.

In discussing the concept of performance text, Lansdale adopts de Marinis’s notion that the performance text is a theoretical model comprising two analytical layers: ‘co-textual’ and ‘contextual’ analysis. The former relates to ‘the “internal” regularities of the performance text, with its material and formal properties and its level of structure’ (Lansdale, 1999, 10), while the latter ‘covers “external” features of the performance text, which can be divided into “cultural context” (the relations that can be discerned between the text in question and other texts, whether performance or not, belonging to the same cultural synchrony) and “the context of performance” (including all the practical process of production)” (Lansdale, 1999, 10). Hence the interpretation of the KNB’s repertoire encompasses analysis not only of the production itself (co-textual analysis), but also of the process of creation, the socio-cultural development of the productions, and the performance as a cultural product (contextual analysis). This sets up a dialogue between the historical evaluations (Part Two) and the repertoire analysis (Part Three) of the thesis, further enriching the interpretation of the KNB’s repertoire.

In line with this, Lansdale states that the diversity of contexts – ranging from the wider socio-political situation to the artistic frame and elements that relate more directly to the dance context – is an important aspect in creating a new text. She explains that these features ‘interact as potential intertexts from which the reader can select in a variety of ways to construct multiple interpretations’ (Lansdale, 1999, 11). In other words, in interpreting dance, readers come in at different moments, pick out particular points of interest, adopt a generally interpretative or evaluative standpoint, and select the information that supports their perspective. In this sense, I, as a reader, have a different standpoint in analysing the KNB’s repertoire from Chapter 7 to Chapter 8. As I focus on the performed stylistic features in Chapter 7, I mostly reference the artistic history of the KNB (Chapter 6) in order to develop a dialogue between the artistic trajectory and the development of particular movement qualities of the dancers. In Chapter 8, I will select those sections of the KNB’s repertoire that
relate both to the socio-cultural aspects of Korea and artistic history of the KNB, since I have chosen to value the intertextual interaction between the socio-political/cultural and artistic contexts (provided in Part Two) and the production itself.

Moreover, while Lansdale is open to the possibility of multiple interpretations, given her concept of the fluid ‘dancing text’, she also states that the intertextual model implies that ‘no text is read independently of the reader’s experience of other texts’ (Eco in Lansdale, 1999, 19), and that

this is what knowledge of genre reveals; that is the reader’s familiarity with similar dances, similar structures, similar design and musical elements, similar thematic material. The knowledgeable reader is expected and invited to pick up the appropriate references when required to do so by the text.

Lansdale, 1999, 19

Here she does not specifically mention the reader’s knowledge of the production’s cultural context, which plays a significant role in selecting the appropriate references. However, adopting her idea, the reader must be knowledgeable about both the ballet genre and also the cultural settings within which the productions have developed. At this point, once again, I reveal my own competence in reading the KNB’s repertoire through my former ballet training and academic dance education, both of which have provided me with in-depth knowledge and understanding of dance and dance-analysis theories, as well as through my nationality and life experience as a Korean. Stating this at the outset, in 1.2, serves to expose and clarify my own perspective, intent and potential biases in approaching the analysis, and this is a way of acknowledging the open and multiple interpretations present in every reading of a dance.

With the idea of plural voices in dance interpretation, Lansdale, in recent writings, considers each analysis as a story or narrative voice. She argues that ‘the idea of narrative rests on structure – they are interwoven, traditionally, in the sense that there is a beginning, a middle and an end, implying an evolution of events’ (Lansdale, 2010, 161). Although I adopt her ideas of fluidity and diversity, I do not employ terms like ‘narrative’ or ‘story’ in referring to my analysis of the KNB’s repertoire. Here, while the productions are also based on a particular story with a beginning, middle and
ending, the analysis does not deal with the production’s story and its structure as a whole. In analysing the KNB’s classical works, in Chapter 7, I mostly focus on the element of movement, such that the story is only referenced when relating particular movement qualities to certain story-related images, without acknowledging the structure. Moreover, I consider narrative and structure only as texts, in analysing the KNB’s own creation, *Prince Hodong*, in Chapter 8, and use them to isolate particular movements or other components of the production that reveal elements of Korean culture. Hence, instead of presenting the narrative reading of the KNB’s ballets, from beginning to end, I seek to explore the constant dialogue between the diverse texts present within the production, from storyline, structure, images, representations and subject matter to socio-political and cultural settings. The presence of changes and shifts in Lansdale’s own work itself finds affirmation and justification, inasmuch as she maintains that the concept of intertextuality itself is pluralistic, open to difference and constant reinterpretation.

4.6 Laban Movement Analysis (LMA)

Another central focus of this thesis is movement, the aim being to distinguish the movement-stylistic features of the KNB. In Chapter 7, the KNB’s classical works are analysed to identify certain movement qualities as the key features of the KNB’s movement style, and accordingly the Effort and Shape aspects of LMA are employed as such concepts enable the analysis of movement quality. ‘Effort’ is specifically used to describe ‘the quality of movement, the “how” or adverbial dimension of moving’ (Youngerman, 1984, 107). Youngerman (1984) explains that ‘Effort’ deals with changes in bodily energy, considering the dancer’s use of weight, space, time and flow of movement. Each of these four qualities is held in balance between the extremes of a continuum. For example, depending on how powerfully a dancer engages his/her weight, the movement tends toward ‘Light’ or ‘Strong’ (Youngerman, 1984, 107), whereas the extreme ends of the space effort are ‘Flexible’ and ‘Direct’. The time effort of movement can vary between ‘Sustained’ and ‘Sudden’, while the contrasting polarities of the flow effort are ‘Free’ and ‘Bound’, articulating the level of control. It is unusual to execute a movement with just one quality of effort, and generally actions combine two or more qualities when performed (Youngerman, 1984, 107). As a further contribution to ‘Effort’ analysis, Valerie Preston-Dunlop (1963) has
developed a set of adverbs to describe movements that involve one or more effort qualities: for instance, a free-flow movement can be described as ‘Fluent’ (Preston-Dunlop, 1963, 22) and a direct-sudden movement as ‘Spiky’ or ‘Sharp’ (Preston-Dunlop, 1963, 26). Her study also provides adverbs for describing those movements that involve weight, time and space qualities all at once, and presents a division of eight basic effort actions: Thrusting, Floating, Slashing, Gliding, Wringing, Dabbing, Pressing and Flicking (Preston-Dunlop, 1963, 49).

‘Shape’ refers to ‘the ways in which the body changes its form – how it adapts to or creates space’ (Youngerman, 1984, 107). The concept of shape pertains not to the forms the body makes, but rather to the way the body creates a spatial form or a bodily design (Youngerman, 1984). In other words, while focusing on the shape and form that the body makes, the concept of Shape also deals with the process of the movement – how dancers are getting into particular forms – enabling analysis of movement quality in relation to shape. Shape analysis involves examining changes in the relationship of body parts on three planes – for instance, ‘Spreading’ or ‘Enclosing’ movements on the horizontal plane, ‘Rising’ or ‘Descending’ movements on the vertical plane, and ‘Advancing’ or ‘Retiring’ movements on the sagittal plane. The qualities of shape flow are described as ‘Growing’ or ‘Shrinking’, implying folding and unfolding movements. Furthermore, goal-directed movements related to the surrounding space can be analysed with shape quality (Youngerman, 1984, 108) – for example, reaching outward with a ‘spoke-like’ or ‘arc-like’ shape (Youngerman, 1984, 108). Here, the Effort and Shape aspects of LMA highlight the dancers’ use of music and space as key factors in identifying the quality of movements performed in the KNB’s repertoire. Therefore, these traits are subjected to analysis in Chapter 7, where the central focus is on the isolation of the KNB’s key movement-stylistic traits. Nonetheless, in the present analysis the fixed terms of Effort/Shape theory – such as Free/Bound, Rising/Descending, etc. – are not employed; instead, preference is given to more general descriptions, with reference to Preston-Dunlop’s adverbs, which provide a depiction of movement which is at once efficient and thorough and yet suitable for the general reader.
Although LMA is often touted as a universal tool appropriate for analysing all dance or movement forms, it needs to be noted that this argument has lost its strength. According to Lansdale, inasmuch as ‘any language of movement and dance, both the practical form and analysis of it, is embedded in a particular context’, and ‘its own internal language [is] constructed within the frame of its cultural and political ecology’ (2010, 160), all movement analyses, including those that employ LMA, have a certain degree of subjective bias. Hence, instead of arguing that the use of LMA has led to a perfectly objective analysis of the movements in the KNB’s works, I refer to 2.4, where I explained the properties of the ballet genre in order to clarify my own stance and approach in analysing the KNB’s style. Moreover, while LMA enables the research to isolate certain movement qualities as the KNB’s movement style, as such movements are presented not in isolation but within the frame of ballet productions, I combine the theory of LMA with intertextuality theory to build the interpretation of that movement style. Here, the movement qualities of the KNB’s dancers are also considered as texts that can be read in relation to other performance texts, more specifically in relation to the ballet’s narrative, which often stresses the dancers’ role in portraying particular images or roles. Furthermore, the identified movement style of the KNB is read in relation to certain political and artistic backgrounds of the KNB, and hence with reference to the local and contemporary aesthetic values of Korea. Hence the thesis aims for an active dialogue between the historical evaluations (of Part Two) and the repertoire analysis (of Part Three).

4.7 Conclusion

On the whole, through Part One, while acknowledging the complicated interrelations between the different sources of authority, I have nevertheless attempted to isolate particular theoretical approaches as useful for dealing with specific aspects or dimensions of the problems under consideration: Said, Bhabha and Fanon’s work on colonialism and post-colonialism, to address the continuation of Western imperial-colonial power via cultural forms; Gilroy’s notion of encampment in modern nation-building, to address the question of the extent of the state’s authority over the KNB; Bourdieu’s work on the field of cultural production; and lastly, Greenblatt’s work on power. In general, the chapter outlined the broader analytical framework employed for the following historical and repertoire analyses (Parts Two and Three). Bourdieu’s
theory of the field of cultural production and Greenblatt’s discussion of power have contributed particularly in building the theoretical framework and structure of the historical analysis of Part Two. By asserting that the position of an agent or cultural product is differently defined in reference to the cultural field or to the other fields that interact with it, Bourdieu provides a template for the historical investigation; Chapter 5 to examine the company’s path in relation to the field of power and Chapter 6 to review the KNB’s trajectory in relation to the ballet field of Korea.

Therefore, highlighting limited attention given the field of political power and the KNB’s social definition as a national arts organisation, Bourdieu’s model was modified so as to be able to serve as a more suitable theoretical framework for viewing the KNB’s position in relation to state power. Here I have defined the subfields of the KNB’s productions as (1) the field of independent production and (2) the field of state-controlled production, in order to examine the KNB’s repertoire-building strategies in relation to the opposing principles of the two subfields. Thus, Chapter 5 strives to identify the KNB’s strategic habitus as that which shapes and influences the company’s position-taking within the ballet field, and also with reference to the field of state power. Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital will also prove useful for the analysis of the artistic history of the KNB in Chapter 6; thus examining the KNB’s directors’ habitus and dispositions to identify their strategies for defining the company’s trajectory, while simultaneously reviewing the evaluation of the company made by academic institutions, critical circles, and publishers of cultural magazines and journals. Employing the concepts of autonomous and heteronomous principles, Chapter 6 will also evaluate the KNB’s methods for accumulating and retaining symbolic power.

While this modified model allows the research to investigate the KNB’s degree of independence from state control, Greenblatt’s idea of power encourages examination of the operational mechanisms of power holding between the KNB and the state, forming the complementary approach of Chapter 5. Although Greenblatt presents a rather deterministic view of power (that subversion is always contained by the dominant power and even collaborates with power in order to reinforce it), I have compared the social relations characteristic of the Renaissance period to the KNB’s
association with the state to justify the employment of Greenblatt’s theory. Nevertheless, recognising the limitations and criticisms of Greenblatt’s totalising view of power, I have acknowledged the need to identify those particular periods or instances when the KNB was less controlled by the government. In general, Chapter 5 combines the theories of Bourdieu and Greenblatt examines the KNB’s strategies vis-à-vis state policy in order to assess its autonomy, and the interaction between the two organisations to examine the degree to which the company participates in the constructing or reinforcing of state power, as well as to identify the characteristics of each state (e.g. authoritarian or liberal) and the ideology being advocated. Here again, the use of different theoretical models to understand the different forms of authority to which the KNB is subject reveals the kind of analytical openness and flexibility required for interpreting and understanding the acts of subversion by which the KNB resists the encroachment and power of the dominant Western ballet tradition, as compared with a more limited approach that regards all subversion as overly monitored and controlled by the state.

It is likewise important to clarify that the symbolic capital that the KNB strives to possess or maintain to secure its status as the nation’s leading ballet company, as well as to demonstrate its Korean ballet productions, can be divided into two kinds: first, the symbolic sanction produced through the internal laws of the field, for instance, mastery of the classical ballet conventions; and second, the symbolic capital related to the idea of national identity (often monitored by the state and the groups that produce artistic and social sanction). In this sense, while from another angle the two main sources of authority are examined from complementary theoretical perspectives, this evaluation demonstrates how the Western imperial order and the authority of the Korean state are very much entangled within the KNB’s strategy and repertoire, as the company’s works need to possess both kinds of symbolic capital to form the Korean ballet and to establish and maintain its status. On the basis of this combination of theoretical approaches, it can be proposed that the KNB, as habitus, can use its repertoire in a threefold way: first, to show mastery of the Western ballet tradition; second, to resist domination by the Western ballet tradition through a post-colonial doubling via Korean ballet; and third, to attain symbolic capital relating to the idea of national identity. Here, as combining Bourdieu and Greenblatt’s work further exposes
the potential influence of state power in building the second and third traits of the KNB’s habitus, the possibility of the KNB’s works serving to reinforce state power, order, ideology, etc. (particularly relating to national identity) can also be proposed.

Furthermore, through the discussion of LMA and Lansdale’s intertextuality theory, this chapter also provided the analytic approach to be used for Part Three, which examines the KNB’s repertoire in particular. LMA, especially the Effort and Shape aspects, offers a useful theoretical framework for analysing the KNB’s movement style, as it focuses on the quality of the performed movements and the dancers’ use of music and space. Nonetheless, as LMA does not provide an interpretation of the movement style, I employ Lansdale’s intertextual theory in analysing the KNB’s movement style and its repertoire. Lansdale considers the various elements of the dance production as performance texts that call for an intertextual reading of the production. Lansdale also acknowledges the need to interact with contextual elements in interpreting dance, stressing the importance of the socio-cultural settings of the productions. Therefore, in Part Three the identified stylistic traits of the KNB dancers’ movements will be considered as texts that can be interpreted in relation to both other performance texts and the contextual texts (i.e. as identified through the historical evaluations of Part Two).

Finally, Lansdale’s intertextuality theory indicates the methodology for developing an intertextual reading of the KNB’s own creation, *Prince Hodong*, i.e. analysing the ways in which various performance texts infuse Korean cultural elements to exhibit the hybrid idea of Korean ballet. Here, the contextual texts of the socio-political and cultural conditions of Korea enhance the intertextual reading of the production. In general, both the subject of dance performance and the idea of dancing bodies are not addressed in the theories of Bourdieu and Greenblatt, which is why I turn to Lansdale’s theory and LMA in the later repertoire-analytical sections. Likewise, while Lansdale does consider the dance’s wider socio-political situation as an important aspect in creating a new text for interpretation, she has provided no specific method for analysing the contribution of socio-cultural elements to a dance production. Hence the necessity for combining these four approaches to form an overall complementary methodological framework.
Part Two

Political and Artistic Policies and Practices
Chapter Five
History, Cultural Policy and the KNB

Preparing the fifty years anniversary event and performance, I reflect on the people who gave fundamental support in establishing the present KNB. [First of all.] the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism [which] enabled the company to stand under the name of national [organisation].

Choi in KNB, 2012, 14

5.1 Introduction
In this statement, Tae Ji Choi, the former artistic director of the KNB (2008-13), celebrates the company’s fifty-year anniversary by emphasising the support of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) in securing its position as a cultural agency representing the Korean nation. Chapters 2 and 3 isolated the relationship between the state and the KNB as one of the main concerns of this study; noting the relationship between the MCST and the KNB, the present chapter sets out to review the socio-political history of Korea, focusing particularly on the shifts in cultural policy and on how these changes have impacted the KNB. In doing so it is important to situate the KNB in relation to the wider Korean dance field to identify how the KNB, compared to other dance organisations or activities in Korea, is in close relation to the MCST. At the time of writing, there are four other dance-related organisations affiliated with the MCST: (1) the Korean National Dance (KND), formed in 1962 as a combined organisation with the KNB, yet separated in 1972 to focus on Korean traditional dance; (2) the National Gugak Centre (NGC), which strives to pass down Korean traditional performing arts and encompasses dance along with other musical forms, and which traces its roots from the official court music organisation of the Silla dynasty (57 BCE-676); (3) the Korean National Contemporary Dance, recently established in 2010; and (4), the Korea National University of Arts (KNUA), which includes a dance department.

There is thus a kind of tripartite division – of ballet, traditional dance, and contemporary dance – among the national professional dance organisations, with only recent attention given to contemporary dance. Korean traditional dance, in turn, can
likewise be divided into three main categories, in the forms of court, folk and ritual/religious dance, spanning the history of Korea from the Three Kingdoms period (approximately 57 BCE-668) to the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). While the folk and ritual dances are often performed in villages, today the court dances are typically performed in theatrical settings, and in addition there are also contemporary theatrical versions of several folk dance forms – for instance, Sŭng Mu (the monk’s dance) and Salp’uri (the exorcist’s dance), which have their roots in Buddhism and Shamanism, respectively (Van Zile, 2001). Cultural policy strives to preserve traditional dance, having designated several forms as Intangible Cultural Property (*Muhyŏng munwhaje*) since 1962, and also through the dance division of the NGC, renowned for performing and preserving court dances, including *Ch’ŏyoungmu* (Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 39, designated as a world cultural heritage by UNESCO in 2009). It also supports creative effort through the KND as it aims to produce new traditional dance productions for the theatre.

Focusing on ballet genre, while the KNB is usually hailed as the leading ballet company in Korea, it is in fact only one company among several. The Universal Ballet is another large company that competes with the KNB. A nongovernmental professional company founded in 1984, it is the largest private ballet company in Korea, with strong financial support from its own foundation; it is also more or less independent from the state at both the national and local level. There are numerous city dance companies, and arts centres that have dance departments; however, only one city dance company, the Gwangju City Ballet (affiliated with Gwangju City in southeast Korea), focuses on the ballet genre, while the others concentrate on more theatrical traditional dance forms. There are several smaller-sized private ballet companies that receive financial support at the district or local level, for instance, the Seoul Ballet Theatre and Lee Won Kuk Ballet; and finally, numerous other companies formed by the professors of ballet departments in universities, including the Kim Sun Hee Ballet (KNUA), the Cho Seung Mi Ballet corporation (Hanyang University), and the Jo Yoon La Ballet (Chungnam National University). While in general all of these organisations work in tandem with the cultural policies set by the MCST, they are often more directly attached to the cultural programmes and policies of their associated sectors (whether at the city, regional or district level) to gain further
support (financial and other resources). In this sense, the KNB is the only ballet company in Korea that is officially associated with the MCST, hence the one most directly influenced by state policy.

This chapter, therefore, views the KNB as a national institution situated within the field of state power, with specific reference to the cultural policies set by the government. For purposes of effective presentation, it is structured chronologically, which is the more traditional way of writing history (Carter, 2004). Nonetheless, this does not mean that I am prioritising the chronological over other historiographical methods, nor does it indicate that I adhere to the ‘notion of progressive development’, the idea that the socio-political history of Korea has ‘got better’ over time (Derrida, 1981; Carter, 2004, 3). This way of writing is employed only because it best serves the purpose of this study; simply stated, it clearly and directly charts the sequence of major cultural policy shifts and their consequences for the KNB’s trajectory. As the subject of modern Korean history is perhaps new to many Western readers, this chronological arrangement provides a smooth, general introduction that can help clarify the main points and most influential factors, events and transformations.

The chapter begins with the establishment of the Park Chung Hee government in 1961 (the second Korean state, after national division), and for two main reasons: first, the KNB was established in 1962, originally in the form of the KND; second, during the period of the first Korean government, headed by Rhee Syngman (1948-61), there was ‘no systematic mechanism for cultural policy’ (Yim, 2003, 37). The chapter is divided up according to the changes in governmental administrations or ‘republics’: the Park Chung Hee government, the third and fourth republic (1961-81); the Chun Doo Hwan government, the fifth republic (1981-88); the Roh Tae Woo government, the sixth republic (1988-93); the Kim Young Sam government, or the so-called civilian government (1993-98); the Kim Dae Jung government, or the so-called citizens’ government (1998-2003); the Roh Moo Hyun government, or the so-called participatory government (2003-08); and the Lee Myung Park government (2008-12) (Figure Five, 122). This structural division is useful as it enables a concise display of each government’s main cultural policy objectives and biases, as well as of the KNB’s interactions with the different governments.
Figure Five. Juxtaposition of Korean political regimes and the tenures of KNB directors

Figure Five provides an instant chronological snapshot showing how the changes in political leadership correlate with the major administrative shifts in the KNB. The colour co-ordination facilitates quick visual recognition of which government is in power during the years of the different KNB directors, and hence allows for drawing
connections between each director’s main intentions and the respective government’s aims, preferences and biases. It is, however, also important to state that, although the chapter aims to identify the impact of shifting cultural policies on the KNB’s trajectory, it does not argue for a simplistic, one-way and deterministic model; rather it presupposes at every step a constant and complex mutual interaction, with each element, dance and policy exerting some degree of influence on the others.

As stated in 1.3, while governmental publications constitute the core material, the literature on Korean nationalism also serves to identify how various governments have utilised the ideas of national identity and nationalism in creating cultural policy. Most of the literature on Korean nationalism deals with the issue of Korea’s internal division, focusing on the relationship between North and South Korea and the subject of reunification. But although separation has greatly affected the South Korean governments’ policies, the focus here is essentially on the KNB, which is situated in South Korea, and thus more attention is given to studies that evaluate the phenomenon of nationalism in the South Korean context.

Nonetheless, the significant impact of the Cold War during the initial period of national division in the late 1940s-50s is called for brief analysis, as it generated complex diplomatic conditions for the Korean cultural sectors. Here, Charles K. Armstrong’s study (2003) is cited in order to shed light on the complex historical conditions of Korea and the interplay of multiple external cultural influences. As shown in Chapter 3.2, Armstrong nominates Korea as a key terrain reflecting the impact of the Cold War, as independence from Japanese colonial rule in 1945 did not lead to national sovereignty but only to a division of administrative authority by the USSR and the US, over North and South Korea respectively, along the 38th parallel. However, according to Armstrong (2003, 73), ‘[from] the American perspective, the period from 1945 to 1950 was largely a time of lost opportunities, frustrations, and a growing sense that the U.S. was losing the cultural cold war in Korea to the communists’. He (2003, 80) argues that this was largely because ‘the U.S. occupation had egregiously failed to remove the most active and notorious vestige of [the Japanese] state, the colonial-era police force itself’. Moreover, the level of cultural and educational exchange between the US and the South was not as developed as that
between the Soviet Union and the North, as the US occupiers retained an arrogant and discriminatory attitude towards Koreans; for instance, they forbid Korean artists in using the ‘American’ theatre (formerly the best theatre in Seoul before liberation), and did not allow Korean artists to perform in American ballets.

According to Armstrong (2003, 77), a more serious effect of this arrogance was strong ‘political polarization in South Korea on the arts world’. Most significantly, Armstrong describes the move of Choi Sung Hee, the famous Korean dancer and pioneer of New Dance (Shinmuyong) iv, from the South to the North. In 1946 Choi requested support from the Department of Education of the US military government for the formation of a school of Korean dance, but received no response. She therefore left for the Soviet zone and then to North Korea, where she settled and established her own dance school, which later became the State Dance School. Armstrong’s work thus suggests minimal antagonism – even a certain friendliness – on the part of the South Korean arts field toward the Soviet Union and North Korea during the pre-Korean War years, due to US arrogance. Armstrong (2003, 90) also points to the significance of the instigation of the Korean War in 1950 by the North Korean army, which ‘included hundreds of “cultural officers” to reconstruct the educational and cultural system in the South along North Korean lines’. v Citing a 1950 statement issued by the South Korean State Department (in collaboration with US military leaders) admitting that ‘communist propaganda developed a certain degree of success in both North and South Korea’ (National Archives in Armstrong, 2003, 93), Armstrong argues for a belated and less successful US cultural occupation in the pre-war years, in both the South and the North.

In 1950, however, the South Korean Department of National Defense developed a response plan which called for ‘a multimedia operation that would eliminate all visual and aural evidence of the communist regime in every province, county and village’ (Armstrong, 2002, 92). Armstrong argues that America’s perceptions of Korea and other East Asian countries changed as a result of the Korean War experience, causing the US to retain its influence over the South Korean cultural field – in addition to its military, political and economic control and commitments – even after the 1953 ceasefire. Armstrong (2003, 95) likewise notes the significant post-war success of the
US occupation in ‘the encouragement of pro-American, pro-Western culture and attitudes’, arguing for Korea’s uniqueness amongst Asian countries (along with the Philippines) for its relative lack of public anti-American sentiment, which began to surface only in the 1980s with the democratic explosion. Nevertheless, in more recent years, ‘the alternative to Americanization is no longer “Sovietization,” but an assertive national culture’ (Armstrong, 2003, 96). Over the past twenty years, the major issues for this anti-American movement have been the presence of the US military in South Korea, the supremacy of Hollywood over the local film industry, and unfair economic and business relations between Korea and the US, all of which have led to a rethinking of ‘the relationship between native Korean culture (however that may be defined) and an American culture that dominates the world’ (Armstrong, 2003, 96). Referring back to Said, this all-dominating American culture is considered one of the lingering forms of Western colonial/imperial authority, while anti-American sentiments are regarded as constituting a form of nationalist resistance to this global external force.

Despite the best efforts of the US, however, neither prohibition of cultural exchange with the USSR nor the idea of anti-communism (which later became the key ideology of South Korea’s post-war nation-building) were especially successful in South Korea, and especially in the arts sector before the Korean War, enabling the reception and embracing of a cultural influx from the Soviet Union, more so than from the US. Moreover, as Japanese systems had not yet been completely dismantled, especially in the fields of education and the arts, active intermixture of cultural influences from the USSR, the US and Japan (including Japanese interpretations of Western cultural forms) was seen in the pre-war years, complicating the drawing of any straightforward ‘coloniser/colonised’ cultural frontline in South Korea. As a considerable variety of Western dance forms were introduced between the period of Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War, leading to the initial development of ballet activity in Korea in the 1920s-30s (Jeong, 2005), it is important to identify how these various external powers, i.e. the formerly dominant empires of Japan, Russia and the US, have subsequently clashed, interfered and intermingled with each other in the cultural arena of the Korean peninsula. The historical analyses of Part Two aim to explicate precisely how this tangled relationship between (1) a postcolonial legacy transmitted
via Japanese interpretations of Western culture, (2) the cultural expansion of Russia in pre-war Korea, and (3) the post-war US occupation of South Korea has influenced the introduction and continual development of ballet in Korea.

Given the way in which Armstrong defines the coloniser/colonised cultural division in post-war South Korea, the US is considered the key cultural coloniser in the Korean territory; hence analysis of its impact on the KNB is also called for. Moreover, noting the combination of strident anti-communist ideology, prohibition of cultural exchange with communist countries, and dissemination of pro-American sentiments in post-war Korea, it is likewise important to enquire into how the ballet genre, with its Russian-oriented canon and tradition, has managed to survive in South Korea, especially given the political antagonism toward the USSR and the communist bloc. In doing so the chapter also questions how the historical intermixture of anti-Japanese, anti-socialist and anti-American sentiment in South Korea developed in relation to the rise and development of state-led nationalism and the initiation of a nationalist struggle against cultural imperialism.

5.2 The Park Chung Hee government (the third and fourth republics, 1961-81)

Park Chung Hee’s government came into power in May 1961, overthrowing the existing government by a military coup and thus establishing the third republic (1961-72); Park then seized long-term political power through institution of the ‘draconian Yushin system’ of the fourth republic (1972-81) (Shin, 2006, 103). However, despite the fact that Park’s regime held power for nearly twenty years through sheer military might, it was still necessary to find grounds for legitimising his rule, a requirement that remained throughout the era of military-based authoritarian governments until 1993. In Park’s case, legitimacy was drawn from the historical fear of the Korean War and the continuation of national division; Park ‘skilfully fused nationalism into anti-Communism and developmentalism’ in his authoritarian politics (Shin, 2006, 103), with the aim of securing national sovereignty and competitiveness against the North as well as internationally. During Park’s regime, nationalism became the key state ideology; his approach paralleled the nationalistic appeals of Rhee Sung Man (the first president of the Republic of Korea), with both adhering to the grounding principle of Korean nationalism, which stresses Korea’s longstanding history (prior to national
division in 1953) within relatively stable territorial boundaries, its ethnic homogeneity and more or less single, unified polity (e.g. Shin, 2006; Kim, 2006; Lee, 2000). Gi Wook Shin (2006) claims that Rhee and Park, advocated the superiority of the nation over other sources of collective identity and used nationalistic oratory to legitimise their repressive authoritarian politics. In particular, Park demanded ‘loyalty to the nation’ and ‘love and loyalty to the country’ in his major speeches (Park in Shin, 2006, 107).

Moreover, Kyung Ju Kim asserts that the state’s authority and control derived from the fact that it was ‘able to represent the normative order where the Confucian ethic was appealed to in order to shape modern social behaviour’ (Kim, 2006, 157). The guiding principle here is expressed in the famous Confucian phrase, ‘Kŭn Sa Bŭ Il Che’, implying the equal mercy of the king/sovereign, teacher/master and father. The phrase emphasises the equal status of these three characters and demands ‘Chŏng sim’ – devotion, loyalty and respect – towards them, and in modern Korea, the sovereign can also refer to the president as the head of the state. Yim (2003) similarly claims that

Park’s government sought to infuse a sense of patriotism into people by invoking the traditional characteristic of Korean culture, which emphasized loyalty and patriotism.

Yim, 2003, 99

Hence Confucian ideals, already deeply rooted in society and further emphasised by the two founding regimes, can be seen as the main force behind the penetration of a strong nationalistic sensibility into modern Korean society. Further, as nationalism was stressed from the time of the establishment of the first government in 1948 and throughout the period of Park’s rule, i.e. through the first thirty years of modern nation-building, it naturally consolidated into a major ideological force that Korean governments regularly sought to exploit in pursuing their political agendas.

This nationalistic political situation inevitably provided the context for the setting of cultural policy. The period of the third republic is considered to be the era in which a fundamental cultural policy system was achieved through the formation of a legal
circle and organisational structure (MCT, 2001). In order to construct and implement an institutional system for the culture and arts sector, numerous culture-related laws were passed during the 1960s, including the Performing Act of 1961 and the Law on the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1962, which developed a system to designate Tangible and Intangible Cultural Properties. Owing to Park’s emphasis on nationalism and traditionalism, cultural policy during the 1960s focused on ‘the preservation and development of the cultural heritage and the traditional arts’ (Yim, 2003, 38). Such activities can be understood in the light of Hobsbawm’s concept of the invention of tradition. These pieces of legislation are critical in aiding the establishment of the KND in 1962; in particular, it appears that the formation of the KND was made possible precisely because the company incorporated traditional Korean dance, following the state’s persistent valuing of traditional art forms. Hence, this initial integration of traditional dance and ballet was most likely a significant factor helping to generate governmental support for ballet during the decade of the 1960s, as ballet in Korea at this time was considered a foreign and contemporary art form as opposed to the kind of Korean traditional art promoted by Park’s government.

The formation of the KND, with its mixing of genres, reflects the general trend in Korean dance after the 1950s. As the New Dance (Shinmuyong) of the 1920s was further developed in the 1950s by figures like Song Bum and Baek Bong Kim, the genre of traditional dance was actively influenced and shaped by the influx of modern and foreign dance forms, in line with the creative effort in building new traditional dance forms, yet under the general category of traditional dance. At the same time, the ballet genre, while establishing its autonomy as a form of dance in its own right, often involved collaboration with traditional dancers, leading to the production of various performances incorporating elements and practitioners of traditional dance (Park, 2000, 308). Sung Nam Lim (the first director of the KND, and later the KNB from 1962-93) was at the centre of this integration. In particular, the creation of the Korean Dancers Association in 1956, which gathered artists from both ballet and traditional dance, and their founding performance, which featured both Lim and Baek Bong Kim in the same programme, performing the leading roles together, serves as a prime example of this integrative trend (Park, 2005, 298). VII Thus, although artists did specialise in a particular dance genre, the performances themselves did not conform to
the ‘official’ professionally classified forms. The period of the 1950s-60s is therefore a somewhat complicated era with regard to the cultural field in Korea, as various forms of post-colonial/imperial doubling were produced, with partially unconscious resistance towards the influx of foreign/imperial cultural elements, and with the encouragement of a state apparatus motivated by a highly nationalistic agenda.

In this sense, Park’s nationalism was not xenophobic; rather he acknowledged that the Koreas ‘must accept, assimilate, and digest superior aspects of foreign civilization, while rejecting and repudiating any element that is injurious, decadent, or incompatible with our own cultural traditions’ (Park in Shin, 2006, 105). This openness to foreign culture was a key factor facilitating the internmixture of traditional and foreign dance forms, and the resulting indistinctness of categorisation, combined with Lim’s active incorporative performances, was a prime force in the establishment of the KND. Further, the appointment of Lim as director provided a safe umbrella under which ballet could expand and flourish during Park’s tradition-oriented years, and therefore the KND period can be seen as an essential stage that served to lay the foundation for the future KNB, as well as an initial move towards the utilisation of ballet for national representation. Park’s cosmopolitanism is also evident in another dance sector, viz. through the introduction of American modern dance, in particular the Martha Graham technique (from 1963), most famously by Wan Soon Yook (Yook, 1995, 217). But while the Martha Graham technique was well received in Korea, by the 1970s overt resistance to Graham-oriented modern dance was evident, especially in the dance department at Ewha Womans University, in the creation of various avant-garde productions that aimed to break free from its influence, for instance works by Shin Ja Hong (Kim, 2004, 373). In this sense, the internmixture of traditional dance and ballet signals a fusion of genres arising through acceptance of imperial cultural forms of diverse provenance combined with unconscious resistance, while the rise of modern dance represents continued orientation toward US culture, paralleling US political, economic and military dominance and the partially conscious resistance which it elicited.

Continued success in economic development and improved financial security during the 1960s enabled Park’s government to recognise the importance of promoting
culture and the arts during the fourth republic (1972-81). In 1972, Park’s government enacted the Culture and Arts Promotion Law and implemented various institutional programmes that encouraged support for culture and the arts. In the same year, the KNB presented its first distinctive ballet performance, thus marking its separation from the KND as a bona fide ballet company. However, the KNB’s autonomy was only fully attained after 1974, when it relocated its home stage, the Korean National Theatre (KNT), from Myeong-dong to Jangchung-dong (both within Seoul). In his major budget speech of 1973, Park claimed that ‘the arts should play a leading role in developing the mentality of the people and [the] belief system about the nation’ (Park in Yim, 2003, 40). To this end, the first five-year master plan for cultural development of the fourth republic highlighted the creation of a new national culture and cultural identity as a way of supporting the government’s main goals of achieving a ‘self-supporting economy’ and ‘self-reliance [in] national defence’ (MCT, 2003, 35). Hence, this can be seen as the beginning of a period in which the state officially claimed to utilise the arts to foster state-led nationalism and to create a sense of national belonging.

As if to show precisely what such a new national culture and cultural identity implied, Lim, throughout his directorship, strove to create nationalised ballets (‘minjok ballet’ works), meaning ballets that incorporated traditional dance movements or themes. Tae Hoon Kim (2000, 479) qualifies the term ‘nationalised ballet’ with certain provisions; it refers to a ballet production that is under any of the following four categories: (1) a ballet based on Korean traditions or poetry; (2) a ballet based on a Korean tale or folktale; (3) a ballet that utilises Korean traditional music (Gugak); or (4) a ballet portraying Korean life and sentiments. The promotion of traditional arts and the saturating spread of nationalism during Park’s regime were fundamental factors that furthered Lim’s goal of establishing nationalised ballets throughout his tenure as director of the KNB. Further, Park’s repudiation of pure imitation and unconditional acceptance of outside influences, as well as his promotion of national culture, were reflected in the hard work that went into the KNB’s developing nationalised ballets with traditional themes, which can be seen as an initial trial towards constructing the concept of Korean ballet.
According to Yim (2003), Park’s government sought to achieve its main cultural policy objectives by forging a new national identity through the establishment of a nationalistic perspective on Korean history. Here a particularly strong correlation is evident between the government’s cultural policy aims and the KNB’s response, namely, with the KNB’s creation and production of *Jigwi’s Dream* (Lim, 1974), which marked the first official attempt to produce a nationalised ballet (Kim, 2000) and which was the first work to be staged at the new KNT building. *Jigwi’s Dream* is based on a tale from the Three Kingdom period (approximately 57 BCE-668), which was the first official era of Korean history, and the first scene celebrates the triumphant return of Yu Sin Kim, the glorious general of Silla (57 BCE-935), one of the Three Kingdoms (Appendix C, 276-78). By setting the KNB’s first official ballet performance in the Three Kingdoms period, and featuring a national hero, it is evident that Lim was attempting to exploit and enhance Korea’s long and magnificent history, which accorded with the government’s demand for the cultivation of nationalism via the arts. If Park’s government used culture and the arts as instruments for propagating state-led nationalism and attaining political legitimacy, then Lim’s dedication to and success in producing nationalised ballets testifies to the non-xenophobic character of this nationalism, an openness which served potentially to consolidate rather than to undermine the state’s power and thereby to reinforce its strategy for forming national identity.

Park’s cultural policy also had a strong regulative role as the government sought to restrict any cultural activities that disrupted or violated the principles of the state. In doing so, it divided cultural activities into the categories of ‘sound’ and ‘unsound’ (Yim, 2003, 79). Most importantly, ‘sound’ culture was concerned with:

> the bright and positive aspect of society… [and] was defined in terms of anti-communism, nationalism, traditional morality and state-led economic development strategy.

Yim, 2003, 79-80

In this sense, not all high culture was necessarily ‘sound’ culture, and conversely, not all low culture was ‘unsound’ culture. As the Performing Act of 1961 was intended to promote sound culture (Yim, 2003), and as the KND was established as a result of
this legislation, one may conclude that the ballets performed under the umbrella of the KND were considered sound culture. Here, given the fact that ballet’s Russian/Soviet pedigree could potentially soften or contradict any prior ideological commitments to anti-communism, Lim’s constant efforts to nationalise the genre, as well as the fact that his productions tended to draw on narratives with happy, positive endings, were important factors contributing to the categorisation of the KNB’s performances as sound culture. In this respect, the narrative element was indeed important, viz. as a medium for conveying resistance to the imperial culture, or more abstractly, as a gesture of post-colonial mimicry of the Russian imperial narrative ballets, one that presented national themes in the most positive light. This narrative optimism was a crucial factor in the KNB’s drive to create nationalistic productions inasmuch as it convinced the authoritarian Park government to view the KNB favourably and to regard its works as sound, useful culture.

Furthermore, given his emphasis on the need for strong national sovereignty, Park often ignored individual rights and personal interest in favour of the pursuit of collective goals and national interest (Shin, 2006). Likewise, Kim points out that the ancient Confucian ideal of the ‘good citizen’ required individual sacrifice for national objectives and interest (Kim, 2006, 153). As Park was a powerful authoritarian leader who continuously stressed patriotism and national unity, his political ideology was inevitably absorbed by the general population, and Lim, as the leader of a major national organisation during Park’s regime, was no exception. Hence the notion of a state-oriented collectivism, deeply rooted in Confucian principles, is one reason why Lim, instead of championing his own individual artistic freedom, placed such a high value on his role in creating nationalised ballet works, as though this was the KNB’s ultimate task and responsibility as the official representative of ballet in Korea. Park’s political exploitation of nationalism, as well as the restrictions placed on anything considered unsound culture, were extended and continued, in modified form, in subsequent militaristic regimes (viz. the Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo regimes). Such restrictions and continued mobilisation and exploitation of nationalism in later military regimes up until 1993 helps explain Lim’s steady efforts to produce nationalised ballet works until his retirement in that same year.
5.3 The Chun Doo Hwan government (the fifth republic, 1981-88)

Like Park, Chun Doo Hwan came to power through a military coup. Nonetheless, his regime provided massive financial support for the arts sector, resulting in over a threefold increase in the budget for the cultural sector during its seven-year rule (MCT, 2003, 35-36). According to Yim (2003), Chun’s government saw the role of culture and the arts as a cure for the various social ills that arose from the rapid modernisation of the 1970s. Park’s emphasis on traditional culture continued through Chun’s regime; in the modified constitution of 1980, the government ‘stipulated that the state should make an effort to develop traditional culture and to promote the national culture’ (Yim, 2003, 42). Nevertheless, support for the cultural sector during the period of Chun’s rule was not limited to the traditional arts, ‘but was extended to contemporary arts and the everyday life of the people’ (Yim, 2003, 43). Yim explicitly states that ‘the scope of the publicly subsidized arts expanded from the traditional arts to the contemporary arts (including the Western arts) such as performing arts, visual arts and literature’ (Yim, 2003, 44).

Here, the KNB fell into the Western performing arts category, and Chun’s openness toward such contemporary art, together with the significant increase in financial support for the cultural sector in general, contributed to the expansive growth of the KNB in the 1980s. A notable increase in the number of newly created ballets and the frequency of the performances was evident during the fifth republic, showing the KNB’s increasing vitality and vibrancy. For instance, while the KNB staged thirteen performances during the fourth republic of Park, it staged thirty-two performances during the fifth republic (KNT, 2000). More generally, the increased budget for the cultural sector allowed for the expansion and development of cultural facilities; during Chun’s regime various cultural resources were created, including the Seoul Arts Centre (the home of the KNB since 2000) and the Local Culture and Arts Centre, along with the various community cultural centres in the metropolitan areas. Here, while ballet and New Dance (Shinnmuyong) performances typically occupied large-proscenium theatre spaces, the avant-garde went in the opposite direction, experimenting with spatial limitation (Kim and Lee, 2005, 376). Significant development in the activities of university-associated dance organisations was also
evident in the 1980s, for example the formation of Ballet Blanc in 1981 (as the union company of Ewha Womans University).

At the same time, this increased state expenditure on cultural production was largely in preparation for the two major international sporting events that were soon to be hosted in Korea: the 1986 Asian Games and 1988 Seoul Olympic Games. The hosting of these events was considered the crowning achievement of the fifth and sixth republics, and the governments, through their policies, encouraged all of the arts organisations (including national, public and private groups) to produce works that showcased Korean cultural identity (Kim and Lee, 2005). The method for such production was an extension of that undertaken during the Park regime; in this case, aesthetic forms and elements demanded by state policy were reflected not only in nationalised ballets produced by the KNB but also in several new ballet works with Korean traditional themes staged by numerous other ballet companies – for example, the Universal Ballet with *Shim Chung* (1986), Ballet Blanc with *Jameonggo* (1986), and Gwangju City Ballet with a different version of *Shim Chung* (1986). Thus these international events sparked an acceleration of cultural promotion, and more significantly, inaugurated the era of the nationalised Korean ballet during the 1980s. Accordingly, Lim expanded his repertoire of nationalised ballets, creating numerous traditional-themed works (e.g. *Chu Yong*, 1981; *Bae Bi Jang*, 1984; and *Choon Hyang’s Love*, 1986), all of which were performed regularly throughout the years of Chun’s rule (Appendix D, 279).

During Chun’s regime, public subsidies for the arts were restricted to the professional arts, and his definition of sound culture referred to ‘good’, ‘ethical’ and ‘high’ culture as opposed to ‘harmful’, ‘pornographic’ and ‘low’ culture (Yim, 2003, 45). Hence, while the government's cultural policy agenda of 1981 included the improvement of cultural welfare, the promotion of regional culture (Yim, 2003), and the attempt to disseminate high culture to different regions by promoting professional arts, in fact its advocacy of ‘cultural democracy’ (MCT, 2003, 36) was achieved only in a superficial geographical, rather than a deeper social or class, sense. Despite this superficiality, however, the scheme did serve as a supplementary factor contributing to the KNB’s significant development during the period of Chun’s rule, inasmuch as the KNB was a
professional arts organisation deeply invested in the promotion of so-called ‘high’ Western culture, which it had successfully translated to ‘sound’ culture. Likewise, given its main agenda of creating nationalised ballets, the KNB did not develop an adequate strategy for touring the various regions of Korea, but stayed in the NTK and restricted its involvement to national-level cultural events during the Chun years.

5.4 The Roh Tae Woo government (the sixth republic, 1988-93)
Roh Tae Woo’s regime, still with military background, yet marks the transitional period from military authoritarianism to democracy. Although initially there was no significant change in cultural policy, Roh Tae Woo showed different intentions and a new vision for the cultural sector by establishing a separate specialised department, the Ministry of Culture, and by publishing the ten-year master plan for cultural development in 1990. The slogan for the new cultural policy agenda was ‘culture for all people’ (MCT, 2001, 26). However, while Roh Tae Woo promoted youth culture and lifetime cultural education for the general public, his aim of achieving a truly mass democratisation of culture was not systematically realised, as he mainly distributed central/high culture according to geographic regions and with little regard for class divisions, similar to Chun’s government.

While the Chun government received credit for the preparations for the 1988 Seoul Olympics, the event itself took place during Roh’s regime, putting enormous pressure on both the administration and the KNB. In response, Lim created Prince Hodong (1988), a major nationalised ballet production that ‘possessed a strong desire to prove the strength of the art of Korean ballet on the world stage’ (Kim, 2000, 462). To realise this desire, Prince Hodong was presented that same year to both domestic and foreign audiences attending the Seoul Olympic Celebration of Culture and Arts (Kim, 2000). The Universal Ballet’s Shim Chung was also presented at this event, in a repetition (with minor modifications) of its initial performance at the 1986 Asian Games. Further, the hosting of the Olympics led to an increasing concern amongst cultural policymakers with international cultural exchange and global dissemination of Korean culture, which further encouraged the aesthetic tendency toward production of nationalised ballets such as Prince Hodong.
This intensified concern with internationalism, in turn, led to a rapid increase in state-led cultural exchange with communist countries, a process that was aided by the government’s policy of cultural reunification, which stood in stark contrast to the staunch anti-communism of former regimes. As an example, the Seoul Olympic Celebration of Culture and Arts invited both the Washington Ballet from the US and the Bolshoi Ballet from the USSR, revealing a loosening of the prohibition of socialist and communist countries and a waning of direct US control over South Korean cultural and political affairs (Jang, 1988; Kim, 1991). This fostering of relations with communist countries led to the establishment of official diplomatic ties with the USSR in 1990. This, in turn, related directly to the KNB’s inviting prominent Russian choreographers and trainers, starting with Marina Kodrateieva (from the Bolshoi Ballet), who mounted *Don Quixote* (Gorsky, 1900) and *La Bayadere* (Petipas, 1877) in 1991 (Appendix E, 280-82). This initial cultural exchange directly shaped the KNB’s artistic relations with Russia, and further, the government’s relative openness to communist countries, including Russia – one of the leading ballet countries, close to Korea geographically and less financially restrictive in terms of trade – helped the KNB to achieve its intention of producing established versions of classical ballet works in order to enhance its artistic reputation. Moreover, the KNB’s importation of the Bolshoi’s work, being the initial introduction of Russian ballet into Korea, led to the subsequent importation of numerous classic works by Yuri Grigorovich during the early twenty-first century under Choi’s first directorship (1996-2002). The strong connection between Russian and Korean ballet was evident through the direct relationship that formed between the Universal Ballet and the Kirov Ballet, which led to the official launching of the Universal Ballet Academy under the new name of the Kirov Academy in 1993.

Here it is interesting to note that American ballet, despite the predominance of George Balanchine’s work, did not have a significant impact on the Korean ballet field during the 1960s-70s; American ballet was only introduced via the Washington Ballet in 1988, and even then only in conjunction with the Bolshoi. This contrasts with the influence of the Graham technique on modern dance during the same period, which reflected Park’s commitment to US-backed developmentalism. It is true that, during the anti-communist regimes of Park and Chun, ballet in Korea was not a cultural
extension of the Russian/Soviet empire; under Park, it entailed the introduction and simultaneous indigenisation of elements of Western civilisation, while under Chun it was regarded as an internationally recognised, professional art form. At the same time, however, despite more direct cultural ties with the US in the general cultural field (the Graham influence, the dominance of Hollywood, etc.), importation of ballet from the US was partial and tentative, and the firmer inclination toward Russia was evident in the KNB’s trajectory – a fact that calls for further critical analysis of the artistic coloniser/colonised frontline in the Korean ballet field (in Chapter 6).

5.5 The Kim Young Sam government (the civilian government, 1993-98)
Kim Young Sam had no military background, and thus for the first time since 1961 the government did not have to confront a crisis of legitimacy. The government advocated the ‘Creation of a New Korea’, with the aim of improving Korea’s status on the world stage (Yim, 2003, 51). If previous governments were more or less committed to appropriating modernisation as a means of preserving national culture, starting from the Kim Young Sam government, globalisation was regarded as the most important phenomenon for the shaping of national identity. By forming the Ministry of Culture and Sports as an independent department, the Kim Young Sam government asserted the importance of the culture industry and cultural globalisation, referred to with the concept of ‘segyeohwa’ (implying a specifically Korean form of globalisation). With the end of the old authoritarian regimes, combined with this new enthusiasm for globalisation, Lim was no longer able to hold onto his position as the KNB’s director, and hence gave up his title to Hae Sik Kim (the second artistic director of the KNB, 1993-95), who had gained educational and professional experience in the UK and US. Significant development in global cultural exchange was also evident through the increased number of visits by various international ballet companies, including the Kirov Ballet in 1995, the American Ballet Theatre in 1996, and the New York City Ballet in 1997, giving their first performance in Korea.

While segyeohwa policy highlighted his administration’s understanding of the value of national culture as a requirement for global citizenship (Shin, 2006), the KNB at this time focused its efforts primarily on one of these aspects, striving for international
competitiveness at the expense of appropriation of national culture, even though both were essential to the *segyehwa* policy (Yim, 2003). Yim points out that from the middle of the 1990s, as the competitiveness of the arts came to be increasingly emphasized, the excellence of the arts rather than the number of the subsidized artists and art groups was considered to be a more pertinent indicator for funding the arts.

Yim, 2003, 54

This requirement of artistic excellence was a main factor influencing the initiation of a serious reformation by Hae Sik Kim through the adoption of specialised systems within the KNB. For example, Hae Sik Kim arranged a supporters’ group, opened the company’s associated children’s ballet classes, expanded dancers’ practice time and selected dancers according to their ability to enhance the casting. Further, in order to improve the artistic and technical level of the KNB, she also actively tried to form direct relationships with Western ballet companies by inviting various choreographers and trainers such as Fernand Nailt, the artistic director of Les Grands Ballet, Canada, in 1994, who was invited to produce *Carmina Burana* (Nailt, 1967).

While the increased artistic exchange between the KNB and other world companies during Hae Sik Kim’s tenure can be seen as a personal choice stemming from her former experience as a professional dancer in America and Canada, for instance with Les Grands Ballet, it can also be seen as another effect of the state-led cultural globalisation policy. Hence, the government’s grounding political vision – openness to global cultural exchange, as well as emphasis on the role of culture and the arts in demonstrating national competitiveness and on artistic excellence – may have allowed Hae Sik Kim to improve the artistic standards of the company in preparation for what the government anticipated would be the KNB’s future leading role on the world stage. Nonetheless, due to Hae Sik Kim’s short tenure, these connections with the US and Canada were not fully accomplished, and broke off with the end of her directorship. In this sense, one can recognise the importance of the director’s former experiences with foreign ballet companies for deciding with whom (i.e. with which countries) the KNB should form direct artistic relationships – a responsibility which demands a certain degree of autonomy from governmental influence.
Moreover, to develop cultural welfare, both professional and amateur arts were taken into account in setting cultural policy. The restriction on ‘unsound’ culture was significantly narrowed and the list of art forms eligible for public support was expanded, thus enabling the spread of cultural diversity to the people and enhancing the overall status of the cultural field. The main objective of its cultural welfare policy was to develop the public’s level of cultural appreciation and to foster an open and participatory cultural environment. While this may not have influenced the KNB directly, it did encourage the company to begin building up its future audience base in the late 1990s. For instance, during her first tenure, Choi aimed to popularise ballet in Korea by organising productions variously termed ‘ballet with explanation’, ‘cultural space on Saturday’, and ‘summer/autumn outdoor performances’ (Appendix F, 283). The intention was to bring ballet closer to the people and to offer productions that were easily understood, as people often had preconceptions of ballet as a difficult genre. In this sense, Kim Young Sam’s cultural welfare policy played a significant role by laying the foundation for Choi’s work, cultivating a citizenry possessed of a relatively advanced cultural sensitivity and capable of supporting and appreciating cultural events.

In this sense, the cultural policy of Kim Young Sam’s government seemed to have a greater effect on the KNB during Choi’s first tenure rather than during Hae Sik Kim’s tenure, as the government likewise began to develop a cultivated citizenry (the KNB’s potential future audience) by focusing on general cultural welfare and the construction of information systems. For instance, the government’s policy of global cultural expansion encompassed strategies for establishing a cultural information network. Under the Fundamentals for the Acceleration of Information Act of 1995, the government supplied computers to associated national cultural and arts organisations. It also developed and distributed software and created a database and information network so as to ‘possess information processing systems in preparation for the multimedia era’ (MCT, 2003, 27). Crucially, this system laid the foundation for the development of the KNB’s information network, especially for the establishment of its official online homepage and fan club blog in 2000, which enabled easy and regular access to the KNB’s performances. Hence, the period of Kim Young Sam’s
rule provided an enriched cultural environment through practical implementation of the policy of cultural democratisation, which Choi was able to seize on and exploit.

5.6 The Kim Dae Jung government (the citizen’s government, 1998-2003)
In winning the fifteenth presidential election, Kim Dae Jung inaugurated the first reversal of power in the history of Korean constitutional government, inverting the ruling and opposition parties. With the launching of the new government, the former Ministry of Culture and Sports was renamed the Ministry of Culture and Tourism by incorporating the tourism sector in February 1998 (MCT, 2003, 39). The new administration’s increased focus on the cultural sector was apparent with the initial publication of the White Paper for cultural policy, which began in 2001. A major growth in the budget for the cultural sector was shown after 2000, fulfilling the previous government’s aim of securing 1% of the government budget for the cultural sector in 2000 and maintained this increase in 2001 (MCT, 2001).

The government’s guiding principle for cultural policy was summed up in the phrase ‘support with no interference’, and as a way of securing artistic freedom in legal and systematic terms the government implemented major constitutional reforms with the Performing Act of 1999 and 2001 (MCT, 2001, 181). Seventeen regulations were abolished, including restrictions on performance censorship and performer registration, and there was an easing of restrictions on foreigners’ domestic performances, the pre-confirmation system for performance venue installations, and other related aspects. While the emphasis on the global expansion and improvement of national culture continued as in the preceding government, the new administration placed significant weight on encouraging cultural industry and cultural exchange with North Korea (Yim, 2003, 59), claiming to use arts and culture for ‘social cohesion’, ‘ethnic reunification’ and ‘economic growth’ (Yim, 2003, 60). This stress on the economic value of culture was the most prominent change, which was in part a reaction against the IMF management system imposed on Korea in 1997 at the end of the former government. In doing so, popular culture has been increasing recognised as a key medium of Korean culture, leading to the Han Reu Wave (the Korean Wave).
These developments led to significant changes in the KNB in 2000. The government carried out a dramatic restructuring of the national arts organisations, including the KNB, as a way of strengthening these organisations’ capacity for self-management. The White Paper of 2001 stated that

in January 2000, the KNT became a dependably managing organisation, and, out of seven KNT associated organisations, three companies – the KNB, the Korean National Opera (the KNO) and the Korean National Chorus (the KNC) – were switched to civilly juridical foundations, as a means of maximising artistic creativity and management autonomy.

MCT, 2001, 182-183

In order to provide indirect support to these organisations, the government relaxed regulations and levied a VAT on donations and arts performances. These three organisations were specifically selected because they represented contemporary transnational arts genres and were thus capable of enhancing Korea’s international artistic reputation (MCT, 2001). After 2000 the KNB, as an official juridical foundation, became less controlled and more indirectly supported by the government (especially due to the state’s stress on fostering artistic freedom and managerial autonomy); consequently the company strove to consolidate its position and to develop business survival strategies.

The KNB developed various programmes that were designed to appeal to a wide audience and to enhance ticket sales, thus generating profit. For instance, in 2001 the company invited Grigorovich to mount large-scale productions of his three masterpieces – *The Nutcracker* (1966), *Spartacus* (1968) and *Swan Lake* (1969) – classical works that attracted large audiences (Appendix E, 280-82). This major importation of renowned classics seems to have stemmed from the KNB’s standing as a juridical foundation independent from the KNT, which granted freedom in budget management and programme planning. Although the government had promised to provide ‘support with no interference’ (MCT, 2001, 181), if the KNB had still been associated with the KNT, it would have had to abide by its rules and its budget would have been shared with other associated companies and controlled by the KNT, restricting precisely the kind of ambitious programme planning it was now pursuing.
In line with the government’s emphasis on the economic value of the arts, in 2001 the government further reformed the Performing Act as a means of fostering the industrialisation of the arts and the overseas expansion of the performing arts. As one effect of this policy, the KNB was selected to participate in ‘The Month of Korean Culture Event’ launched in four cities in China in 2001; the KNB performed Grigorovich’s Swan Lake in Shanghai. As this event was intended to promote the Han Reu Wave, and to spread Korea’s unique culture throughout Asia (MCT, 2001, 420), the KNB’s participation was an indication of its enhanced artistic and international reputation (Appendix A, 274).

This political factor that allowed the KNB to import Western classics and perform them as defining elements of its repertoire, reflects the government’s contemporary vision for the establishment of cultural identity. Here, Kim Dae Jung’s government saw the role of the international culture industry as preserving and promoting Korean cultural identity (Yim, 2003, 63); nevertheless, compared to former regimes, his was a fresher and more open vision inasmuch as the inclusion of traditional elements was no longer considered compulsory. Rather, other contemporary media forms such as commercial dramas or films could adequately represent Korean cultural identity; this was reflected in various cultural fields, for instance in the wide exportation of Korean television programmes and dramas (i.e. not necessarily embodying traditional elements) to other Asian countries.⁵ Hence nationalistic or traditionalistic productions were no longer the only acceptable vehicles through which the KNB could express Korean culture, and a performance of a well-known classic like Swan Lake could be considered a fine way of presenting contemporary Korean culture as it served to indicate Korea’s high artistic standards.

5.7 The Roh Moo Hyun government (the participatory government, 2003-08)
The guiding principle of Roh Moo Hyun’s participatory government was that

the new government, born with the power of the people’s participation, is opening an era of real popular sovereignty and citizen sovereignty through the people’s participation in state affairs.

MCT, 2004, 3
Roh Moo Hyun’s government set three main aims for the state: first, to implement direct participatory democracy; second, to institute a fully co-operative and balanced developmental society; and last, to inaugurate ‘Dong Book Ah’, the period of peace and prosperity, or the ‘Age of Northeast Asia’ (MCT, 2004). This focus on Northeast Asia recalled the Pan-Asianism that arose at the turn of the twentieth century as a reaction to Western imperialism. Roh’s version, similarly, was intended to protect Korean national identity from the forces of US-led globalisation, and thus sought ‘to distance Korea from American hegemony’ by making Korea the leader of the Northeast Asia region (Shin, 2006, 218). Although the KNB, during In Ja Park’s tenure (2005-08), contributed to this policy by obtaining invitations to the Meet in Beijing Arts Festival in both 2005 and 2006, these visits were seen as an expansion of the KNB’s capacity for overseas tours rather than simply an effect of the state’s focus on Northeast Asia. For instance, the KNB also attended Poland’s Lodz International Ballet Festival and organised collaborative performances with the Novosibirsk Ballet in 2007 that were performed both in Korea and Russia. This joint Novosibirsk-KNB production was significant as the KNB was keen to establish a genuinely interactive and reciprocal relationship with another foreign ballet company, as opposed to preceding relationships that were based either on the importation of significant works or on the invitation of notable figures. In this sense, there were no significant events or plans from the KNB that reflected either Roh’s strategy of securing national identity or the anti-American sentiment that this strategy often embraced.

It is rather Roh’s more expansive vision for maintaining cultural identity that is more relevant to the KNB’s trajectory. It was argued that the preceding governments’ preoccupation with ethnic homogeneity had led to an inherently closed and restrictive outlook and that a more ‘open cultural identity’ needed to be fostered by accepting foreign elements with an attitude of reconciliation and reappropriating core national and symbolical value systems (MCT, 2005, 95). This more open and contemporary standpoint adopted during the Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations was a key factor in the KNB’s reduced or suspended focus on creating nationalised ballets after 1999 (Appendix D, 279). It is evident, for example, in Hyun Jung Kim’s analysis (2013) of tourism advertisements for Korea, in particular, ‘Korea, Sparkling’ (2007), made and distributed locally and internationally by the Korea Tourism Organisation.
(KTO). While it embraced traditional Korean elements, it also vibrantly incorporated modern and foreign cultural forms, such as b-boying and club dance (Picture One). Hyun Jung Kim highlights the global success of Korean b-boying crews such as Expression and Gambler, and argues that these foreign-originating elements are featured in order to represent national pride and Korea’s global competitiveness.

In crafting its cultural policy agenda, the government declared that it was laying a foundation for the arts that would expedite creative artistic experimentation. This entailed improving the functioning and management of the national arts organisations and facilities, and opening up various new art spaces (MCT, 2005, 101-2). In line with this vision, the KNB instituted various programmes and activities to meet the government’s expectations. For instance, in the interests of artistic variation the KNB expanded its repertoire to include Rudolf Nureyev’s version of Sleeping Beauty (first restaged in 1966) in 2004; George Balanchine’s Symphony in C (1947) in 2006; a contemporary ballet, Mats Ek’s Carmen (1992), in 2006; and Russian choreographer Boris Eifman’s Musagete (2004) in 2007 (Appendix E, 280-82). Further, the KNB’s experimental 2007 restaging of Michel Fokine’s L'Epreuve d'Amour (1936), which was given the new title Choon Hyang, aimed to show the power of Korean culture by revealing Fokine’s early interest in the Korean traditional tale, Choon Hyang Jeon. This production, as a foreign work revised with Korean traditional themes, reflected the government’s plan to develop and support experimental performances and its new
and open strategy of fostering cultural identity. Nonetheless, due to the ambiguity of the KNB’s intentions (it was unclear whether the goal was to restore the original production or to create an entirely new work), this work was not successfully received and did not become a fixed part of the repertoire.

Further influence of state policy is also shown through the shift in emphasis from cultural government to governance (MCT, 2004, 36). Authority over cultural policy was redirected outward, from central to provincial governmental bodies, in order to achieve a more balanced distribution of culture throughout the country and to increase popular participation; in addition, information was made more widely available through various on/off-line services that enhanced people’s direct knowledge and involvement. The KNB’s contribution to this plan for promoting and enhancing local cultural participation is evident in the way in which it began to spread out its performances geographically, increasing the number of its regional tours so as to reach culturally marginalised districts and to take part in regional cultural events such as the Cheonan Heungtaryeong Festival (in which it participated for three consecutive years from 2004); it likewise gave performances at military camps and charity benefit events. Together all of these activities constituted a strategic response to the government’s central aim of achieving a more balanced distribution of culture.

5.8 The Lee Myung Park government (2008-12)

A similar shake-up of the ruling and opposition parties again occurred with the launching of Lee Myung Park’s government. The opposition party since 1998, the Hannara Party (The Grand National Party) became the ruling party in 2008 with Lee’s victory in the seventeenth presidential election. This power shift ushered in the return of the same conservative party that ruled throughout the 1980s and 90s and even earlier (Rhee Syngman’s regime). Changes in administrative structure inevitably resulted, for example, the establishment of the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism in 2008. The Lee government’s focus on cultural policy was far different from, and in many ways antithetical to, that of Roh’s government. In contrast with the latter’s emphasis on freedom and openness, Lee stressed ‘public rules’ and ‘efficient management’ in the setting of cultural policy (MCST, 2009a, 25), indicating a firm and authoritative governing style. Moreover, the goal was to ‘select and concentrate’
support only where necessary, i.e. only on those places that met the relevant criteria and demonstrated sufficient competitiveness (MCST, 2009a, 27). Finally, Lee pushed policy in the direction of a strict separation of responsibilities between ‘the public’ and ‘the private’ spheres, and between the ‘central government’ and the ‘provincial self-governments’, in order to give full responsibility for those sections intended for public use to the central government (MCST, 2009a, 27).

Thus the Lee government emphasised public use of the national arts organisations, including the KNB, and described them as representative creative centres rather than profit-making companies, signalling its plan to exercise direct control over those organisations. Here, ironically, the government’s ignorance of the profit-generating capacities of the national arts organisations stood in stark contrast to the knowledge shown by the Kim Dae Jung government, which sought to develop and increase the economic value of the arts organisations. Moreover, the Lee government’s ‘select and concentrate’ policy dictated that the KNB would have to conform to the government’s political vision in order to receive attention and to be considered eligible for financial support. Again, this is largely antithetical to Kim Dae Jung’s vision of providing ‘support with no interference’ to the arts sector from 1998 to 2003. Such authoritarianism resembles the ruling style of the old military regimes, with their idea of using the arts, and especially the national organisations, as a tool for instilling their own political ideology.

Having taken full responsibility for and control over the national arts organisations, including the KNB, the Lee government now emphasised their responsibility to create works that represented the nation, claiming that such works were unable to be realised by private organisations (MCST, 2009a). This requirement tied in with the National Brand policy that Lee had actively pursued since the launching of his administration and that called for participation across the cultural, economic, technological and political sectors. In reaction to the enactment of the ‘Regulations on improving national brand value’ in January 2009, the government established the National Brand Committee, which aimed
to attain the average level of national brand power set by the OECD [Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development] and to record Korea’s national brand value in the top fifteen of the world ranking by 2013.

MCST, 2009a, 48

The government explicitly stated that it was ‘pushing the national arts institutions and organisations to become the creative foundation of the national brand’ (MCST, 2008a, 14). The significance of the state’s focus on national branding and its method of representing national identity through culture were both reflected in the shift of emphasis evident in a new KTO tourism advertisement, ‘Korea, Inspiring’ (2010). Hyun Jung Kim (2013) accurately notes, the advertisement only features a particular form of traditional Korean dance, Sŏng Mu (monk’s dance), Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 27 designated by the Park government in 1969, to show Korea’s natural, traditional and cultural environments (Picture Two). This clearly demonstrates the renewed stress on including traditional Korean elements in representing Korea at both the local and global level.

This policy put the KNB on an almost inexorable course, as the company was now required to demonstrate compliance in order to prove itself worthy of the financial
support on which its growth and indeed its very existence depended. With the 2008 reappointment of Choi as director, the KNB began to prepare its first nationalised ballet in ten years, *Prince Hodong* (newly choreographed by Byung Nam Moon in 2009). Initially choreographed by Lim in preparation for the Seoul Olympics in 1988, the new work shared with the original production only the same narrative structure while employing completely different music and choreography. The initial planning of this new work began prior to the proclaiming of the National Brand policy, as Moon, the choreographer, had already travelled to various Western ballet centres in the summer of 2008 to aid the conceptualisation and structuring of the new ballet. In this sense, Choi’s plan to prepare and stage this new production of *Prince Hodong* was supported and boosted by the state’s National Brand policy, which it later came virtually to epitomise.

Positive reviews of *Prince Hodong* in 2009 led to the government’s outright and total support of such programmes, drawing further attention to the capacity of the national arts organisations to contribute to the National Brand project. The government went on to declare that the main task for 2010 was to

[prepare] a secure stepping-stone for re-launching the national arts organisations in four ways: firstly by significantly increasing the budget (...42% increase) and performance frequency (...50% increase); secondly by establishing practice space within the Seoul Arts Centre ([by] December 2010…); thirdly by developing [further] national brand productions ([from] the three organisations…); and lastly by implementing touring performances to every nook and cranny of the land (80 districts…).

MCST, 2009b, 9

Accordingly, more systematic and detailed plans for supporting the national arts organisations began to be written. Here, much credit is due to the KNB’s successful staging of *Prince Hodong*, which was singled out as an exemplary national brand production in the MCST’s plan for 2010. This reveals the close alignment of Choi’s management of the KNB to the state’s cultural policy objectives, with the staging of a nationalised ballet production simultaneously bolstering the National Brand policy and earning further and increased support for the KNB. This, in turn, encouraged other national arts organisations to produce works similarly in line with the National
Brand project, for example, the Korea National Opera’s *Arang* in 2010. Overall, then, there is a clear operational symbiosis between the state and the KNB, as the company’s rapid and effective response, which proved its public usefulness, provided a rationale for the government’s selection of organisations for concentrated attention and support.

To a certain extent, the Lee government’s focus on national arts organisations shows some similarity to Chun and Roh Tae Woo’s attempts to achieve a wider geographical dissemination of the professional arts, as opposed to the governments of Kim Dae Jung and especially Roh Moo Hyun, which emphasised the equal distribution of state resources on the principle that regional and private culture was just as important as central and professional culture. For Lee, the National Brand policy functioned as a justification for his administration’s focus and emphases, enabling the government to collect resources that were previously widely distributed and to reinvest them in national brand-related projects under the guise of an abiding concern with national success. This parallels the former military regimes’ use of collectivistic nationalism in setting their political agendas, as, in a sense, Lee also demanded individual sacrifice for the national interest by privileging professional public arts centres focused on national branding projects over more local and private cultural activities designed for individuals. In other words, anxiety over Korea’s insufficient national brand value in the world market was exploited to justify the setting of particular policy aims and for prioritising the development of national status over individual and regional interests. In doing so, Lee appropriated globalisation as a means of cultivating nationalism, similar to Park’s appeal to modernisation and developmentalism. However, Lee’s efforts here were less obvious compared to those of former regimes; his method was more nuanced, systematic and institutional, involving, for example, the use of OECD statistics and world rankings to demonstrate his policies’ objectivity.

In sum, the Lee administration resembled the former military-based governments in at least four main respects: first, its authoritative and controlling character; second, its cultivation of collectivistic nationalism; third, its ‘select and concentrate’ principle of supporting cultural activities, reflecting the division between ‘sound’ and unsound’ culture; and fourth and finally, its belief in the instrumental role of the national arts
organisations in pursuing state-led policy. Moreover, although the KNB was under Choi’s direction during the periods of both the Kim Dae Jung and Lee administrations, the different political conditions of these eras generated opposing responses and strategies. While Dae Jung Kim’s emphasis on autonomy allowed the KNB to accept foreign influences by incorporating Western ballet works, particularly from Russia, Lee’s nationalistic and controlling character brought the KNB back around to creating nationalised ballets whose main aim was national representation. Here, Choi’s divergent yet contextually appropriate responses led to significant developments for the company – in the first instance, adoption of the classical repertoire; in the second instance, the creation of new work – such that the KNB can be said to have been placed under a protective roof throughout both of these periods.

5.9 Conclusion
This chapter examined the shifts in the socio-political conditions in Korea since the 1960s, and described the tendency of successive governments to set cultural policies bearing directly on the KNB’s development. One of the main findings is that changes in the artistic mission and trajectory of the KNB, as a strategic habitus, have tended to correlate with the different cultural policy agendas pressed by successive political administrations, suggesting a relationship of mutual interaction and reciprocal benefit, influence and determination. During the Park regime, for example, the government focused on promoting Korean cultural identity by using the idea of the modernisation of traditional culture as a means of advocating a state-led, collectivistic nationalism that highlighted Korea’s ethnic homogeneity. But while state policy often appears as the prime factor driving the integration of ballet with traditional dance, the chapter also showed how this integration is better viewed as an example of the more general phenomenon of post-colonial mimicry, i.e. unconscious resistance towards an influx of external (often imperial) cultural forms, as was evident from the 1920s. It is this doubling process that is considered to have formally taken shape through the KNB’s initial creation of nationalised ballets in the 1960s-70s, while state policy is identified as a supplementary force aiding this development. Another example of the mutually beneficial relation between the KNB and state policy is the KNB’s support of the Lee administration’s National Brand policy through its creation of Prince Hodong (2009), which subsequently inspired other arts organisations to make similar contributions.
The chapter also isolated three major political periods that significantly altered and determined the KNB’s programme planning: first, the long period of military rule, especially under the Chun Doo Hwan regime of the 1980s, which corresponded with Sung Nam Lim’s directorship of the KNB (1962-92); and second and third, the periods of the Kim Dae Jung government (1998-2002) and the Lee Myung Park government (2008-12), which corresponded with Tae Ji Choi’s two tenures as director. While Park overturned the restrictions on acceptable cultural forms and emphasised the importance of fostering and preserving cultural identity, especially in preparation for the major sporting events of 1986 and 1988, Chun pushed a modified nationalistic policy that allowed the KNB to flourish creatively by devoting itself to the task of producing nationalised ballets. Thus the more restrictive period of Park’s regime led Lim to rationally formulate the idea of developing minjok ballet works, whereas the more tolerant era of Chun’s rule provided him with the means and opportunities to practically implement this goal.

The Kim Dae Jung government, under which the KNB was established as a juridical foundation separate from the KNT, stressed both the economic value of culture and artistic independence, and accordingly the KNB, turning from its previous interest in nationalised ballets, began to hone its marketing skills by importing foreign classics and attempting to popularise ballet. Nonetheless, the return of the conservative party under the Lee government, with its National Brand policy, redirected the company’s focus toward creating its own ballets. This suggests strong parallels between the Lee government and earlier military regimes, and radical differences between these and the more left-leaning governments of Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun, with their emphasis on openness and autonomy. Taken together, these factors constitute the manifold socio-political background conditions leading to the formation of the Korean ballet (conditions that will later prove useful as a referential context for the repertoire analysis of Part Three).

The Chun and Roh Tae Woo regimes not only greatly influenced the expansion of the KNB’s nationalised ballet works but also encouraged and facilitated cultural exchange with communist countries. Here, despite Korea’s more direct cultural and political ties with the US since the Korean War, it is evident from the KNB’s trajectory that it
preferred contact with Russian over American ballet companies. This tie with Russia was an important and influential factor in the KNB’s development of nationalised works, as these works reflected the format of the Russian classics through their large scale and narrative-based traits. If it had forged a direct partnership with American ballet, in particular with Balanchine’s more abstract, theme-based neo-classical works, the company may have produced completely different types of nationalised ballets. Moreover, although American ballet was introduced during Hae Sik Kim’s tenure, given her former experience and training in the US, this link soon dissolved with her departure from the KNB. Thus while the state’s diplomatic agenda has served historically to provide a measure of guidance to the KNB, it cannot be considered the prime factor determining its plans for forging international exchanges and partnerships. Instead, the artistic director’s former artistic education and experiences was identified as the main impetus, showing a notable degree of autonomy from state policy. The following chapter will address the important question above as to why ballet in Korea developed in close partnership with Russia, given Korea’s strong relations with the US and the early military regimes’ staunch anti-communism.

Finally, the chapter examined the different administrations’ changing views on the importance and means of consolidating, maintaining and representing Korean cultural identity. In general, each regime appropriated transnational ideological elements and turned them to nationalist ends, with the earlier military regimes exploiting the ideas of modernisation and developmentalism, and the later governments globalisation. For instance, both the earlier military governments and the modern-day conservative party have tended to stress the value of traditional culture and to foster a collective sense of deeply embedded ethnic nationalism, whereas the left has tried to present a newer and more open vision that sees both contemporary Korean and foreign cultural forms as useful for representing Korean cultural identity. On this basis one may conclude that under more conservative regimes, the KNB is likely to be required to express national identity by incorporating traditional cultural elements into its ballet works, whereas during more liberal periods, imported and/or contemporary works are likely to be considered acceptable means of exhibiting Korea’s cultural identity and sufficient testimony of its artistic standards on the world stage. Accordingly the KNB’s behaviour can be divided into two categories – nationalistic behaviour (which
emphasises autogenous creation) and autonomous behaviour (which values the incorporation of foreign ballet classics) – according to the political inclinations of the ruling party. This categorisation is an important finding of this chapter as it serves to provide a framework for the following chapter on the KNB’s artistic history, allowing for evaluation of the company’s shifting emphases in creating autogenous ballets and in introducing foreign ballet classics.
In doing so, some of the literature focusing on state policy and cultural identity in relation to
dance has been useful, especially *Choreographic politics: state folk companies, representation
and power* (Shay, 2002), *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Prevots,
1998), and some of the articles in *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*
(Buckland ed., 2006).

Intangible Cultural Property is a system, designated by the government since 1962 (along
with Tangible Cultural Property), to preserve the important traditional performing arts through
the outstanding bearer of the assets.

In Korea, practical training and education still take up a large portion of the curriculum in
university dance departments, as it is usual for BA recipients to go on to become professional
dancers. Hence, professors often acknowledge their practical contribution to the department
by staging their own performances, similar to the way in which other academics present their
research in peer-reviewed publications.

Choi Sung Hee, the founding figure of New Dance, modernised Korean traditional dance
from the late 1920s, incorporating influences from foreign dances that she learned in Japan
(Sung, 2011). She enjoyed an international reputation through launching performances in
Europe, America and South America. The trend of orientalism in American modern dance in
the early 1900s, through figures like St. Denis, coincided with Choi’s reputation.

In doing so, he (2003, 91) asserts that the Korean War was a unique phenomenon in the
history of the Cold War, as it provided a chance ‘to reform the minds of a population
“brainwashed” by communist propaganda’.

This argument is also supported by Gi Wook Shin, in one of his earlier articles in *Positions:
East Asia Cultures Critique* (1995).

The Korean Dancers Association (established in 1956) was a branch that split off from the
Korean Dance Artists Association (established in 1954). The members of these societies
formed a united group in 1959 under the name of The Korean Dance Association (Park, 2005).

Yuri Grigorovich was the artistic director of the Bolshoi Ballet from 1964 to 1995; he
produced *The Nutcracker* (1966), *Spartacus* (1967), *Ivan the Terrible* (1975) and *Swan Lake*
(1984) for the company.

The *Han Reu Wave* (Korean wave) is an all-encompassing term used to describe the
phenomenon of the general fondness for Korean culture, spread across Asia and beyond, and
focused particularly on Korean popular culture.

*Winter Sonata* (Yoon, 2002), a Korean commercial drama, serves as a key example, as it
was exported to Singapore, Taiwan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Vietnam and Japan, in the same
year of its creation and with huge success.

In addition to Hyun Jung Kim’s examples, Korean break-dancing crews like Jinjo Crew
have won various national and global competitions, including the UK B-Boy Championship
World Final 2012.

The *Hannara* Party (Grand National Party) is the conservative party of the Republic of
Korea, founded in November 1997 (Naver Encyclopaedia, 2010a). Its origins can be traced
back either to the Democratic Liberal Party (founded in 1990), which had its roots in the
Unified Democratic Party (founded in 1987), or to the Liberal Party (founded in 1951, with Rhee Syngman as the party leader). Its name was changed to the Saenuri Party in 2012.
Chapter Six
Internal Policies of the KNB:
Autogenous Creations vs. Foreign Ballet Classics

The Korean National Ballet, founded in 1962, marks its fifty-year anniversary in 2012. The Fifty Years Anniversary Performance of the Korean National Ballet will be a place to review the history of the past half-century and to newly structure the remaining half-century ahead. This performance gathers the Korean National Ballet, with its highly elevated domestic and foreign reputation, and the Republic of Korea’s world of ballet to celebrate the establishment of the Korean National Ballet, as the first professional ballet company of Korea, and its fifty years of history.

KNB, 2012, kballer.org

6.1 Introduction

The year 2012 marked the KNB’s fifty-year anniversary, a significant milestone for the company. The above citation comes from an advertisement for the KNB’s official anniversary performance, held at the National Theatre of Korea (NTK) in November 2012. For this celebration, the company presented a two-day programme comprising, first, a gala performance of various pieces of the KNB’s repertoire, and second, the KNB’s recent work, Prince Hodong (Moon, 2009), a complete re-working of Sung Nam Lim’s original production in 1988. The gala performance was divided into two acts: Act One, titled ‘Looking back nostalgically over the past 50 years’, included the KNB’s early ballet, Cheo-Yong (Lim, 1981), and selected scenes from classics such as Swan Lake (Grigorovich, 1969); Act Two, titled ‘Looking ahead to the dream of 100 years’, involved selections from other classics including Giselle (Bart, 1991) and Spartacus (Grigorovich, 1968). The second day was fully devoted to Prince Hodong, confirming the ballet’s role as the KNB’s most representative work.

This anniversary programme was constructed and arranged in such a way that all the included various pieces reflected the company’s fifty years of history. Interestingly, in this context, and in line with the KNB’s twin historical imperatives (to develop autogenous creations and to import foreign ballet classics, as shown in Chapter 5.9), this anniversary programme incorporated Yuri Grigorovich’s three classics, Spartacus,
Swan Lake and The Nutcracker (1966), with Patrice Bart’s version of Giselle, alongside new creations like Prince Hodong, Poise (Ahn, 2012), and Beautiful Encounter (Park; Jung; Paul, 2012). Noting this defining moment in the KNB’s history, this chapter reviews the company’s past fifty years, focusing on its artistic history of the internal policy shifts and the most significant factors, internal and external, influencing these shifts. In doing so, I discuss how and why certain external artistic partnerships were formed, and identify particular pieces that have become signature works of the KNB’s repertoire. As argued in Chapter 3.4, the main choreographer, the central pieces of the repertoire and the particular training methods are the most crucial elements contributing to the formation of a company’s movement style; accordingly this chapter focuses on these three elements, in relation to the KNB specifically.

In line with Bourdieu’s (1993) work (as explained in Chapter 4.2), this chapter aims to identify the KNB’s habitus and position-taking within the cultural field of Korea, and assesses the degree of the company’s apparent freedom with respect to its artistic decision-making. Although the KNB embraces a large number of artists who possess their own individual habitus, as this chapter intends to review the vision and direction of the company taken as a single, unitary artistic organisation, it is important to note that the final artistic decisions are made by the artistic director. Therefore the chapter analyses the different directors’ individual habitus and position-taking as well as their own recognition of their duties and desires, which, taken together and in succession, form the company’s trajectory. In doing so, it aims further to identify their respective strategies in relation to the forms of symbolic capital, which vary between different socio-cultural and political situations. Moreover, following Bourdieu, the chapter focuses closely to identify the KNB’s relationships, especially the different directors’ connections, with academic circles, critics, and also with the mass media, which connects the KNB with the general public.

To these ends, this chapter provides a historical analysis of the Korean ballet tradition from its inception in the 1920s to 2012, focusing specifically on the KNB. While the company’s official history begins in 1962, the reader nevertheless ‘has to possess the whole history of the field’, as Bourdieu puts it (1993, 61); hence I briefly review the
initial introductory period (the pre-KNB era), from the 1920s to 1962, to show how the early development of ballet in Korea influenced the eventual formation of the KNB. I then break down the remainder of the analysis according to the tenures of the KNB’s successive directors, for instance: the KNB under Sung Nam Lim’s direction (1962-92); a new perspective in the KNB under Hae Sik Kim’s direction (1993-95); the importation of Grigorovich’s ballets under Tae Ji Choi’s direction (1996-2001); the KNB under Geung Soo Kim (2002-04) and In Ja Park (2005-07); and finally, the reappointment of Choi (2008-13). Once again, this chronological approach does not imply any naïve progressivism, any belief that the KNB’s history has gotten ‘better’ over time, but is used merely as an appropriate method for elucidating the changes and shifts brought about with each director’s tenure and for providing easy linkage to Figure Five (122, Chapter 5.1), which will also prove highly useful here.

6.2 Pre-KNB period (1920s-62)

While the precise date of ballet’s initial introduction into Korea is not the main focus here, Ok Hee Jeong (2005) argues that the opening of the Western dance ball in 1905 marks the first appearance of ballet in Korea, specifically as a form of folk or social dance. Also, according to Jeong, although a 1917 film screened in Woomigwan, Seoul, featured a girl dancing in pointe shoes, the ballet genre only began to be recognised as a foreign theatrical art from 1924, after the performances of Ishiih Bakwoo, a famous Japanese dancer known for being the teacher of Choi Sung Hee (the pioneering New Dance, Shinmuyong, as explained in Chapter 5.1). At the same time, Goo Ja Bae’s 1928 performance has been described as incorporating ballet (along with other foreign dance forms), while other researchers point to Alandra-Sukharoff’s March 1931 performance as the first official ballet performance shown in Korea (Jo, 1962; Kim, 2000). That same year, moreover, there was another significant performance by Eliana Pavlova, a prominent Russian dancer exiled to Japan who was known to be a direct student of Anna Pavlova and to have attended the Imperial Ballet School in St Petersburg, Russia (Hong, 2005; Lim, 1998). Despite these discrepancies in dating, however, it is clear that the ballet genre, as an imperial cultural form, was introduced through Russia, or Russia via Japan, especially during the period of Japanese colonial rule, constituting the initial setting for the development of subsequent ballet activity in Korea during the 1920s-30s.
Between the late 1930s and early 1940s, numerous Korean dancers, such as Dong In Han, Ji Soo Jung and Sung Kyu Baek, left Korea to study in Japan, where the Russian ballet training method was dominant. Baek (Japanese name: Shimada Hiroshi) became a significant ballet figure in Japan, running the Hotori Shimada Ballet Institution. According to Lim (1998), Han was trained by Eliana Pavlova and Dakada Seiko, while Jung was trained by Jeon Gi Masda. Here Lim (1998, 310-11) highlights the Russian training background of Han and Jung, stating that they ‘returned to Korea to introduce authentic Russian ballet training in 1943’; he thus endows these early Korean ballet figures with a certain degree of artistic authority by asserting that their training had officially originated from Russia, which he believed to be one of the legitimate founding countries of ballet. However, it is important to note that what he calls ‘authentic Russian ballet training’ is rather an adapted version, as it was transmitted in Japan, through the interpretation of Japanese teachers, and hence it is difficult to assert that early Korean ballet training directly imitated the Russian training of the time. Rather Lim’s argument draws attention to the fact that there was some trace of Russian ballet training and Russian-influenced Japanese schooling in the early years of Korean ballet.

In 1945, with Korea’s independence from Japanese colonial rule, a wave of freedom and modernisation overtook the country and reinvigorated all aspects of its culture, including education, the economy and the arts (Kim, 2000). Dance was no exception to this sweeping force of modernisation. In 1946, the Chosun Dance Arts Society was formed with several different departments: ballet, modern dance, dance education, theory and art. While they did produce some performances, they are most notable for laying the foundation for the expansion of the dance arts. Another significant effort took shape that same year, when Han established the Seoul Ballet Company, which staged performances with newly choreographed works until its dismantlement during the Korean War (Hong, 2005). During the Korean War many of the ballet innovators of the early years were either captured by, or left voluntarily for, North Korea. But while none of the nascent organisations survived the war, there were notable endeavours to continue ballet performances. The Korean Dance Company, created by Bum Song, produced a small ballet performance in Busan, Korea, in May 1951, enduring the harsh wartime conditions (Lim, 1998). Soon after the end of the war in
1953, Song brought the Korean Dance Company back to Seoul, and In Bum Lee rebuilt the moribund Seoul Ballet Company to stage ballet performances. In this sense, while the war destroyed the initial foundations of ballet in Korea, it also led to a total restructuring at the hands of new and creative figures.

The most influential figure after the Korean War was Lim, who had returned from Japan in 1953. Prior to his studies there, Lim was trained by Han in Korea and performed in Han’s Seoul Ballet Company until its dissolution in 1950 (Lim, 2004). In Japan, he met his second teacher, Baek, and trained in his Hotori Shimada Ballet Institution. Here, Kim (2004, 12) asserts that ‘Lim’s dance was nothing less than an extension of the Russian ballet pedigree’ as he learned ballet from two teachers, Han and Baek, who were trained under Eliana Pavlova, a graduate of the Imperial Ballet School of Russia. In this way Kim, in exactly the same manner as Lim, grants artistic legitimacy to early Korean ballet by stressing the early influence of Russian ballet; indeed Kim takes the argument further by insisting that what Lim brought back from Japan had an official Russian ballet pedigree. This, again, can be seen as an overly ambitious statement, as Lim, like his teachers (Han and Baek), could not have been a ‘pure’ carrier of Russian ballet schooling due to the circuitous learning of ballet via the Japanese influence. Nonetheless, Lim’s educational linkage to early Korean ballet figures strengthens the connection with Russian schooling in Japan, adding weight to the idea that the early history of Korean ballet was predominantly formed by and through traces of Russian ballet that had been deposited and adapted in Japan.

After the war, during the mid to late 1950s, various ballet companies were formed, including the Korean Ballet Dance Company (Soo Bang Jin, 1954), the Seoul Ballet Company (Bum Song, 1955) and the Academy Ballet Company (Kwang Jo, 1959). Lim also formed the Lim Sung Nam Ballet Company, which gave its inaugural production in 1956. Sun Wook Park (2000, 307) argues that while most dance performances at the time were a mélange of different genres not separated by fixed boundaries, it was ballet (out of all these various dance forms) that was the first to define its scheme and take pride in its own conventions, thus quickly circumscribing and consolidating itself as an isolated and distinct genre. The prime reason why the ballet field was able to define itself so rapidly and concretely was the influence of the
already established nineteenth-century Russian imperial ballet tradition, with its fixed canon and principles. Park (2000, 303) also points out that, due to Lim’s activities, ‘both the idea of the classical repertoire and the creative new ballets were embraced under the category of ballet’. In line with this proliferation of ballet companies, ballet continued to expand in Korea with the initiation of ballet competitions for middle and high school students, one sponsored by the Ewha Womans University in 1955 (Kim, 2000) and the other sponsored by the Dongah Newspaper in 1959 (Park, 2000).

However, at this point these developments were still insufficient to establish ballet as a respected art form rather than simply another form of entertainment, highlighting the need for a secure national ballet company supported by the government (Kim, 2000). This was due to the financial deficiencies of the private ballet companies, which were unable to act as powerful, organised and professional companies. Lim expressed this desperate need for a national ballet company when he stated in 1960 that:

> the National Theatre of Korea is focusing on drama, and the opera is also receiving a large amount of financial support; however, the ballet (dance), consequently, has never received any governmental benefits…[The] founding of a national ballet company within the NTK…is the only way to rescue the ballet field from this crucial moment.

Lim in Kim, 2000, 440

These initial efforts on the part of Korea’s ballet innovators can be seen as a collective exploratory striving for recognition and consolidation, thus laying of the foundations for the establishment of the KNB. In general they drew their symbolic capital from the artistic authority and status of Russian imperial ballet, which continued to flourish in the Soviet Union and was adopted and highlighted in the dance field in Japan.

**6.3 Nationalised ballets under Sung Nam Lim’s direction (1962-92)**

As a result of these endeavours, the Korean National Dance company was founded in 1962, combining the genres of traditional Korean dance and classical ballet. Lim was appointed director of the KND with substitute directors Backbong Kim and Song. Their first performances were *White Illusion* (Lim, 1963) and *Soul Lives* (Song, 1963), produced with the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) symphony orchestra. For the
next eleven years, the KND gave thirteen performances annually. Most of their works were newly created and categorised as dance dramas, often themed around Korean ethnic images or contemporary issues. In contrast to Park (2000), then, who argues that ballet had isolated itself as a distinctive art form by the 1950s, the actual ballet performances under the umbrella of the KND exhibited a complex integration of traditional dance, drama and ballet. In this sense, the early consolidation of ballet as a distinct genre, and Lim’s efforts to establish the first official national dance organisation, were the prime factors that served to secure ballet specifically (as opposed to other Western dance forms) as an important art form in Korea, enabling it to be integrated into the KND’s works.

By the late 1960s, however, the company could not avoid the confusion that naturally arose due to the crowded co-mingling of genres in one company (Yu, 2001, 368-69). For this reason, in 1972, the two genres of the KND were separated, and the KNB was established, under Lim’s direction, as the first distinctive professional ballet company in Korea. This separation was made possible largely because the Korean ballet field had been gaining legitimacy from its association with Russian imperial ballet; hence it was the power and prestige of Western imperial culture that eventually allowed the genre to emerge as a separate art form, on a par with traditional dance and deserving of its own national organisation. Lim directed the KNB for twenty years, from 1972 until 1992; combined with his former directorship of the KND, the company was under his direction for thirty years. Moreover, it was his efforts in forming the KND and his constant creative work during the KND years that led to the official separation of the ballet genre in 1972. Thus it is no exaggeration to say that Lim is the most important pioneer of ballet in Korea, as the company was under his control throughout its formative stages.

However, while the establishment of the KNB signalled the formal and institutional separation of ballet from traditional dance, the actual process of forming the repertoire during the Lim years reflected the earlier performances’ tendency to incorporate and utilise traditional cultural themes and characteristics. As stated in Chapter 5.2, Kim (2000, 479) has labelled such creations ‘nationalised ballets’. The initial trial began with *Jigwi’s Dream* (Lim, 1974), a ballet with a Korean tale as its libretto. Kim (2000,
445) argues that this performance marks the moment when ‘the KNB began to stand alone’, as it was its first production in its new home, after the move of the NTK from Meong-dong to Jangchoong-dong (within Seoul) in 1974. Lim’s intention was clearly conveyed in the programme notes when he remarked that

every country, to some extent, possesses its own ballet characteristics. I have always wished to choreograph our own creative ballet that holds our national identity and ideology, and Jigwi’s Dream is the first product of this notion.

Lim in Kim, 2000

Thus Lim isolates the KNB’s essential direction and primary duty, namely, to stage its own ballets which demonstrate national cultural identity. To fulfil this aim, he strove to articulate Korean traditional cultural elements – tale, themes, ideologies and even clothing – in this ballet, as shown in Picture Three.

![Picture Three. The 14th periodical production, Jigwi’s Dream (NTK, 2000, 444)](image)

In Chapter 5.2, I examined the socio-political influences that may have stimulated Lim’s intention in creating nationalised ballets – in particular, the strong nationalism of the Park Jung Hee government, which insisted on the infusion of traditional culture in creating new artworks. Such persuasion was also clearly conveyed through the dance criticism. From the 1960s until the 1970s, the criticism showed a strong focus
on the value of national tradition; it was carried out under the motto of ‘the modernisation of the tradition’ (Lim, 1993). This ambiguous slogan reveals that the writings of the 1960s demanded that practitioners seize on traditional subject matter when creating modern works. This emphasis on the inherent value of tradition was engendered by the broader socio-historical situation at that time – namely, the fact that, since Korea significantly opened its doors to the influences of Western culture after gaining its independence in 1945, its autochthonous creative work showed little self-understanding or appreciation, and seemed more inclined, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, to imitate Western performances (Lim, 1993). Hence the critics’ emphasis on tradition was intended to scold those dance practitioners who let tradition fall by the wayside. On the other hand, ‘modernisation’ implied a visionary and cosmopolitan outlook, one which expressed a widespread expectation and desire to infuse those traditional elements with the latest Western trends and vice versa.

This tendency was also evident in the ballet criticism, especially in the writings of Kyung Ok Kim during the 1960s, except with the slogan twisted into something more along the lines of ‘the localisation of the ballet genre’. Under the banner of the ‘racial ballet movement’ (Lim, 1993, 35), Kim proposed a grafting of Korean traditional dance movements onto the classical ballet vocabulary, as well as demanded that ballet practitioners form a ‘Korean national ballet’ with new rules and conventions that embraced Korea’s own traditions (Lim, 1993, 35). Nonetheless, from the critics’ point of view, Jigwi’s Dream showed an incomplete comprehension of national themes and traditional dance movements. Kim (2000, 445) cites critics such as Jae Sung An, who argued that a ballet does not become a nationalised work by blindly foisting Korean ethnic subject matter onto the Western ballet form. Such critical demands delayed Lim’s further attempts to create a nationalised ballet until the 1980s (Appendix D, 279).

For the remainder of the 1970s, the KNB focused on presenting various classical works. In 1977, for the first time since its foundation, the company staged a full performance of Swan Lake (Petipa and Ivanov, 1895). In the programme notes, Lim emphasised that the company followed Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov’s version of
Swan Lake, highlighting its attempt to stage the original version of the work. Kim praises this attempt by stating:

While this work, of course, is the essence of classical ballet that many ballet companies desire to present, it has been out of our league due to its grand scale and the high technical skills demanded from the dancers. However, the KNB has presented this work, through ‘an honest approach’, only in three years [since its official start in 1974 in the new NTK building, as a separate company].

Kim, 2000, 448

Nonetheless, the ways in which this performance reproduces the original version are not elaborated in either Kim’s appraisal or the programme notes. Rather the notes pointed to the severe technical demands of the work to argue for the need for a KNB-affiliated professional ballet school (it is unfortunate that, over thirty-five years later, in 2013, this aim has still not been realised).

During Lim’s tenure other classical works were staged using Japanese choreographers, instead of following the original Western version. The Nutcracker, for example, was staged by Arima Goro in 1977, and Cinderella by Ishida Daneo in 1978. Although such connections with Japanese artists can be seen as stemming from Lim’s early ballet training in Japan, critics at the time expressed concern over the regularity of these importations. In an interview published in Choom between Soon Yeol Lee and Yong Gyu Park, originally a music critic, Lee drew attention to the KNB’s frequent invitation of Japanese choreographers to stage the classics. Lee remarked:

The invitation of Japanese choreographers to produce European ballets is metaphorically similar to the retranslation of Western literature from Japanese translation. It is also different from retranslation from European countries’ translation as they have close lineage.

Lee, 1978, 18

Lee continued to suggest that, if inviting Western choreographers was not possible due to financial constraints, the KNB should arrange for VTR access to the performances of some of the more important international companies in order to broaden company members’ contextual knowledge of ballet. Lee is one of a number of critics who mainly analysed the KNB’s programme planning in order to isolate the
company’s problems and to provide suggestions for its future direction. Lee seems to have had a comprehensive rule in mind in his assessment, which is evidence of a certain development of critical judgement during the period of Lim’s directorship.

More extreme criticism, even ‘hypercriticism’, of the KNB was evident in the 1970s. For instance, Dong Hwa Jo, in a 1977 review of the KNB’s The Nutcracker (Goro, 1977), insisted on Lim’s retirement, stating that ‘the only advice for the KNB’s future is…that Lim should walk out the door of retirement’ (Jo in Kim, 1995, 25). In reviewing the same performance, Park also stated that ‘honourable retirement is the only option for an artist with no difference left to make’ (Park in Kim, 1995, 26). Here the reviews went far beyond the bounds of ordinary criticism and attempted to interfere with the personnel management of the KNB. This tendency exposes the sense of superiority often found among the critics, which was perhaps tied to deep-seated Confucian beliefs in the supremacy of ‘mind (or thought) over body’. This concept led to an extreme authoritarianism on the part of the literary circle and made the critics believe that they knew better than the artists themselves. Nonetheless, in spite of this intense criticism Lim continued his directorship until 1992. This well-aired confrontation between writers and practitioners interrupted communication and understanding between the two fields. In the 1970s, the fact that there was a large number of dance writers with no dance experience may have caused further estrangement between the two fields, as neither group respected or approved of the roles of the other. This insistence on the part of critics to localise the ballet genre (and thus Lim’s desire to create nationalised ballets) was largely influenced by state cultural policy in the 1970s, which advocated the infusion of traditional cultural elements into modern artworks. At the same time, neither the critics’ preference for European ballet artists/companies nor Korea’s official politico-economic ties to the US had much of an impact on the KNB’s forging of international relationships, which was rather determined mainly by the various directors’ previous foreign ballet experience – in this period, for instance, Russian ballet works via Japanese artists.

One major development after the 1970s was a significant growth in the number of dance organisations and performance theatres that could accommodate various dance groups. In the 1980s, through the hosting of the Asian Games in 1986 and the
Olympics in 1988, the public grew steadily closer to and more engaged with dance (Kim, 1995). Regardless of former conflicts between critical circles and practitioners, the size and quantity of the criticism also increased. The professional journals and magazines such as *Choom, Dance Korea, Dance Art* and *Auditorium* began to treat dance performances, and also embraced new critics such as Tae Won Kim and Kyung Ae Kim. This led to a certain critical reflexivity in the early 1980s. Il Jee Moon, commenting on the status of dance criticism in 1981, pinpointed the source of the conflict between criticism and practice. Moon stated:

The mutual distrust and confrontation between the performance artists and critics is no longer a hidden factor...Although there is some critique that acts as guidance, extremely distorted exaggeration or the making of a heroic performance closes dance practitioners’ eyes and allows them to become stubborn. And hypercriticism with a radically astray standing point pulls the practitioners into graves...By all means, the critics, who are deforming the history, need to voluntarily release their pen.

Moon in Kim, 1995, 29-30

Moon’s indictment helped to identify the problems with the field as a whole, and encouraged writers to reassess their role as critics. Consequently writers began to analyse the performances themselves, focusing on exposition of the merits of the performances in order to positively stimulate their further development.

Some reviews fully supported the performances, while others examined both their strengths and weaknesses. Consider, for example, the difference in the reviews by Young Tae Kim and Hee Chang Jung of the KNB’s twenty-fifth anniversary performance of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (originally Perrot, 1884), produced by the Japanese artist Ishida Daneo in 1987. Young Tae Kim remarked (1987, 109) that the KNB ‘will release Prince Hodong next year as a 1988 Olympic event; nonetheless, the anniversary performance is being given by guest producer, Isada Daneo’. Here Kim appears to be erecting a kind of protective buffer against other critics who might disapprove of the idea of entrusting the anniversary production to a foreign artist. On the other hand, Hee Chang Jung’s dissatisfaction was immediately evident in the very title of his review: ‘The KNB’s twenty-fifth anniversary production in Japanese hands’ (Jung, 1987, 118). Despite this, however, he also eulogised the improvement of the
dancers’ technique and artistry, and especially approved of the stage design and lighting that the guest producer had constructed. In this way Hee Chang Jung’s writing alternated between the friendly and the critical. Nonetheless, both Young Tae Kim’s rationalisation and Hee Chang Jung’s criticism of the company’s anniversary performance reveal a continued underlying demand for Korean cultural independence hidden in the criticism of the 1980s.

Reflecting this tendency in the criticism, Lim boosted his choreographic output over the decade of the 1980s, producing several ballets with Korean traditional themes: Cheo Yong (1981), Bae Bi Jang (1984), Choon Hyang’s Love (1986), Prince Hodong (1988) and Corea Ae Ga (1990) (Appendix D, 279). Tae Hoon Kim (2000, 452) dubs this the era of ‘the development of nationalised ballet’, and as Korea was hosting two large international sporting events at the time, such works were aimed at projecting national colour, beliefs and sentiments to distinguish Korea in the world’s eyes. Thus Lim remarked that

although there is the classical ballet that originated from the West, we, as Koreans, have to have a vocation of presenting artistic creations that possess a Korean basis and background.

Lim in Kim, 2000, 454

Lim’s tenacious attachment to his goal of localising the ballet genre, and his urge to resist any simple copying of Western imperial culture and its canon, were clearly the most significant factors behind the prolific creation of nationalised ballets during this period, while the socio-political conditions and the role of the critics were important supplementary influences. All of Lim’s ballets at this time – being based on Korean traditional themes or tales and incorporating traditional music, costumes and dance movements (Picture Four, 169) – were created to realise these aims. Prince Hodong (Lim, 1988), which was shown to both domestic and international audiences at the Seoul Olympic Games’ Culture and Arts Festival in 1988, is exemplary in this regard.
Notably, *Cheo Yong*, shows the company’s attempt in reinventing of one of traditional court dances, *Ch’ŏyoungmu* (identified in chapter 5.1) in the form of ballet production. It features masked dancers (as the use of masks are key feature of *Ch’ŏyoungmu*) and also displays traditional masked dance-dramas (*t’alch’um*) to add further traditional reference. The review of *Cheo Yong* in 1981 by Kyung Ok Kim (who in the 1960s had insisted on the formation of a ‘Korean national ballet’) highlights the KNB’s success in achieving Lim’s goal. Kim states that

one of the important tasks of our dance field is the creation of Koreanised ballet, in which the art has its nationality…As I believe it is now time to stop copying the Western ballet and to create our own ballet; I consider the performance of the KNB’s new ballet, *Cheo Yong*, to be a significant turning point, while I fully support and congratulate [its achievement].

Kim in Kim, 2000, 455

In this way, Sun Jung’s idea of ‘the postcolonial awareness of the “lack” in local culture’ (discussed in Chapter 3.4) is exhibited by the dance criticism of the 1980s, confirming the status of the KNB’s nationalised creations as a mode of thoughtful resistance towards the imperial culture. During this period, then, the ballet genre was regarded more as a contemporary medium for representing and expressing national identity than as an imported Western/imperial cultural form, and accordingly Lim’s dedication to localisation can be interpreted with the idea of Korean ballet (outlined in Chapter 3.4). In Bhabha’s terms, Lim seems to have voluntarily copied or reproduced
the foreign imperial cultural form of ballet (mainly its technique and choreographic structure), yet always with thoughtful or intentional resistance in order to distinguish his creations from the Western classics by articulating Korean national identity. Thus both Lim and the critics emphasised the difference of the works rather than the act of voluntary imitation as such. Lim’s ballets can therefore be seen as expressions of the KNB’s initial struggle to establish a distinctive Korean ballet, while his underlying intentions reveal a conscious effort towards ‘thoughtful resistance’ rather than mere unconscious disavowal. This desire to foster national identity through reappropriation of culture was related to the particular stresses and emphases evident in the criticism of the 1970s (which were further sharpened by the hosting of the international events in the 1980s), while the increased artistic authority of the critical circle since the 1980s is another contributing factor in the promotion of national culture as a means of accumulating symbolic capital. Nevertheless, most critics, in contrast to Kyung Ok Kim, expressed dissatisfaction with Lim’s obsession with grafting traditional elements onto the classical ballet vocabulary, and it is for this reason that none of these early nationalised ballets has been retained as part of the KNB’s recent fixed programme. Moreover, the company has shown a strong tendency to change directors, each of whom proposes new aims and goals, thus further diminishing the importance of maintaining the early works.

6.4 A new perspective under Hae Sik Kim’s direction (1993-95)

During the early 1990s, Lim tried to expand the KNB’s international artistic profile by inviting Russian choreographers like Marina Kondratieva in 1990 and Boris Eifman in 1992 (owing to the diplomatic opening of Korea to former socialist or communist countries, as discussed in Chapter 5.4). In contrast, Hae Sik Kim, appointed as the KNB’s new director in 1992 following Lim’s retirement, brought a new vision to the company. As the winner of the first Dong Ah Dance Competition in 1963, she was awarded a scholarship to study at the Royal Ballet Upper School in the UK. She then danced as a soloist in the Zurich Ballet and as a principal dancer in Les Grands Ballets, Canada, and later gained teaching and choreographing experience in California, USA. Hence she was the first Korean dancer to acquire experience from foreign countries other than Japan or Russia. When Hae Sik Kim became the director of the KNB, she announced her impressions of and future plans for the company by stating:
Korea has been filling out the repertoire with Russian classical ballets and this status gave me an imbalanced impression towards Russian ballets. I am planning to introduce the ballet trends and new repertoire of Europe and America to even out the repertoire.

Kim in Kim, 2004, 49

In carrying out this plan – by staging such newly introduced ballets as Balanchine’s *Allegro Brillante* (1956) and Nault’s *Carmina Burana* (1967) – Hae Sik Kim was simultaneously aiming, first, to improve the KNB’s financial situation by forming the KNB supporters’ association in 1993; second, to hone the dancers’ technical skills by increasing the number of classes and rehearsals; and third, to foster relationships with other countries by establishing a training-abroad scheme for exceptional KNB dancers.

In contrast to the hypercritical standpoint adopted towards Lim, the dance critics generally welcomed and praised Hae Sik Kim’s appointment. After a meeting with Kim in 1993, Kwang Yeol Jang evaluated the changes within the company in an article in *Auditorium*, repeating her intentions and opinions and acting almost as her spokesperson. In doing so, he (1993, 214) declared that ‘the dance field welcomed her courageous decision as “nicely done work”, and expressed its reassurance by saying that “the KNB is now beginning to turn into a truly professional organisation”’. Further, although Kwang Yeol Jang noted some resistance to her appointment within the company itself, he considered this to be a reasonable after-effect of any serious reformation, and expressed empathy toward Hae Sik Kim for her enormous efforts. Kwang Yeol Jang’s writing made evident several criticisms of the KNB’s previous situation. For example, Jang implied that the KNB, due to Lim’s refusal to directly invite foreign artists, choreographers or trainers, had begun to close up and deteriorate. This is an unfair point, however, since Lim did invite artists from the Czech Republic and later Russia; his preoccupation with creating nationalised ballets was related to the earlier critics’ emphasis on the need for autonomy rather than to any inherently unfriendly attitude toward the outside world. The openness of the critics of the 1990s to fostering relations with foreign ballet companies was due in part to the favourable views of the new director and her previous artistic background, and even more to the effects of the gradually developing idea of globalisation during this time (Chapter 5.5).
Nonetheless, the changes made Hae Sik Kim lasted only two years, as she was reassigned as the director of the dance department at Korea’s first and newly formed professional arts university, Korea National University of Arts (KNUA). The attempt to incorporate international influences and to facilitate exposure to a wide range of dance experience soon appeared in KNUA with the formation of an early education system for young dancers. Although KNUA cultivated some outstanding ballet dancers for the KNB and other ballet companies in Korea, a more direct relationship with the KNB ultimately failed due to the separate establishment of the two organisations, and hence the possibility of founding an official KNB-associated ballet school was again thwarted. Moreover, with Hae Sik Kim’s departure from the KNB, the company’s efforts to acquire further influences from broader exposure to foreign countries (other than Russia) were simply put on hold, even despite the general wave of globalisation and the more direct political and cultural ties between Korea and the US.

6.5 Importation of Grigorovich’s ballets under Tae Ji Choi’s direction (1996-2001)

In 1996, Choi, a principal dancer of the KNB since 1983 and ballet mistress during Hae Sik Kim’s tenure, was appointed as the next artistic director. With her appointment, Choi mainly focused on two goals: first, the enhancement of the dancers’ technique and artistry, and second, the popularisation of ballet in Korea in order to bring the art closer to the people. As a means of achieving the first goal, Choi insisted on presenting renowned ballet classics, mostly Russian-based works, and on inviting Russian choreographers and teachers to introduce systematic training and a close learning of the repertoire. The first performance after her appointment, in 1996, was a restaging of the KNB’s *Don Quixote* (Gorsky, 1900) performance in 1991, when Lim had invited Kordateieva from the Bolshoi. Choi danced the principal role (Kitri) in the 1991 performance, on account of her former experience with Kordateieva, who was again invited to mount the Bolshoi’s version of *Cinderella* (Zaharoff, 1945) in 1997 (Appendix E, 280-82). The company’s former connection with Kordateieva in 1991 was the main motivation for, and major factor facilitating, their reunion in 1996, which allowed Choi to continue the relationship with the Bolshoi. Therefore, while Hae Sik Kim resisted the Russian influence during her tenure, Choi re-established the
company’s connection with Russian ballet, especially with the Bolshoi, at the start of her appointment.

To achieve her second goal, Choi produced star ballet dancers such as Ji Young Kim, Yong Girl Kim and Joo Won Kim through massive media exposure. Some of these dancers had just graduated from the Vaganova Ballet Academy and The Moscow State Academy of Choreography and had won several international competitions, including the Moscow International Ballet Competition and the Paris International Dance Competition. As a result, unlike the preceding performance reviews and prescriptive writings, various types of dance writings appeared in the dance/arts magazines involving interviews with principal ballerinas and dialogues between famous dancers. This helped to create ballet celebrities whose personal lives and lifestyles were on public display, all in an effort to bring ballet closer to the Korean public. Moreover, Choi also organised different types of productions, variously termed ‘ballet with explanation’, ‘cultural space on Saturday’, and ‘summer/autumn outdoor performances’ (Appendix F, 283). The intention was to offer productions that were easily understood and to bring ballet performances to the level of people’s daily lives. These projects met the needs of the general public, and were especially attractive to children, who had preconceptions of ballet as a difficult genre.

As stated in Chapter 5.6, the KNB became an official juridical foundation at the turn of the century (with the change in political administration), isolated from the KNT, and moved its home to the Seoul Arts Centre (SAC), ensuring independent budget planning. Benefiting from the Kim Dae Jung government’s motto of ‘support with no interference’, the company was granted more autonomy and greater financial support, opening up numerous artistic possibilities for Choi in building up the company’s repertoire. Here, Choi returned to her former connection with the Bolshoi. This time, however, she aimed for the importation of large, internationally known, full-act ballets staged with the original choreographer, and thus introduced three of Grigorovich’s classics: The Nutcracker, Spartacus and Swan Lake. But while the continued deference to Russia might be viewed as an extended effect of the opening of diplomatic relations with (former) communist or socialist countries, in fact it had to do with financial feasibility, geographic proximity, and a preference for the comfort
and familiarity that results from drawing from the reservoir of pre-existing artistic knowledge and experience.

*Korean Daily* (2001) reported on the significant increase in the size of the audience attending the performance of *Swan Lake* (with ticket sales reaching 81.7%) and on the KNB’s success in general. Hence, the KNB garnered significant attention from various media groups, dance critics and the dance/arts field in general. The critics and media groups regarded the importation of Grigorovich’s ballets as a significant achievement that contributed to the KNB’s growth, as this was the first time it had aimed to produce world-renowned classical ballet works through the formal route of inviting the original choreographer to mount the ballets. In her review of the KNB’s 2001 performance of *Swan Lake*, Mi Hwan Oh stated that:

> This performance is the Bolshoi Ballet’s version by the great master Yuri Grigorovich, who created the equation ‘Ballet = Bolshoi’ during his thirty-three years of Bolshoi Theatre directorship.

Oh, 2001a, http://news.naver.com

Here, she emphasises the authenticity of the KNB’s importation by highlighting the worldwide reputation of Grigorovich and the Bolshoi. Various daily newspapers also lauded the performances as distinctive accomplishments, which boosted the public’s estimation of ballet in Korea, and Choi’s efforts in the late 1990s to popularise ballet attracted further attention from the press and brought still more praise.

These kinds of reviews served to highlight the strong link between symbolic capital and artistic authority, in contrast to previous reviews in which symbolic sanction was tied to the idea of national identity. Here, the critical circle legitimised Choi’s choice of importation and her rising of the public’s awareness of Grigorovich and the Bolshoi, all of which inevitably elevated the status of the KNB. Hence, under Choi’s direction, the KNB, both nominally and publically, became a professionally organised ballet company with full technical and artistic legitimacy. This was a time in which the company focused more on the importation of Western ballet classics and less on the creation of its own works, and was perhaps the only period in which the critics were not obsessed with creating new ballets with national themes. While the public’s
openness to the KNB’s foreign importations was related to the wave of globalisation that began to sweep over Korea starting in the late 1990s with the Kim Young Sam government (Chapter 5.5), Kim Dae Jung’s new vision of presenting national identity without emphasis on traditional elements was another crucial influence on the critics’ shifting views (i.e. bestowing symbolic sanction initially on the idea of representing national identity, and later on the idea of establishing Korean ballet’s Western, particularly Russian, pedigree and heritage). Moreover, the KNB’s triumph in performing Grigorovich’s ballets created a comfortable situation for subsequent directors (Geung Soo Kim and In Ja Park), as they were able to provide continuous performances of those ballets, making them part of the company’s main repertoire.

6.6 The direction of Geung Soo Kim (2002-04) and In Ja Park (2005-07)

Following Choi, first Geung Soo Kim and then In Ja Park assumed the directorship. During Geung Soo Kim’s directorship there was no new importation of Western classics or attempts at new creations; instead he mainly repeated already introduced works, such as the Bolshoi’s version of Don Quixote, Grigorovich’s Swan Lake and Jean-Christophe Maillot’s Romeo and Juliet (1996), which had been brought in by Choi in 1999. Given that there were no major changes in the KNB’s repertoire, Geung Soo Kim’s tenure amounted to a kind of ‘settling-in’ period in which the previously imported works were allowed to become part of the KNB’s main repertoire.

During In Ja Park’s directorship, by contrast, there was some attempt to enlarge the repertoire by including a contemporary ballet, Mats Ek’s Carmen (1992), in 2006. This importation was welcomed by the critics as it highlighted the KNB’s improved global competitiveness. For instance, Kwang Yeol Jang emphasised Ek’s international reputation, pointing to his receiving the Nijinsky award in 2002, and stated:

It is lucky to be able to choose Mats Ek’s Carmen as [part of] the KNB’s new repertoire and it is considered to be the priming for a major leap towards becoming the major ballet company.

Jang, 2006, 113

Kwang Yeol Jang views this performance as a key stepping-stone in gaining international recognition. Here, the KNB’s inclusion of contemporary ballets in its
reertoire – a common feature of various international ballet companies since the turn of the century (for instance, Wayne McGregor working with The Royal Ballet, UK, since 2000) – can be seen as a measure of the level of international competitiveness it had achieved by this time.

Further, in April 2007, during In Ja Park’s tenure, the KNB staged a collaborative performance with the Novosibirsk Ballet; productions of Spartacus were given in both Russia and Korea, and this was hailed as the KNB’s triumph on the world stage. The four principal roles were shared by both companies (two from each), and the corps de ballet roles were also mixed, with approximately one hundred dancers in total on stage. The reviews praised the technical development and the power of the male dancers, as well as the overall success of the collaboration. That same year the KNB was invited to the Poland Lodz International Ballet Festival to perform Swan Lake. In addition, there was the 2007 Korea – Russia Exchange Festival, where the KNB performed La Fille Mal Gardée (Alonso, 1964) to celebrate the diplomatic ties between the two countries. Here, Park’s continual efforts to forge new relationships with choreographers and ballet companies, and to participate in events outside Korea, vitalised the KNB’s international exchanges and elevated its global reputation. In the process, the KNB established a more direct route for cultural exchange with Russia, securing the ballet genre in general, and the KNB in particular, as signature mediums capable of representing the diplomatic ties between Russia and Korea. Accordingly, Park also secured Grigorovich’s ballets as part of the KNB’s main repertoire, as these were the works that represented the company in these various international events.

### 6.7 The reappointment of Choi (2008-13)

In January 2008, Choi was reassigned as the director of the KNB, and she promptly declared the company’s motto to be the globalisation, refinement and popularisation of ballet. This motto recapitulated the aims of her earlier tenure (with the addition of ‘globalisation’), yet she now expressed different plans for achieving these goals. In an interview with Joo Yeon Kim (2008), Choi explained that she was trying to popularise ballet by staging public-service type performances targeting culturally marginalised groups such as the disabled, the elderly, and orphans. As a means of refining ballet, she stated that, in terms of the ballets staged at the Opera House of the SAC, ‘it is
necessary to fill the stage with masterpieces that have merits [that allow them] to be restaged in fifty years’ time’ (2008, 185), hinting at the extreme care being taken in choosing pieces for the company’s main programme. As for the globalisation of ballet, this in fact implied the global introduction and expansion of the KNB. While the KNB previously mounted Western classics in order to forge international relationships, Choi now desired to see the KNB produce its own ballet in order to introduce Korean culture to the world.

Nonetheless, for her first comeback programme, Choi presented Romeo and Juliet (1979) by Grigorovich, highlighting the fact that she considered Grigorovich’s ballets as timeless masterpieces to which the company can safely return again and again, revealing the continued influence of Russian ballet. This proclivity for importing Grigorovich’s works raised different opinions from the critics. The conflict centred mainly on the importance of the KNB’s independence versus the need to rely on the strong influence of countries with a well-established ballet reputation in order to cultivate a healthy ballet tradition in Korea. Texts by Ae Ryung Moon (2008) and Gi Sook Sung (2009) exemplify this conflict. Ae Ryung Moon previewed the KNB’s Romeo and Juliet in Auditorium and expressed positive opinions regarding the continued importation of Grigorovich’s works. Here, as Ae Ryung Moon was a member of the KNB’s advisory committee, her position helps to explain her favourable treatment of the KNB’s performance. She highlighted Choi’s previous achievements as director, and called this importation a ‘rite of passage’ and a learning process carried out under the tutelage of someone with a proper and distinguished pedigree (Moon, 2008, 179).

Ae Ryung Moon continued by stating that:

[Some] divisions, failing to grasp the full picture of the KNB, highlight the need for a Koreanised ballet by calling this phenomenon ‘cultural toadyism’. In modern society, the classical ballet is the human’s intangible cultural property. As it is an inheritance that is passed from master to student, especially through bodily transfer, in learning ballet, everyone needs to be a toady. Russian ballet followed France and Italy, and England, America and Japan obeyed the Russian ballet, and through this process they would become the powerful ballet centres. To hurried eyes this process may
seem like waste; nonetheless, the history proves that the creation of a ballet work with national characteristics can only come from decades of this investment. In this context, the KNB’s *Romeo and Juliet* implies that they are strengthening and continuing the Russian-line masterpieces. If we are determining the KNB’s image as Bolshoi’s inheritance, adding *Sleeping Beauty* can also be advisable.

Moon, 2008, 179

Here Ae Ryung Moon slightly mischaracterises the ballet history of the US and the UK. Although it is correct to say that these two countries were significantly influenced by Russian ballet, both countries, in the early years, did not simply incorporate Russian works into their programmes. In England, Ninette de Valois, when establishing her company (which later became The Royal Ballet) in the 1930s, restored the nineteenth-century Russian works to claim a Russian heritage, carefully and deliberately ignoring the indigenous British ballet which had a far less respectable history. However, Frederick Ashton and Kenneth MacMillan also produced several new ballets that later helped to form the distinctive repertoire of The Royal Ballet. In the case of the US, Balanchine created new versions of the classics specifically for America, and also choreographed countless new ballets for his New York City Ballet, with an increasing ‘American’ flavour. Neither of these countries developed its repertoire by just incorporating ballet classics from only one Russian ballet company without much creative activity. Thus while history demonstrates the importance of parallel creative efforts, Ae Ryung Moon overlooks this in order to support Choi’s choice in programme planning.

Moreover, as Ae Ryung Moon encouraged further importation of Grigorovich’s work, and did not demand that the KNB forge new connections with other international companies or choreographers, she defended and justified the company’s preference for settling for the familiar and comfortable route. In doing so she portrayed the KNB as being in a similar position to the major ballet companies of England, America and Japan, namely, by highlighting that all of these centres had followed the same Russian ballet to which the KNB had been conforming over the course of its history. In this sense, she bestowed artistic legitimacy on the KNB’s constant importation of Russian ballets, confirming that there was no need for engagement with other countries, such as the US and the UK, while establishing and positioning Grigorovich’s works as the
dominant carrier of the Russian ballet pedigree.

Sung (2009), on the other hand, in an article titled ‘Is the localisation of ballet in Korea far away?’ in The Weekly Hankook, voiced precisely the opposite opinion. Explaining the role that other national dance organisations (the KND and the NGC) were playing in the government’s National Brand project, Sung targeted the KNB specifically, stating that it was the only national dance institution exempted from the project. She noted that although the project could function to repress freedom of creation and expression, nevertheless, national organisations should have a nation-centred mindset that could improve the value of the national brand. In doing so, the KNB was singled out, contrasting the instant participation of the national organisations of traditional culture in the National Brand project with the KNB’s rather delayed participation. Sung valued Lim’s creations as traditional Korean story-based works that contributed to forming national identity, and she continued to argue that these works were well-known representations of Korean creative ballets. Although her argument is partially correct in that it emphasises Lim’s creative activity as a method of forming and expressing national identity, his works were not sufficiently known to the general public to have constituted renowned symbols of Korean ballet. This bias toward Lim contrasts with the writings of the 1970s-90s, when his efforts were hypercritically regarded, and hence proves that over time his accomplishments have become increasingly valued.

Sung argued that the KNB has been showing a serious lack of new works, stating that in order to become a truly powerful ballet country, in the future, we should not sink into extreme technical determinism and also should be cautious of a colonial tendency in ballet. Especially with the absence of new ballets, reckless acceptance of the ‘Western-object’ has reached a serious level. In the KNB’s case, it is shameful to see such an indolent thought [i.e., that they can] easily buy foreign works to fill their stage.


She continued to argue that the company was falling victim to a certain colonial dependence on Grigorovich and strongly criticised Grigorovich by stating that, ‘as we
all know, Grigorovich is a forgotten master who is wandering the world trying to make money after the collapse of his country’s socialist structure’ (Sung, 2009, http://weekly.hankooki.com). While this excoriation completely demolished Grigorovich’s reputation, and could also be read as a strong criticism of the KNB, nonetheless Sung’s evaluation crystallises the direct coloniser/colonised frontline that had been built up since the turn of the century and had marked Grigorovich’s work as the dominate discourse.

Hence if Sung took a more conservative point of view, Ae Ryung Moon was more concerned with boosting the artistic and technical standards of the KNB as a necessary prerequisite for the company to develop its own ballets. This difference in the two writers’ views can be explained by their respective backgrounds: Sung, who majored in Korean traditional dance before undertaking further academic studies, persists with the theme of Korean tradition, while Ae Ryung Moon, who majored in classical ballet and studied abroad, justifies her validation of the criteria of classical ballet and demonstrates an open-mindedness toward foreign influences. Thus Choi’s reappointment has reignited the longstanding debate concerning the appreciation of the Western ballet classics that can demonstrate the company’s technical standard versus the necessity of independent creation that can represent the nation.

In fact, Choi had been working to fulfil both aims. On the one hand, she continued to build up the KNB’s repertoire with Grigorovich’s versions of the classics, presenting Raymonda (1984) in 2010 to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the diplomatic ties between Korea and Russia. Here the KNB and the Bolshoi traded their soloist dancers to stage exchange performances in both Seoul and Moscow, enhancing the diplomatic relations between the two countries while simultaneously establishing the Bolshoi’s, and in particular Grigorovich’s, strong influence on the KNB’s artistic tradition. On the other hand, Choi presented the KNB’s first new ballet in ten years, Prince Hodong (Moon, 2009), with the explicit aim of producing a ballet that articulated and represented the nation on the world stage. Prince Hodong premiered in November 2009 at the Opera House stage of the SAC. The official press conference stressed the grandiosity of this creation, and insisted on the need for maximum publicity in order to generate support and enthusiasm by highlighting the work as the nation’s first
representative ballet (YonHap News, 2009). As a way to achieve this aim – since the initial performance was viewed more or less solely by the domestic audience, with the intention of developing the work over time to enhance its global competitiveness – the KNB performed *Prince Hodong* in The World Festival of National Theatres at the KNT in 2010, which marked its international debut. Later, in October 2011, the KNB was invited to The Second World Dance Festival, held at the San Carlos Theatre in Naples, Italy, where *Prince Hodong* was presented as the opening performance, thus officially reaching its first international stage. In this sense, *Prince Hodong* realises Sung’s recommendations, fully conforming to the Lee Myung Park government’s National Brand policy and thus functioning as a national delegate targeting the world stage. However, as the KNB had been preparing this work since Choi’s reappointment in 2008, Sung’s charge that the company was slow to participate in official state policy was a rather overhasty conclusion, drawn without much insight into the company’s internal planning. Moreover, despite any actual delay as compared with other national dance organisations, as the creation of *Prince Hodong* subsequently encouraged the Korean National Opera to participate in the National Brand project, the KNB’s role was in fact pivotal, as it triggered an expansion of participation amongst other national cultural organisations.

The significance of *Prince Hodong* as a kind of national ambassador was perceived and highlighted almost from the moment of its creation. For example, In Chon Yu, the Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST), stated on the greeting note that

*Prince Hodong* is a production…that unravels Korean sentiment with classical ballet movements…and I hope the production can capture the hearts and minds of audiences around the globe.

Yu, 2009, 8

Se Ung Lee, the Board Chair of the SAC, further highlighted this purpose, stating that

the KNB is progressing towards the world stage, welcoming the twenty-first century, the age of globalisation. With the director Tae Ji Choi’s artistic sense and outstanding leadership, the KNB has produced an original work based on our story. I sense the touching enthusiasm by the fact that they are marching towards the goal.

Lee in KNB, 2009, 9
Se Ung Lee’s statement points to the KNB’s appropriation of globalisation for the sake of the national interest through the introduction of its own nationalised ballet on the world stage, similar to the strategy behind the Lee Myung Park government’s use of the National Brand policy (to employ globalised standards to develop and justify state-led nationalism).

Similarly, and as a further way of realising the ‘globalisation’ element of her motto for the KNB, Choi gathered together a team of established artists with international experience to form the production crew for *Prince Hodong*. The chief producer was Soo Ho Kook, whose many high-profile accomplishments include chief artistic director of the Seoul Olympic Celebration of Culture and Arts in 1988 and chief producer of the opening ceremony of the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup. Thus Kook had experience in producing and orchestrating large-scale national works and events for occasions that have an international purpose and that are intended for a global audience. In this sense, his ability to exhibit national identity on the world stage and to select and display those traits and features of Korea that are most attractive to foreign nations was already justified and confirmed through his work on former occasions. Having Kook at the helm of the project was thus an indication of the enthusiasm and intensity that surrounded the goal of appropriating globalisation for national interest. Sun Hee Shin, the stage designer of *Prince Hodong*, aimed for a precise portrayal of the historical conditions of ancient Korea. She had twenty years of experience as producer/designer (for approximately 62 pieces) and had served as the first female chief director of the KNT since 2006. She expressed her in-depth understanding of Korean history through her statement in the programme notes, describing the set design with reference to the historical symbols of Goguryu and Nakrang, the two countries of ancient Korea in which *Prince Hodong* is set (Appendix C, 276-78).

The following two members of the production team reveal the inherent duality of the production and in doing so expose how this ballet, even through its music and design, appropriated already globalised foreign/Western art forms to articulate national culture. The composer, Seok Yeon Cho, studied in Germany, and has previously composed music for Korean traditional dance productions and Korean musicals. The
programme notes stated that his work combines ‘the condensation of the oriental beauty of stillness and the dynamic expression of the West’ (KNB, 2009, 26), revealing an amalgamation of the traits of both Korea/East Asia and the West. Jérôme Kaplan, the costume designer, is from France, and is a professional ballet costume designer with international experience, including with the China National Ballet’s Raise the Red Lantern (1991) and several classical ballet works for the KNB. The programme notes highlighted Kaplan’s substantial knowledge and understanding of Korean culture and his ability to observe and exhibit another nation’s culture with relative detachment. Thus his selection was justified insofar as he was seen to be especially suited to the task of painting a generically recognisable portrait of Korea that could serve to generate an enthusiastic international response.

In a private interview, Choi stated her intention behind the hiring of a foreign member. She explained the ballet was not focused on conjuring up an ‘authentic Korean-ness’ that would then be the subject of intense debates over accuracy and originality (debates that, in line with Hobsbawm’s idea of invented tradition discussed in Chapter 3.1, would be largely sterile and meaningless). Instead, Choi argued that the aim was to demonstrate an ‘exceptional Korean-ness’, suggesting the isolation of certain attributes that could be instantly or subtly recognised as Korean in the present time, possibly more appealing to an international audience. The process behind the creation of Prince Hodong can then be understood as an ongoing (yet subtle) process of inventing tradition, reflecting Van Zile’s remark (above) about the shifting meaning of Korean-ness in the contemporary period. The hybrid nature of the production thus calls for an intertextual reading of these performance texts in Chapter 8, while the ways in which the production revises or reinstates particular traits as Korean tradition also calls for intensive analysis.

Given the logic and raison d’être of this production – viz. to enhance Korea’s brand power – and furthermore, given the generous financial support of the state, artistic freedom was naturally rather limited, being restricted to Korean historical themes and stories. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that Choi was granted some degree of autonomy, as she was allowed to draw on the company’s own internal history and to recreate one of Lim’s early ballets. Byung Nam Moon, the choreographer of the
latest *Prince Hodong*, supports this direct link with the KNB’s history. Formerly a student of Lim, he later became the principal dancer and then the ballet master of the company. He is now part of the living history of the KNB, and served as its deputy artistic director until 2013. Moon’s fundamental artistic principle was given in the programme notes, where he stated that ‘the teachings [of Lim] are the history. This past act serves as the conserving value and the power for [my] constant devotion’ (Moon in KNB, 2009, 28). Though *Prince Hodong* was a completely new production, showing no preservation of the earlier version, such a thematic choice, along with the declared dedication to Lim’s achievements, emphasised the value of the company’s artistic legacy. Hence the KNB largely succeeded in fulfilling both the state’s aim of creating a solid national-brand production and the company’s own intention to secure its heritage, despite certain restrictions on artistic freedom.

In addition to her efforts both to secure Grigorovich’s classics as standards of the KNB’s repertoire and to create a new ballet, Choi tried to make other international connections with artists and companies in Europe. In 2009, she re-invited Maillot to introduce his version of *Cinderella* (1999). The KNB presented a triple-bill programme in 2010 to introduce works by Roland Petit, a French-trained international choreographer; *Le jeune homme et la mort* (1946), *Carmen* (1949) and *L’Arlésienne* (1974). The KNB also brought in the Paris Opera’s version of *Giselle* in 2011 and continued to include the work as part of its 2012 programme. These recently incorporated European ballets constitute a fresh wave of new material aiding the company’s repertoire expansion. Nonetheless, as these works have not yet become part of the fixed repertoire (not been performed again after Choi’s leave in 2013), it is difficult to evaluate whether and the extent to which they will come to form part of the KNB’s artistic heritage; for this reason they are not considered as determining sources for evaluation in this thesis (at least at the present time of research).

**6.8 Conclusion**

While Chapter 5 evaluated the ways in which the KNB’s behaviour correlates with the successive governments’ shifting inclinations towards the construction of the idea of national identity, this chapter traced the interrelations between such changing political imperatives and the tendencies of the dance criticism, which further influenced the
artistic trajectory of the KNB over the past fifty years. The chapter concludes that the company’s trajectory has unfolded in three separate stages, reflecting the changes in the symbolic values proclaimed by the successive Korean states and dance critical circles (recalling the three major political periods that significantly shifted the KNB’s programme planning, identified in Chapter 5.9). The first stage was from the 1960s to the 1980s – during the period of military rule, and corresponding with Lim’s tenure as artistic director – when the critics reflected the states’ insistence on reevaluating and reconstructing national identity through the modernisation of tradition, and when the KNB accordingly focused on developing its own creations as a means of exhibiting national characteristics and traditional culture. Here, while the Russian imperial ballet tradition, with its set principles and canon, provided the legitimacy necessary for the Korean ballet field to define itself and for the establishment of the KNB as a distinct national organisation, nevertheless, as the company progressed, producing its own works with traditional themes, the Western imperial legacy of the ballet genre was interpreted and understood in the light of Western modernisation. For this reason the foreignness of the genre was rather concealed, insofar as it was recognised as a modern and trans-national tool for expressing national culture.

The second stage began around the turn of the century, during the period of the establishment of democracy in Korea and the emergence of globalisation. The critics emphasised the need to establish an artistic and technical standard (rising to the international level). This correlated with the Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations’ relative openness toward presenting national identity with foreign or contemporary cultural forms, and their detachment from traditional culture. During this phase the KNB, benefiting from increased autonomy, chose to forge direct relations with one ballet centre in particular – namely, the Bolshoi, and primarily in order to import Grigorovich’s works – as a means of both developing the dancers’ technical skills and further establishing the company’s artistic legitimacy. The emphasis was also placed on popularising the ballet genre via increased media attention.

The third phase began with Choi’s reappointment in 2008, when the critics debated the need to avoid cultural toadyism versus the importance of maintaining the Western
classical canon to bolster the company’s authority within the international ballet field. While the previous chapter highlighted the company’s renewed focus on creating its own ballets, largely due to the Lee government’s National Brand policy, this chapter identified the KNB’s twin emphases on internal creations and Western importations during this third phase. Here, the wave of globalisation has led to a twofold strategy for the KNB: on the one hand, meeting international standards and establishing its artistic legitimacy (globally) by staging the Russian ballet classics; on the other hand, appropriating globalisation for the sake of national interest, reconstructing the ideas of Korean-ness and national identity through the creation of its own work to represent Korea on both the national and international stage. In doing so, the KNB has engaged itself in an ongoing process of inventing tradition (in this case, inventing Korean-ness), as the aim of its creative work has been to capture and exhibit exceptional traits of national culture rather than to reveal any hidden traditional cultural authenticity. In this sense, the company has been constantly challenged to fulfil its dual role as a professional ballet company and an organ of national representation, and hence there has been constant debate over the need to siphon artistic legitimacy from the Western imperial legacy versus the importance of internal work that expresses national culture.

With regard to the symbolic value tied to artistic sanction, the KNB historically has almost always drawn its legitimacy from the pedigree of Russian ballet. Most of the early figures, like Lim, were trained in Japan, where the Russian ballet influence was dominant at the time. Lim, along with a few other Korean critics, provided artistic sanction to the early ballet movement in Korea by highlighting its Russian pedigree, as Russia was one of the legitimate founding countries of ballet. However, Japanese interpretations of the Russian classics began to be largely disregarded during Lim’s tenure, especially given the intensity of the criticism during the 1970s-80s, exposing the lack of direct connection to, and official artistic authority granted from, the key Western ballet centres. Hence the official connection with Russian ballet was made later, in 2000, through the introduction of Grigorovich’s large-scale ballets, to build the company’s classical repertoire. This was hailed as a triumph in the quest to demonstrate artistic legitimacy. Despite the KNB’s tendency to undergo several shifts in programme planning given its numerous personnel changes, Grigorovich’s ballets have been performed continuously over the past ten years, usually included in the
international touring programme, spanning the tenures of several different directors. In this sense, although Grigorovich’s ballets can be viewed as secondary, Soviet-era interpretations of nineteenth-century Russian imperial classics, in Korea Grigorovich is regarded and defended as the main carrier of the early Russian ballet pedigree, and his divergences from the early imperial narrative ballets are largely overlooked in favour of continuity. His work acquired this status largely thanks to the Korean critics as well as through the repeated performances of his ballets by the KNB. Thus, while the introduction of Russian imperial ballet via Japan early on provided the artistic legitimacy necessary for shaping and forming the Korean ballet field and the KNB, the authority of this imperial legacy was only fully put into practice since 2000, through the direct settlement of Grigorovich’s work.

In the previous chapter, I identified the KNB’s successive directors’ previous artistic background as the prime force behind its forging of international connections (given a certain degree of independence from state policy and official diplomatic relations). This chapter pointed to the authority of the critical circles as an additional influence that served to justify and sanction the KNB’s connections with the Bolshoi and Grigorovich specifically. Grigorovich was accordingly identified as a significant figure in building up the company’s repertoire and its technical and artistic standards, and for this reason his works have become established elements of the repertoire. Thus if the introduction of ballet in Korea is generally understood as an extension of cultural imperialism, Grigorovich’s classics are regarded as the dominant discourse shaping the KNB’s artistic trajectory (as Sung has also argued), serving to establish the coloniser/colonised division between the ballet fields of Russia and Korea. The chapter moreover argued that ballet, as habitus, has often been used to celebrate the diplomatic ties between Korea and Russia.

The close relation between symbolic capital and national identity was demonstrated by the appropriation of modernisation during Lim’s tenure, from the 1960s to the 1980s, and by the appropriation of globalisation during Choi’s second tenure, from 2008. These strategies reveal how the company resisted the continuation of cultural imperialism, for instance, by utilising the imperial cultural form of ballet either as a tool for modernisation or as an already established and renowned globalised form
useful for articulating national culture and identity. This reveals a further dimension of the KNB’s habitus, namely the urge to create Korean ballet (as defined in Chapter 3.4, i.e. through combined imitation of and resistance to the Russian narrative ballets, with emphasis on representing local characteristics and culture). Although Lim’s nationalised ballets constitute long-lasting experiments that eventually led to authentic Korean ballet, nonetheless, insofar as his works have not survived as part of the KNB’s programme except in the form of traces of inspiration, it is difficult to argue that his works are living examples of the idea of Korean ballet. They are rather and simply the root and source of the KNB’s current dedication to the project of articulating national identity. It is in this sense that I identify the 2009 production of *Prince Hodong* as the KNB’s only living internal creation that has demonstrated a notable degree of resistance to the dominance of Grigorovich and the Russian ballet tradition more generally, reinitiating the attempt to establish the idea of Korean ballet. The increased value of this production was evident from the KNB’s selection of this ballet as the main programme for its fifty-year anniversary performance, firmly establishing it as another key aspect of its repertoire.

It was argued that, given the primary aim of the nationalised ballets, viz. to represent the nation, their hybrid (and in particular, foreign) nature is somewhat concealed. Nevertheless, in line with Gilroy, who regards the hybrid cultural space as a new site of identification (as discussed in Chapter 3.5), it is clear that Korean society, via both official state policy and cultural criticism, constantly asserts the process of cultural hybridisation as the key method for reappropriating and reshaping national identity. In this sense, the ballet genre in Korea is a highly critical medium, one that, in line with a nationalistic agenda, shows both thoughtful resistance to and practical appropriation of the related forces of cultural imperialism, modernisation and globalisation. In doing so, the KNB acts as crucial organ for the practical articulation of the idea of national identity, often in its reflection of the shifting symbolic values stressed by successive administrations and the critical circles.

Finally, the chapter draws attention to Korea’s current lack of a professional ballet school associated with the KNB; young dancers are trained in various schools under different training methods, and only encounter the company’s general movement style
when they join the company and learn its repertoire. Therefore, in relation to the question of whether and in what proportion the training method, key choreographic style and standard repertoire all contribute to the formation of a single, unitary, company-specific movement style (as argued in Chapter 3.4), the KNB proves to be a complicated case, insofar as its main movement-stylistic attributes come mainly from its mixed repertoire (as the company’s training aesthetic also serves to assist the formation of its repertoire). Accordingly, the key pieces of the company’s repertoire (viz. Grigorovich’s classics and *Prince Hodong*) are singled out for further detailed analysis in Part Three, in order to examine how the company practically engages with the process of making Korean ballet through its movement style and also through its own creation more generally. Here, although the KNB has recently expanded its range of external influences (i.e. other than Russia), especially due to the incorporation of works of prominent European artists (such as the Paris Opera Ballet’s version of *Giselle* and Petit’s *Carmen*), it is nevertheless still far too early to tell whether these constitute fixed elements of its heritage, and hence it is best simply to treat them as trials which may prove influential in deciding its future policy.
Part Three

Analysing Style and Hybridity:
KNB Repertoire
Chapter Seven

The Movement Style of the KNB: Classical Repertoire

Since the premiere in 2001...the KNB has had record-breaking success in demonstrating both artistry and box-office hits, by introducing three masterpieces of world-class Russian choreographer Yuri Grigorovich – Swan Lake, Spartacus and The Nutcracker – to Korea. The success of these globally renowned productions is considered as a barometer that represents the growth of Korean arts.

Yu in KNB, 2009, 6

7.1 Introduction

The 2001 introduction of three classical ballets by Yuri Grigorovich – The Nutcracker (1966), Spartacus (1968) and Swan Lake (1969) – marked a significant milestone for the KNB’s development, as this was the first time the company had aimed to produce world-renowned classical ballets via the formal route of inviting the choreographer to mount the works. Although The Nutcracker and Swan Lake were originally choreographed by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov in 1892 and 1985, respectively, the KNB highlighted Grigorovich’s reinterpretations of these ballets as the representative classics of the Bolshoi. Most reviews highlighted Grigorovich’s worldwide reputation, his position as the inheritor of the Russian ballet pedigree, and his thirty-three years as director of the Bolshoi, in order to sanction the KNB’s importation of these works. Moreover, the reviews reported a significant increase in the size of the audience and the success of the KNB’s performance in general. As noted in Part Two, these works are now the most frequently featured ballets in the KNB’s domestic programmes, and in addition Swan Lake and Spartacus have been promoted to represent the KNB on various international tours over the past decade, establishing the works as signature elements of the company’s classical repertoire (Appendix A, 274).

While this thesis aims to examine the overall situation of the KNB and its productions, embracing socio-political and artistic influences as well as the performance aspects of music, movement, plot, scenery and costumes, this chapter specifically concentrates on the movement aspect, that is, the actions, skills and qualities useful for identifying the KNB’s general movement style. As explained in Chapter 3.4, the term ‘style’ is understood as the company’s united way of approaching the standard, codified ballet...
movements, that is, the creation of its overall movement quality and technique (shown through the performance of its dancers *en masse*) created by the interaction of the significant choreographer(s), trainer(s) and teacher(s) who contributed to the formation of the repertoire and training method. Given the absence of an established training system (as identified in Chapter 6), the style analysis highlights the dominant influence of Grigorovich on the KNB’s repertoire-building for over a decade, and hence concentrates on his classics to identify the company’s own movement style. As his classical repertoire rests on a common ballet vocabulary shared by most ballet companies across the world, and as the main intention is to identify the difference in the performed movements between the KNB and other ballet companies, such selection is justified. This chapter focuses specifically on *Swan Lake* and *Spartacus* as case studies. These two works are selected as they are renowned for their use of the *corps de ballet* works (with particular focus on the female dancers in *Swan Lake* and on the male dancers in *Spartacus*). As explained in Chapter 3.4, the mass movement scenes serve as key materials in analysing the company’s style.

The KNB’s productions demonstrate more or less the same choreography as the Bolshoi’s performances. The works have been rehearsed with the aid of recordings of Bolshoi productions, and the dancers learned the works from Grigorovich and his *répétiteur*, who originally mounted and rehearsed the selected ballets with the Bolshoi dancers. Here, as explained in Chapter 1.3, I present a comparative analysis of the performances of the Bolshoi and the KNB, as the isolation of the KNB’s movement-stylistic features can most adequately be achieved in comparison with the Bolshoi’s works. The stylistic difference of the KNB from the Bolshoi will be recognised as constituting the company’s own movement style, while the identification of similarities will be taken to reveal the choreographic influences of Grigorovich in developing the KNB’s movement style. Details of the selected recordings used for the analysis are provided in 1.3 (Appendix B, 275).

While the KNB does not have an associated school with a codified training system, the Russian ballet influence on the KNB’s history has been noted in Chapter 6. Hence, the Vaganova training manual, *School of Classical Dance: Textbook of the Vaganova Choreographic School* (Kostrovitskaya, 1995), serves as a reference text in employing
the ballet terminology (for instance, names and positions of ballet steps) in the following analyses. Moreover, although it is true that differences in the general physique of the two companies’ dancers could influence the development of each company’s movement style, this factor is not the central concern in this thesis for the following two reasons: first, because specific physiques are extremely difficult to identify in the recorded performances (especially of the Bolshoi dancers in the 1989 version), and unnecessary assumptions should be avoided; and second, because this research does not intend to identify precisely what influences have contributed to the development of each company’s style, but rather aims to identify the actual movement-stylistic features of the KNB. Accordingly each company is regarded as possessing individual artistic guidelines that contribute to the formation of its respective movement style and that, as the dancers learn them through rehearsing and learning the repertoire, are presented through its performances.

As this chapter presents two case studies, it is divided into two parts: firstly, the analysis of Swan Lake, with a particular focus on the movements of the female dancers, as befits the relative concentration of the choreography on the female dancers; and secondly, the analysis of Spartacus, which exhibits intensive male corps de ballet work, enabling the isolation of the movement-stylistic features of the KNB’s male dancers. Each part is again divided into three sub-divisions: ‘chosen scene and movement sequence’, ‘movement quality comparison’ and ‘movement style of the KNB’. The first, ‘chosen scene and movement sequences’, provides an explanation of the chosen scene (or parts of the selected scene) and a general description of selected movement phrases, that are subjected to actual movement comparison. Here, I provide abbreviated titles for chosen scenes and selected movement sequences, so that readers can instantly recognise that particular section or specific movement sequences when discussed later in the comparison. Moreover, the durations of the chosen scenes are identified in order to provide the comparative analyses of musical tempi of each production, as the musical tempi can determine the qualities of performed movements.

Secondly, a detailed movement comparison of the chosen phrases is provided, focusing on the Effort and Shape aspects of the movements (as explained in Chapter 4.6 with the use of LMA), identifying similarities and differences between the
productions. In the comparative analysis, I view the dancers’ ways of using different body parts (for example, the use of the arms) or their ways of executing certain types of action (e.g. a jumping action), as they are the ‘micro’ components of the overall movement quality. Moreover, in order to identify the overall movement quality of the chosen movement sequences, I recognise the arranged movements’ impetus and their beginnings and endings. Finally, the identified movement qualities are summarised at the end of each case study; the first case study claims distinctive movement-stylistic features of the KNB’s female dancers, and the latter of the KNB’s male dancers. In analysing the stylistic features of the movements, I also combine LMA with the theory of intertextuality, as noted in Chapter 4.6, in order to evaluate the identified stylistic traits in relation to certain images portrayed in the productions or to the other contextual elements identified in Part Two, arguing that the company’s style can also suggest a particular reading of its aesthetic values. Here, I have included illustrations whenever it seemed that visual depictions would support and clarify the written analysis. Nonetheless, it should be noted that these illustrations are obviously static images, the figures frozen in space and time, and hence are not suitable for fully indicating the dynamics, quality, flow or timing of the movements.

7.2 Case study 1: Swan Lake (Grigorovich, 1969)

7.2.1 Chosen scene and movement sequences

For the analysis of Swan Lake, Act one Scene two (the lake scene in Grigorovich’s version) is selected for the comparison, as it involves significant female corps de ballet work. This scene allows for analysis of each company’s standards and principles that contribute to the development of their movement style. This scene is deemed most appropriate, as it also shows the most apparent duplication in the choreography of the two productions, permitting an adequate comparison of the same movements. The first part selected for analysis is the sudden appearance of a group of swan-maidens, within the first dance of Act one Scene two, when Prince Siegfried finds himself on the banks of a mysterious lake, lured by evil Rothbart. This part is named in the following analysis as the ‘exposure of the swans’, as Siegfried and Rothbart point to upstage centre with a sudden lighting change to reveal the swan-maidens, gathered in a pyramid formation, but still veiled behind a translucent black curtain. The second selected section is the ‘entrance of the swans’, commencing with
Rothbart’s call to the swan-maidens, who enter the stage making a snake-shaped floor pattern, and ending with the corps de ballet posing in two vertical lines in the centre, waiting for the soloists (referred as Big Swans in the KNB’s programme note) to enter. The third section, I named, for the analysis, the ‘dance of the swans’, begins when Odette exits from her momentary joining of the group at the end of the ‘entrance of the swans’ and ends at the closure of the swans’ dance. This division of the scene allows for extraction of the corps de ballet work of the scene, enabling analysis of the duration of each selected part to compare the musical tempi of the two productions (Appendix G, 284). Within these sections of Act one Scene two, I have selected six movement phrases that demonstrate distinctive movement qualities of different body parts or of particular actions. A general description of the chosen movement phrases is given in the order of their appearance within the ballet, allowing for straightforward recognition of the chosen phrases. Nonetheless, apart from the six chosen phrases, other movements are also considered in the analysis where further examples are helpful.

‘Wings of swans’
The first sequence is ‘wings of swans’, occurring in the ‘exposure of the swans’ section. The group of swan-maidens is in pyramid formation at upstage centre, in dégagé derrière position with a slightly bent back leg, facing front, arms in half-second. The arms rise sideways to inverted third position, with bent elbows and wrists, while the head lifts upwards. The arms are brought back down sideways with bent elbows to half-second position as the head lowers to face the down. This is repeated three times, imitating swan-like wing motions, but on the fourth time the arms lower in front of the body, wrists crossed, while the working leg extends to dégagé devant; the dancers then step onto that leg to extend the other leg to dégagé derrière position with a slightly bent back leg. The whole phrase is repeated once more, without the change of legs at the end. The analysis of this movement sequence allows for examination of the KNB female dancers’ use of arms, as the phrase mainly features movements of this body part.
‘Opening jump’ sequence
In order to analyse a the jumping action, I have chosen the second sequence, the ‘opening jump’ in the ‘entrance of the swans’ section, which consists of one temps levé in first arabesque and three continuous jetés with the working legs shooting out in front, and one temps levé in arabesque allongé followed by the same three jetés. For the three jetés, the arms are drawn down from first arabesque then crossed in front of the body, palms down. This sequence is repeated numerous times as the dancers travel, tracing a snake-shaped floor pattern until they finally form straight horizontal lines, filling the whole stage. The analysis of this movement sequence allows for examination of the overall look and quality of the jumping movements, including the alignment of the arms and legs in the first arabesque, the use of the arms and head, and the height of the jumps.

‘Spreading/folding of the wings’
The third sequence is the ‘spreading/folding of the wings’, which also appear in the ‘entrance of the swans’ section. This commences with one leg out at the back, dégagé derrière, facing one corner, arms in half-first position. The arms create lateral upward movement through half-second up to third position. As the arms reach third position there is a change of direction to the opposite corner, the back leg extending in front, dégagé devant. There follows a transfer of weight through demi plié in fourth position when the arms descend in front; the other leg extends back in derrière to repeat to the other side. The phrase is repeated several times within the entire scene. This phrase is suitable for analysing the use of the arms and upper body.

‘Arabesque and pas de bourrée’ sequence
From the ‘dance of the swans’ section, the ‘arabesque and pas de bourrée’ sequence is selected to examine the quality of the petit legwork. It occurs when the dancers are in two vertical lines at each side of the stage. Commencing with a small running movement, the dancers circle around each other in pairs; they then perform a posé arabesque to one corner followed by a quick pas de bourrée with a change of direction to the other corner to finish in a lunge, normally with an épaulement. This movement is repeated twice, and the Bolshoi dancers finish in dégagé devant en fondu, arms crossed in front of the body, palms down, rather than in a lunge. Hence, this is
this the only time so far when the actual movement material differs from each company’s productions.

‘Relevé’ sequence
The ‘relevé’ sequence, in the ‘dance of the swans’ section, commences from dégagé derrière en fondu, arms crossed in front of the body, facing one corner. Executing the relevé into fifth position, the arms draw up to third position, then open sideways to half-second as the legs lower to demi-plié in fifth position. Then the dancers execute a three-quarter turn toward the back leg to face the opposite corner, with lateral upward arm movement to third position, finishing with demi-pliés in fifth position with the arms lowered in front of the body, crossed. The whole phrase is repeated, alternating sides to form a sequence. While the ‘relevé’ sequence involves petit leg action, the focus of the analysis is on the use of the arms and upper body as they form the overall movement quality of the sequence.

‘Rippling wings’
The final movement phrase, the ‘rippling wings’, also highlights the ways in which the KNB dancers use their arms, as they continuously undulate. The phrase features at the end of the ‘dance of the swans’, commencing in fifth position en pointe, en face, arms raised to the second position, but with palms facing down. The legs perform small bourrées sideways with rippling arms at the side.

7.2.2 Movement quality comparison between the Bolshoi Ballet and KNB
In order to distinguish the ways in which certain body parts are utilised or particular actions are performed to produce an overall movement quality, the chosen sequences are not analysed in the order of performance, but rather are grouped according to the main emphasis of a selected phrase that has been outlined in the previous section. Thus, the movement comparison is given under the title of the predominantly used body part(s) or of the prominent action to identify the movement-stylistic traits of the KNB’s female dancers.
Use of arms

Comparative analysis of the Bolshoi and KNB productions demonstrates strong similarities in the quality of the arm movements, particularly evident through the final sequence, the ‘rippling wings’ (Appendix H.1-b, 286; Picture Five). In performing this sequence, the Bolshoi dancers travel to a different finishing formation than with the KNB’s version, involving some dancers travelling, *en avant*, with one arm in front of the body and the other arm at the side; by contrast, the KNB dancers travel sideways, *en face*, with their arms lifted at the sides. The choreographic difference of the KNB’s version consists in the way in which the undulating rippling of the arms at the sides depicts gentle and continuous waves of water, while smooth but quickly travelling sideways *bourrées* add a gliding quality to the movement. While this smooth travelling quality is evident in the KNB’s version, the dancers of both companies exhibit extreme softness in their arm movements and sensitive arm articulation with delicate bends of the elbows and wrists. They also produce a soft, rebounding quality at the end of the wrist bend, emphasising fine and meticulous use of the hands and fingers. This similarity in arm movements can be considered as the influence of the Bolshoi’s performance on the movement quality of the KNB.

Picture Five. The ‘rippling arms’ in *Swan Lake* by the KNB (KNB, 2009)

The fine articulation of the arms is also displayed in the ‘wings of swans’ sequence, highlighting the commonality of this trait between the Bolshoi and the KNB. Curves made through the extreme use of elbow and wrist bends are emphasised in both raising and descending arm movements at the sides, portraying the wing-like motions of the swans. Nonetheless, the different use of music in this section distinguishes the two productions. The duration of the sequence in the KNB’s production is shorter
than in the Bolshoi’s version (Appendix G, 284), causing the KNB’s arm movement quality to be quicker and more defined, in contrast to the slow and soft arm movements of the Bolshoi’s dancers. Moreover, while the Bolshoi dancers demonstrate even use of music in lifting and lowering arm movements, maintaining softness throughout the phrase, the KNB dancers show a contrast between gentle and light upward movement on the one hand and a swift lowering of the arms on the other, accenting the descending action. Here, the quickness and generous articulation of the arms in the lowering movement create a pushing quality, and the faster musical tempo develops the pressing down motion further. The use of the head is also indicative of this difference, as the Bolshoi dancers’ heads follow the arm movements, taking an equal amount of time for the lifting and lowering actions, while the quick and accented use of the KNB dancers’ heads, in lowering, lends a firmer quality to the movement. Overall, the equal division in the Bolshoi’s use of music and the continual lightness of the arms and head produce graceful swans, whereas the quickness and pushing-down quality of the KNB dancers’ arms, especially in the lowering movement, demonstrate the stronger fluttering of the swans in this sequence. Hence, although delicate articulation of the arms can be considered a shared trait of both companies, the KNB shows varying use of weight and time with flexible use of the arms, developing a firmer quality, which is aided by the different use of musical tempi and the corresponding head movement.

Use of the arms and upper body

Further variation is shown through analysis of the ‘relevé’ sequence in the ‘dance of the swans’ section (Appendix H.2-b, 289; Picture Six, 199), when the dancers raise their arms sideways to inverted third position with a relevé in fifth position, then bring the arms back down to half-second position with a plié action of the legs in fifth position. Although the legs demonstrate sharp relevé and quick plié action, the crispness is concealed by the outstanding smoothness of the arms in both productions. The sensitive articulation of the arms is again evident in both productions, the difference consisting in the use of the musical count. The Bolshoi dancers again display equal use of music in raising and lowering actions, while the KNB dancers show unequal division of musical count. However, this time the KNB dancers demonstrate slower use of music in the lowering of the arms, in contrast to the
musical division in the ‘wings of swans’ sequence. In this sequence, while the Bolshoi dancers show fine articulation in both lifting and descending arm movements, the KNB dancers highlight the bends of the elbows and wrists more in the lowering arm actions, with firmer weight to create a sustained pressing-down quality.

Picture Six. The ‘relevé’ sequence in Swan Lake
(Above) by the Bolshoi (Sakaguchi, 1989) (Below) by the KNB (KNB, 2009)

Further difference between the two productions is shown through the accompanied use of the upper body, as the Bolshoi’s dancers exhibit modest use of upper-body bends, while the KNB dancers exhibit generous upper-body back bends when the arms lower from third position to half-second, with demi-plié action, adding a further squeezing quality to the movement. In the Bolshoi’s production, the wing-like motions are only depicted by the soft-articulated arm movements. However, in the KNB’s version, the descending wing motions are emphasised by a lavish upper-back bend and by further use of smooth bends in the arms. In the Bolshoi’s performance, the soft, languid articulation of the arms is constantly evident throughout the scene, lending a free-flowing and tender quality to the wing motions, conveying the fragility of the swan-maidens; by contrast, in the KNB’s production, the flexible articulation of the arms is often accompanied by generous upper-body bends, creating a smooth, stroking quality, to display the stronger side of the swan-maidens.
The Bolshoi dancers’ free-flowing arm motions and the sparse use of the upper body are also evident in the ‘spreading/folding of the wings’ (Appendix H.2-a, 287-88). From *dégagé derrière* position, the arms rise sideways from half-second to third position with a slight back bend and then lower down in front of the body with a subtle directional change. The Bolshoi dancers show continuous circling of the arms without any pauses or stops at particular positions, creating a quality of effortlessness. The leg action also does not highlight the change of position from *dégagé derrière* to *dégagé devant*, as it is also performed with a continuous quality. Although the Bolshoi version’s musical tempo for this section is faster than the KNB’s production, the swiftness of the movement phrase is not fully recognised due to the continuous quality of the movement.

In contrast to the Bolshoi’s production, the KNB dancers fully push their chests forward, performing exaggerated upper-back bends with their heads turned toward the audience (Picture Seven). Here the arms stretch backwards fully when moving from half-second to third position, adding to the acuteness of the back bends. This emphasis on upper-back bends is frequently evident in the scene when the arms move through ‘pushed-back’ half-second position (Appendix H.2-a, 287-88). Moreover, the
KNB dancers emphasise the set positions through short pauses; for instance, the dégagé derrière position is accentuated from demi-plié with a direct shooting out of the arms to half-second position, arriving and pausing at this position, in unison, before raising the arms. As the arms reach the third position, the KNB dancers abruptly change direction from one corner to the other with a sudden dégagé devant action to momentarily show this position together. In general, the KNB dancers demonstrate a different quality between the upper half and lower half of the body throughout the phrase, displaying smoothness with lavish back bends and slow arm movements with contrasting crisp directional changes and shooting leg actions. The directness of their movements, along with the emphasis on showing the set position together, builds cleanness and unity in the KNB’s corps de ballet work.

**Petit legwork**

The KNB’s production exhibits crisp petit legwork. In the ‘arabesque and pas de bourrée’ sequence, a darting posé arabesque is followed by quick pas de bourrées, displaying tidy and neat leg motions. The dancers then swiftly run around each other with tiny steps, highlighting their quick directional changes when emerging from the circling floor pattern with a sudden posé arabesque. The sharp change of direction is also emphasised with a sudden twisting of the body to the épaulement line in first arabesque and in finishing lunge position. The execution of the pas de bourrées in the Bolshoi’s performance is not as sharp as in the KNB’s production, and the Bolshoi dancers display three small steps instead of brisk pas de bourrées. Another example of the KNB dancers’ crisp legwork is shown through a phrase consisting of quick bourrées forward followed by a sudden posé in attitude in the ‘dance of the swans’. They execute tiny steps en pointe with fast travelling action in bourrée movements followed by a darting posé. The suddenness of the posé is accentuated by a quick upper-back bend.

Moreover, the KNB dancers’ brisk leg actions are also evident in other scenes of Swan Lake, for instance in the opening dance of the court ladies, in Act one Scene one (Appendix H.3-b, 291). Four court ladies are in a horizontal line at the upstage centre, commencing in fifth position en pointe, arms raised in open fifth position, holding hands. The back leg lifts to petit retiré devant with a head turn to the working side.
The lifted leg lowers in front to fifth position \textit{en pointe} to perform three small steps \textit{en pointe} on the spot. This is repeated twice more on alternating sides. Then, on the fourth time, the back leg extends low to the side \textit{en fondu} to draw back into fifth position \textit{en pointe}, followed by three quick steps \textit{en pointe} with the working leg shooting out to the side. The whole phrase is repeated once more. In the Bolshoi’s production, the \textit{petit retiré} is performed rather as \textit{développé passé devant}, with the working leg extending low to the front to travel forward, stressing the smooth travelling quality in performing this sequence. The KNB’s dancers, by contrast, emphasise the briskness of the leg movements through the execution of a clean \textit{petit retiré} with a momentary pause, followed by quick small steps \textit{en pointe}. The crispness of the movement is further accentuated by the sharp use of the head, which turns promptly toward the working leg in performing in the \textit{petit retiré} position.

\textit{Arabesque alignments and jumping actions}

The comparison of the \textit{arabesque} alignment and the jumping actions is shown through the analysis of the ‘opening jump’ sequence (Appendix H.5-a, 293-94; Picture Eight, 203). In the Bolshoi production, the dancers’ arms fly high to the first \textit{arabesque} position, yet to an unfixed height and with a soft quality and bent wrists. The back leg is also thrown high, over 90 degrees, with a splitting action in the air achieved by kicking the front leg forward. This flying of the back leg accompanying the high front arm is evident in all \textit{arabesque} lines. The following three \textit{petit jetés} are executed just off the floor with a low front leg and with a continuous quality. With the high extensions of the arms and legs in the \textit{arabesque} alignments, the \textit{arabesque} jump is emphasised more than the three small \textit{jetés}. This shooting action of the front leg in the \textit{arabesque} jump, along with three continuous \textit{petit jetés}, produces travelling emphasis, the dancers moving forward to cover a larger swath of space instead of generating higher elevation. Further, while the free-flowing quality of the arms adds delicacy to the jumps, the flying quality with the high extensions of the arms and legs to an undetermined level hinders the maintenance of an equal alignment in the \textit{corps de ballet} work, resulting in insufficient uniformity of the dancers as a group.
The ‘opening jump’ sequence in *Swan Lake* (Above) by the Bolshoi (Sakaguchi, 1989) (Below Left) by the KNB (KNB, 2009) (Below Right) by the KNB (KNB, 2009) by the KNB (KNB, 2009) by the KNB (KNB, 2009)

The KNB’s dancers, in the *arabesque* jumps, like those of the Bolshoi dancers, exhibit high extension of the back leg and front arm with a shooting action of the front leg at the height of the *arabesque* jump. However, they lift the arms and legs to a fixed level, the leg extended to 90 degrees and the front arm held above head-level with the head following the arm line. This *arabesque* alignment is evident throughout the KNB’s performance. The high extension of the arms in first *arabesque* alignment can be seen as the KNB’s stylistic feature, as the Vaganova manual indicates that in first *arabesque*, the front hand should be opposite to and level with the shoulder (Kostrovitskaya, 1995, 163). Nonetheless, the shooting action of the front leg in the *arabesque* jump can be seen as a result of Vaganova training, as the manual indicates that, in performing a *grande sissonne ouvert* at 90 degrees travelling, ‘after reaching the highest point of the jump (in *attitude* or *arabesque*), one must throw the leg out forward with a strong movement of the thigh’ (Kostrovitskaya, 1995, 261). Hence, the Bolshoi and the KNB’s *arabesque* jump can be seen as a grand travelling jump. However, although the Bolshoi dancers’ jumps show more emphasis on the travelling action, the KNB dancers exhibit greater upward movement, stressing high elevation. The quick lifting of the head to follow the front arm in the jump further emphasises
the height of this *allegro* action. Thus it can be said that the Bolshoi dancers prefer travelling jumps with a soft, flowing quality, whereas the KNB dancers emphasise the upward elevation of the jumps, with arms and legs extending directly to a fixed level to successfully maintain group uniformity.

7.2.3  **Movement style of the KNB’s female dancers**

The comparative analysis of *Swan Lake* has enabled the identification of certain features that can be claimed as characteristic elements of the KNB’s overall movement style. Firstly, the sensitive articulation of the arms with soft elbow and wrist bends, especially in lowering arm motions, is evident throughout the ballet, developing the delicacy in the performance of the KNB’s female dancers. This might indicate the strong influence of the Bolshoi dancers as they show further refinement in arm articulation. Nonetheless, while the Bolshoi dancers show a continuous and flying quality of the arms to produce fragile-looking swans throughout the ballet, the KNB dancers sometimes combine soft arm articulation with a firm or sudden quality to produce a diverse range of wing motions, varying from gentle wave to strong fluttering or firm stroking actions. Secondly, the defined arm articulation is often combined with rich use of upper-body bends, using a larger portion of the kinesphere, to create a smoothness and firmness that contrasts with the tenderness of the Bolshoi’s dancers. As for upper-back bends, an accentuated and deep arc-like shape with smoothness is another significant stylistic feature of the KNB’s female dancers.

The briskness of the *petit* legwork is also emphasised through shooting leg motions or quick changes of direction, promoting this trait as part of the KNB’s distinctive style. In general, it can be said that the softness and smoothness of the KNB’s female dancers are created by the arm and upper-body movements, while the sharpness is developed through the use of the legs. Nevertheless, the brisk leg motions are often highlighted further by accompanying sharp upper-body twists (e.g. sudden execution of *épaulement*), direct use of the arms or the crisp turning of the head in synchronisation with the leg motions. Thus, the use of other body parts aids the establishment of crisp *petit* legwork, while the extreme softness of the KNB female dancers’ arms can sometimes conceal the sharpness of the leg movements. Moreover, the KNB’s female dancers highlight the strong upward elevation of the jumping
action in the *allegro* sequence. The direct lifting of the arms and head further highlights the height of the jump, promoting spurtng jumps as one of KNB’s movement traits. The final significant aspect of the KNB’s performance is the emphasis on arriving to fixed positions, often pausing momentarily to show the set alignment in unison. The fixture of shared alignment and the momentary stops in set positions has lent the KNB’s *corps de ballet* a constancy and uniformity that can arguably be seen as one of the KNB’s strongest stylistic elements.

7.3 Case study 2: *Spartacus* (Grigorovich, 1968)

7.3.1 Chosen movement sequences

*Spartacus*, unlike *Swan Lake*, is divided into numerous scenes that involve large-scale battles between the Roman army and the slaves. In its choreography, there is a significant amount of male *corps de ballet* work spread throughout the ballet, often featuring recurring movement motifs. Considering this spread of the male *corps de ballet* across the work, the analysis is not focused on a particular scene, but rather pays attention to the recurring motifs or movement phrases that represent either the slaves/gladiators or the Roman army. Hence, abbreviated titles are only given to the selected movement sequences with reference to the particular scene in which each phrase appears in the ballet. As I select short movement phrases in various parts of the ballet, the musical duration of each scene is not provided. This is because the duration of the whole scene does not have a great effect on the timing of a chosen phrase, especially if it is only a minor section of the scene. While I focus on the performance of the classical ballet posture and vocabulary within the ballet, the analysis also concentrates on isolating the choreographic influences of this ballet and the contribution of those influences to the development of the movement style of the KNB’s male dancers. For the comparative analysis of *Spartacus* six movement sequences are selected to examine the use of different body parts or certain actions of movement. As in the previous section, general descriptions of the selected movement phrases are provided in order of appearance. Along with these selected movement phrases, particularly evident arm alignments and simple recurring actions, are also analysed in order to provide further examples for discerning the movement style of the KNB.
‘Stamping’ sequence

The first movement sequence is the ‘stamping’ sequence, which occurs in Act one Scene one, as the opening phrase. The Roman army is clustered in a tight semi-circle at the upstage centre with Crassus standing in the middle. The dancers perform twelve hops on alternating legs, the working leg lifting out to the side with bent knee. The arms swing forward and backwards in opposition to the leg movement, while holding a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. The dancers travel forward, making two horizontal lines throughout the sequence; they then face the downstage right corner to jump into lunge position with the right leg in front. They jump in this position twice to change legs, so that the left leg comes forward in lunge to jump in this position again twice. They then jump four times in lunge, changing legs on each jump. The arms are held in running position and changed in opposition to the leg movements. This movement phrase is chosen to examine the KNB dancers’ use of weight, in performing stamping actions.

‘Grand jetés with bent knees’

Several movement phrases are selected from Act one Scene four, located at the gladiators’ barracks. The group of gladiators performs a series of grand jetés with bent knees in a large circle. They execute two runs before performing the grand jeté. The legs are bent at the height of the grand jeté, and one arm, opposite to the forward leg, is raised directly to the ceiling, while the other arm lifts to the side. The sequence is repeated six times on alternating sides, maintaining the circle formation. This phrase is selected to analyse the movement quality of grand allegro dancing.

‘Small leap with petit developpé’ sequence

The third movement phrase, called ‘small leap with petit developpé’, which follows the series of grand jetés in Act one Scene four, is also chosen to examine the quality of allegro movements and the developpé actions of the legs. In a large circle, a group of gladiators performs a tiny leap on the spot with accent on the landing, the working leg executing low petit developpé to the side on the landing. The arms are bent in front of the chest on the leap, and then open to the side, palms down. This leap is followed by three small runs to repeat the same leap on the same side. Overall, they perform five small leaps, while the working leg in the last two leaps is held in front of
the body with bent knee. On the last two leaps, the arms cross in front of the body to be thrown backwards on the landing, with a backwards head bend.

‘Walking-in of the guests’
A comparison of the arm movements of the male and female dancers is given through analysis of the movement phrase called ‘walking-in of the guests’, which opens Act two Scene six and is located in Crassus’s villa. The male dancers enter first from the upstage right corner, making three diagonal lines toward the downstage left corner. Their sequence commences upstage with two slow walks, followed by a posé into fifth position to take another step forward with the front leg to place the other leg in dégagé devant with bent knee. The downstage arm is held on the waist while the upstage arm is bent in front of the chest to place the hand on the opposite shoulder during the first two walks. While they take their posé into fifth position, the upstage arm opens out to the side, with bent elbow, making a relaxed open fifth position. The leg movements are repeated again, this time reversing the arm movement to return to place the hand on the opposite shoulder. The whole phrase is repeated once more with a posé turn in fifth position instead of a simple posé forward.

Once the male dancers make their three diagonal lines, the female dancers enter in the same formation. They take three slow walks to hold a dégagé derrière position on the fourth count. The downstage arm is held low in front of the body with bent elbows and wrists, palms facing down, and the upstage arm is crossed in front of the chest to place the hand on the opposite shoulder. During the third and fourth counts, the upstage arm opens out to open fifth position and the head turns toward the audience. The walking movement is repeated once more, this time reversing the arm movement to return the upstage arm and the head to the starting position. The whole phrase is repeated once more, adding slow soutenu on the last repeat. This simple sequence allows for a clear comparison of the movement quality of the female and male dancers.

‘Big back-bend jumps’
A comparison of ‘big back-bend jumps’, in Act two Scene eight, allows for analysis of grand allegro movements and shooting leg actions. A group of slaves is clustered at the upstage centre. They perform a big jump with legs apart, bending both knees
backwards and with a huge back bend, the arms thrown up high above the head whilst holding a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. The body makes a ‘C-shape’ at the height of the jump, but abruptly recovers from the bend to land upright with a quick petit développé devant, en croisé, arms opening to the side. This action is repeated several times, on alternating sides, travelling forward throughout the sequence.

‘Grand jeté en tournant’ sequence
Lastly, the ‘grand jeté en tournant’ sequence is selected from the final battle scene, Act three Scene twelve. The Bolshoi dancers enter the stage making three diagonal lines from the upstage right corner to the downstage left corner, while the KNB dancers make two diagonal lines. They gallop onto the stage to perform a grand jeté en tournant with a circular arm movement, arriving to grande pose, at the height of the jump. Then, they gallop into a large sissonne in attitude with a bent lower leg. The arms are thrown up with a slight back bend, the head following the backwards movement at the height of the jump. The analysis of this sequence aims to identify the male dancers’ virtuosity and their grand allegro actions.

7.3.2 Movement quality comparison between the Bolshoi Ballet and the KNB
In the description of the chosen movements, I have stated the main focus of each phrase, concentrating on the use of different parts of the body or on a particular part of the action. Hence, the following comparison is given under the heading of these focuses.

Use of the arms
The movement phrase ‘walking-in of the guests’ demonstrates a strong difference in the use of the arms both between the KNB’s male and female dancers and between the male dancers of the two selected companies. The Bolshoi’s male dancers show gentle arm gestures throughout the phrase. The working arm, bent across the body, the hand placed on the opposite shoulder, slowly rises to bent open fifth position and softly returns to its starting place. The lifting and lowering actions of the working arm take two full counts, as the legs execute a posé forward to fifth position and step forward to place the other leg in front. While they show firm leg motions, the working arm
floats across the body, producing a silky quality. The raised arm position depicts delicacy and tenderness through the sensitive bending of the fingers. The dancers do not show a unified alignment in the raised position; rather the arms are lifted gently as if they were quietly calling someone. In contrast, the KNB’s male dancers demonstrate strong arm gestures, taking one count to lift or lower to the given positions (Appendix I.1-a, 296-97). The raised position is angular, the arm bending 90 degrees in front of the body, palm facing inward (Picture Nine). The alignment of the raised arm is fixed, producing a firmer quality in unison. The angular line of the arm adds toughness and the direct use of the arm depicts power and strength.

Picture Nine. The ‘walking-in of the guests’ in Spartacus (Above) by the Bolshoi, captured from the DVD (Sakaguchi, 1984) (Below) by the KNB, captured from the KNB’s internal recording (KNB, 2001)

The female dancers of the Bolshoi show similar softness to their male counterparts, supporting the findings in the analysis of Swan Lake. The working arm is gracefully raised to open fifth position with subtle articulation of the arm with bent elbow and wrist. The fingers are also softly held with a vaporous quality, adding gentleness to the movement. When the working arm is taken back from the open fifth position, it softly swifts the air in front of the body to land the fingers gently on the opposite shoulder. Similar to the Bolshoi’s performance, the KNB’s female dancers also display gentle use of the arms with soft articulation, as shown in the analysis of Swan
Lake (Appendix H.1-a, 296-97). In extending the working arm to the open fifth position, the smooth quality is developed further through the rich use of upper-body bends to the side, which is one of the identified stylistic traits of the KNB’s female dancers presented in the previous analysis. The raised position is softly held for one count, on each fourth count, building a lingering quality. Here, a clear contrast is evident in the arm movement of the KNB’s male and female dancers. The male dancers show an angular position with a static quality, emphasising strength, while the female dancers show fluidity to portray a gentle, feminine quality.

The firm image of the male dancers is constantly displayed throughout the ballet and one arm position in particular, the grande pose, is a recurring example of this demonstration. The grande pose is when one arm is in the second position, held at the side, and the other arm is in the third position, held above the head. The male dancers of the KNB and the Bolshoi show the same grande pose alignment, in which the arms are held with a firm opening of the chest (Appendix I.1-b, 298). The top arm is opened slightly, making a curved diagonal line, instead of a half-oval shape, above the head. The side arm is raised to shoulder level, taken right to the side (slightly backwards compared to the normal second position of the arms), often with the palm facing up. This alignment is also evident when the dancers place their arms in second position, exaggerating the breadth of their shoulders. The wide opening of the chest and the direct and firm alignment of the arms build the intensity and musculature of the male dancers. The KNB dancers generally look up to the raised hand or out and up to the audience in executing the grande pose, projecting confidence and power through the use of the arms and head.

In the ballet, the grande pose is often performed with sudden exploding movements: for instance, in Act one Scene four, when a group of gladiators dance with Spartacus toward the end of the scene, it is combined with relevé arabesque action (Appendix I.1-c, 299; Picture Ten, 211). The sequence commences with a relevé arabesque en croisé with the arms in grande pose. The dancers then step onto the working leg to perform a posé turn in fifth position, to repeat the phrase twice more. Both the KNB and the Bolshoi dancers execute a bursting out of the arms to grande pose, with strong impact on the extension on the relevé arabesque. A quick relevé action of the
supporting leg matches the shooting out of the working leg to *arabesque* alignment and adds an exploding quality to the movement. Here, the dancers of both companies show a sharp backwards head bend to look up to the audience, further developing the strength of the movement. Nonetheless, a difference is shown in the turning action, as the Bolshoi dancers perform two casual steps to turn, instead of a *posé* turn in fifth position, showing less clarity with their leg motions, while the KNB dancers execute a small, sharp *posé* turn, adding sharpness and cleanliness to the movement. The alignment of the arms and legs varies between the Bolshoi dancers; however, a clear *grande pose* line and a 70-degree *arabesque* alignment are demonstrated by the KNB dancers, building the unity of the *corps de ballet* work. This unison, combined with the sudden exploding quality of the arms and legs, enhances the muscularity and power of the KNB’s performance.

![Relevé Arabesque](image1.jpg)

*Picture Ten. The ‘relevé arabesque’ sequence in *Spartacus* (Above) by the Bolshoi (Sakaguchi, 1984) (Below) by the KNB (KNB, 2001)*
Use of the legs

The choreographic repetition of shooting leg movements is evident in *Spartacus*, developing this quality as a key element of the KNB’s style. In Act two Scene seven, in Crassus’s villa, Crassus, Aegina and a group of male guests perform constantly repeated quick relevés with a sudden battement développé devant action on alternating sides. Crassus and Aegina lead the group to travel from the upstage right corner to the downstage left corner, with one arm raised high in front of the body in straight alignment, the other hand placed on the waist. The dancers of both the Bolshoi and the KNB demonstrate a strong shooting out of the legs to the front, developing sharpness in small leg movements. This movement phrase recurs in Act three Scene nine, again exposing the sharp shooting action of the legs.

The shooting leg action is even more emphasised in the KNB’s performance compared to the Bolshoi’s production, and is often accented by the combined sudden opening or pointing of the arms (Appendix I.2-a, 300-01). In performing the first three jumps of the ‘small leap with petit développé’ sequence, shown in Act one Scene four, the Bolshoi dancers show a low jump, accent down, with the working leg smoothly extending with développé action to the side. By contrast, the KNB dancers demonstrate medium elevation, accent on the landing, to emphasise the sudden shooting quality of the développé action, creating sharpness. The Bolshoi dancers’ arms are extended out to the front before opening to the side, showing a spreading motion, whereas the KNB dancers open their arms directly to the side, building a shooting quality. On the last two leaps, with the working leg bent in front of the body, the KNB dancers throw the arms strongly to the back with a quick backwards bend of the head and upper body, developing an exploding quality. During the three runs, in between the repeated leaps, the backwards bend of the upper body and head is held as a residue of the explosion. Hence, the KNB dancers exhibit an exploding quality with shooting leg motions and the direct opening of the arms, while dramatic head movement accentuates the bursting action.

Further examples of sharp leg actions are shown in combination with grand allegro motions. In performing the sequence of ‘big back-bend jumps’, in Act two Scene eight, the dancers of both companies show great back bends, making an acute arc-
shape backwards at the height of the jump (Picture Eleven). Both companies emphasise the elevation of the jump, while exhibiting a high level of virtuosity. The difference between the two companies is shown principally in the landing, when one leg executes a low *battement développe devant, en croisé*, before repeating the jump on the other side (Appendix I.2-b, 302) The KNB’s dancers display a much sharper quality in the *develope* action, accentuating the shooting motion (Picture Twelve). Briskness is added with the sudden lowering of the arms, the right arm to the front (holding the sword), the other arm abruptly lowering down to the side (holding the shield). As the sword points out to the corner with the shooting action of the working leg, the sharpness is further emphasised. The repetition on alternating sides also displays clearer and faster directional changes. The fixed landing alignment, performed in unison, and the repetition of this sequence, all contribute to building overall uniformity and strength with strong muscularity.

![Picture Eleven. The ‘big back-bend jumps’ sequence in *Spartacus* by the KNB (KNB, 2001)](image1)

![Picture Twelve. The landing of ‘big back-bend jumps’ sequence in *Spartacus* by the KNB (KNB, 2001)](image2)
Grand allegro actions

In Act one Scene four, a group of gladiators performs a series of grand jetés with bent knees, in a large circle, which offers material for the examination of the quality of grand allegro actions (Appendix I.3-a, 303). The dancers of the two companies emphasise the height of the grand jeté, demonstrating high elevation in grand allegro motions (Picture Thirteen). The height of the jump is further highlighted with spurting actions of the arms to grande pose. The KNB dancers reach strongly toward the ceiling with a sudden head bend at the height of the jump, adding an upwards bursting quality. While lengthy duration at the height of the jump is emphasised in both performances through demonstration of long mid-air pauses in grand jeté position with bent knees, the musical tempo of the KNB’s performance is slower, allowing the dancers to hold the position longer. The Bolshoi dancers highlight the wideness of the grand jeté position through extreme separation of the legs in the air, whereas the KNB dancers show less width with the legs and display a ‘jumping-over’ quality, depicting a rainbow shape in the grand jeté motions. The repetition of the jetés in its choreography builds up the power and strength of the male dancers, highlighting their virtuosity. The KNB’s emphasis the use of high masculine energy in Spartacus can be seen as the demand of Grigorovitch’s choreography. Hence, it is arguably a stylistic trait of the KNB that has been influenced by the choreography of Spartacus.

Picture Thirteen. The ‘grand jetés with bent knees’ sequence in Spartacus (Above) by the Bolshoi (Sakaguchi, 1984) (Below) by the KNB (KNB, 2001)
The greater level of virtuosity and the exploding quality of the movement in the KNB’s performance are both evident through analysis of the ‘grand jeté en tournant’ sequence, in the final battle scene (Picture Fourteen). Both companies demonstrate high elevation in the strong grand jeté en tournant, with firm use of the arms and legs to highlight the strength of the male dancers. However, compared to the Bolshoi’s dancers, the KNB’s performance shows a clearer scissoring action of the legs in the grand jeté en tournant with extreme splitting of the legs in the air. Both the arms and legs shoot out beyond the reach of the kinesphere in the grand jeté en tournant, exhibiting a strong explosion of body energy. The elevation and exploding scissoring action of the legs stress the dancers’ high level of virtuosity and power, demonstrating the strong masculine energy of the KNB’s male dancers.

Down to earth movements
The final example of the movement comparison is the ‘stamping’ sequence, which is the opening action of the ballet (Appendix I.4, 305). The Bolshoi dancers, in performing twelve hops, travel forward with an upward accent to show the height of the jump. The working leg is firmly lifted high to the side with bent knee, and comes down with a darting quality, adding bounciness to the hopping movement. The emphasis of the Bolshoi’s performance is on the travelling and the elevation in the hops. In contrast to this upwards accent, the KNB’s dancers demonstrate a stamping quality through the twelve hops, jumping just off the floor to show a downwards accent. The lifted leg pierces the floor when lowering, accentuating the downward force in the hops, while the arms move vigorously back and forth, adding strength.
The same grounding quality is shown in the following jumps in lunge position. The KNB’s thrusting stamping action builds group density and tightness, and better displays the toughness of the male dancers. Thus, the muscularity of the KNB’s male dancers is not just portrayed through the exploding *grand allegro* actions with strong elevation; it is also created through the opposing ‘down to earth’ movements, through the heavy use of weight and vigour.

*Unity of corps de ballet*

Throughout the comparative analysis, most of the chosen movement phrases highlight the KNB’s demonstration of fixed alignment in unison, often emphasised through the direct use of body parts. In Act one Scene four of *Spartacus*, there is an exemplary movement sequence that demonstrates the clear uniformity of the KNB’s dancers as compared with the Bolshoi’s. It is the ‘*grand jeté in attitude*’ sequence, where the gladiators make two horizontal lines upstage and then travel forward to downstage, one line at a time (Appendix I.5, 306). The sequence commences with a *posé arabesque*, arms open to the sides, palms up, followed by a gallop to execute a *grand jeté in attitude* with a full circling of the arms outwards, accenting the opening out to the sides. When the first line finishes the sequence, the dancers turn back to face the second line in lunge position, arms out to the sides, palms up. As the second line joins the first, they hold hands to end the sequence. The Bolshoi dancers demonstrate higher arm lines at the sides in *posé arabesque*, then throw their arms into the air in *grand jeté*, without showing a set position in unison (for instance, when most of the dancers show a full circling of the arms, one dancer’s arm was not even lifted above the head). Here the emphasis is on the throwing quality of the arms rather than on the uniformity of the movement, in order to highlight the elevation. Nonetheless, in the KNB’s performance the arms are raised at the shoulder level in *posé arabesque*, while the circling of the arms in *grand jeté* is performed in unison, by hitting the full extension of the arms above the head at the height of the jump. When the first line waits for the second line to repeat the sequence, the Bolshoi dancers are not in set lunge position, but rather show a resting pose, some with parallel legs. In contrast, the KNB dancers demonstrate a fixed lunge position with turned-out legs. Hence the uniformity of the *corps de ballet* can be seen as the most recurring trait of the KNB’s movement style, exhibiting neatness in performance.
7.3.3 Movement style of the KNB’s male dancers

The comparative analysis of *Spartacus* has identified features that can potentially be claimed as key stylistic traits of the KNB’s male dancers. First of all, the wide opening of the chest with a slight upward lift can be seen as the signature posture of the KNB’s male dancers. The KNB dancers add a slight head lift to look up and out, adding confidence. Expanded arm alignment accompanies this posture, especially when the arms are held in *grande pose* or in second position, the side arm, at the shoulder level, is taken slightly back to extend right to the side, opening the chest further. The arms move with a direct and firm quality, developing strength in the overall movement, and this use of the arms and strongly held posture together endorse the representation of male power.

Secondly, the sharp unfolding *développé* action of the legs, in *relevé* or *allegro* motions, often combined with a shooting action of the arms, is evident throughout the ballet. The shooting actions can be seen as a choreographic trait of Grigorovitch as they are repeatedly shown in the ballet. However, as the KNB’s dancers exhibit much sharper and more direct shooting actions of the arms and legs compared to the Bolshoi dancers, this feature can be considered a key quality of the KNB’s male dancers. As the male dancers develop this trait further to exhibit an exploding quality with the whole body, this sudden explosion of the body is another distinctive movement quality of the KNB’s male dancers, producing an energetic and powerful image.

Thirdly, extreme elevation of the *grand allegro* actions is another emphasis of the KNB. The height of the jump is stressed through holding the jump position in the air for a long duration. It is also often further highlighted through a sudden strong extending of the arms to the ceiling. Fourthly, the combination of an explosive thrusting of the body with elevated *grand allegro* actions, performed with a significant amount of repetition, demonstrates the KNB’s emphasis on building the virtuosity of its male dancers. These features also exhibit stamina, strength and power, in order to fully develop the muscular image of the KNB’s male dancers. Hence, the presentation of muscular bodies and strong energy is a significant feature of the KNB male dancers’ movement style. The final aspect, evident in most of the chosen
movement phrases, is the emphasis on showing set alignment in unison, developing the uniformity of the corps de ballet.

7.4 Conclusion
The above analyses of Swan Lake and Spartacus have yielded several movement-stylistic features of the KNB’s female and male dancers that together can be claimed as definitive of the company’s movement style. Listing the identified stylistic traits first, the female dancers’ delicate arm articulation, especially in the lowering actions, was the most apparent aspect of their performance, while firm and direct use of the arms with a strong opening of the chest was the signature movement quality of the KNB’s male dancers. The arm movements of the male dancers often demonstrated a sudden bursting quality, with a direct and straight use of the arms, contrasting with the smooth and softly articulated arm motions of the KNB’s female dancers. The soft use of the arms of the female dancers was often combined with rich upper-body bends, developing further smoothness in the upper half of the body.

Sharpness in small leg actions was a correlating aspect of the KNB’s female and male dancers alike. Crisp leg movements were often combined with quick changes of direction and sharp use of the head in order to accentuate the briskness of the movement. While the female dancers showed crispness mostly in petit leg actions, creating a playful quality, the male dancers combined sharpness in grand allegro movements with quick and direct use of the arms to develop a strong, bursting look. The use of the head always followed the overall movement quality portrayed in the given phrase, assisting the portrayed quality further. Thus, the quality of the head movement is considered to be the essential indicator in identifying the KNB’s movement style. Both female and male dancers emphasised high elevation in allegro movements. Choreographically, the male dancers placed a much greater emphasis on the grand allegro work than did the female dancers, influencing the development of the stylistic attributes of the KNB’s male dancers. Shooting arm and leg actions in the male dancers’ jumps emitted a greater explosion of energy high in the air, and the explosive allegro actions have become a significant feature of the male dancers, indicating a sound level of virtuosity. A powerful image predominated in the male dancers’ movements, and was shown not only through the use of strong allegro
actions, but also in the contrasting ‘down to earth’ movements, exhibiting heaviness and robustness. Hence, the KNB’s female dancers presented a soft, feminine figure, which was often converted to a cute and playful image, contrasting with the strong, muscular image of the male dancers.

Here, as these gendered qualities are arguably embedded in the ballet genre, it could be said that they are not particular to the KNB but rather universal and international. Moreover, as *Swan Lake* displays graceful swan-maidens and *Spartacus* is renowned for its display of the strength and virility of the male dancers, it could be argued that the contrast is merely a consequence of the chosen repertoire. Nonetheless, drawing on Bhabha’s theory of colonial mimicry (Chapter 3.3), I argue that what enables the different dance-movement styles and different interpretations of gendered qualities to emerge from various companies is precisely the freedom (which can be understood with Bhabha’s ideas of ambivalence and gap) allowed when performing the set ballet vocabulary and technique, and also the choreography. Thus, even while the movement style of the Bolshoi’s dancers (regarded as exemplifying Grigorovich’s choreographic style) is the dominant discourse acting on the KNB’s dancers, the latter, while imitating certain elements, also showed several notable differences from the former, as evident throughout the analyses. For instance, the KNB’s female dancers portrayed delicate but controlled swan-maidens, not fragile ones like the Bolshoi’s dancers, and they often showed the briskness of the swans’ legs, adding a cheerful image. The delicate arm articulation of the KNB’s female dancers can be seen as colonial mimicry of the Bolshoi’s female dancers, while their smoother and more rebounding quality, often with lavish upper-back bends, can be seen as unconscious disavowal.

Likewise, although the exhibition of musculature, shared by the male dancers of both companies, can be seen as a strong choreographic trait set by Grigorovich, the KNB’s male dancers displayed subtle divergence through much sharper and more direct shooting actions of the arms and legs, with more emphasis on exploding jumps and virtuosity. In this sense, then, the KNB’s male dancers appropriated the choreographic conventions of the dominant discourse, copying key stylistic features while slightly modifying them to claim them as their own. Here, continuous performance of these imported ballets since 2001 has resulted in the consolidation of the identified features
as constitutive of the KNB’s style, generating the specific gendered images. Recalling Bhabha (2004, 131), this appropriation, modification and consolidation reveal ‘a difference that is almost nothing but not quite’: ‘almost nothing’ in that the KNB’s style in many ways imitates key choreographic traits of Grigorovich (often portrayed through stylistic features shared with the Bolshoi), and yet ‘not quite’ in that the stylistic divergences, though subtle and unconscious, are nonetheless significant.

Finally, the most apparent movement feature of both the male and female dancers’ corps de ballet work was the demonstration of group unity and cohesion. In general, the corps de ballet work of the classical ballet repertoire follows the principle of displaying group unity; this criterion is what first made the present analysis possible, as I claim to identify the company’s overall movement style. It is common that each ballet company seeks to demonstrate shared movement quality in the corps de ballet work of the classical repertoire. While I have argued that the Bolshoi dancers demonstrated less unity, they also shared a certain free-flowing and un-fixed quality that created a certain type of homogeneity. However, the analyses demonstrated that the KNB placed more emphasis on exhibiting the unity of the corps de ballet – by accentuating the same alignment in motion, or by arriving to set positions with shared quality and in unison – as compared with the Bolshoi. In this sense, institutions also possess a degree of freedom to value particular principles over others, and thus it is through its valuing of one of the most basic rules of classical ballet that the KNB reveals its obsession with creating a united ballet company identity and the highly collectivistic approach by which it seeks to realise this goal.

This recalls certain features of Korean nationalism discussed above (Chapters 2.4 and 5.2), in particular collectivism, which has historically been, and continues to be, a strong ideological concept promoted in Korea, often by the state, for spreading nationalistic ideas. Thus the KNB’s privileging of united, mass movement is potentially an aesthetic choice drawn from the locally embedded ideology of Korean nationalism, an ideology which happens to correlate with one of the key principles of the ballet genre. This calls for further analysis of the extent to which the KNB’s movement style references local cultural features, the subject of Chapter 8. Moreover, the findings of this chapter will be re-examined in Chapter 8 to double-check and
confirm the isolated traits as key features of the KNB’s style, and to further identify how such stylistic mimicry-with-disavowal of the dominant colonial discourse has developed and can be seen in the production of *Prince Hodong* (Moon, 2009).
Chapter Eight
Establishing ‘Korean ballet’: *Prince Hodong* (Moon, 2009)

*Prince Hodong* introduces Korean tradition to the world stage...As an example of the globalization of Korean culture in the 21st century, *Prince Hodong* combines Western artistic culture with traditional Korean culture.

KNB, 2011, 25

8.1 Introduction

In November 2009, the KNB announced the premiere of *Prince Hodong* (Moon, 2009), the KNB’s only new creation in the last ten years. The press emphasised the value of creating a production in the Western art form of ballet that could ‘[engage] Korean sentiment’ (Park, 2009, pressian.com) by portraying the ancient Korean legend of Prince Hodong and Princess Nakrang, a tale set during the early Goguryu period, approximately BCE 37-668 (Appendix J, 307-08). In the programme notes, the KNB declared the production to be ‘the first project of national representation’, revealing the KNB’s participation in the National Brand policy of the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (KNB, 2009, 1). In Chapter 5.8, I noted the changes in cultural policy for national arts organisations, from the encouragement of the creation of nationally representative artwork in 2009 to the promotion of that work to enter the global stage in 2011. Given this emphasis, *Prince Hodong* underwent several modifications over the two-year interval, and reached its first international stage in October 2011 at the San Carlos Theatre in Naples, Italy. In a news broadcast by KTV, the national policy broadcaster in Korea, the overseas performance of *Prince Hodong* in Italy was compared to the international success of K-Pop, which is an abbreviation for Korean popular music: ‘it is the first step for “K-Ballet” to continue the current *Han Reu Wave* that has been led by K-Pop’ (KTV, 2011, ktv.co.kr). Here, *Prince Hodong* is re-dubbed ‘K-Ballet’ to emphasise that the production is a ‘Korean-made’ work, while the term, Korean ballet, is also proposed as a label for the work. This highlights the representational role of *Prince Hodong* and emphasises the KNB’s role as the agency for introducing Korean ballet to the world.

The above citation from the KNB’s annual brochure acknowledges the hybrid aspect
of *Prince Hodong*, namely its embracing of cultural aspects of both the West and Korea through its genre and subject matter. Part Two of this study identified the Russian ballet conventions and classic works, and especially Yuri Grigorovich’s interpretations of these works, as the dominant artistic discourse influencing the KNB. The concept of Korean ballet accordingly denotes a new, Koreanised form of ballet, one which has developed through both voluntary imitation of, and thoughtful or unconscious resistance to, the Russian ballet tradition in general and Grigorovich’s choreographies in particular. Part Two also nominated *Prince Hodong* as the only living internal creation of KNB that attempts to establish the concept of Korean ballet; therefore the present chapter aims to provide an in-depth analysis of *Prince Hodong*, to evaluate why and how this ballet can be considered as the prototypical example of Korean ballet.

The process of hybridisation is thus the central focus of this chapter. Firstly, in terms of movement style, the chapter analyses how the KNB dancers’ movement-stylistic features (as identified in Chapter 7, viz. as mimicking while resisting Grigorovich’s choreographic style) are further developed through the production of *Prince Hodong*. Secondly, the chapter also concentrates on the ways in which the production takes the general principles and conventions of the Russian ballet classics on board while resisting complete dependency by incorporating local elements – historical, traditional, cultural, religious, ideological and aesthetic. The idea of ‘tradition’ used throughout the thesis is understood in terms of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s concept of invented tradition (1983), as discussed in Chapter 3.1. It does not imply the existence of any long-standing elements, fixed and distinct identity, or immemorial past, but rather captures the process of social construction by which certain norms, values, and cultural elements are linked up to a past, thus creating it. Insofar as tradition is thus understood as a continuous process of invention and revaluation, this chapter also seeks to identify how *Prince Hodong* contributes to the invention of certain cultural elements and values and confirms them as constitutive of Korean tradition.

With these aims in mind, the chapter begins with an analysis of the artistic influence of the Russian ballet tradition, and specifically the choreography of Grigorovich’s *Spartacus* (1967), on the creation of *Prince Hodong*. Next, various forms of Korean
traditional and contemporary culture, as well as the traits of Korean nationalism identified in Part Two, are isolated in order to examine the different ways in which this production subverts the dominant discourse. Finally, *Prince Hodong* is analysed in relation to several Korean cultural mediums – namely, the official Korean tourism advertisements made and distributed by the Korea Tourism Organisation (KTO) (as cited in Chapter 5.7 and 5.8), the production of *Nanta* (Song, 1997), and a short advertisement to publicise *bibimbap* (a Korean traditional food) in Times Square, New York – to identify the trend in the contemporary Korean cultural field in presenting national identity both locally and globally.

Throughout the analysis, Janet Lansdale’s intertextuality approach to dance analysis is used to illuminate the interweaving of the various dance, historical, narrative, and also traditional, cultural and political texts that are at work in *Prince Hodong*. The Effort and Shape aspects of LMA are also employed to re-examine and confirm the company’s movement-stylistic features as detailed in the previous chapter. Again, as in Chapter 7, I utilise static images whenever necessary, and with the same caveats. Moreover, in this chapter, I also refer to short clips taken from the DVD recordings (provided as Appendix P) whenever I feel moving examples are necessary. This is not intended as a substitute for the written analysis, which is self-sufficient; rather the purpose is to supplement the analysis, and to provide an easy point of entry to certain cultural materials that may be unknown and inaccessible to non-Korean readers.

**8.2 Artistic influences: the Russian ballet tradition and Grigorovich’s *Spartacus***

*Prince Hodong* is a tragic tale of two lovers: Prince Hodong, the son of Goguryu’s third ruler, King Daemushin, and Princess Nakrang, the daughter of King Choiree of the country Nakrang. Goguryu is the neighbouring country of Nakrang, and seeks to conquer Nakrang for territorial expansion. Concealing Goguryu’s ulterior motives, Prince Hodong falls in love with Princess Nakrang and marries her. However, he then asks the princess to tear up *Jammyungo*, the mythical drum that warns the nation whenever danger approaches. Caught between the love for her husband and the love for her country, Princess Nakrang finally destroys the magic drum, allowing Goguryu to conquer her country. King Choiree kills his own daughter and himself, and Hodong also commits suicide out of his guilt and love towards Princess Nakrang. Situated in
this particular era of Korean history, *Prince Hodong* embraces the themes of myth, ritual customs, marriage, war, social conflict, and patriotism, all of which are used as raw materials for the production (Appendix J, 307-08).

Despite the embedding of these historical elements, however, the analysis begins by addressing how *Prince Hodong* centrally follows the conventions of the nineteenth-century Russian narrative ballet classics. In general, the classical ballet technique (for instance, those performed *en pointe* by the female dancers), in combination with orchestral music, are set as the basic vocabulary of this production. Structurally, the most apparent instance of mimicry of the nineteenth century Russian classics is the wedding scene (Act two, scene seven); it is constructed as *divertissement*, an entertaining and celebratory dance scene, which is a typical way of forming wedding scenes in the classics. Similar to *The Nutcracker* (Ivanov, 1892) and *Swan Lake* (Petipa and Ivanov, 1895), the wedding scene of *Prince Hodong* opens with the entrance of Nakrang’s court ladies, leading to the congratulation dance by the invited Uighur tribe, one of the neighbouring foreign ethnic groups. Then, instead of strictly following the format of *grand pas de deux* (which is set in the order of *entrée, adage pas de deux, male and female solos, and then coda*, often leading to *grand coda* with numerous dancers involved), Princess Nakrang initiates her solo, which is followed by Prince Hodong’s solo and a short celebration dance by the court ladies and the Goguryu warriors; then it is back to *adage pas de deux* and *coda*, leading to *grand coda* to end the scene. Although the ordering of *grand pas de deux* is amended, each section focuses on the display of general aesthetic traits set in the Russian classics: for instance, the solos on the dancers’ individual technical level; the *adage* section on the level of their partnership, with varying lifts and supported *adage*; and the *coda* section on their virtuosity. In this scene, then, the colonial doubling process is instantly evident through the following of such choreographic conventions, while a subtle degree of resistance is also shown through the slight modification of the ordering of the scene.

Moreover, a strong artistic influence of Grigorovich’s *Spartacus* on *Prince Hodong* is evident in terms of the choreographed movements, particularly as both ballets share the narrative subject of war and depicts powerful battle scenes. In *Prince Hodong*, the
warriors of Goguryu and Nakrang exhibit a sharp and controlled use of the arms, holding swords and shields, recalling the battle scenes of *Spartacus. Prince Hodong*, through its own battle scenes, displays strong thrusting and stamping actions, spectacular *grand allegro* movements, and technical virtuosity in unison to create strong male figures. These movement traits, as discussed in Chapter 7.3 are identified as key features of the KNB’s movement style, developed through the demands of the choreography of *Spartacus*.

A further example occurs in the first battle scene of *Prince Hodong*, where the warriors of Nakrang enter the stage to make four vertical lines across the stage; the warriors of Goguryu join to confront Nakrang by making the same formation, hence making eight vertical lines (alternating by country). The intensity of this scene is built through the powerful combat movements (the dancers formed in pairs, facing each other), followed by an exploding jumping sequence. In the latter, the Goguryu warriors perform a splashing jump in *attitude* with bent supporting leg, facing the downstage right corner. They then quickly turn to face the downstage left corner to execute a high jump in *arabesque* with splitting action, the left arm holding the shield in front of the body while the other arm, holding the sword, shoots out to the ceiling. While the Goguryu warriors perform this sequence, the soldiers of Nakrang perform four low hops in lunge position, changing legs on each jump, holding their shields in front of their bodies and their swords at their sides. The whole sequence is repeated, this time with Nakrang’s army performing the *grand allegro* jumps and Goguryu’s army executing the low hops in lunge position. Such leaping actions with bent knees are continuously evident in *Spartacus*, especially during the ‘*Grand jetés with bent knees*’ sequence; likewise, downwards hopping actions in lunge positions also frequently occur in *Spartacus*, for instance in the ‘*Stamping*’ sequence. Here, both ballets often utilise the male dancers’ movements, *en masse* and in unison, as a means of creating an intense and powerful battle scene.

In a private interview in summer 2010, Byung Nam Moon, the choreographer of *Prince Hodong*, explained the inevitable influence of *Spartacus* on *Prince Hodong*, as Moon, the deputy artistic director at the time, worked very closely with Grigorovich when he was mounting and rehearsing his ballets with the KNB’s dancers. Moon said
that he wished to develop the work as a powerful male ballet, and that he considered *Spartacus* to be a renowned male-centred ballet that obviously had been very familiar to him and the company’s dancers since its importation in 2001. Here, the KNB male dancers’ movement style, viz. bursting *grand allegro* jumps and thrusting, stamping actions with a demonstration of virtuosity, can be seen to have developed through the continuous performance of *Spartacus*, while the creation of *Prince Hodong* is what enabled such traits to become established features of the company’s own aesthetic. This transformation of Grigorovich’s choreographic-aesthetic values into the KNB’s own stylistic features, achieved through the creation of *Prince Hodong*, is a crucial point. In one sense, Moon’s decision to cite the choreographic aesthetics of *Spartacus*, viz. the display of powerful male figures *en masse*, can be read as continued stylistic mimicry of Grigorovich’s choreography. Nonetheless, as the ballet is a centrepiece of the National Brand project, and thus reflects a nationalistic political agenda, Moon’s choice also suggests certain political influences at work. Accordingly these stylistic traits are further analysed below (sections 8.3.1 and 8.4), in the context of relating the infusion of Taekwondo with various elements of Korean nationalism.

**8.3 Traditional Korean elements**

**8.3.1 Taekwondo**

While *Prince Hodong* involves a mimicking or doubling of the Russian ballet classics, it also resists complete dominance by those classics by incorporating various local beliefs, customs and practices. The scene set in Goguryu’s drill hall (Act two, scene nine), conjures an historical setting by depicting the training practice of Goguryu’s warriors in ancient Korea. The warriors’ physical training section involves direct utilisation of Taekwondo, the famous Korean traditional martial art, which has been an official sport of the Olympic Games since 2000. While Taekwondo, nowadays, is practiced globally, it is commonly understood to be a product of Korean culture, and the Korean origins and history of Taekwondo have been documented by Kukkiwon, the official world Taekwondo headquarters, and are available on its website (Kukkiwon, 2012, http://www.kukkiwon.or.kr). The movement phrases that imitate the motions of Taekwondo are analysed with reference to the official training manual of Taekwondo, published on the website of Kukkiwon, and the Korea Taekwondo Association (KTA).
The scene commences with a preparatory ceremony that aims to gather concentration and hone self-discipline through feeling and controlling the body’s internal energy. The music begins with a short, deep drum roll indicating the start of the warriors’ physical training. As the preparatory ceremony begins, sixteen warriors are firmly set in pyramid formation, arms resting at their sides. They slowly open solid straight arms laterally up to waist level, palms facing down, then gradually bring the arms back down to a bent position in front of the body, palms facing upwards. The hands, firmly stretched, are placed to the front of the chest, elbows out to the sides, as if having collected internal energy. This energy is then pressed down to the danjeon, the hypogastrium area, by rotating the lower part of the arms, pushing down with the palms. The arms straighten to reopen sideways, then are taken higher, to shoulder level, collecting even more energy. Again the arms steadily bend to bring the hands in front of the chest. The hands continue to move toward the front with a pressing quality, making a triangle shape with flexed wrists, while the arms are not fully stretched. During this arm motion, a shouting suddenly accompanies the music; this resembles the uttering of kihap, which is part of the Taekwondo training and which functions to increase concentration. Here the shouting lasts for three counts, pronouncing ‘Ah~ Ah~ Ap!’, and is repeated four times.

Despite the ballet nature of this production, this sequence only involves arm movements from kneeling to upright position, to depict certain aesthetic traits of Korean martial arts. Externally, the ceremony appears calm, but the firmness of the arm movements, especially when circling and pressing down in front of the hypogastrium area, portrays the ardour and intensity demanded by the training of inner strength and energy. The shouting aids the collection of the energy, building concentration and developing readiness for the coming physical regimen. As the sequence is performed in unison, with a firm and solid quality, the focus is on the increasing inner power of Goguryu’s warriors. Overall, this process of the collection and concentration of inner energy depicted in the preparatory section highlights a particular principle of Taekwondo, namely the concept of ‘Muye’, a compound word formed from ‘martialism’ and ‘art’ which signifies ‘the artistic ideal of immersion of soul in body for the sake of perfection of action’ (KTA, 2010d, online).
As the warriors stand up, the actual physical training section commences. It depicts Taekwondo *Poomsae*, replicating the basic skills of Taekwondo (Appendix P, Track One). In this section the music involves choral singing, the melody followed by the word, ‘Ah~’. This change adds grandiosity and stateliness to the scene. This section is also performed in unison, keeping the initial pyramid formation. Although various Taekwondo skills are employed, only the two consecutive kick sequences are chosen for analysis as these demonstrate Taekwondo’s exclusive and specialised kicking technique, which differentiates it from other bare-hand martial arts that emphasise fisting or gripping skills (KTA, 2010a). The chosen sequences contain various types of *chagi* (kicking), *chigi* (striking) and *makki* (guarding) skills. During these sequences, the warriors frequently place the fisted hands on the pelvis, arms bent with the elbows facing back, forming the basic arm position. The legs are mostly in a natural turned-out position, imitating the basic stance of Taekwondo, which does not show a full turning-out of the legs, as opposed to the rule in ballet. They often stand with slightly bent legs, feet apart and naturally turned out, which constitute the basic leg position.

![Picture Fifteen. Arm actions of Taekwondo in *Prince Hodong*](image1)

Commencing the first kicking sequence, the warriors stand in basic leg position. Their bodies face to the front with the head turned to the left, while the right arm, fully bent, is placed in front of the body, elbow out to the side, positioning the right hand in front of the chest, palm facing up. The left arm is held out to the side and slightly bent, palm facing down. From this position, they perform a crisp half turn to sharply execute a side kick with shooting *développé* action, while the body slightly tilts to the opposite side, giving greater height to the kick; the foot is flexed, as if attacking the face of an imaginary target. This action reflects *dollyochagi*, known as a turning kick.

Next the working leg is quickly put down in front, forming a lunge position facing stage right, while the right arm strongly guards the head (arm bent, placing the lower part of the arm slightly above the head, the hand forming a fist). Staying in the lunge position, the left arm shoots out along a high diagonal line with a blade-like hand, then is sharply brought into the basic arm position, then again spurts back out on the same diagonal line, but now with a firmly curved hand to attack an imaginary target’s chin, exhibiting *teckchigi* (the chin strike, Picture Fifteen, 229).

Next, with a quick transfer of weight onto the front leg, the back leg executes a nimble high forward kick with unfolding action, as the arms are vigorously brought down to the basic position. The warriors then face front, stepping onto the working leg, arriving to the basic leg position; they remain in this position to control their breath and feel the internal energy, while the arms slowly but firmly cross in front, the left arm arriving above the head to guard the face, the right arm extending along a low diagonal line. Here, the arm movement is extremely slow, taking four counts, and the last count is accented by restating the arm position with strong rebounding action, showing readiness for the next phrase. Throughout the first kicking sequence, the warriors travel to stage right in unison.
The next sequence demonstrates more demanding kicking actions, the dancers travelling sideways to stage left. From the basic leg position, the right leg is bent in a parallel line and slightly lifted, the foot placed on the side of the supporting knee, with an upright body line, depicting the crane stance of Taekwondo. The dancers momentarily pause in this pose to show their firm and total control and balance of the whole body, as if they are seeking the most effective moment for an ambush attack in order to inflict the greatest possible damage to the intended target. From this position, the bent right leg is sharply stretched high and to the side with a sudden deep tilt of the body to the opposite side, heading down to the floor – a lethal move that shows the maximum height and power of the kick (Picture Sixteen). The combination move from the crane stance to the high kick shows Taekwondo’s physical requirement of total control over the peripheral extremes and their power, and also its emotional requirement of patience in order to discern the precise moment to strike. Next the warriors place the working leg onto the floor, forming the second position with bent knees. Then they swiftly travel sideways with piercing stomps to stage left, while the arms make right angles at each side, showing off the biceps with fisted hands, accentuating the stomps with a sharp rebounding quality. A sharp half turn is shown by the warriors to face back as they shoot the left arm out to the side. The turn is continued to execute a turning low front kick, attacking the imaginary target’s shin.
from the outside. The working leg is placed back to transfer the weight, lifting the front heel off the floor, facing stage left. In this position, the left arm stays in the basic position, as the fisted right arm quickly shoots out in front, then sharply returns to the basic position and gradually extends back out to the front with a firmly curved hand to end the sequence. Here, as the stomping action is not a core aspect of Taekwondo, the added stomping moves can be considered a choreographic choice designed to show the power of the male dancers, reflecting stylistic influences drawn from the choreography of *Spartacus*.

Throughout the scene, the emphasis on the depiction of basic Taekwondo skills is particularly evident through the exhibition of the four different types of kicks: the turning side kick, the forward high kick with unfolding action, the lethal kick with dramatic tilting of the body, and the turning front low kick. In addition, the kicking sequences contain basic guarding and striking actions that are recognisable as Taekwondo moves. However, it is also important to note a certain degree of modification of the movement qualities of Taekwondo in this scene. The moves performed by actual Taekwondo practitioners (in contrast to the KNB dancers) are much more powerful, with piercing accentuation especially on the attacking motions, as they potentially seek to cause real physical harm to their opponents. Hence, the depiction of Taekwondo is recognised through the shapes of the choreographed positions of the kicks and strikes, rather than through the qualities of those actions.

At the same time, even while some of the power and aggressiveness of Taekwondo have been mitigated in its translation to dance, the use of Taekwondo as a choreographic template demands that the KNB dancers cultivate and express a certain degree of sharpness and power in their movements in order to appropriate and secure these stylistic elements as their own. Moreover, by focusing on the mass unity of all sixteen warriors, the scene stresses in particular the mass training environment of Taekwondo *Poomsae*. Again, however, as this method of training is not a core requirement of Taekwondo, it can be said that the KNB has introduced it in order to utilise the national-cultural form of Taekwondo to express one of the most central themes of state-led nationalism, namely, the emphasis on collective unity and mass power. In doing so, the KNB further legitimises and reproduces such mass unity as a
core principle embodied in Korean identity. In this sense, this scene demonstrates the adaptation of Taekwondo motions (blended in the Western art form of ballet) as a means of revealing particular Korean cultural norms, as well as of further defining the key stylistic traits of the company’s male dancers. Moreover, it suggests a political aim, namely to use the famous Korean martial art of Taekwondo to announce to the world that the production is ‘made in Korea’, in accordance with a particular image sanctioned and encouraged by the state. Finally, as the production also portrays, above all in the preparatory ceremony, the core Taekwondo principle of the cultivation of the unity of body, mind, and soul, it can also be said that the KNB aims to appropriate and express the internal strength of the nation, in addition to the kind of outward physical power represented in the mass training section.

8.3.2 Influence of traditional dance and its costumes

In the temple scene (Act one, scene two), the appropriation of elements of traditional dance is shown through the costumes of the female priests. The scene depicts a ritual ceremony in which a group of holy female priests is seen worshiping the god of the sky. The scene opens onto Goguryu’s sacred temple, which is thick with smoke and presided over by a coterie of holy female priests wearing long white dresses, each holding one lengthy piece of white chiffon fabric. These long white fabric pieces are reminiscent of the use of towel-shaped props in the Salp’uri dance (the exorcist’s dance), which is a theatrical version of one of Korean traditional folk dances (as state in Chapter 5.1), that has its roots from Shamanism (Picture Seventeen, 234).

Similarly, in the wedding scene (Act two, scene seven) Nakrang’s court ladies enter wearing differently coloured long chiffon dresses, with unusually lengthened sleeves (Picture Eighteen, 234). Van Zile (2001, 85) confirms this as a typical aspect of Korean traditional dance by stating that ‘[o]ne of the most distinctive characteristics of many Korean dances – whether folk or court – is the manipulation of long sleeves’. Here, in the traditional dances involving extended sleeves, the dancers are required to have a flourishing arm technique, the sleeves being wielded to make various patterns (KCCA, 2010c). Nakrang’s court ladies display articulate arm motions to make the sleeves fly gently into the air or by expanding the circular motions of their arms to create rounded patterns with their sleeves.
Picture Seventeen. *Salpuri* costume in *Prince Hodong*
(Left) *Salp’uri* dance – Kim Sook Ja type (KCCA, 2010b)
(Middle) Goguryu’s temple scene, *Prince Hodong* (KNB, 2011)
(Right) *Salpuri* dance – Lee Mae Byang type (KCCA, 2010d)

Picture Eighteen. Traditional dance costume in *Prince Hodong*
(Above Right) *Sŭng Mu*, Korean traditional folk dance (KCCA, 2010a)
(Above Left) *Tae Pyung Mu*, Korean traditional court dance (Taepyungmu, 2010)
(Below) The court ladies’ dance in the wedding scene, *Prince Hodong* (Newsis, 2011)
A more obvious reference to the aesthetics of traditional dance occurs in the temple scene when the priests, in two vertical lines, face downstage toward the corner and softly cross their arms in front. From this position, the downstage arm lifts to forehead level with a gentle curved shape and then is calmly bent to place the hand next to the ear, while the other arm smoothly opens sideways with palm facing out. Here, both arms are kept in the round shape with soft articulation in the elbow. This movement resembles a basic arm shape often featured in the Korean traditional dance. The continuity and smoothness of the arm bends combined with the generous and round use of upper-body bends is evident throughout the movement phrase of the female priests, as will further be analysed in section 8.3.3. This confirms the key movement-stylistic traits of the KNB’s female dancers, as identified in Chapter 7. In the wedding scene, the soft bending of the arms and the gentle curving of the arms and upper body are further developed through the use of delicate fabric pieces, which are often used to create afterimages of the arms’ circular path.

Studies on Korean traditional culture generally identify sensitive, curved lines and roundness as the key aesthetic traits of Korean traditional dance. Byung Ho Jung (2004, 32) states that ‘Korean dance demonstrates light and delicate lines, like the branches of [a] willow’, while Mal Borg Kim (2002, 29) argues that ‘the common aesthetic characteristic shared across the traditional art, music, and dance of Korea is [the] roundness of [the] curved line, and the rhythmical traits that makes it move’. Here, these scenes aim to portray not the actual movements of Korean traditional dance but rather its general aesthetic, via the tender quality and passing curved shapes that are adopted in the choreography and developed especially through the use of traditional dance costumes. Recalling Chapter 7, while the KNB dancers showed similarity to the Bolshoi dancers in their careful and gentle use of the arms, this feature was often combined with a smooth quality in the soft bending of the arms and upper body, emphasising the curvature of the path. In this sense, the KNB, through the choreography of Prince Hodong, further develops these stylistic traits of its female dancers and claims them as its own, while also embodying key aesthetic elements shared with Korean traditional culture.
8.3.3 Religion of ancient Korea: prayer customs and the idea of modesty

As the temple scene offers a devotional ceremony to attain the sky god’s words, the scene, to a certain extent, can be read as a portrayal of the ritual function of Goguryu, *Dong maeng*, particularly with respect to the worship of the sky god. The analysis, therefore, focuses on the ways in which this scene portrays certain religious ideologies or particular methods of ritual practices as the features related to ancient Korean religion. At the beginning of the scene, ten priests form two vertical lines, five priests on each line, forming a pathway from the staircase. They are facing back and kneeling down, the lower and upper parts of the legs forming right angles, the hips not touching the heels. They have their fabric pieces wrapped around their shoulders like shawls, and they hold the ends of the material gently with each hand. Without releasing the fabric, the arms gradually raise high, in front of the body, while the palms face upward, towards the sky, in a gesture of worship. Then, the arms gently descend in front as the body smoothly and fully bends forward onto the floor, the hips lowering down into a full kneeling position (the lower and upper parts of the legs meeting, the hips now touching the heels).

This is a depiction of the Korean custom of deep-bowing, known as *jeol*, which is the Korean manner of showing sincerity and respect as well as politeness and modesty toward the recipient through the complete lowering of the body onto the floor (Appendix K, 309). The concept and role of *jeol* in Korean custom is described in numerous studies of Korean culture, including Nam Jin Song’s study of the method of Korean bows in making ritual vows (2009). Song describes *jeol* as the combination of the kneeling action and the bowing of the full body and head onto the floor. He states that, through this motion, ‘deep respect is further created’ (2009, 20) and ‘the rigorous distinction between superiors and inferiors’ is maintained (2009, 21). Accordingly, through the portrayal of this traditional gesture, the priests further elevate the god’s position and show their respect. Hence, this position does not merely depict *jeol*, but also connotes certain hidden ideological and religious beliefs of Korean cultural life.

This phrase of the smooth raising up and lowering down of the body and arms, is repeated three times, and ends with the body upright in full kneeling position, the arms resting at the sides. Throughout the repetitions, the movements are slow and
continuous, showing the priests’ gracefulness as well as their concentration in bowing to the god. The choreographic convention of repetition, along with the slowness of the movements, further enhances the priests’ exertion, showing their utmost solicitude with their worship. This reveals the Korean idea of a type of courtesy that hinges on valuing the necessity of bodily labour for cultivating a modest mind, which is a basic requirement for showing respect. Song (2009) supports this argument by explaining various methods of making ritual bows that employ the repetition of jeol. In so doing, the dynamic aspect of the Korean manner of praying is revealed (Song, 2009), in contrast to the static praying position of the West.

There is a long continuous sequence within the scene that indicates the Korean manner of praying through the repetitive lowering of the body and head. The sequence begins with ten dancers in two vertical lines, facing front. They take three forward bends with slight variations, implying bowing motions. Although the motions are fluid and continuous, this sequence is divided into three bowing sections in order to provide clearer analysis. The sequence begins with the dancers in parallel standing position, arms softly lowered at the sides, the fabric not held but rather draped around the neck like a scarf. The head is slightly lowered in a pose of polite preparation before initiating the praying sequence. The first bowing phrase begins with a smooth lifting of the arms, through demi-seconde, up to open fifth position. Then, as the arms bend, the backs of the hands gently touch the forehead, palms facing upwards, while the chest is lifted up, with a slight tilting back of the head to look up to the sky. With a rebounding quality, the bent arms are stretched up towards the sky, then continue to lower in front of the body, palms facing up. As the arms descend, the priests smoothly lower down onto one knee and bow with a generous forward bend and a slight contraction, the arms subtly crossing in front of the body. From this crossed position, the arms delicately open to the sides, with fine articulation, forming an arc-shaped, bird-wing-like position, while the body bends even further forward, head facing the floor. The arms do not stop at this position but are sensitively stretched to carry upwards, palms facing down, as the body unfolds to an upright position. The body continues to fold back slightly and the hands, again, gently touch the forehead as the priests look up to the sky. This first bowing phrase can be seen as the initial stage of the prayer, which simply expresses respect for and faith in the god, before asking or
wishing for any revelation. They look up to the sky and touch their foreheads to show respect to the god, offering mental devotion through their deep forward bends and lowering of the arms with upward-facing palms.

The second bowing phrase begins with a change in the musical colour, from Western orchestral music to a Korean texture, by the dominance of the traditional pipe sound (Appendix P, Track Two). The right arm, from the forehead, smoothly lowers in front of the body to touch the upper part of the stomach, while the left arm follows down to touch slightly the lower part of the abdomen; then the right hand crosses the left in front to touch even lower on the stomach. While the hands, alternating, contact the core area three times, the upper body gently curves forward, exhibiting a bowing action. Here, by touching the centre of the body, the priests reveal their full bodily devotion to the god. Moreover, by covering the core of the body – the core possibly representing confidence or pride – they express modesty. This phrase can be seen as a replication of the traditional Korean posture of humility, which involves placing the hands on top of the navel, one hand on top of the other, with a slight bowing of the head; in Korea this stance indicates politeness, while the lowering of the head shows one’s intellect, intensifying the overall sense of humility of the pose.

Again the arms gently open sideways to the bird-wing-like position, with a deeper forward bend. With a rebounding quality the body recovers to upright position, then is carried to perform a slight backbend, the chest lifted up toward the sky, while the arms rotate in such a way that the inner arms and palms face the sky with a slight curve; this position conveys the priests’ readiness and openness to receive the god’s word. The arms are then smoothly brought in front of the body, gently crossing twice, exhibiting sensitive articulation through the hands and even the fingers. Throughout this arm crossing, the upper body and head are held in a slight backward bend, facing the sky. The crossing of the arms can be interpreted as a kind of supplication, a humble appeal to the god for his revelation. Hence, the second bowing phrase expresses an even deeper and more intense devotion by covering the core area of the body and by repeating the gestures of bowing and looking up to the sky. The prayer or entreaty of the priests is only abstractly stated after the exhibition of their full respect and dedication.
The third bowing motion is shown simply through a small forward bending of the upper body and the head as the priests gradually stand up from the kneeling position, arms smoothly drawing up to crossed fifth position. The sequence ends as the arms softly lower to the sides and the body recovers to upright position, feet in parallel. This small bowing action indicates the termination of the praying sequence, as the rule for the Korean deep-bow series involves a gentle lowering of the head at the end of the final bow, showing the preservation of modesty until the end. The sequence choreographically adopts the order of Korean prayer, if only briefly, as it puts the request towards the end of the prayer, after the cultivation of bodily and mental modesty, and finishes with a gentle bow. Throughout the whole praying sequence, the movements are continuous, with no pauses or stops. The arms, especially, linger with soft articulation and delicate curved lines, confirming the ballet’s connection to the aesthetic of Korean traditional culture, as discussed in the previous section.

In addition, the sequence depicts the holiness and gracefulness of the female priests, namely in its portrayal of the strenuous effort, patience and discipline that are required by the priests in Korean ritual practice to show their bodily and mental devotion. Here, further confirmation can be drawn from the work of Hyun Jung Kim (2012), cited in Chapter 5.8, who analysed official Korean tourism advertisements in order to evaluate the methods of demonstrating national identity. In particular to Korea Inspiring (2010), Kim identifies that it only features an image of a female dancer, in the natural and traditional landscapes, performing a form of traditional dance, Sŏng Mu (monk’s dance) which embraces the traits of extended sleeves. The temple scene can be seen to demonstrate similarity to Korea Inspiring, through the resemblance of another form of traditional dance, Salp’uri (exorcist’s dance) by adopting the long extended fabric pieces (Picture Two, 147 & Picture Seventeen, 234). In Chapter 5.1, I have shown the shared religious and spiritual trait in these two traditional dance forms, from Buddhism and Shamanism, respectively. In this account, Hyun Jung Kim (2012, 298) cites Partha Chatterjee: ‘Indian nationalists strategically strengthened the spiritual elements of Indian tradition during the late nineteenth century because they thought that the spiritual aspect of the East was superior to that of the West’. Similarly, Kim argues that the adoption of Seung Mu in ‘Korea Inspiring’ is a demonstration of anti-colonialist nationalism, one that works by conjuring up and exploiting a rather
dubiously essentialist image – viz. a traditional female dancer, as expressing the higher spirituality of ‘the East’ – to evoke feelings of national superiority. In line with this claim, then, the display of delicate and humble female priests can likewise be considered a way of exhibiting Korean spirituality and modesty – ethical values inaccessible to and ungovernable by the West. In this sense, the production does not simply resist total and outright mimicry of the Russian ballet tradition but in addition actively subverts the idea of Western superiority embedded in the phenomena of cultural imperialism, modernity, and globalisation (as discussed in Chapter 3.2). Accordingly, this trend of showcasing Korea’s spiritual superiority through a freer manipulation of contemporary cultural forms emerges as one of the most recent and effective tactics for fostering national identity, one that has less conformity to official state cultural policy.

8.4 The idea of Korean nationalism

8.4.1 Loyalty to the country

Further characteristics of Korean nationalism can also be gleaned from various themes and choreographic devices explored in Prince Hodong. The narrative itself reveals the deeply embedded idea of state-led nationalism (explained in Chapter 5) through the governmental stressing of love of country (Appendix J, 307-08). In the programme notes, Myung Woo Lee (the director of the television drama series, Jammyungo) compares this story with Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet (approximately 1595), both being tragedies involving the theme of unattainable love. Nonetheless, the difference between the two stories is clear, as one exhibits the issue of love for the family (Romeo and Juliet) while the other deals with the question of love for the nation (Prince Hodong). This idea of loyalty to the country, the king and the father, embedded in Prince Hodong, is clearly related to the historical collusion in Korea between Confucian thought and state-led nationalism, as elaborated in Chapter 2.2 and 5.2. Kyung Ju Kim (2006) has argued that the notion of the nation as fundamentally rooted in the state – the largest and most important categorisation, grounded in Korea’s ethnic homogeneity and single shared history, and one demanding complete loyalty – has become the principal view of the nation in Korea, due to deeply embedded Confucian values that require people to be obedient to the sovereign as the head of the family (Kim, 2006). The Confucian phrase, ‘Kŭn Sa Bŭ Il
Che’ (implying the equal mercy of the king/sovereign, the teacher/master and the father) is highly relevant here. However, Confucianism was not introduced into Korea until after the Three Kingdom period, and hence the enduring popularity of the legend of Prince Hodong can be interpreted as an effect of the continued appropriation of Confucian philosophy as Korean tradition, especially through the reverence for state-led nationalism cultivated since the period of modern nation-building in Korea.

8.4.2 Glorification of Korean history and the value of collective unity

Further traits of Korean nationalism are displayed through the adaptation of certain Taekwondo movements. While Taekwondo is now globally recognised as a Korean martial art due to its inclusion in the Olympics, both the Korea Taekwondo Association (KTA) and Kukkiwon, the world Taekwondo headquarters, locate its roots in the Goguryu dynasty, where the ballet is based. The KTA states that

the origin of Taekwondo in this country can be traced back to the Koguryo [another way of spelling Goguryu] dynasty… founded in 37 B.C… since mural paintings found in the ruins of the royal tombs built by that dynasty show scenes of Taekwondo practice.


The KTA refers to the Muyong-chong, a Goguryu mural that includes a painting of two men facing each other and assuming the stance and motions of Taekwondo (Appendix L, 310). Whilst a debate about the origins of Taekwondo are beyond my remit, the depiction of Taekwondo moves in the Goguryu warriors’ training scene highlights the longstanding history of this martial art and expresses the power and advancement of Korean history. As Korean leaders throughout modern Korean history have used the glorification of Korean history for advocating state-led nationalism, this presentation can be interpreted as the employment of the same strategy.

The setting of the ballet, Goguryu, also supports this exaltation of Korean history, as Goguryu attained the largest territorial expansion in Korean history, acquiring Manchuria (Appendix M, 311). Within the ballet, the choreography of Goguryu’s warriors especially emphasises the power and grandeur of Goguryu through the dancers’ technical virtuosity. For instance, the dance of the five Goguryu warriors
(Act one, scene two) is a single continuous string of technically demanding movements lasting a full three minutes. Each dancer takes his turn showing off his skills, travelling in and out of the circular formation. The movement involves \textit{grand allegro} jumps with double and triple turns in the air, often combined with beating actions of the legs or sudden, exploding leg-splits. The dancers perform acrobatic movements including mid-air cartwheels and continuous multiple turns alone or in unison. The jumps are often combined with extreme backbends to give the movements a more dramatic effect. Such choreographic virtuosity exhibits the physical strength of Goguryu, illuminating the potential greatness embedded within the Korean nation.

The technical virtuosity demanded from the KNB’s male dancers also correlates with a contemporary Korean cultural form, namely the form of highly skilled male break-dancing known as ‘b-boy ing’. Korean male break-dancing groups distinguish themselves by their excessively acrobatic movements, which highlights their virtuosity and stamina. As noted in Chapter 5.7, their style has been recognised and rewarded on both the domestic and international stage. In this sense, powerful and eye-catching virtuosity can be seen as an aesthetic demand of the current Korean cultural domain, required especially from male figures, and functioning as a key method of demonstrating the strength and power of the nation. Thus while the technical virtuosity of the KNB’s male dancers was considered above (in section 8.2) to have developed in response to the choreographic demands of both \textit{Spartacus} and \textit{Prince Hodong}, this trait is now confirmed as the company’s own in virtue of \textit{Prince Hodong}’s articulation of aesthetic traits held in common with and demanded by contemporary Korean culture.

Moreover, as identified in Chapter 7, the KNB particularly promotes strong homogeneity in its \textit{corps de ballet} work to demonstrate the unity of its style. This trait is further emphasised in \textit{Prince Hodong}, through the shared choreographic conventions of the Goguryu warriors’ training scene and the battle scenes, viz., moving \textit{en masse} and in unison, utilised to demonstrate the power of Goguryu (see section 8.2 and 8.3.1). This choreographic convention correlates with the political imperative under Korean state-led nationalism to stress the power of mass unity.
Korean states, especially during the early period of modern nation-building, emphasised Korea’s ethnic homogeneity to build and secure a sense of collective identity (Shin, 2006). Korean leaders, particularly the first president, Sung Man Rhee, highlighted the power behind national unity, asserting that it was the only way for Koreans to secure national sovereignty. As these states sought to infuse the whole nation with a sense of collectivity, such collectiveness is one of the strongest traits of Korean society. This was on full display during the 2002 Korea-Japan World Cup, when hundreds of thousands of Koreans gathered in the plaza in front of Seoul City Hall to support the Korean football team, chanting slogans like ‘Taehan min’guk’ (‘Republic of Korea’, or literally, the Great Han People’s State) and ‘Uri nŭn hana’ (‘We are one’) (Appendix N, 312). In emphasising the display of collective identity, the KNB articulates and exhibits this dominant trait of Korean society. Moreover, in doing so it ensures, through its performances, the further reproduction of such collectivism as a core aspect of Korean identity.

8.4.3 Diplomatic issues of Prince Hodong

Furthermore, through its two main settings, Nakrang and Goguryu, Prince Hodong further addresses current diplomatic issues between Korea and China regarding their history and territorial boundaries. The National Museum of Korea (NMK), in exhibiting the history of Korea, does not present formal information on the state of Nakrang (only a chronology), as the origin of Nakrang is a subject of frequent debate amongst Korean and Chinese scholars (Appendix C, 276-78). Instead of permanently presenting Nakrang as part of Korean history, the NMK held a special exhibition on Nakrang in 2001 to lay out the historical evidence in favour of the argument that the settlement of the Nakrang state occurred on the Korean peninsula (Jung, 2008). Prince Hodong takes a similar approach, employing Korean traditional dance costumes in both the Nakrang and Goguryu scenes to highlight the commonalities of the two countries and to link them together as belonging to the history of Korea exclusively. This can be seen as a non-verbal yet skilful way of instilling the idea that Nakrang is firmly part of Korean and not Chinese history, on both domestic and international domains. In this sense, regarding the debates on the origin and history of Nakrang, both the KNB and the NMK, as nationally representative organisations, offer a nationally inclined construction of Korean history.
More significantly, the production of *Prince Hodong* plays an influential role in countering China’s recently undertaken project of *Dong Buk Gong Jung* (the so-called Northeast Justice). The ostensible aim of this project, developed in 2002 and with an initial five-year plan, is to investigate the history of the Northwestern region of China, but this developed significant conflicts between East Asian countries. Gwang Seok Choi (2008) claims that the real subject of *Dong Buk Gong Jung* is the history of Goguryu, as China aims to separate Goguryu from Korea and to re-appropriate it through a complete re-drawing of the ancient territorial boundaries as one of the minor provinces of ancient China. Accordingly this project has led to a debate over the origins of Balhae, the kingdom founded in the northern part of Korea and Manchuria in 698 CE, after Silla’s unification of the Three Kingdoms (Goguryu, Baekje, Silla), the Chinese argument being that, as the successor of Goguryu, it belongs to China. Hence, *Dong Buk Gong Jung* is not only a politically motivated project that generates diplomatic tensions between China and Korea, but it also constitutes a kind of ideological attack on Korea insofar as it will eventually be used to argue that North Korea is naturally and historically associated with China. The KNB’s creation of *Prince Hodong* during this tense period serves in part as a kind of ideological defence against *Dong Buk Gong Jung*. For example, the Goguryu warriors’ utilisation of Taekwondo as the example of Korean sport unambiguously associates Goguryu with Korea. Hence *Prince Hodong* can be seen both as an indirect method of reclaiming Goguryu for Korea and as a useful way of conveying this reclamation to international audiences. Initially, the KNB had planned to bring *Prince Hodong* to China in 2012; however, the invitation from China was cancelled during the process of pre-inspection of external performance, as China opposed to the ballet’s historical subjects. This further reveals the nationalistic role of *Prince Hodong*, which can generate a reciprocal and diplomatic influence on both Korean and Chinese society and politics.

8.4.4 Use of digital technology in the set designs of *Prince Hodong*

Among the changes made to the 2011 production, one of the most notable is the increased usage of digital technology in the set design, demonstrated through the projection of motion graphics. The use of technology can be interpreted as another method of showing the advancement of the nation as it provides an objective standard
Digital technology is employed in the first part of the ballet to create a mythical-looking image of Jammyungo through the projection of a graphically designed golden bird inside the drumhead that faces the audience. The bird floats up and down with graceful wing-like motions, sprinkling golden sparkles down within Jammyungo. The golden bird signifies the living presence of Jammyungo and its motions convey vitality. At the end of ballet, when Jammyungo is torn apart by Princess Nakrang, the golden bird ascends into heaven to depict the death of Jammyungo, and flaring fire is seen inside the drumhead, symbolising the imminent danger to Nakrang. Here the graphics serve above all to aid the storytelling.

A more complicated use of computer graphics is evident in the first battle scene of Goguryu and Nakrang (Act one, scene one). Referencing the Sashindo, a Goguryu mural featuring four imaginary animal gods – Chongyong (blue dragon), Beakho (white tiger), Joojak (red phoenix) and Hyunmoo (black turtle) – Sun Hee Shin, the set designer, has created graphic images of Chongyong and Joojak to represent Goguryu and Nakrang respectively. When the Nakrang army gathers, a large image of Joojak is projected onto the backdrop, as the protecting god of Nakrang; conversely, as the Goguryu army enters the stage, Joojak flies out and Chongyong appears, representing the protecting god of Goguryu. When Prince Hodong and General Pildeh (the leading general of the Nakrang army) confront each other for a duel, Chongyong and Joojak also confront each other on the backdrop. At the beginning of the battle scene, Prince Hodong is placed at stage left and General Pildeh is standing at stage right, and Chongyong and Joojak duplicate this positioning on the backdrop; as the dancers start to move for combat, Chongyong and Joojak also move in a circular pattern, facing each other to mimic the confrontation. Although the motions and placement of Chongyong and Joojak do not directly mirror the choreography of Hodong and Pildeh, the images and movements do successfully portray the intensity of the battle. Here, while only two dancers occupy the large stage, Chongyong and Joojak fill the whole space of the backdrop, implying the grandness of the two countries and also the power of the gods in ancient Korea. As the idea of four imaginary animal gods is derived from the Yin-Yang and Five Elements theory (Park, 2005), the portrayal of Chongyong and Joojak can be read as a symbolic expression of
In the introduction to their book, Digital Performance (2007), Steve Dixon and Barry Smith state that ‘[during] the last decade of the twentieth century, computer technologies played a dynamic and increasingly important role in live theatre, dance, and performance; and new dramatic forms and performance genres emerged in interactive installations and on the Internet’ (2007, 1). While Prince Hodong is not an experimental or technology-intensive production, meaning one that focuses solely on the interaction between human movements and computer technology, the significant digital additions to the later version can be interpreted as an acknowledgment of the power of new technological developments and new trends in the performing arts. In Prince Hodong, images do not follow complicated movements or attempt to directly imitate the choreography; rather they move in simple and straightforward ways. They do, however, as in the case of the images of Chongyong and Joojak, generate an overall sense of interactive progression and dialogue, which aids in the portrayal of the narrative. This adoption of new technological devices recalls the recurring tendency of Korean nationalism (in Chapter 5) to appropriate various transnational or non-national trends and ideologies for nationalistic ends, as the KNB is essentially exploiting cutting-edge global computing technology (a new trend in the field of the international performing arts) to promote a nationalistic standpoint in preparation for its international touring. In general, by constantly addressing themes or issues related to Korean nationalism, Prince Hodong reveals key socio-cultural, ideological and international traits built into modern Korean society. In doing so, Prince Hodong arguably reminds modern Korean audiences of the greatness and power of Korea embedded within its own history and its own present.

8.5 Contemporary Korean cultural elements

8.5.1 Influence of contemporary Korean popular culture

While the previous sections elaborated on the amalgamation of traditional Korean and contemporary transnational elements within Prince Hodong, one can also point to
links and references to a more complex mixture of traditional and modern cultural memes. The first example occurs in one particular movement phrase of the maids’ dance in the Nakrang palace scene (Act one, scene six). In a private interview given during my field trip in summer 2010, the choreographer, Moon, stated that the choreographic motif of this dance was derived from a particular feature of Korean popular culture, viz., a dance move of the Girls’ Generation, one of the most famous K-Pop female idol groups and a driving force behind the Han Reu Wave and the spread of Korean popular culture in the West. From my analysis it was evident that a particular movement phrase of this dance resembles the ‘jegichagi dance’ featured in the Girls’ Generation’s song, *Make a Wish* (2009). The title of this dance was in fact bestowed by the Korean public, who recognised its kicking motion as a replication of a move in the game *jegichagi* (a Korean shuttlecock game). As the song gained huge popularity, the dance, and its name, also widely spread through the population.

In the *jegichagi* game, the player kicks off the shuttlecock with one foot by bending the knee, the objective being to repeatedly kick the shuttlecock to keep it in the air. Normally the player kicks the shuttlecock with outwards rotation of the hip socket or inward rotation to shoot the lower part of the leg out to the side. The game ends if the player fails to kick the shuttlecock and lets it drop onto the floor.

This kicking motion is discerned from two parts of the Girls’ Generation’s dance. The first part begins when the dancers are standing on one leg, the other leg crossed in front, arms held at the sides. The front leg sharply bends to flick the lower part of the leg to the side, with slight inward rotation of the hip socket, shooting the foot out to the side; the leg is then quickly brought back to the original position. This sharp flicking motion is consecutively repeated, forming an outwards kicking phrase that recurs several times within the dance. The second phrase commences with a walking motion, while the arms are pulled back, hands held at the back of the body. As the dancers step forward, the foot of the back leg swiftly brushes the floor as the leg turns out and bends sharply, the foot arriving across the front of the supporting thigh. The leg has a frisky quality and the body sharply twists in opposition to the working leg. This inward kicking movement is repeated, on each side, as the dancers walk forward in a group.
Similar leg motions are shown in the dance of Nakrang’s maids, but with a smoother quality. Their sequence begins in fifth position, *en pointe*, with arms out to the sides, slightly bent. The back leg quickly bends and rotates inward to make the lower part of the leg and foot point out to the side, while the supporting leg melts with *fondu* action, arms extended out to the sides. Then the working leg smoothly turns out, keeping its bent position, while the foot is brought across the supporting leg, deepening the *fondu* and punctuating the position. Here, the arms are brought down with a soft bending of the elbows, exhibiting delicate articulation. The movement is repeated several times on each side, forming a distinctive movement motif. While the Girls’ Generation’s dance displays the inward and outward flicking of the leg through a separate sequence, the maids’ dance combines these motions into one unitary phrase, depicting the shape of the forward and backward kicking action of the *jegichagi* game. Given its ludic provenance, the movement helps to create an image of playful and cheerful maids and lends a bright atmosphere to the scene.

Here, by referencing the *jegichagi* dance, the maids’ dance connects three different cultural sectors of Korea, namely, popular music/dance, the traditional folk game and the ballet. This interconnectedness is significant as it proves the inevitable influence of social setting on the creation and interpretation of the dance. Traditional cultural aspects are amalgamated with elements of contemporary popular culture, and this connection between past and present is both immediately detected by the people within the society and easily understood and transferred to others in the same society. By referencing this element, the maids’ scene attempts through its choreography to present both old and contemporary Korea simultaneously. Nonetheless, instead of simply imitating the Girls’ Generation’s phrase, the KNB dancers rather reinterpret it in line with the KNB’s own characteristic movement-stylistic features, for instance delicate arm articulations combined with quick and playful leg motions. Thus, the stylistic aesthetics of Korean ballet are, arguably, created further through this encounter between the KNB and Korean popular culture.

8.5.2 Use of the *buk* (the Korean traditional drum) and referencing of *Nanta*

A further instance of the amalgamation of traditional and contemporary Korean culture in the choreography of *Prince Hodong* is shown through the major changes
that have been made to the 2011 version as compared with the initial production in 2009 with respect to Act one Scene one (the assembling of Nakrang’s army). A whole new dance section was added which includes the use of the *buk*, the traditional Korean drum, as a tool for announcing Goguryu’s attack (Appendix P, Track Three). While this can be seen as an iconic choice of instrument for Nakrang’s army (as *Jammyungo* is also a large *buk*, which alerts and protects Nakrang from external invasions), it also intensifies the Korean subject matter concentrated in the production. As the scene commences, ten *bukes* are instantly visible in a pyramid formation at the upstage centre. Each *buk* is placed flat side down on top of a wooden wheeled frame approximately waist high and designed similarly to *Gyobanggo*, one type of Korean traditional *buk* (Appendix O, 313). Ten warriors, hidden behind the *bukes*, leap up simultaneously to begin the alarming *buk* dance. The warriors stand behind the *bukes*, in parallel with slightly bent knees, holding drumsticks in each hand. The upper body is bent forward with the head facing the front, gazing directly out to the audience. In unison, the dancers shoot the left arm forward while beating the drum eight times in even tempo for eight counts with the right arm. Next they shift the weight to the right leg, extending the right arm to the side, the head following the extending arm, to beat the drum eight times for eight counts with the left arm; the weight is then shifted to the left leg to repeat the same drumbeats on the other side. The last repeat of eight drumbeats is performed with the right arm lifted high in front, with a slight backwards bending of the body, the head looking up toward the raised hand, the weight returned to the centre. The whole sequence is repeated two more times with four drumbeats instead of eight and with a faster tempo. The low and grand sound of the *buk* conjures up a sense of the dignity of Nakrang’s army and builds intensity for the coming battle.

As the scene progresses, the drumbeats become more rhythmical with varying divisions in the count. The dancers advance by pushing the drum forward, forming a single horizontal line downstage. In this formation, every second warrior shifts direction to face the downstage right corner, while the rest remain facing front. Playing eight drumbeats for eight counts, the warriors, facing downstage, raise their arms much higher, above the eye-line, with a slight backbend, while the others stay low, bent forward slightly and looking out directly toward the audience. They then swap directions, each dancer now assuming the opposite position, to play sixteen
strong drumbeats for eight counts. The whole sequence is cut in half – into four drumbeats in four counts followed by eight drumbeats in four counts – and repeated twice. It is then divided up even further – two drumbeats in two counts and four drumbeats in two counts – and repeated four times. Towards the end, the dancers combine long, loud shouts, or a short uttering of kihap, with continuous drumbeats, increasing the complexity and volume of the sound. Here, the presentation of diverse drumming rhythms with increasing speed and accompanied by shouting develops the vitality of the scene, while the sharp directional changes and strongly piercing beating actions build intensity and energy. The buk dance recurs in Act two Scene eleven (the second invasion of Goguryu), and again the strong sound of the buk aids the building up of the vigorous image of the KNB’s male dancers.

While the buk can certainly be seen as a traditional Korean cultural element, in fact the manner and rhythms of the beating recall a more contemporary Korean cultural production: the performance of Nanta (Song, 1997), which is a ‘non-verbal performance [that] integrates Korea’s traditional rhythm, Samulnori, with comedy and drama in the kitchen’ (Nanta, 2012a, http://nanta.i-pmc.co.kr). Nanta is set in the kitchen environment, where either large chopping boards on countertops or else numerous large Jangdokdae, the large crocks of Korean traditional sauces, are positioned on the stage (Picture Nineteen, 251; Appendix P, Track Four and Five). The performers hit the flat-topped surfaces of the chopping boards or Jangdokdae with drumsticks, creating a mixture of traditional and modern rhythms through a complicated downward hitting action of the arms, similar to the buk dance in Prince Hodong. This modern Korean artistic fusion is clearly referenced in Prince Hodong through the shared beating rhythms and elaborate downward hitting actions. Therefore, just as with the dance of Nakrang’s maids, the buk dance in Prince Hodong embraces both traditional and modern cultural elements. Moreover, as both Prince Hodong and Nanta share this trait, it can be seen as a means of further promoting the idea of fierce drumming and beating as a prominent Korean cultural meme.
Picture Nineteen. Use of *buk* in *Prince Hodong* and *Nanta*
(Above) The gathering scene of Nakrang’s army, *Prince Hodong* (KNB, 2011)
(Below) Picture of *Nanta* Production (Nanta, 2012b)

Picture Twenty. *Nanta* and *bibimbap* advertisement
(Left) Picture of *Nanta* Production (Nanta, 2012b) (Right) Captures of *Infinite Challenge*, global advertisement of *bibimbap* (youtube.com, 2011)
It also should be noted that *Nanta* has been continuously performed on both domestic and international stages, reaching its first international audience in 1997 by winning the prize for best performance at the Edinburgh Festival. It also went to Broadway in New York in 2003, marking the introduction of an Asian performance (Jung, 2012). The official website of *Nanta* claims that ‘this is must-see performance as 800,000 foreigners per year come to Korea to see *Nanta* and Korean culture’ (Nanta, 2012a, http://nanta.i-pmc.co.kr). In this sense, *Nanta* is a major production that has already been recognised as a distinctly Korean production by foreigners due to various international tours and continuous local performances. Here, *Nanta* and *Prince Hodong* both demonstrate the same method for approaching the international stage; for instance, instilling autochthonous contents on foreign art forms.

Recently a trial has been underway to use *Nanta* as a means of advertising Korean culture on the global market. In 2011, a famous Korean TV entertainment programme, *Infinite Challenge*, produced a short advertisement to publicise *bibimbap* (a Korean traditional food) in Times Square in New York (Appendix P, Track Six). The hosts are dressed up as *Nanta* performers and execute fast, expressive downwards hitting actions on the chopping boards to convey the idea of *bibimbap* as an exemplary Korean food. As with *Prince Hodong*, the advertisement displays various traditional Korean elements such as Taekwondo and numerous traditional dance motifs, including the use of long-sleeved costumes (Picture Twenty, 251). In this sense, it can be argued that such traditional elements are continuously being inscribed and promoted as Korean tradition through contemporary Korean cultural products, whose main function is to point out certain works as Korean-made products on the global stage. Therefore, the invocation of *Nanta* and the infusion of commonly promoted Korean traditional elements in *Prince Hodong* can be seen as a method for claiming *Prince Hodong* as a wholly Korean production. This constitutes yet another camouflaging tactic of subversion, by which the KNB seeks to conceal its mimicry of the Russian ballet tradition.

### 8.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a detailed analysis of *Prince Hodong*, evaluating several paths by which this work has become established as the exemplar of Korean ballet.
One important finding is the artistic dominance of the Russian ballet tradition and the influence of Grigorovich’s *Spartacus* on the choreography of *Prince Hodong*. The wedding scene of *Prince Hodong*, for example, conforms to the key principles of the Russian ballet classics even while showing subtle differentiation through the amended ordering of *grand pas de deux*. In movement-stylistic terms, the choreography of *Prince Hodong*, especially through the battle scenes and the adaptation of Taekwondo, shares the aesthetic demands of *Spartacus*, namely the sharpness, shooting power and virtuosity of the male dancers, mostly exhibited in mass unison. It can be said that over the course of performing *Spartacus*, and significantly, through the creation of *Prince Hodong*, the KNB has cultivated these traits as constitutive of its own style. More importantly, however, the chapter argued that *Prince Hodong*, by using such stylistic traits to exhibit the power and strength of the nation, expresses and promotes an image of the nation which historically has been encouraged and fostered by state-led nationalism, namely the image of a powerful nation endowed with collective strength and a magnificent history.

Moreover, the key movement-stylistic feature of the KNB’s female dancers, identified in Chapter 7 (delicate arm quality with round, curved lines), is isolated as the main aesthetic element shared in common with Korean traditional culture, and one which is further developed through the adoption of the costumes of Korean traditional dance, viz. the use of long fabric or extended sleeves. In this sense, it can be argued that the KNB attempts to localise its movement style by embodying the aesthetic values and shared principles of Korean nationalism inscribed in Korean society. Although the process by which the company built its style could have been unconsciously initiated, nevertheless certain political imperatives, viz. establishing and promoting the national image and brand, are clearly apparent. Thus the KNB has used its artistic autonomy to reference the traits of nationalism and the aesthetics of traditional Korean culture as an act of disavowal by which it diverts its own path away from the choreographic style of Grigorovich and establishes a style of its own, one which it can potentially promote as at once grounded in and constitutive of the cultural-aesthetic identity of Korea. This process recalls what Bhabha refers to as the circle of colonial mimicry (2004, 131), the repeated turning ‘from mimicry – a difference that is almost nothing but not quite – to menace – a difference that is almost total but not quite’. Here, the
stylistic aspects that were considered subtle differences in Chapter 7 are now seen, in the choreography of *Prince Hodong*, as elements of menace, aiming to almost totally differentiate the KNB’s style by justifying the differences as embodying the aesthetic and norms of Korean culture.

In this way *Prince Hodong* secures Korean ballet through a double process of stylistic hybridisation and ideological disavowal with a nationalistic mindset. Here it is worth recalling Gilroy’s reflections on national identity (discussed in Chapters 2.4 and 3.5). In nominating the hybrid cultural space as a new, contemporary site for identity-formation, Gilroy argues that the process of constructing national identity, often by embracing political imperatives, necessarily draws on a shared tradition, culture and history. Accordingly, the KNB’s method of securing its own style can be seen as a way of constructing or reshaping national identity in that, given the hybrid nature of the process, it must constantly draw on values and traditions embedded in Korean society, and in ways that have important political implications. Nonetheless, further resistance on the part of the KNB was evident, not only to the colonial discourse of the Russian ballet tradition, but also to the key principles of cultural imperialism more generally. Through the adaptation of Taekwondo and the representation of repetitive bowing in the temple scene, the production promotes modesty and mind-soul-body unity as two major ideological values in Korean society. Hyun Jung Kim’s work suggests that such promotion is intended to demonstrate Korea’s spiritual superiority, subverting Western-oriented thinking and the idea of Western superiority, both of which are deeply embedded in the forces of modernity and science, enabling the ongoing process of cultural imperialism and globalisation. This, in turn, further highlights the KNB’s degree of independence from the state policy in the re-shaping process of the national image, as this spiritual feature is not emphasised in Korea’s state-led nationalism.

Nonetheless, the analysis of *Prince Hodong* also highlighted how the ballet reflects, through its narrative and choreographic conventions, the theme of national loyalty, embraced in the state-led nationalism. By choosing to re-create *Prince Hodong* – a ballet with a notable legacy, given its roots in Lim’s 1988 version – the KNB showed that it possesses a degree of artistic autonomy from state policy (Chapter 6). Yet given
this autonomy, the production nevertheless offers up a nationalistic reading of Korean history by setting the ballet during the period of Nakrang and Goguryu, appropriating these two countries and their relations as part of official Korean history. In doing so, it expresses Korea’s views on current diplomatic issues between Korea and China, such as the Northeast Justice. Thus while the KNB’s artistic autonomy is evident and real, the chosen contents of the ballet reflect how the company continues to take state policy into account in its work, and to reinforce certain politico-ideological interests and nationalistic tactics that have been fostered and exploited by successive administrations. Nonetheless, instead of simply regarding the company’s choices as reflecting a tendency to legitimise state policy, I highlight the reciprocal influences linking the KNB and the state, influences which have potential implications for Korean as well as Chinese society and politics.

Another major finding of this chapter is the amalgamation of both traditional and contemporary cultural elements in *Prince Hodong*. The incorporation of modern cultural forms (for example, drawn from Korean popular culture) is perhaps the most significant point of divergence from the company’s early nationalised ballets, which were generally obsessed with infusing elements of traditional culture. In *Prince Hodong*, the references to pop culture and other transnational trends (established and disseminated through recent technological advances) occur alongside more traditional cultural aspects, presenting a reconciliation of past and present culture. The given examples – viz. the influence of Girls’ Generation, *Nanta*, and the *bibimbap* advertisement – were all seen to share the same method of promoting themselves as ‘Korean-made’ works, namely, filling out foreign art forms with both traditional and modern autochthonous content. Accordingly I conclude the chapter by arguing that such hybridisation and cross-referencing with respect to cultural and artistic productions are major cultural trends in contemporary Korea.
Goguryu (approximately BCE 37-668) was one of the kingdoms of the Three Kingdom period (approximately BCE 57-668), along with Baekje (BCE 18-660) and Silla (BCE 579-35).

As cited in Chapter 5, although the Han Reu Wave initially developed in Asia, ‘in addition to the regional phenomenon of Hallyu [another way to spell Han Reu], the recent Western embrace of the South Korea genre films also exemplifies the global circulation of South Korean popular culture’ (Jung, 2011, 2).

The performance of Nanta (Song, 1997) is ‘a non-verbal performance [that] integrates Korea’s traditional rhythm, Samulnori, in [a] Western theatrical setting’.

The wedding scenes of The Nutcracker (Ivanov, 1892) and Swan Lake (Petipa and Ivanov, 1895) also involve both dances of the court members and congratulation dances by various groups invited to the ceremony.

Taekwondo is a Korean martial art and also serves as the national sport of South Korea. In Korean, tae implies ‘to strike or break with the foot’; kwon indicates ‘to strike or break with the fist’; and do suggests ‘way’, ‘method’, or ‘art’. Hence, taekwondo can be loosely translated as ‘the art of the foot and fist’ or ‘the art of kicking and punching’ (KTA, 2010d, online).

Taekwondo consists of three forms of practice: Poomsae, Kyukpa, and Kyorugi. Here, Taekwondo Poomsae refers to ‘a “Form” in which a self-practice is devised to be performed in following the lines of movement in a systematic and consecutive way against an imaginary opponent or [multiple] opponents by using various Taekwondo techniques of hand and foot’ (KTA, 2010d, online).

Some scholars, however, debate this – for example Hyun Jung Kim (2009), who criticises such a reading as an oversimplification. Nevertheless, curved lines and sensitivity are generally accepted as key aesthetic traits of Korean traditional dance.

Goguryu annually held a harvest ritual ceremony, in October, respecting the sky, known as Dong maeng (Naver Encyclopaedia, 2010a).

Jegichagi is a Korean folk game that involves the kicking of a shuttlecock.
Chapter Nine – Conclusion

The KNB: moving through the making of a new national identity

In this thesis, I critically investigated the role of the KNB in developing the concept of ‘Korean ballet’, a hybrid phenomenon understood as emerging through a process of doubling an imperial cultural form of ballet while resisting it through indigenisation. In doing so, the main aims have been, first, to identify the key movement-stylistic features that can serve to differentiate the KNB from other ballet companies around the world, and second, to examine the ways in which the KNB articulates national identity through its works. Therefore, the KNB’s recent slogan – Globalisation, Refinement and Popularisation, which has multiple imperatives of gaining popularity while demonstrating artistic excellence and individuality in both the domestic and global arenas – has been reflected to focus on the KNB’s duty as a national arts organisation, particularly on its preoccupation in representing the nation with the finest artistic level.

Theoretical grounding of the key terms and concepts used throughout the thesis was provided in Chapters 2 and 3. Gilroy’s study of camp-thinking was used to make sense of the concept of national identity, namely, as a political technology that can be moved and modified in order to be re-tooled by different political methods, often by utilising mythical and primordial feelings of kinship, tradition and culture. Moreover, Gilroy’s work on black politics in the West allowed the historical analyses to identify the rather different and complex historical conditions of Korea, as well as to isolate the main traits of Korean nationalism: namely, a strong, state-led ideological contraction around the idea of long-standing ethnic homogeneity (especially vis-à-vis China and Japan), frequently transformed by the embracing of other transnational ideologies for the sake of gaining political legitimacy. But while such transformation of nationalism in relation to other ideologies was a prime concern of the thesis, Korea was also considered, despite its being a far subtler case than the examples chosen by Gilroy, as one of the varieties of secondary camps, as the successive states (especially the military regimes) historically have used Korea’s chronic national division and permanent state of emergency to deploy a nationalistic ideology for legitimising their authoritarian politics, making Korea a highly nationalistic state.
Bhabha’s concepts of post-colonial mimicry and cultural hybridity, in conjunction with the corollary concept of the Korean blockbuster, were employed to advance the idea of Korean ballet as a novel, ‘Koreanised’ form of ballet that both imitates and resists the dominant conventions of Western ballet by drawing on and incorporating Korean customs, cultural practices, traditions and history. Acknowledging the instability of the boundaries of both the Western ballet tradition and Korean identity, the thesis focused on how the KNB makes choices in both of these domains, by following the dominant discourse of Western ballet while also referencing certain elements of Korean culture to register a difference. Here, as the concept of post-colonial resistance, as Bhabha understands it, is a largely unconscious phenomenon, the subtle display of difference from the dominant discourse was also understood as an act of disavowal, even if only unintentional. Through these combined theoretical approaches, the KNB was identified as the site of the interplay of two systems of authority: Western imperialism/colonialism and state power (the former identified through the work of Said, Bhabha and Fanon, and the latter through the work of Gilroy). Accordingly, I have tried to articulate and disentangle the mutual relationship of these authorities, which have often fed off each other throughout the company’s history.

Employing Bhabha’s concept of post-colonial mimicry, I identified the gap in the expressive and translational process of performing the codified ballet vocabulary and technique, which provided a space to understand the idea of a company’s movement style. Following studies by Geraldine Morris and Wainwright et al., the term ‘style’ referred to the overall movement quality and technique resulting from the interaction of the significant choreographer(s), trainer(s) and teacher(s) who have contributed to the establishment of a fixed repertoire and training method. However, I also pointed out (in Chapter 6) that the absence of a professional ballet school associated with the KNB makes it difficult to isolate the company’s key training method. In this case, the company’s movement style is understood to be formed and shaped by its dancers, through learning and rehearsing the core pieces of the repertoire under the guidance and direction of the artistic staff. Therefore, the company’s main repertoire, identified in Chapter 6, was considered to be the best evidence in demonstrating the company’s specific dance-movement style.
The nature of the research demanded two distinct but complementary theoretical approaches: (1) historical research into the KNB’s trajectory, as national identity and movement style can only be built up and modified over time; and (2) close analyses of the KNB’s works in order to identify the specific ways in which these elements are practically embedded and embodied. Chapter 4 provided a comprehensive methodological approach to both the historical and analytical dimensions of the research. Firstly, Bourdieu’s theory of the field of cultural production and Greenblatt’s theory of power together provided a theoretical framework to analyse the power relationships between the KNB and the state. Bourdieu’s theory also stresses the power of certain cultural groups that give sanction to cultural products, for example, critical circles, and thus the historical analyses identified the company’s position-takings, as strategic habitus, in relation to the external authorities imposed on it. Secondly, combining Lansdale’s application of the theory of intertextuality with dance analysis using Laban Movement Analysis (LMA) provided the methodological framework for the dance analyses. The former was particularly helpful in analysing the expression of Korean cultural elements in the KNB’s works, as it focused attention on the various aspects of the production, all of which, for Lansdale, should be read as ‘texts’. The Effort and Shape concepts of LMA were useful insofar as they allowed for analysis of the quality of the movements, enabling identification of key stylistic features. Inasmuch as the movement style itself can also be read as a text, it was thus interpreted in combination with other texts, in particular with other Korean aesthetic and cultural products.

The historical analyses of Part Two put these various theories to work: Chapter 5 compared the changes in cultural policy as set by successive Korean governments to the changes in the KNB’s artistic policy, while Chapter 6 explored how these shifts in socio-political climate were reflected in Korean dance criticism, further influencing the company’s artistic trajectory. One of the main findings of Part Two was that this twofold influence, i.e. of the cultural policies of successive states and of the Korean dance criticism, has divided the symbolic value of the cultural field into two parts, firstly in relation to artistic legitimacy, and secondly in relation to the idea of national identity. As argued in Chapter 3, classical ballet, as a Western imperial cultural form, employs firm technical skills and conventions, the standards of which are set by
internationally recognised flagship companies, and accordingly the achievement of a professional level of artistry and technique is a laborious and time-consuming process. This is one way in which the artistic authority of the genre is continuously generated by the West. In the KNB’s case, its legitimacy has almost always been drawn from the pedigree of Russian ballet – initially through the early Korean ballet figures who trained in Japan, where Russian ballet training was dominant, and later through the official invitation of Yuri Grigorovich, the former director of the Bolshoi Ballet, to mount the large-scale classics in 2000. Here, considering the rather open and free influx of Russian ballet via Japan in the early days, the introduction of the ballet genre was understood as a general extension of cultural imperialism (during the 1960s-80s), while Grigorovich’s classics were identified as the dominant discourse serving to establish the coloniser/colonised division of this cultural imperialism between the ballet fields of Russia and Korea. Considering Korea’s more direct cultural and political ties with the US since the Korean War, this connection to Russian ballet revealed the company’s degree of autonomy from official state diplomatic relations. Instead, the KNB’s successive directors’ previous artistic background was identified as the prime force behind its forging of new international connections, and the authority of the critical circles was recognised as an additional force in justifying the KNB’s links with the Bolshoi and Grigorovich specifically.

In terms of the symbolic value related to the idea of national identity, although the KNB has a degree of independence in making artistic choices, as habitus it more or less corresponds with successive states’ shifting inclinations towards the construction of the idea of national identity, as cultural policy necessarily places certain restrictions on the KNB’s behaviour. Here, the dance criticism often reflects such shifts in political vision. A direct correlation was especially evident from the 1960s to the 1980s, when the military regimes fused the idea of modernisation, as a tool for building traditional culture, with a nationalistic agenda. The ‘modernisation of the Fatherland’ policy of the Park Chung Hee government (1961-79) had a direct impact on the contemporaneous ‘modernisation of the tradition’ movement in the dance field, leading critics to advocate the infusion of traditional culture in the creation of new artworks. The hosting of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Olympics further encouraged the demonstration of national tradition, and for ballet critics this meant
localising the genre by grafting traditional dance techniques onto the classical ballet vocabulary. Although hybridisation of traditional cultural forms with foreign genres (like New Dance, *Shinmuyong*) was evident from the 1920s, these broader political and cultural guidelines were arguably the main forces leading Sung Nam Lim, the first director of the KNB, to place such a high value, throughout his tenure (1962-92), on creating ballets that embraced Korean traditional culture and dance movements.

While Lim’s tenure marked a period of initial striving toward demonstration of the hybrid phenomenon of Korean ballet, his nationalised works were shelved after his retirement. Although I argue that this was due to the dancers’ technical insufficiency at the time, combined with hypercritical reviews of Lim’s syncretistic choreography, it coincided with shifts in the political climate resulting from the movement from military authoritarianism toward democracy and globalisation. With the turn of the century, the more left-leaning government of Kim Dae Jung provided an open vision for presenting national identity, detaching it from traditional culture and allowing its expression via more contemporary and transnational cultural forms, while increasing financial support and greater artistic freedom for the cultural sector. At the time, the critics were no longer obsessed with the creation of new ballets with national themes, but instead focused more on the need for direct importation of the Western classics as a means of elevating the company’s technical and artistic level. As the company initiated the official introduction of Grigorovich’s classics during this period and selected these works for its international tours, it reflected this open vision promoted by both the state and the critical circles; Grigorovich’s classics were now considered an acceptable medium for presenting national culture in the global arena, as they were seen to be suitable for demonstrating Korea’s artistic excellence and its mastery of an already globalised imperial cultural form.

However, the KNB’s tendency to rely on Grigorovich’s works in recent years led to anxiety amongst critics about the KNB’s dual need to appropriate the canonical works while also producing its own works demonstrating national culture. This eventually led the KNB to prepare its first nationalised ballet in a decade, *Prince Hodong* (Moon, 2009), a complete reinterpretation of the old version by Lim in 1988. The return of the conservative Lee Myung Park government in 2008, and in particular its promotion of
its National Brand policy, which demanded the appropriation of globalisation for the national interest, corresponded with a renewed insistence that the cultural sector strive to create nationally representative works, especially using transnational cultural forms that could elevate the national brand value on the global stage. This policy assisted the KNB’s preparation of *Prince Hodong*, and pushed this work to become a legitimately nationally representative ballet. Thus, an important finding of Part Two was that the company reflected the administration’s political vision in creating national identity, shifting its position-taking between its double duties as a national arts organisation: on the one hand, to express Korean cultural identity, and on the other, to display artistic excellence on both the national and international stage.

A second key finding of Part Two pertains to the traits of the overarching Korean nationalism that developed throughout Korea’s unique history, from the period of Japanese colonial rule to the Korean War and the subsequent division of the Korean territory. These conditions enabled South Korean leaders to promote national sovereignty as the country’s supreme task, elevating the concept of the nation over all other rival forms of collective identity. In doing so, political regimes often combined nationalism with other transnational ideologies – for example, fusing anti-communism and modernisation during the period of military rule (to resist the political ideology of the North and to establish Korea’s competitiveness in a rapidly modernising world), and in more recent years, appropriating globalisation for a broadly nationalist agenda (to secure Korea’s value and distinctiveness in a globally interconnected world). This tendency of appropriating transnational ideologies to suit a nationalistic agenda is also reflected in the KNB’s strategy of forming Korean ballet, as the company has continually appropriated and used imperialism, modernisation and globalisation as a means of creating its own ballet works. Here, Lim’s early nationalised ballets and the recent production of *Prince Hodong* are not only forms of resistance to Western imperialism, but also products of a nationalistic appropriation of modernisation and globalisation, respectively. In this sense, the meaning of the imperial cultural form of ballet in Korea has shifted from being a tool for modernisation (during the 1960s-1980s) to being an already established and renowned globalised form (in recent years), both of which have proven useful for articulating national culture and identity. Accordingly, state-led nationalism has assisted the recurring urge on the part of the
KNB to create Korean ballet, as state policy monitors the symbolic value of culture in Korean society. Here, I further highlighted the importance in recognising the agency of the KNB (as it selects and re-interprets particular contents in building its own work), and equally stressing to address the close interaction between the company and state policy, as in the analysis of *Prince Hodong*. 

Moreover, although Lim’s nationalised ballets and the most recent production of *Prince Hodong* all participate in the same process of cultural hybridisation, I nonetheless focus on their different artistic backgrounds, which lead to dissimilar outcomes. For one thing, while Lim’s ballets strove to copy and yet to disavow the classics in order to discriminate Korean from Western ballet, the dominance of the classics was not established at that time, as the KNB still relied mostly on Japanese versions. For another thing, although Lim’s efforts did reflect the dominant political imperative (supported by the state) to localise the ballet genre as the duty of a national arts organisation, hypercriticism of the technical and artistic level of his nationalised ballets put the performance of these works to an end. Thus I argued that Lim’s ballets were insufficient to establish the idea of Korean ballet, even while this insufficiency survived as the driving impetus behind the more recent demand for a thoughtful strategy of indigenisation. In particular, after a decade of continual performance of Grigorovich’s works, critics have re-evaluated Lim’s early efforts, and now often describe the KNB’s dependence on Grigorovich as a severe colonisation of the KNB’s repertoire. I interpreted this criticism, along with the Lee government’s National Brand policy, as the postcolonial awareness of a ‘lack’ in the local culture that engendered an urge on the part of the company to resist this colonisation by creating something of its own which differed from the dominant canonical works. Hence the most recent production of *Prince Hodong* is held up as a significant creation insofar as it definitively establishes the concept of Korean ballet. At the same time, given that the heightened technical and artistic level that the KNB acquired through continual performance of the dominant works was precisely what first gave it the confidence to produce its own indigenous work, I placed the same value on Grigorovich’s classics, and identified these as key pieces of the company’s repertoire.
Chapter 7 showed how Grigorovitch’s ballets have contributed to the formation of the KNB’s unique dance-movement style, serving as the dominant discourse influencing the KNB’s choreographic aesthetic, as demonstrated through the Bolshoi’s performance. The KNB’s female dancers exhibit delicate arm articulation with soft bends in the elbows and wrists, especially in the lowering actions, similarly to the Bolshoi’s dancers. Nonetheless, the KNB dancers’ use of full upper-body bends gives their motions a smooth but firm quality with further roundedness that contrasts with the Bolshoi dancers’ more free-flowing movements. Accentuated and deep, arc-like upper-back bends are another notable feature of the KNB’s female dancers. Moreover, while brisk leg motions are sometimes highlighted further by accompanying sharp upper-body twists and direct use of the arms, the sharpness of the leg motions is often concealed by the extreme softness of the arm motions. Hence, I argued that the use of the arms and upper body provides the overall quality of the female dancers’ movements. As for the male dancers, a sharp unfolding développé action of the legs, in relevé or allegro motions, often combined with a shooting action of the arms, can be seen as one of Grigorovitch’s staple choreographic traits, as these motions are repeatedly shown throughout his Spartacus. Compared to the Bolshoi dancers, the KNB dancers display much sharper and more direct shooting actions of the arms and legs. This trait is often developed further by the demonstration of a sudden, explosive quality involving the whole body. While this quality is isolated as the key movement trait of the male dancers, the extreme elevation of the grand allegro actions with a significant amount of repetition also indicated a strong choreographic emphasis on the presentation of virtuosity from the male dancers.

Chapter 7 identified an opposition in the respective images of the male and female dancers, the former emphasising masculine vigour and the latter feminine tenderness. As the choreography of Swan Lake displays graceful swan-maidens, and as Grigorovitch is renowned for his presentation of the virility of the male dancers in Spartacus, it could be argued that the stark contrast in gender imagery in the KNB’s performances is merely a consequence of the chosen works. Nevertheless, I do value the impact of the continual performance of these ballets on the formation of the identified movement qualities of both the female and male dancers, as being constitutive of the KNB’s own style over the period of repeated performances.
However, as gender identity was not the key focus of my research, I do not argue that the suggested female and male images of the KNB reflect the construction of gender identities in contemporary Korea, and as these gendered images are arguably embedded in the ballet genre in general, and as such are not particular to Korea but rather internationally applicable.

Rather, I have discussed the particular movement-stylistic features of both the female and male dancers in relation to the Korean cultural context. Chapter 8 identified that the female dancers’ delicateness and curved lines in the arm and upper-body motions were further developed and emphasised in *Prince Hodong*, by using long fabric pieces or extended sleeves, appropriated from the costumes of traditional dance. Here, softly curved lines and roundedness were identified as two of the most notable aesthetic traits of Korean traditional culture. Chapter 8 also identified that the shooting quality with explosive jumps and the high level of virtuosity of the male dancers were traits shared between *Spartacus* and *Prince Hodong*. While the frequent performances of *Spartacus* since 2001, along with the recent flurry of performances of *Prince Hodong*, were taken as the main factors in securing the KNB’s powerful male image, I argued that this emphasis on the male dancers’ virtuosity also corresponded with a certain phenomenon of Korean contemporary popular culture, viz. the style of male breakdancing known as ‘b-boying’. In the global breakdancing field, Korean male groups represent Korea through extreme technical virtuosity and powerful male imagery. This correlation isolates the exhibition of strength and virtuosity as a key cultural-aesthetic element in contemporary Korea, especially evident in the field of dance. In this sense, such demonstration of virtuosity (for instance, skilful acrobatic movements such as energetic back-flips and excessive turns) has become a basic requirement for the KNB’s male dancers; these skills serve simultaneously to excite the audience and to provide a yardstick to show their technical standard.

This evaluation of the development of the KNB’s style addresses one of the key concerns of this thesis, explicitly stated in Chapter 1.1, namely, determining how this style contributes to the formation of Korean ballet. Regarding the KNB’s style, the choreographic aesthetics of Grigorovich’s classics serve as the dominant discourse. While initially copying these choreographic aesthetics, the KNB also tries to divert its
path from these works by providing its own interpretations. Particularly and more significantly, through *Prince Hodong*, it almost totally (but not completely) justifies this divergence by embodying aesthetic values and demands inscribed in Korean society. It is therefore argued that the KNB, through establishing such stylistic features, attempts to define its movement style as stemming from and reflecting the cultural aesthetics of Korea.

In Chapter 7, the unity of the *corps de ballet* work – the dancers arriving to fixed positions with momentary pauses to highlight their uniform alignment – was arguably one of the KNB’s strongest stylistic features, and moreover one that showed that the company is successfully fulfilling a core principle of the ballet genre. However, in *Prince Hodong*, the male dancers’ power and high level of virtuosity were often demonstrated in mass unison as a method for showcasing the strength of the nation. Employment of Gilroy’s work in Chapter 5 enabled the recognition of common traits of state-led nationalism – for instance, loyalty to the country (as grounded in deeply embedded principles of Confucian thought), myth-making, and glorifying national history with an emphasis on collective unity. The KNB’s adaptation of Taekwondo, for example, demonstrates how it has stylised Taekwondo to meet the needs of state-led nationalistic discourse, showcasing collective nationalism and the power of mass unity, despite the fact that such mass training is not an essential requirement of actual Taekwondo practice. Moreover, the depiction of Taekwondo as being practiced by the Goguryu warriors also evokes the longstanding history of this martial art, i.e. as rooted in the Goguryu dynasty itself, conveying the advancement of Korean history. Another trait of nationalistic discourse highlighted by situating the ballet in ancient Korea is the theme of loyalty to one’s country and the prioritising of national interest over personal benefit. Thus the KNB, and above all through its appropriation and depiction of Taekwondo, constructs a particular image of the nation that is encouraged by state ideology, namely, as historically grand, faithful, and united by an unbreakable force. In this sense, it is arguably this deeply embedded sense of nationalism that has led the KNB to value the performance of identical mass movements.

A further finding of Chapter 8 is that while the choreographic aesthetic values of Grigorovich’s classics serve as the dominant discourse influencing the company’s
style, the main conventions and principles of the nineteenth-century Russian narrative ballets have been the most dominant force influencing the KNB’s creative activity in general. Addressing one of the key concerns of this thesis, specifically outlined in Chapter 1.1 (namely, the degree to which the Western ballet tradition exerts authority over the KNB’s productive activity), the structure of the wedding scene of Prince Hodong in particular was seen to follow the rules of divertissement and the aesthetics of grand pas de deux, with slight modification in the ordering. In order to further destabilise the fixities of the Russian ballet tradition, the KNB selected particular contents of Korean culture to infuse into Prince Hodong. Chapter 8 isolated not only aspects of Korean traditional culture like Taekwondo and costumes, but also notable contemporary cultural elements, in particular the ‘jegichagi dance’ of the Girls’ Generation, as well as the use of the Korean traditional drum, buk, which recalls the modern cultural production Nanta, which in its turn recalled a recent international advertisement for the Korean dish, bibimbap.

In this sense, the analysis of Prince Hodong serves to identify the twofold method by which the company develops the concept of Korean ballet. Firstly, the KNB establishes its movement style, translating the codified ballet vocabulary by engaging with Korean traditional aesthetic values and demands, thereby diverging from the choreographic style of Grigorovich’s work; in doing so, it exhibits both its technical standard and its distinctiveness. Secondly, the overall production itself appropriates the set principles of the Russian ballet classics, particularly the structure and nature of narrative ballet (i.e. the grand use of all production elements: story, costumes, set designs, music, dance, etc.), in order to meet the demands of Korean nationalism as well as to engage with both traditional and modern Korean cultural forms. Here, the historical transition from the reliance on Grigorovich’s classics to the creation of Prince Hodong reveals the KNB’s attempt to realise what Bhabha refers to as the full (or rather continuous) circle of post-colonial mimicry (as cited in Chapter 3.3): a movement from subtle (and maybe unconscious) mimicry of the dominant discourse, to the menace of an almost total difference, e.g. through the production of Prince Hodong.
Another crucial finding here is that the contemporary pop-culture elements referenced in *Prince Hodong* simultaneously recall other aspects of traditional culture. In fact, the Girls’ Generation dance, *Nanta*, the *bibimbap* advertisement and *Prince Hodong* all have the same intention of targeting a global audience, and employ the same method for approaching the international stage – namely, filling out foreign art forms with autochthonous content in order to demonstrate their Korean heritage. Here, I argue that the incorporation of such modern cultural memes in *Prince Hodong* and the shared traditional elements between them serve to create a kind of cross-referencing effect across different cultural activities. Such cultural hybridity and cross-referencing between cultural forms are considered a major cultural tendency in contemporary Korea.

In Chapter 3, I cited Jung’s study on Korean popular culture and Wulff’s study on the transnational nature of the ballet field in order to question whether such multi-layered hybridisation in contemporary culture would lead to the loosening or weakening, or on the contrary to the further flourishing, of national colour and sentiment in the KNB’s works. In answering this question, I referred back to the historical analyses, which pointed to Korea’s unique and highly nationalistic political culture – one which has historically encouraged the infusion of local values into cultural productions for the sake of national representation. In recent years, state policy has explicitly assisted the KNB’s creation of *Prince Hodong* with the aim of exploiting it for its National Brand initiative. Several examples of nationalistic readings of *Prince Hodong* were given in Chapter 6, and in Chapter 8.1, *Prince Hodong* was even seen to be dubbed ‘K-Ballet’ by the media to emphasise that the production is a ‘Korean-made’ work.

In addition, Gilroy’s understanding of national identity, provided in Chapters 2.4 and 3.5, also closely correlates with the KNB’s methods in creating Korean ballet, for instance, regarding the embracing of certain political imperatives to draw on the shared local tradition, culture and history. In this sense, the KNB actively articulates the idea of national identity through forming Korean ballet. Overall, this leads to my main finding, namely, that the KNB, through building the idea of Korean ballet – and with assistance from embedded nationalism and continuing nationalistic propaganda – fosters cultural hybridisation as the new principal characteristic of contemporary Korean dance.
Korean national identity. Here, the phenomenon of Korean ballet can be seen to refer not merely to hybridisation as such, but above all to a new image and sentiment of Korea. Thus *Prince Hodong*, too, as the exemplar of Korean ballet, achieves something over and above mere hybridisation; instead it possesses a much more vibrant national colour that establishes its position and role as essentially one of national representation. For this reason, Gilroy’s study on the black diaspora is again referenced, as it nominates the hybrid cultural space as a new site of identity-formation in the contemporary period. While Gilroy removed the idea of fixed territory from the notion of national identity, I have argued in this thesis that foreign cultural forms can act as a site for constructing national identity, as these forms become a hybrid cultural space through the travelling and re-locating process.

However, by showing the difference between Lim’s early works and the recent production of *Prince Hodong* – for instance, in Chapter 6 I argued that Lim’s work exploited traditional Korean elements to claim an authentic Koreanness, while in Chapter 8 I demonstrated that *Prince Hodong* differs from Lim’s ballets in that it aims only for a kind of fusion of Korean culture with Western/global fashion – I identified this fusion (without much emphasis on authenticity) as a new method of articulating a more recent idea of national identity. Here, while it has nationalistic ambitions, *Prince Hodong* is not chauvinistic insofar as its main focus is to target the world stage and to achieve the kind of universal appeal of national culture encouraged and expected in the present age of globalisation and transnationalism. The very foreignness of the ballet genre to Korea is considered an aid to the presentation of Korean identity on the world stage, as it possesses international appeal. In doing so, I argued that while Korea’s nationalistic appropriation of globalisation has made cultural hybridity the key trend of Korean contemporary culture, the hybrid nature of contemporary Korean cultural products is rather camouflaged through further nationalistic propaganda: that is, the Korean elements are more emphasised, highlighting the works’ national origin while concealing their manifold external influences. This method is perhaps justified in the global context insofar as, when an already globalised cultural commodity gains worldwide popularity, the indigenised local elements are the most recognisable features, enabling a skilful overlooking of the product’s hybridity. In the period of modern disjunctive globalisation, this is perhaps the most successful way of
exhibiting a nation’s cultural identity in the global domain. Moreover, certain traditional elements like Taekwondo and traditional dance have been featured in most of the referenced contemporary cultural products, re-inscribing (or continuously re-inventing) these as part of the core of Korean tradition in both the local and global domain. These elements thus constitute the standard for representing certain products as ‘Korean-made’ – that is, as works that can serve to provide a sense of heritage and continuity while also allowing for the reshaping of the idea of national identity via the fusion of more modern, or perhaps even alien cultural elements.

A crucial corollary of this finding is that while the Lee government, with its National Brand policy, provided the template for this new idea of national identity, there was an active and symbiotic relationship between the KNB and the state, as the success of *Prince Hodong* in 2009 led to further changes in cultural policy, thereby strengthening this production as a key cultural work stamped with the national brand. As a result, the KNB, through several modifications to *Prince Hodong* between 2009 and 2011, not only reinforced the government’s policy, but also re-shaped and secured the suggested form of national identity. The role of *Prince Hodong* also goes beyond the objective of the National Brand policy to address a current (at the time of writing) diplomatic dispute between Korea and China regarding their history and territorial boundaries. In Chapter 8, I argued that *Prince Hodong* functions as a kind of ideological bulwark against *Dong Buk Gong Jung*, a politically motivated project that amounts to an outright ideological attack insofar as it will eventually be used as a strategy to appropriate North Korea as historically belonging to China, and is therefore a significant threat to the solidarity of the Korean peninsula. In this sense, while state policy acts as influential assisting force, it is this interactive process that has enabled the KNB to reinforce state policy, further generating reciprocal socio-political and diplomatic impacts on Korean society.

Moreover, the KNB’s artistic autonomy (viz. in deciding which aspects of Korean culture and Western ballet to incorporate, and how, to establish *Prince Hodong*) also enabled it to inscribe certain national images that are more or less independent of state-led ideology. For example, by presenting modesty and the cultivation of mind-soul-body unity as key ideological values in Korean society, *Prince Hodong* advances
the idea of Korea’s spiritual superiority (similarly seen in the most recent Korean tourism advertisement) over and against the idea of Western superiority, as grounded in the forces of modernity and science, which is generally embedded in the discourses of imperialism and globalisation. In this sense, the KNB, while embodying the ideas of national-historical greatness, physical power and mass unity (as emphasised through state-led nationalistic discourse), also further reshapes Korean identity by infusing the idea of the spiritual strength of the nation into its work, and in doing so subverts the normal hierarchy established by Western imperial culture. Thus while state policy often provides guidance, it is primarily the company’s artistic autonomy that enables further reshaping of Korean identity, with reference to local values and ideologies shared in the contemporary culture. The KNB’s active role in forming Korean ballet, combined with a subversive urge, is then also confirmed as a key force that reshapes and fosters the contemporary nationalistic discourse of Korea.

Therefore, I can conclude with the principle behind my title: namely, that the KNB is making and moving national identity in accordance with current socio-political demands and cultural trends and visions. Here, the word ‘moving’ has a dual sense, pointing simultaneously to the fact that national identity is presented primarily through physical motions, and to the continuous transition and reformation undergone by this identity through the KNB’s works. Nevertheless, I do not mean to suggest that this new form of national identity is in any way completely closed or fixed; it is rather, borrowing a phrase from Bhabha (1999, 202), ‘a moment of conclusion and control’ in which the KNB, by reshaping the idea of national identity, further reinforces the state and cultivates a nationalistic spirit within Korean culture, even while this moment of conclusion is continuously re-opened to future changes and shifts.

**Future directions for this research**

Noting the fluidity of the concept of national identity, the present research asserts that the KNB’s multifarious adoption of international and domestic influences is a key aspect in the shaping of its method of articulating national identity and its movement style. Although the internal conflict between the North and the South has remained constant, at the time of writing, it has also recently been attracting major international attention due to North Korea’s military provocations, which endanger not only the
Korean peninsula but also the global community. In this sense, further research needs to be carried out in light of the most recent political shift in Korea with the launching of new Park Geun Hye government in 2013, which will no doubt bring about further changes in perspective regarding the presence and threats of North Korea, and also in the cultural policy itself. Here, one point to remember is that although the KNB was invited to stage *Prince Hodong* in China in 2012, the production was later refused by the Chinese on the grounds that it located Goguryu and Nakrang within ancient Korea, openly refuting China’s current political ideology of *Dong Buk Gong Jung*. Thus, further research on the diplomatic role of *Prince Hodong* could be useful in identifying the reciprocal influence of both Korean and Chinese society and politics. Moreover, future research should also consider the artistic influences that have come both from the KNB’s recent appointment of a new artistic director, Su Jin Kang, in 2014, and from the most recent international connections with European companies, for instance, the Stuttgart Ballet and the Paris Opera Ballet. The present study does not deal with these recent shifts, as they have only just occurred; however, this recent forming of new international connections may prove to be the most significant factor determining the company’s future direction.

The present study also points to the need for research focusing solely on the KNB’s movement style. Here, although I have isolated the influence of Korean traditional dance, Taekwondo, and Korean break-dancing, further investigation into the KNB’s style might address its relationship to other Korean cultural elements. Analysis of recently included European ballets may also contribute to understanding the new (and perhaps shifting) traits of the company’s movement style, traits which might further complicate its relationship with local cultural conditions. Future research into the subject of gender representation might shed further light on the KNB’s use of male and female imagery in relation to nationally constructed notions of gender identity. For example, further study into the relationship between breakdancing and the performance traits of the KNB’s male dancers might initiate a discussion on the subject of cultural demonstrations of Korean masculinity. Likewise, analysis of the KNB’s performance of Maillot’s *Romeo and Juliet* (1996) in 2013, which exhibits brutal, strong female figures as opposed to the soft and delicate feminine imagery of both *Swan Lake* and *Prince Hodong*, could be useful in considering shifting notions of
femininity in the KNB’s works. Analysis of gender roles and concepts might also be linked with expressions of female power, given the election of Korea’s first female president, Geun Hye Park, in 2013.

Overall, the present research contributes to recent dance scholarship by presenting and defining the term ‘Korean ballet’. Here, although the idea of Korean ballet was put forward to illuminate the concept of hybridisation, I further identified hybridity as the key trend of contemporary Korean culture, and asserted that the idea of Korean ballet goes beyond hybridisation to establish a new form of Korean national identity. In doing so, this research highlights the capacity of the ballet genre to serve as a useful method of demonstrating national-cultural identity, and singles out the KNB as the key organ for establishing this concept. Moreover, as the topic of the KNB (and Korean ballet activity in general) is novel from the perspective of the international academic discipline of dance, the present research is relevant in that it brings Korean ballet out from the margins into the mainstream, paralleling its more practical exposure in various competitions, festivals and international tours. Thus the research is timely, relevant and original, and will, hopefully, entice further scholarly attention to Korean ballet.
Appendices
## Appendix A

### The overseas performances of the KNB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June to July 1997</td>
<td>Ballet Highlights</td>
<td>Egypt and Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2000</td>
<td>Ballet Highlights</td>
<td>Beijing, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2001</td>
<td><em>Swan Lake</em> (Grigorovich, 1969)</td>
<td>Shanghai, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2002</td>
<td><em>Swan Lake</em> and <em>Giselle</em> (Coralli &amp; Perrot, 1894)</td>
<td>Japan tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2003</td>
<td><em>Swan Lake</em></td>
<td>Vladivostok, Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2004</td>
<td><em>Swan Lake</em></td>
<td>Chicago and Washington, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2005</td>
<td><em>Swan Lake</em></td>
<td>Beijing, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2006</td>
<td><em>Le Corsaire</em> (revised by Petipa, 1863)</td>
<td>Beijing, China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2006</td>
<td>Ballet Highlights</td>
<td>Vladivostok, Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 2007</td>
<td><em>Spartacus</em> (Grigorovich, 1968)</td>
<td>Novosibirsk, Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2007</td>
<td><em>Swan Lake</em></td>
<td>Poland Lodz International Ballet Festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2007</td>
<td><em>La Fille Mal Gardée</em> (Alicia Alonso, 1964)</td>
<td>2007 Korea · Russia Exchange Festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2008</td>
<td><em>Romeo and Juliet</em> (Grigorovich, 1989)</td>
<td>The 15th Bydgoszczy Opera Festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2010</td>
<td><em>Romeo and Juliet</em></td>
<td>Moscow, Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2011</td>
<td><em>Prince Hodong</em> (Moon, 2009)</td>
<td>Naples, Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2012</td>
<td>Special Gala</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Recording details of chosen productions

_Swan Lake_
1/ The Bolshoi Ballet
• Revised choreography by Yuri Grigorovich (based on the choreography by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov in 1895)
• Designed by Simon Virsaladze
• Original creation in 1969
• Recorded at The Bolshoi Ballet Theatre in 1989, directed by Motoko Sakaguchi

2/ The Korean National Ballet
• Revised choreography by Yuri Grigorovich (based on the choreography by Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov in 1895)
• Set and costume designed by Simon Virsaladze
• Original creation in 1969, mounted on the KNB in 2001
• Recorded at Seoul Arts Centre, Opera Theatre, on December 2009

_Spartacus_
1/ The Bolshoi Ballet
• Choreography by Yuri Grigorovich
• Designed by Simon Virsaladze
• Original creation in 1967
• Recorded at The Bolshoi Ballet Theatre in 1984

2/ The Korean National Ballet
• Choreography by Yuri Grigorovich
• Set and costume designed by Simon Virsaladze
• Original creation in 1967, mounted on the KNB in 2001
• Recorded at Seoul Arts Centre, Opera Theatre, on August 2001
Appendix C
Historical Overview of Korea
(Prehistory up to the period of modern nation-building)

The chronology follows the official timeline of Korean history published by the NMK, and references the relics and evidence displayed in the permanent exhibition hall of the NMK. Although this can be seen as the NMK’s own construction of Korean history, as I do not propose to discuss the debates around the pre-history of Korea, it serves as a useful index. Moreover, as the NMK, like the KNB, is one of the national institutions, its interpretation of Korean history can serve as a comparable source when discussing the KNB’s demonstration of Korean history.

Geographically, Korea is a peninsula in East Asia. It is situated in the centre of a China – Japan – Russia triangle, framed by the People’s Republic of China to the northwest, Russia to the northeast and Japan to the east.

Map of modern Korea (University of Texas Library)
The initial state of Korea was Gojoseon, which existed from 2333 BCE until 108 BCE. The founding legend describes a semi-mythical character, Tan’gun, known as the grandson of heaven. Gojoseon was located in the Liaoning region of China and the northwest region of the Korean peninsula. While there are various debates about where its centre was located, the NMK, through its exhibition, states that the South Korean academic consensus is that the centre was around the Daedong River valley on the Korean peninsula. During the period of Gojoseon’s downfall, there were several states across the Korean peninsula, including Buyeo, Goguryu, Dongye, Okjeo and Samhan. While the NMK’s timeline includes a chronology of the Nakrang state (often spelled Nangnang), there is no information about this state in the exhibition hall, as the origin of the Nakrang state is a subject of frequent debate between Korean and Chinese scholars. Jung (2008) argues that the NKM has participated in this debate by virtue of the fact that it presented a special exhibition on Nakrang in 2001 to display historical evidence in favour of the argument that the settlement of the Nakrang state occurred on the Korean peninsula and not in China. For reference, Nakrang flourished during the first century BCE; it collapsed subsequent to its invasion by Goguryu either in BCE 32 or BCE 37.

Then follows the Three Kingdoms period, marking the official start of Korean history, based on an advanced iron culture and comprising Goguryu (37 BCE – 668 CE), Baekje (18 BCE – 660 CE) and Silla (57 BCE – 676 CE), which also ruled Gaya (42 – 562 CE). Goguryu occupied the northern region of the Korean peninsula and part of Manchuria, while Baekje was situated in the southwest region and Silla in the southeast part of the peninsula. By unifying the Three Kingdoms, Silla became the Unified Silla Kingdom from 676, while the Balhae Kingdom was founded in Manchuria in 698. Here, the Balhae Kingdom, although it was based in Manchuria, is also included as part of the history of Korea and is claimed as the successor of the Goguryu Kingdom. In the displays of the NMK, this period is titled ‘The North-South Kingdoms period’ and is presented as an extensive expansion of territory towards the north (in Manchuria) during the Kingdoms of Goguryu and Balhae.
With the downfall of Balhae and Silla, a new dynasty, Goryeo, was founded from 918 to 1392. The exhibition shows Goryeo’s resistance against the Mongols in 1270 and traces the territorial expansion of Goryeo throughout its dynasty. The Chosŏn Dynasty was founded in 1392 and lasted for approximately five hundred years, falling in 1897. The NMK draws attention to the beginning of the Japanese invasion of Chosŏn dynasty, the Imjin War, which lasted seven years after its outbreak in 1592, and highlights the heroic victories of Admiral Yi Sun Shin. In 1897, the Great Korean Empire was proclaimed; this empire fell in 1910, losing national sovereignty to the Japanese Empire. Korea was under Japanese colonial rule until the end of the Second World War, in 1945. There were various liberal movements during the Japanese occupation, such as the March First Independence Movement in 1919, and the NMK displays the diverse resistance activities by the Korean people, ranging from newspaper articles to hand-made national flags. In 1948, the Republic of Korea was founded with its first government headed by Rhee Sung Man; however, the official exhibition of the NMK terminates at this point, and hence neglects to deal with the contemporary history of Korea. In the early period of modern nation-building, there was the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, which resulted in the division of the Korean peninsula into North and South Korea. Today Korea remains divided into two political entities.
### Appendix D

**The nationalised ballets of the KNB**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of ballets</th>
<th>Performance dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Jigwi’s Dream</em> (Lim, 1974)</td>
<td>The 14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1974&lt;br&gt;The 30&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cheo Yong</em> (Lim, 1981)</td>
<td>The 28&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1981&lt;br&gt;The 34&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1983&lt;br&gt;The 42&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1985&lt;br&gt;Re-staged by Young Tae Baik in fifty years anniversary performance in 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bae Bi Jang</em> (Lim, 1984)</td>
<td>The 38&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Choon Hyang’s Love</em> (Lim, 1986)</td>
<td>The 47&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1986&lt;br&gt;The 48&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1986&lt;br&gt;The 49&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prince Hodong</em> (Lim, 1988)</td>
<td>The 57&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1988&lt;br&gt;The 58&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Corea Ae Ga</em> (Lim, 1990)</td>
<td>The 65&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1990&lt;br&gt;The 66&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ba Ree</em> (Choi, 1998)</td>
<td>The 91&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Prince Hodong</em> (Moon, 2009)</td>
<td>The 126&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 2009&lt;br&gt;The 138&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; subscription production in 2011&lt;br&gt;Fifty years anniversary performance in 2012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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## Appendix E

### Invitation of external choreographers to the KNB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choreographer or mounting choreographer</th>
<th>Description of the choreographer</th>
<th>Title of ballets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sung Kyu Baek</td>
<td>Korean dancer/teacher/choreographer trained in Japan through Russian schooling</td>
<td><em>Coppelia</em> (1976)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arima Goro</td>
<td>Japanese choreographer</td>
<td><em>The Nutcracker</em> (1977)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishida Daneoh</td>
<td>Japanese choreographer</td>
<td><em>Cinderella</em> (1978)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Hunchback of Notre Dame</em> (1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred Marteny</td>
<td>German choreographer</td>
<td><em>Four seasons</em> (1979)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Performance 9</em> (1979)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>The Golem</em> (1979)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Romeo and Juliet</em> (1980)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Children’s game</em> (1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Serenade</em> (1981)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gomaggi Masahedea</td>
<td>Japanese choreographer</td>
<td><em>Scheherazade</em> (1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(rearranged by) Marina Kodrateieva</td>
<td>Russian choreographer/trainer <em>(of the Bolshoi Ballet)</em></td>
<td><em>Don Quixote</em> (original by Gorsky, 1900; rearranged by Kodrateieva for the KNB, 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>La Bayadere</em> (original by Petipa, 1877; rearranged by Kodrateieva for the KNB, 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Giselle</em> (original by Coralli &amp; Perrot, 1894; rearranged by Kodrateieva for the KNB, 1999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boris Yakovlevich Eifman</td>
<td><em>(Vaganova trained)</em> Russian choreographer</td>
<td><em>Requiem</em> (1991)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Brave Figaro</em> (1992)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Musagete</em> (original choreography in 2004, first performance by the KNB in 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernand Nailt</td>
<td>The artistic director of Les Grands Ballets, Canada,</td>
<td><em>Carmina Burana</em> (original choreography in 1967, first performance by the KNB in 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title/Role</td>
<td>Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Jean-Christophe Maillot   | The artistic director of Les Ballets de Monte-Carlo                         | *Romeo and Juliet* (original choreography in 1996, first performance by the KNB in 1999)  
|                           |                                                                            | *Cinderella* (original choreography in 1999, first performance by the KNB in 2009) |
| Yuri Grigorovich          | Russian choreographer – known as the famous director of the Bolshoi Ballet  | *The Nutcracker* (original choreography in 1966, first performance by the KNB in 2001)  
|                           |                                                                            | *Spartacus* (original choreography in 1968, first performance by the KNB in 2001)  
|                           |                                                                            | *Swan Lake* (original choreography in 1969, first performance by the KNB in 2001)  
|                           |                                                                            | *Romeo and Juliet* (original choreography in 1989, first performance by the KNB in 2008)  
|                           |                                                                            | *Raymonda* (original choreography in 1984, first performance by the KNB in 2010)  
|                           |                                                                            | *La Bayadère* (original choreography in 1991, first performance by the KNB in 2013)  |
| Patricia Ruanne           | English ballet artist – worked with the Royal Ballet, the London Festival Ballet and the Paris Opera | *Sleeping Beauty* (Nureyev’s version in 1975; first performance by the KNB in 2004) |
| Mats Ek                   | Swedish choreographer – the former artistic director of the Cullberg Ballet, who created ballets for the Hamburg Ballet, the Nederlands Dans Theater and the Paris Opera | *Carmen* (original choreography in 1992, first performed by the KNB in 2006) |
| Roland Petit              | French choreographer – artistic director of for Les Ballet de Marseille     | *L’Arlésienne* (original choreography in 1974, first performed by the KNB in 2010) |
| Patrice Bart’s version | Paris Opera Ballet version | Le Jeune Homme et la Mort (original choreography in 1946, first performed by the KNB in 2010)  
Carmen (original choreography in 1949, first performed by the KNB in 2010)  
Giselle (originally restaged in 1991, first performed by the KNB in 2011) |
Appendix F

Photograph of the ‘ballet with explanation’ performance

The KNB’s *Friday ballet with explanation* in 1997 (NTK, 2000, 477)
Appendix G

Musical analysis of *Swan Lake* (Act one Scene two)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Duration of Wings of swans</th>
<th>Duration of Entrance of swans</th>
<th>Duration of Swans’ dance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolshoi Ballet</td>
<td>29 seconds</td>
<td>2:07</td>
<td>2:42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean National Ballet</td>
<td>28 seconds</td>
<td>2:27</td>
<td>2:35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wings of swans: Wing-like movements of swan group in the first section of Scene two, when Prince Siegfried is allured by Rothbart who suddenly exposes them to Siegfried

Part One: Entrance of the swans section (from the start of the ‘entrance of the swans’ scene music up to the point where *corps de ballet* pose in decided formation waiting for Big Swans to enter)

Part Two: Swans’ dance section (starting from the exit of Odette from her momentary joining to the group up to the finishing point of the scene)
Appendix H

Movement comparison of *Swan Lake* by the Bolshoi and the KNB

H.1 A comparison of arm movements

a) A comparison of the ‘wings of swans’ sequence – commencing in *dégagé derrière* position with slightly bent back leg, facing front, arms in half-second position. Arms rise sideways to inverted third position, with bent wrists, while the head vertically lifts to face the ceiling. Arms are brought back down sideways with bent elbows to half-second position as the head lowers down to face the floor. This is repeated three times, but on the fourth time the arms lower in front of the body, wrists crossed, while the working leg extends to *dégagé devant* and steps onto that leg to extend the other leg to *dégagé derrière* position with slightly bent back leg. The whole phrase is repeated once more, without the change of legs at the end.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Use of head</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi (slower)                      | - even use of music in lifting and lowering arm movements, maintaining softness throughout the phrase  
- a great articulation and flexibility in arm movements, with exaggerated curves made through extreme use of soft elbow and wrist bends in both lifting and lowering movements | - even use of music in head movement as it follows the arms | - equal division in use of music and continuous lightness produce graceful swans |
| The KNB (faster)                          | - similar use of arm articulation, highlighting flexibility in arm movement  
- in contrast to gentle, light upward arm movement with soft bends, accent is given to the swift lowering of arms | - sharper use of the head adds firmer quality to the arms | - firmness is created by pushing-down quality and quickness, especially in lowering movement  
- produces forcible fluttering of swans, while also highlighting flexible articulation of the arms |
- quickness and generous articulation of arms in lowering movement create pushing quality
- musical tempo is faster, conveying a pressing-down quality of the arms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Variation of the sequence</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bolshoi (slower)</td>
<td>- travels to different formation, involving dancers to perform bourrées, en avant, with one arm rippling in front, the other arm at the side</td>
<td>- demonstrates extremely sensitive articulation of arms with soft elbow and wrist flexion</td>
<td>- undulating rippling of arms depicts gentle waves of water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The KNB (faster)</td>
<td>- similar use of arm articulation is evident, highlighting flexibility and sensitivity in arms</td>
<td>- smooth and fast travelling bourrées add gliding quality and display strong influence from the Bolshoi dancers’ use of arm articulation</td>
<td>- undulating rippling of arms depicts gentle waves of water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) A comparison of the ‘rippling wings’ sequence – commencing in fifth position *en pointe*, *en face*, arms raised to the side, palms facing down. Legs perform small *bourrées* sideways with rippling arms in the raised position.
H.2 A comparison of arms and upper-body use

a) A comparison of the ‘spreading/folding of wings’ sequence – commence in *dégage derrière* position, facing one corner, arms in half-first position. The arms laterally rise through half-second up to third position, then the body changes direction to the other corner, bringing the back leg to *dégage devant*. There is a transfer of weight through fourth position, *en demi-plié*, with arms descending in front of the body through first position, finishing in *dégage derrière* position, to repeat on the other side.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Use of upper body</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi (faster)  | - straightness of arms is evident, with wrists slightly bent until they reach to open fifth position  
|                       | - arms do not stop or pause at any particular position, but move continually with passing quality  
|                       | (not stopping even at the third position, but pass down through first position)        | - little use of upper body (minor back bend in opening the arms to half-second position) | - legs do not emphasise any particular position and rather show smooth transition with continuous quality | - light and slow quality of arms with little use of upper-body bends (peripheral movement)  
|                       |                                                                            |                                       |                                                                            | - softness of movement is created by continuous arm and leg movements                    |
|                       |                                                                            |                                       |                                                                            | - although faster tempo is applied, even use of music in raising and lowering arm movements adds calmness to the movement |
| The KNB (slower)      | - slow but direct use of arms with accenting the opening of the arms to half-second position (held slightly to the back)  
|                       | - arms show full stretch in raising movement (recalling the morning)            | - smooth but exaggerated back bend in performing the arm movement (from half-first to half-second then up to third position) emphasises the stretching quality  
|                       |                                                                            | - head follows the smooth          | - *dégage derrière* position is accentuated from *demi-plié*  
|                       |                                                                            |                                       | - working leg again shoots out to *dégage devant* to highlight crisp change of direction to the other | - backward bend of the upper body is stressed by the outstretching of the arms, making the body arc-like  
|                       |                                                                            |                                       |                                                                            | - uses greater kinesphere with upper-body bend  
|                       |                                                                            |                                       |                                                                            | - overall, demonstrates |
stretch with a yawn) - arms pause at each arriving position (half-second, third and first positions)

arm and upper body movement

corner

contrasting quality throughout the phrase (smoothness with lavish backbend and slow arm movements, contrasting crisp change of direction and shooting leg actions) with stopping of arm movements at arriving position

*A similar backward bend of the upper body is evident from the KNB performances, when arms are in half-second position. (For instance, when dancers perform quick *bournées* forward followed by a sudden *posé* in *attitude*. The abrupt upper-back bend is presented with accented backward opening of arms to half-second position.)
b) A comparison of the ‘relevé sequence’ – commencing from dégagé derrière en fondu, arms crossed in front of the body, facing one corner. Executing the relevé into fifth position, the arms are drawn up in front of the body to inverted third position and then the legs lower to demi-plié in fifth position while the arms open sideways to half-second. Then the dancers execute a three-quarter turn, towards the back leg, to face the opposite corner, with sideways upward arm movements to inverted third position, and finish with demi-pliés in fifth position with lowered arms in front of the body, crossed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Use of upper body</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bolshoi</td>
<td>- the motions softly articulating every part of the arms in both lifting and lowering movements, elbows and wrists bent - even use of music in lifting and lowering arm movements - the arms undulate in wing-like movements when lowering from third to half-second position</td>
<td>- modest use of upper body in all movements</td>
<td>- the wing-like motions are only depicted by the soft-articulated arms with little upper body use - produces a fragile, delicate, and tendering quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The KNB</td>
<td>- similar articulation of arms - slower use of music in the lowering of the arms develops the pressing-down quality of the arms, yet soft articulation of the arms with elbow and wrist bends adds smoothness - emphasises descending arm movements</td>
<td>- shows generous back bends, when the arms lower from third position to half-second, developing squeezing quality in legs’ demi-plié action in fifth position - in lunge position, the upper body bends forward to display greater mobility in upper body usage</td>
<td>- arms and upper body together create a smooth stroking quality, while flexible articulation of the arms adds softness - soft articulation of arms in the lowering movement is the main emphasis of this phrase - although the legs demonstrate sharp relevé and turning actions, the crispness is covered by the outstanding smoothness of the arms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
H.3 A comparison of the *petit leg work*

a) A comparison of the ‘*arabesque* and *pas de bourrée*’ sequence – commencing with a small running movement, the dancers circle around each other in pairs, then perform a *posé arabesque* to one corner, followed by a quick *pas de bourrée* with a change of direction to the other corner to finish in *dégagé derrière en fondu*, arms in first arabesque position with an *épaulement*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Variation of the sequence</th>
<th>Overall emphasis /quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi (slower)                     | *pas de bourrée* finishes in *dégagé devant en fondu*, arms crossed in front of the body, palms down, with slight forward bend | - less quickness in running movement  
- softness in *posé arabesque*  
- display three small steps instead of brisk *pas de bourrées*  
- flowing quality is displayed rather than the briskness |
| The KNB (faster)                          |                           | - swift move of the leg with small steps in the running movement  
- brisk *posé arabesque* to one corner and brisk *pas de bourrées* to face the opposite corner  
- rapid directional changes enhancing the briskness of the leg work  
- quick twist of the body after *pas de bourrée* to show sharp *épaulement* in finishing position in *dégagé derrière en fondu* develops overall briskness of the movement |
b) A comparison of the ‘petit retiré’ sequence in Act one Scene one – four court ladies in a horizontal line, commencing in fifth position *en pointe*, arms raised in open fifth position, holding hands. The back leg lifts to *petit retiré devant* with a head turn to the working side. The lifted leg lowers in front to fifth position *en pointe* to perform three small steps *en pointe* on spot. This is repeated twice more on alternate sides. Then, on the fourth time, the back leg extends low to the side *en fondu* to draw back into fifth position *en pointe*, followed by three quick steps *en pointe* with the working leg shooting out to the side. The whole phrase is repeated once more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Variation of the sequence</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Use of head and upper body</th>
<th>Overall emphasis /quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bolshoi</td>
<td><em>Petit retiré</em> is performed rather as <em>développé passé devant</em> with working leg extending low to the front to travel forward</td>
<td>- passing <em>développé passé devant</em> rather than a sharp retiré</td>
<td>- upper body is smoothly bent backwards with a slight head tilt towards the front leg in performing the retiré sequence</td>
<td>- less emphasis on quick leg work and more on the smooth travelling and soft turn of the body with back bend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- quick small steps <em>en pointe</em></td>
<td>- body makes an arc shape and turns from corner to corner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- emphasis on travelling forwards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The KNB</td>
<td>- abruptness in executing <em>petit retiré</em> followed by quick small steps</td>
<td>- sharp head turn towards the working leg with no use of upper body bend</td>
<td>- strong emphasis on crisp leg work accentuated by the sharp use of the head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- crisp leg work is shown throughout the phrase</td>
<td>- no turn of the body, just the head from one side to the other</td>
<td>- minimal body movement to highlight briskness of leg and head movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Another example of crisp legwork – a phrase consisting of quick *bourrées* forward followed by a sudden *posé* in *attitude* in Act one Scene two Part two. Dancers execute tiny steps *en pointe* with fast travelling action in *bourrée* movements followed by a darting *posé*. The suddenness of the *posé* is accentuated by a quick upper-back bend.
H.4 A comparison of the first *arabesque* alignment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Arm alignment</th>
<th>Head alignment</th>
<th>Leg alignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **The Bolshoi** | - the front arm high above the head, nearly making a vertical line  
- the articulation is evident in both raising and lowering movement with bent elbows and wrists | - head sometimes follows the line of the front arm  
- other times turns to the audience | - the extended leg lifting high above 90 degrees  
- the level varies from one dancer to another  
- often with slightly bent knees |
| **The KNB** | - the front arm slightly above the head line with side arm lower than shoulder level  
- arms are raised in straight alignment, but lower with bent elbows and wrists showing articulation | - head follows the line of the front arm | - the extended leg lifting to 90 degrees |
H.5 A comparison of the jumping movement

a) A comparison of the ‘opening jump sequence’ – one jump (*grand sissonne*) in first *arabesque* followed by three continuous *jetés* with the working leg shooting out in front; the whole phrase is repeated continuously.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Arms in <em>arabesque</em> jumps</th>
<th>Legs in <em>arabesque</em> jumps</th>
<th>Three <em>jetés</em></th>
<th>Overall movement quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bolshoi (faster)</td>
<td>- the front arm flies high above the head line, with soft-flowing quality and extreme articulation</td>
<td>- the back leg flies high above 90 degrees with slightly bent knees - the front leg shooting out to the front at the height of the jump</td>
<td>- three <em>jetés</em> with small elevation, just off the floor - working leg shoots out to very low <em>devant</em> alignment adding bouncy quality - arms lower quickly with use of articulation to crossed position in front of the body - the quickness of the <em>jetés</em> places less attention to this step</td>
<td>- highlighting the travelling <em>arabesque</em> jump - small bouncy quick <em>jetés</em> are seen as linking step - softness is created with articulation of the arms - flying quality is evident through unfixed position of arms and legs in <em>arabesque</em> jumps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The KNB (slower)</td>
<td>- the arms directly lift to first <em>arabesque</em> alignment in a straight line, front arm just above the head line (to the fixed level) - the arms lower with gentle articulation</td>
<td>- the back leg lifts to 90 degrees - the front leg slightly shoots out to the front at the height of the jump - more attention on the elevation of the jump rather than travelling</td>
<td>- travelling jumps with even use of music in each <em>jeté</em> - working leg smoothly raises to the front - arms slowly lower with use of articulation, leading with bent elbows and wrists</td>
<td>- highlighting the upward elevation of <em>arabesque</em> jump - attention is also given to three <em>jetés</em> where smooth gliding quality is produced to travel forward - directness is produced with height of <em>arabesque</em> jump arriving to the fixed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
alignment, which emphasises firm head movement - smoothness is created by slow lowering of arms and gliding jetés
b) A comparison of the ‘arabesque allongé and change of direction’ phrase – starts with a jump in first arabesque allongé alignment, facing to one side, followed by coupé action to extend the other leg to the side in low level. The extended leg executes a small rond de jambe a terrè en deden action. Then, stepping onto the rond de jambe leg with a change of direction to the opposite side, the other leg extends to execute a petit développé action, finishing in dégagé devant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Arms in first arabesque allongé jump</th>
<th>Legs in first arabesque allongé jump</th>
<th>Linking steps (Coupé, rond de jambe a terrè and petit développé)</th>
<th>Overall emphasis /quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi (faster)                      | - arms raise to first arabesque allongé alignment with bent wrist and lowered quickly with use of articulation | - the back leg lifts to 90 degrees with small jump, just off the floor | - executes a very small jump in coupé to shoot out the other leg to the side  
- demonstrates minimal rond de jambe action  
- executes another small jump when performing quick petit développé  
-has small bouncy quality | - stresses the first arabesque allongé jump  
- although linking steps have small bouncy quality they are not emphasised and rather pass through to stress the next arabesque allongé jump |
| The KNB (slower)                          | - arms raise to first arabesque allongé alignment with bent wrist  
- lower slowly with soft elbow bend, while performing next rond de jambe action | - the back leg lifts to 90 degrees with small jump, just off the floor | - demonstrates a step, rather than a jump, in extending working leg to the side  
- emphasises smooth rond de jambe action with slow lowering of arms with soft articulation | - emphasises horizontal alignment of the body in the allongé jump  
- slowness and smoothness of legs and arms in linking step produces carefulness in treating linking steps  
- soft arm articulation develops overall calmness of the movement |
Appendix I

Movement comparison of *Spartacus* by the Bolshoi and the KNB

I.1 A comparison of arm movements

a) A comparison of arm movements of male and female dancers – the ‘walking-in of guests’ sequence (Crassus’ Villa, Act two Scene six), the dancers entering from upstage right corner to make three diagonal lines towards downstage left corner.

- The male dancers’ sequence commences with the downstage arm held on the waist while the upstage arm is bent in front of the chest to place the hand on the opposite shoulder. They take two slow walks commencing with the upstage leg followed by a *posé* into fifth position to take another step forward with the front leg to place the other leg in front with bent knee, toes touching the floor. While they take the *posé* into fifth position, the upstage arm opens out to the side through the front with bent elbow, making a relaxed open fifth position. The leg movements are repeated again, this time reversing the arm movement to return to the starting position. The whole phrase is repeated once more with a *posé* turn in fifth position instead of a simple *posé* forward.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi  | - working arm raises or lowers slowly, taking two counts  
              - working arm has a free-flowing quality in motion  
              - when raised, the arms are gently bent with soft hands, as if they are quietly calling someone, but not to a set position | - smooth and softer quality is evident through subtle bending of the arm and slowness of movement |
| The KNB      | - working arm is raised or lowered on the fourth count of the phrase, taking one count, showing quicker motion  
              - raised position is much more square and angular as it shows 90 degrees bent with elbow, taken in front of the body | - arms move directly to the given position  
- angular position adds toughness, while directness and firmness show strength and power  
- arms move to set position building unity of *corps de ballet* |

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The female dancers’ sequence commences with the downstage arm held low in front of the body with bent elbows and wrists, palms facing down, and the upstage arm crossed in front of the chest to place the hand on the opposite shoulder. They take three slow walks to hold on the fourth count. During the third and fourth counts, the upstage arm opens out to open fifth position and the head turns towards the audience. The walking movement is repeated once more, this time reversing the arm movement to return the upstage arm and head to the starting position. The whole phrase is repeated once more adding slow *soutenu* at the last repeat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi  | - working arm raises or lowers gracefully, each time taking two counts  
              - when raised to open fifth position, the arms show gentle articulation with bent elbows and wrists  
              - fingers move subtly and softly adding gentleness to the movement  
              - working arm softly swifits the air in front of the body, when taken back to the starting position, and fingers land gently on the shoulder | - as seen in *Swan Lake*, graceful and gentle quality of arms is evident |
| The KNB      | - similar use of arms to the Bolshoi  
              - working arm moves softly with gentle articulation  
              - when extending the arm to open fifth position, the soft quality is built further with use of upper-body bend to the side, holding the position on the fourth count with lingering quality | - free-flowing, gentle use of the arms is evident, while the smooth use of the upper body adds fluidity to the movement |

A comparison of the overall movement quality of male and female dancers of the KNB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Male dancers’ overall movement quality</th>
<th>Female dancers’ overall movement quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The KNB      | - displays more static and angular position  
              - muscularity and firmness are highlighted in male dancers’ movements | - demonstrates more fluid position  
              - softness and gentleness of feminine quality is emphasised in female dancers’ movements |
b) A comparison of arm alignment in *grande pose* (features repeatedly throughout the ballet) – one arm in second position and the other arm in third position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Use of head</th>
<th>Overall look</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **The Bolshoi** | - arms held with firm opening of the chest  
- the raised arm is opened slightly, making a curved diagonal line, instead of a half-oval shape above the head  
- the other arm is raised to shoulder level, taken right to the side (slightly backwards compared to the normal second position of the arms), often with palm facing up | - strongly looks up to the raised hand or out and up to the audience | - open chest and direct arm alignment build intensity and muscularity and confidence and power are projected through the firm use of the head |
| **The KNB (faster)** | - same alignment as the Bolshoi dancers | | |

* The second position – the arms are also taken right out to the side (contrasting slight forward alignment in normal second position) and up to shoulder level with open and lifted chest, revealing confidence and muscularity.
c) A comparison of the ‘relevé arabesque’ sequence (Gladiators’ barracks, Act one Scene four) – commencing with a relevé arabesque en croisé with arms in grande pose, followed by steps onto the working leg to perform a posé turn in fifth position. The phrase is repeated twice more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms and head</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi  | - arms burst out to grande pose with strong impact on the extension of the arms  
- not to a set grande pose alignment, rather one arm shoots to the side, the other arm upwards  
- head action on relevé to look out to the audience | - quick relevé action of supporting leg matching shooting out of working leg to arabesque alignment  
- instead of a posé turn in fifth position, they perform two steps to turn, showing less clarity with leg motions | - strong opening of arms and legs  
- vigorous quality and strength are shown through bursting of arms and legs |
| The KNB     | - arms explode to grande pose  
- showing set grande pose alignment, even with strong extension of arms  
- sharp backwards head bend to look up to the audience | - similar quality of action to the Bolshoi dancers in relevé arabesque  
- 90 degrees arabesque alignment is shown with shooting quality  
- small sharp posé turn is executed, adding sharpness and cleanness to the movement | - exploding quality of arms and legs, aided with sharp head movement  
- clarity of legwork in small steps  
- muscularity and power are displayed through the explosion of arms and legs  
- unity of corps de ballet is evident by executing movement to the set alignments |
I.2 A comparison of *developpé* action of the legs

a) A comparison of the ‘small leap with *petit développé*’ sequence (Gladiators’ barracks, Act one Scene four) – a group of gladiators jumping, making a large circle, they perform a tiny leap on the spot with accent on the landing, the working leg executing a low *petit développé* to the side. Arms are bent in front of the chest on the leap, and then opened to the side, palms down. This leap is followed by three small runs to repeat the leap on the same side. Overall, they perform five small leaps, while the working leg in the last two leaps is held in front of the body with bent knee. On the last two leaps the arms cross in front of the body to be thrown backwards on landing, with a backwards head bend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Use of arms and head</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bolshoi (faster)</td>
<td>- arms extend out to the front before opening to the side, showing spreading motion with arms, on the first three leaps - on the last two leaps, arms are vigorously thrown to the sides or to the back (not to a set alignment, differing between dancers) - little use of the head on the last two leaps</td>
<td>- low elevation with accent down - smoother <em>développé</em> action to the side in the first three leaps</td>
<td>- smoother extension of arms and legs in the first three leaps - throwing quality is shown with arms, showing sudden opening of the chest on the last two leaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The KNB (slower)</td>
<td>- arms open directly to the side on the first three leaps building shooting quality - arms are thrown strongly to the back with a quick backwards head</td>
<td>- medium elevation, with accent on the landing - emphasis on the shooting quality with sudden <em>développé</em> action to create sharpness on</td>
<td>- exploding quality with shooting leg motions, strong and direct opening of arms - dramatic head movement accentuates the bursting quality of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bend, developing an exploding quality on the last two leaps - upper body is also slightly bent backwards to accompany the head bend that is held during following runs as a residue of explosion - arms open to set alignment</td>
<td>The first three leaps</td>
<td>Movement - quality of head movement is a key aspect in analysing the KNB’s movement style - demonstration of set alignment develops unity of <em>corps de ballet</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b) A comparison of ‘big back-bend jumps’ (The defeat of Crassus, Act two Scene eight) – a group of slaves clustered at the upstage centre travelling forward throughout the sequence. They perform a big jump, legs apart, knees bent backwards, with huge backbend of the body, arms through up high (shield in one hand and sword in the other). The body makes a ‘C-shape’ at the height of the jump, but abruptly recovers from the bend to land upright with quick *petit développé devant en croisé*, arms opening to the sides. This action is repeated several times, on alternating sides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms and upper-body</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall emphasis / quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi  | - great use of backbend at the height of the jump  
- head positions differ between dancers at the height of the jump  
- arms are strongly thrown upwards adding strength to the jump  
- arms abruptly open to the side in landing | - high elevation with power  
- bent legs, at the height of the jump, recover abruptly to extend one leg out to the front in landing | - exhibiting a high level of virtuosity and elevation  
- extreme use of kinesphere, making a strong arc-shape backwards before forward leg movement |
| The KNB      | - same great use of backbend at the height of the jump  
- head follows the backbend, looking up to the ceiling at the height of the jump  
- arm position at landing is different to the Bolshoi version, shooting the upstage arm to the front while the other arm abruptly lowers down to the side | - legs are bent right back at the height of the jump  
- high elevation with strength  
- sharper accent on the shooting quality of the leg in landing with strong *développé* action to the front  
- *développé devant* alignment is higher than the Bolshoi dancers | - exhibiting a high level of virtuosity and elevation  
- greater use of kinesphere, with larger backbend  
- accentuated shooting quality in landing with direct use of arms and legs  
- more power and speed in getting into the set alignments  
- repetition on alternating sides displays clearer and faster directional changes |
I.3 A comparison of *grand allegro*

a) A comparison of the series of ‘*grand jetés* with bent knees’ (Gladiators’ barracks, Act one Scene four) – a group of gladiators makes a large circle, performing ‘run–run–*grand jeté*’, repeated six times on alternating sides. Legs are bent at the height of the *grand jeté*. One arm, opposite to the forward leg, rises directly to the ceiling, while the other arm lifts to the side.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name (comparison of musical tempo)</th>
<th>Overall emphasis /quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi (faster)                     | - stays low in the preparatory runs to highlight the height of *grand jeté*  
- high elevation is emphasised through the height of the jump and the spurting quality of the arms  
- lengthy duration at the height of the jump is emphasised through demonstration of long pauses in *grand jeté* position with bent knees, shown in the air  
- wideness of *grand jeté* position is highlighted through the width of separated legs in the air |
| The KNB (slower)                         | - Similar quality to the Bolshoi dancers  
- spurting quality is emphasised further by a sudden backwards head bend at the height of the jump and by abrupt use of the arms  
- high elevation is highlighted through the height of the jump, accompanied by a strong reaching of the arms and sudden head bend  
- lengthy duration at the height of the jump is even more emphasised due to slower musical tempo, allowing the dancers to hold the *grand jeté* position with bent knees in the air longer  
- instead of the wideness, the KNB dancers show a ‘jumping-over’ quality, depicting a rainbow-shape in *grand jeté* motions  
- the repetition of *grand jetés* builds overall power and strength |
b) A comparison of the ‘grand jeté en tournant’ sequence (The final battle, Act three Scene twelve) – the Bolshoi dancers enter the stage making three diagonal lines from the upstage right corner to the downstage left corner, while the KNB dancers make two diagonal lines. They gallop onto the stage to perform a grand jeté en tournant with circular arm movements, arriving to grande pose at the height of the jump. Then they gallop into a large sissonne in attitude with a bent lower leg. Arms are thrown up with a slight backbend, head following the backwards movement, at the height of the jump.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms, head and upper body</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall emphasis /quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Bolshoi</td>
<td>- arms open with vigorous quality - head does not follow the backwards movement in sissonne</td>
<td>- less sharpness in scissoring action in grand jeté en tournant - highlighting the splitting of the legs in sissonne rather than making a set alignment</td>
<td>- grand elevation, less clarity of crossing action of legs in grand jeté en tournant - firm use of arms and legs and strong elevation demonstrate strength of the Bolshoi’s male dancers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The KNB</td>
<td>- greater backbend in sissonne to make the movement bigger</td>
<td>- clear scissoring action of legs in grand jeté en tournant with exploding quality into the air, showing grand elevation - back leg is lifted higher with a tightened bending of the lower legs in sissonne</td>
<td>- huge impact on the first grand jeté en tournant with exploding quality - arms and legs shoot out, beyond the kinespheric reach in grand jeté en tournant - extreme use of body energy - elevation and exploding scissoring action of legs show high level of virtuosity -demonstrates strong and powerful male dancers of the KNB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I.4 A comparison of ‘down to earth’ movements

A comparison of the ‘stamping’ sequence (Rome, Act one Scene one) – The Roman army, clustered in a tight semi-circle at the upstage centre (Crassus standing in the middle), travels forward, making two horizontal lines throughout the sequence. They perform twelve hops on alternating legs, the working leg lifting out to the side with bent knee. The arms swing forward and backwards in opposition to the leg movement, while holding a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. Then, they face the downstage right corner to jump into lunge position with the right leg in front. They jump in this position twice to change legs, so the left leg comes forward in lunge to jump in this position twice. Then they change legs on each jump to repeat four times. The arms are held in running position and change in opposition to the leg movements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall emphasis /quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| The Bolshoi  | - arms move firmly to create strong quality | - travels forward with upward accent on the hops to show the height of the jump  
- working leg is firmly lifted high to the side with bent knee on the hops  
- working leg comes down with darting quality giving a bounciness to the sideways hops  
- in contrast to the hops, the accent is down in lunge jumps | - emphasis on travelling and elevation in sideways hops  
- firm arm and leg movements add power  
- strong downwards jump in lunge position develops heaviness  
- swift change of legs in lunge jumps adds directness to the movement |
| The KNB     | - arms move vigorously to front and back with greater strength | - less of a jumping action in performing the hops; rather gets just off the floor  
- lifted leg pierces the floor when lowering, accentuating the downward force in hops | - piercing quality of hops, down to the floor  
- stamping action is emphasised in both hops and lunge jumps  
- stamping action builds density and tightness as a group  
- displays more gallantness and toughness with grounded quality |
I.5 A comparison of unity of *corps de ballet*

A comparison of the ‘grand jeté in attitude’ sequence (Gladiators’ barracks, Act one Scene four) – two horizontal lines are made by the gladiators upstage and they travel forward to downstage, one line at the time. The sequence commences with a *posé arabe*, arms open to the side, palms up, followed by a gallop to execute a *grand jeté in attitude* with full circling of the arms outwards, accenting the opening out to the sides. When first line finishes the sequence, they turn back to face the second line in lunge position, arms out to the side, palms up. As the second line joins the first line they hold hands to end the sequence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>Use of arms</th>
<th>Use of legs</th>
<th>Overall movement quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **The Bolshoi** | - arms are lifted higher than shoulder level in *posé arabe*  
- arms are thrown in the air in *grand jeté* action, not reaching to the same alignment at the height or landing of the jump  
- emphasis on the throwing quality of arms  
- when the first line waits for the second line, height of arm alignments differs between dancers | - when the first line waits for the second line, they are not in set lunge position, but rather show a resting pose, some with parallel legs | - less emphasis on showing set alignment as a group  
- less unity and cleanliness is shown from *corps de ballet*  
- depicts more realistic gladiators |
| **The KNB** | - arms directly raise to shoulder level in *posé arabe* and in lunge position  
- arms make a full circle, hitting the full upwards extending at the height of the *jeté*, lowering directly to the side in landing | - when the first line waits for the second line, turned out lunge position is evident | - direct and clean arm movements develop unity of *corps de ballet*  
- demonstration of set alignment in unison, highlights the collectiveness of the KNB’s *corps de ballet*  
- reveals the KNB’s stress in displaying the rule/shared principle of classical ballet |
Appendix J

Prince Hodong: the subject matter

Prince Hodong is based on a legend written in Samkooksagi, the historical record of the Three Kingdom period of Korea. Samkooksagi is the oldest existing history book of the Three Kingdom period, written during the Goryŏ Dynasty (CE 918-1392). It mainly describes the political changes and the rise and fall of Goguryu, Baekje, and Silla (Naver Encyclopaedia, 2010b). The production is a tragic story of two lovers: Prince Hodong, the son of Goguryu’s third ruler, King Daemushin, and Princess Nakrang, the daughter of King Choiree of the country Nakrang. Goguryu is the neighbouring country of Nakrang, seeking territorial expansion by conquering Nakrang. However, Nakrang is allied with China’s Han dynasty and, most importantly, possesses the mythical drum, Jammyungo, which ‘[plays] itself whenever danger approaches the nation’ (KNB, 2009, 20). Thanks to this mythical instrument, Goguryu consistently fails in overthrowing Nakrang. The chief female priest of Goguryu picks Hodong during a ritual ceremony, and consequently the King orders Hodong to put together a stratagem to conquer Nakrang. Hodong pledges to be loyal to the king and to his country, and accepts the demand.

While exploring the countryside of Okjeo, another neighbouring country, Hodong participates in a hunting game hosted by Nakrang’s king. When Hodong kills a white deer, known to be a divine animal, King Choiree recognises him as the prince of Goguryu and invites him to the palace, where he meets Princess Nakrang. They fall in love at first sight and King Choiree announces their marriage, which is extravagantly held in Nakrang’s palace. Soon, Hodong returns to his own country while Princess Nakrang awaits his return in sadness. Back home, Hodong sends a secret letter to Princess Nakrang asking her to tear Jammyungo apart. In her ensuing state of confusion, caught between the love for her husband and the love for her country, Princess Nakrang finally destroys the magic drum, allowing Goguryu to conquer her country. King Choiree discovers this betrayal and kills his own daughter, then kills himself with the same sword. Hodong also commits suicide out of his guilt and love towards Princess Nakrang, and finally dies in her arms. Here it is worth noting that
while Nakrang can be seen as Hodong’s ‘pawn’ rather than as an agent in her own right, this should not be taken to imply that this is the typical or the only representation of women in Korea.
Appendix K

Picture of jeol

Motion of jeol © Newsis
Appendix L

Picture of Muyong-chong

A section of *Mooyongchong*, Goguryu’s murals © KTA
Appendix M

Territorial boundaries of Goguryu and modern Korea

Map of Goguryu during its heyday, BCE 476 © Wikipedia

Map of modern Korea © University of Texas
Appendix N

Picture of Korean football fans in 2002 Korea and Japan World Cup

Korean football fans (known as “Red Devil”) gathered in the plaza of Seoul city hall to support the game of Korean football team in 2002 Korea and Japan World Cup
Appendix O

Picture of Gyobanggo, a type of Korean traditional drum (*buk*)

Gyobanggo © encyKorea
Appendix P

DVD:

Short extracts of *Prince Hodong* and other Korean cultural contents

Track 1. Goguryu warriors’ training scene in *Prince Hodong* (Act two, scene nine), performed in 2011

Track 2. The temple scene of *Prince Hodong* (Act one, scene two), performed in 2011

Track 3. The *buk* scene in *Prince Hodong* (Act one, scene one), performed in 2011

Track 4. Chopping board scene in *Nanta* at Seoul Dream Festival, 2011

Track 5. *Jangdokdae* scene in *Nanta* at Seoul Dream Festival, 2011

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