



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

This is a repository copy of *Embracing the Funk: Celebrating Authenticity and Nation at the New Malden Kimjang Festival in 2021*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:

<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/219744/>

Version: Accepted Version

Article:

Kim, H. orcid.org/0000-0003-1650-8418 (2024) Embracing the Funk: Celebrating Authenticity and Nation at the New Malden Kimjang Festival in 2021. *European Journal of Korean Studies*, 23 (2). ISSN 2631-4134

This item is protected by copyright. "his is an author produced version of an article published in *European Journal of Korean Studies*. Uploaded in accordance with the publisher's self-archiving policy. "

Reuse

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>

Embracing the Funk; Celebrating Authenticity and Nation at the New Malden *Kimjang* Festival in 2021¹

Helen Kim²
University of Leeds

Abstract:

In this article, I explore the ways that authenticity and diasporic “Koreanness” were performed at a “*kimjang*” festival in New Malden, Surrey, a suburb of London, held in November 2021. The event provided an opportunity to display authentic kimchi and by association, determine an authentic Koreanness in the UK. I focus on how kimchi and *kimjang* at this event were constructed as authentic by the cultural organizers, analyzing events on the day and some of the promotional materials used. The findings of this paper show that claims to an authentic Koreanness at this cultural event do the work of performing ethnic difference that is valorized as a form of multicultural celebration. It is also used to construct a diasporic Koreanness that primarily reflects the interests of the majority South Korean ethnic group in New Malden.

Keywords:

Embracing the Funk; Celebrating Authenticity and Nation at the New Malden *Kimjang* Festival in 2021

Helen Kim

Introduction:

The 2021 *kimjang* fell on an overcast, grey wintry day in the middle of November, in New Malden, a suburb of London, home to the Korean community in the UK. It was the third year in a row where they held a festival to celebrate kimchi-making, which they called a *kimjang* festival. Despite the weather, it drew a crowd of approximately 500 visitors, which was the largest in the three years it was held. Held in St. George's Square, a small public square across the street from Korean cafes and restaurants, visitors were welcomed to the festival with an eye-catching red and white banner that said "Kim-jang festival 2021." The Member of Parliament for Kingston, Sushila Abramson MP inaugurated the event with a short speech where she welcomed everyone, highlighting New Malden as a place of immense cultural diversity. Her speech was followed by the Ambassador to the UK from South Korea, Gunn Kim (at the time), who extolled the virtues of kimchi and *kimjang* as a shared and communal event. The MP and Ambassador were then handed heaping paper plates of "Pyongyang" style white kimchi as well as the typically more spiced "winter" kimchi, which they tried with gusto and delight as onlookers watched, snapped pictures, and took videos. Later on, both gamely tried to make kimchi, prompting good-natured laughter and delight from the audience, donning gloves and rubbing the kimchi spices into the cabbage leaves with flourish.

Stalls that lined the perimeter of the square displayed specialty food items from Chŏnju [Jeonju], a UNESCO recognized "food city." Small samples were available to try at every stall, something that still seems quite unusual in the UK. This brought a steady hum of curious people, many of whom just happened to be in the square that day and were attracted to the signs, the laughter, the smells of Korean food and its seasonings and of course, the free food. Kimchi tastings as well as the free samples of sweet "Korean" crepes in the next stall brought crowds of people, who all were asked which type of kimchi they liked best.

The New Malden *kimjang* festival was first introduced in 2019. The more traditional *kimjang* practiced in Korea was a communal event revolving around the collective act of

making kimchi, where village residents and their families would come together to salt, chop, season, and ferment the cabbage that will turn into kimchi. In contrast, the *kimjang* event, held on 20 November 2021, was a celebratory festival designed to display Korean food and culture to a Korean and non-Korean audience. It attracted at least 500 visitors to New Malden. They had over 20 different stalls, with an area for members of the public to try and make kimchi themselves, different food brands showcasing food from Chŏnju, South Korea, as well as information about kimchi and *kimjang* provided by the World Institute of Kimchi (WiKim). A kimchi master from the University of Chŏnju even taught a two-hour masterclass on kimchi-making. Many of these activities revolved around demonstrating and performing Koreanness to the event participants. This departure from a more traditional set of activities at a *kimjang* is thus the focus of this article.

Hosting a *kimjang* festival in New Malden symbolizes how the suburb is still the cultural “home” and center for the Korean diasporic community in the UK. While New Malden becomes ever more diverse, the Korean community can claim a sense of belonging on the New Malden High Street, and visibly take up space there, with thriving businesses and cultural events hosted in the public square. The *kimjang* festival also reveals how kimchi is a potent diasporic resource, one that signals a Koreanness in the UK. By building a cultural event around the making of kimchi, holding classes and demonstrations, offering tastings of kimchi made by local entrepreneurs and cooks, and by exhibiting regional Korean food items, the organizers set out to define and determine what constitutes authentic kimchi and by association, an authentic Koreanness. The organization’s need to perform authenticity reveals a distinctly diasporic outlook and set of concerns.

Performing authenticity at this event is a way of utilizing a strategic resource to construct a sense of belonging. Koreans in the UK are racialized and seen as an ethnic minority, and thus their diasporicity becomes a collective source of belonging in response to being minoritized and excluded. At the same time, it is often the case that diasporic identities are constructed along absolutist and essentialist lines, where a diasporic identity is formed in relation to who is included *and* excluded. Relatedly, it has been argued that the diaspora and diasporic identity are often constructed as being inferior or secondary to the (origin) nation.³ This can lead to a sense of anxiety of one’s diasporic identity vis a vis the nation. Thus, performing authenticity in relation to the nation becomes an important way of constructing one’s Koreanness. The South Korean nation then plays a more prominent role within the event. References to the authenticity of kimchi and *kimjang* are made using discourse that emphasizes land and particular regions. Moreover, the South Korean ambassador as well as a

kimchi master from Chŏnju provided the basis for claims to authenticity. Promoting an authentic Koreanness was tied to the South Korean nation. Thus, not all Korean ethnic groups were equally represented at this event.

Equally important, exploring the New Malden *kimjang* event as a diasporic event enables a deeper understanding of broader issues of performing difference and multicultural belonging in the UK. The New Malden *kimjang* event differed from more traditional *kimjang* held in Korea. Kimchi was prepped beforehand to be seasoned at the event rather than actually made from start to finish at the event. Food stalls, guest speakers and a masterclass made the New Malden event a space to perform this cultural practice, to a particular audience. Food has long been treated as a potent symbol of difference, where eating “other” foods have been seen as a celebration of cultural diversity and multiculturalism. This also means that people have to perform their cultural differences in particular ways in order for it to be recognized and acceptable. Celebrating kimchi and *kimjang* via a public event is a recognizable and acceptable way to claim difference and identity in the UK.

Thus, I focus on how this *kimjang* event was a space to perform an authentic Koreanness that revealed who was included and excluded. Authenticity was important to determining a diasporic sense of belonging, at once about defining a proper diasporic Koreanness. At the same time, cultural events highlight food because it is so often the symbol of ethnic (essentialized) difference within multicultural societies. It is often how difference is understood and made intelligible.

Background:

Since the 1970s, South Korea has experienced a shift in international migration, from primarily labor migration to skilled migration.⁴ While the main destination was the United States and Canada in earlier decades, increasingly, Koreans have also started to migrate elsewhere, including Australia and Western Europe. Skilled migration, and particularly middle-class migrants, who are professionals with university degrees have also made their way to the UK. The main reasons for migrating to the UK were to do with education and pursuing career opportunities.⁵

South Koreans make up the majority of ethnic Koreans residing in the UK. However, it is notable that the UK also has the largest number of North Korean refugees in the world.⁶ Moreover, there is a significant minority of Chosŏnjok [Joseonjok] Koreans in the UK, who

emigrated from China. Nearly all of the Koreans who reside in the UK live in New Malden or the London borough of Kingston.

New Malden has one of the largest concentrations of South Koreans living within the United Kingdom⁷ with an estimated 8-20,000 Koreans residing there currently,⁸ although other sources suggest that it is somewhere between 15-20,000⁹. Located in the borough of Kingston, Surrey, it is a commuter town a short train ride from Central London. New Malden's Korean community is diverse and consists of South Koreans, North Koreans, and Chosŏnjok members¹⁰ This makes New Malden a remarkable diasporic community of Koreans because it has the largest concentration of North Koreans living alongside South Koreans.¹¹ Migration from South Korea began in the 1980s and 1990s when the South Korean Embassy relocated from Wimbledon¹² to New Malden. It has also been argued that Korean expatriates settled there once Samsung established their London office in New Malden.

Moreover, according to the latest census data, New Malden's ethnic diversity stands out, particularly in relation to Kingston, and in relation to England as a whole, excluding major cities.¹³ "White" residents still make up a majority overall in New Malden (65.4%), but it is notable that New Malden has a very high minority ethnic population of 45.5%. "Other Asians" make up at least 14.1% of the population and 4.8% are Asian Indian. Kingston, in comparison, still has a 76.7% white majority, and 37.3% are "minority ethnicities". "Other Asians" make up 5.5% of the population. In England, the "white" group make up 85.4% of the population, "minority ethnicities" only 20.2%, and "Other Asians" only 1.5%.¹⁴

Not surprisingly New Malden is considered unique in Europe in the sense that there is a designated "Koreatown," with more than 300 Korean companies, including restaurants, a school, travel agencies, beauty parlors and grocery stores.¹⁵ The emergence of a multi-ethnic community in New Malden within the last twenty years, with a plurality of Koreans in the neighborhood has meant that the number of goods and services catering to the diverse Korean community has also grown. For many Londoners, New Malden High Street has become known as the destination for Korean food, and people, including many non-Koreans, often make a trip out to the High Street to sample Korean cuisine.

Methodology:

New Malden has a few Korean cultural organizations that cater to the different needs of this diverse community, including North and South Korean ethnic associations, an elderly South

Korean association and even separate North and South Korean Saturday schools for Korean language instruction.¹⁶ One such organization, called the New Malden Korean British Association, or NMKBA, formed in 2016, has organized various festivals and cultural events in New Malden to celebrate Korean holidays and traditional cultural activities. In 2018, the association received funding to complete a series of videos and a standalone book of kimchi recipes, which they called *The Kimjang Book*. This book received funding from the (UK) National Lottery Fund, as well as from local associations such as the Rotary Club. The idea behind the book and the videos was to highlight the local, diasporic practices of making kimchi, and to be inclusive in involving North Korean, South Korean, Chinese Korean, and diasporic British Korean kimchi makers, and their recipes. This led to hosting a *kimjang* festival in November 2019 to celebrate the coming together of a community to make kimchi. With each successive *kimjang* festival, it has grown in popularity.

The organization has also grown in terms of volunteers and trustees who help with the day-to-day management and running of the organization. The director of the organization oversees about 15 main volunteers and trustees. They have a marketing and social media team of volunteers, and in addition, they have recruited a large team of (about 30-50) volunteers who travel from across areas of Greater London to help at these cultural events.

The article draws from ethnographic methods of participant observation and interviews, between August 2021 and December 2021. The fieldwork consisted of participant observation during two cultural festivals, one held in October 2021 and the *kimjang* festival held in November 2021, hosted by NMKBA. As part of the participant observation process, I was a volunteer at the festival and worked at the main kimchi-tasting tent, offering kimchi to festivalgoers, and explaining kimchi to them.

The article also draws on written material based on the NMKBA website, the World Institute of Kimchi (WiKim) website and educational material, and field notes from the master class with Professor Kim. Equally importantly, I include data from three qualitative interviews with members of the New Malden British Korean Exchange team. These include the current head of the organization, one trustee, and one volunteer. All the interviewees volunteered at the *kimjang* festival, and two participated in the kimchi-making masterclass. The interviews lasted from between one to four hours. Each interview explored the participants' reasons for putting the event together, as well as their experiences of the event. The participants were asked how they interpreted the audience engagement with the event and particularly with the aspects of kimchi-making and kimchi presentation. Further, it was important to discuss who the interviewees envisioned as the main target audience(s).

Data analysis involved a thematic analysis of the interview material and discourse analysis of the websites and other written material. The analysis focused on the discursive and performative construction of cultural authenticity, informed by previous work that views authenticity as a construction rather than a set or given quality.¹⁷ In particular, Coupland and Coupland's¹⁸ four interpretive frames used to evaluate claims of authenticity made by heritage institutions were helpful in unpacking constructions of authenticity at this *kimjang* event. These frames, which included the material, the cultural, the performative, and the recreational forms of authenticity brought into sharp relief similar claims made at this event. They revealed different priorities of the different organizations involved, and of their "different forms of symbolic capital and subject positions."¹⁹

Literature review

There has been growing interest in sociology, anthropology and related disciplines, on the cultural and social importance impact of food on broader issues of identity and cultural politics. Anthropologists have examined particular food items, such as rice,²⁰ and its importance to Korean identity. Other notable studies include Han's work on *ramyŏn* instant noodles and how it marks the cultural transformations that rapid social change have caused in contemporary Korean society.²¹ Yang's work on *chajangmyŏn* in Korea reflects the shifting meanings and status of Chinese food in Korea.²² While Chinese food was once dominant in Korea, globalization and growing affluence have changed the status of Chinese cuisine. Oum²³ looked at how "the Korean cuisine" was constructed and represented as a significant identity marker amongst the Korean-American diaspora. Notably, Oum argues that a search for authenticity amongst the diaspora fuels a demand for what is perceived to be authentic Korean food.

Korean food studies have also focused on kimchi and the significance placed on it as a national food item that is often considered to be representative of Koreanness and the Korean nation. One of the most significant and relevant works is Cho's article on kimchi wars and what he refers to as kimchi nationalism.²⁴ Cho analyses how kimchi became the national symbol of Korean identity. Cho detailed how state intervention in the promotion of kimchi led to international conflicts between Japan and China over its authenticity. Equally significant is Han's research on the consumption of kimchi.²⁵ Han argued that the "kimchi wars" revealed the national anxiety over the globalization of kimchi. While directly about the state's interventions in trying to protect kimchi as Korea's national food product, indirectly, the kimchi wars were about the ways that Korean society's rapid changes (the growing role of

women in the workplace, increased affluence, and urbanization) sparked a moral panic over the economy, over women's roles in the workplace and ultimately, about Korean identity itself.²⁶ Han's work highlighted the arbitrary relationship between authenticity and food and cultural tradition.

Han's work on the kimchi wars as a lens through which to view Korean's national anxieties over industrialization and globalization, is also indicative of the increased overall interest by cultural geographers of food and stories. Freidburg stated that "most food is sold with a story,"²⁷ and that the moral discourses and legal controversies in recent years have indicated social anxieties over food and consumption and globalization.²⁸ Similarly, Jackson's work in Britain and consumer anxieties over food reveals the moral economies of food.²⁹ Further, the work of Cook, Crang, and Thorpe tell the story of authenticity in relation to UK supermarkets and the internationalization of ethnic foods.³⁰

Jackson claims that anxieties over food reflect a particular time and place. In a similar vein, Han's work on the kimchi wars reflect national concerns over food, globalization, and the role of the nation. While the link between anxieties and authenticity can be explored in various contexts, one important link is in thinking through food and nation. More broadly, the work done on food and the nation illuminate how national identities and boundaries fuels a demand for authenticity, shaping national as well as international interests. For example, DeSoucey's work on gastronationalism³¹ has been used widely to refer to this relationship and the role of the nation-state in reinforcing boundaries around "us" and "them" via food and food politics (production, regulation, circulation, consumption). Scholars such as Milanesio³² as well as Raenton also argued that the state utilizes food to (renegotiate symbolic boundaries of the nation, in Argentina and Finland, respectively.³³ These works examine the relationship of the state to food through the prism of banal nationalism and everyday nationhood.³⁴ Ferguson's work on culinary nationalism shows how "cuisine IS country."³⁵ Ferguson argues that food becomes so representative of a nation-state's identity, where it is represented as being centrally tied to land. Further work by Welz³⁶ and Ichijo³⁷ looked at specific designations for food such as PDO (protected designation of origin) to understand the links between food, the nation, and international interests. Ichijo examines the state's interest and stake in establishing UNESCO designations of the intangible heritage list and argues that this intra-national organization seeks to further reinforce nationalist boundaries via the intangible heritage designation. The work that has emerged above all draw attention to the ways that food is used strategically by state actors to be able to further nationalist identities and ideologies, often as a means to combat the forces of globalization. In

doing so, it shows how often the processes or phenomenon of globalization can indeed, reinvigorate nationalism.

Equally significant to the paper is the work done on food, race, and multiculturalism. Food scholarship has looked at how food is racialized, gendered, and classed, especially in multicultural, multiracial societies like the US. Padoongpatt have looked at the rise of Thai food in LA and how its rise shaped a US-Thai ethnic identity and community.³⁸ Similarly, Mannur's work on Asian American foodways, and culinary practices shows how food underscores how Asian Americans have been imagined in the US.³⁹ Xu argued similarly that food and eating have a special place for Asian Americans because it so impacted the formation of an Asian American subjectivity, both in terms of symbolizing overcoming adversity, as well as in the associations that eating strange and foreign foods marked Asians as different and indeed, abject.⁴⁰

The relationship between race and food has been explored in helpful ways in terms of looking at how certain foods 'become' ethnic, where the demand for authenticity becomes linked to the desire to consume these foods. Heldke coined the term "cultural food colonialism"⁴¹ to describe the ways that white tastes exoticize and fetishize ethnic cuisines and food practices, while Long refers to the desire to experience the "Other," through the consumption of ethnic foodways. She defines this as a form of "culinary tourism."⁴² Long offers ways of closely examining the strategies and the process by which foods and ultimately, ethnic cultures become "palatable."

On the other hand, ethnic food entrepreneurs must also perform ethnicity through food as it becomes one of the principal ways that difference is understood *and* valued in multicultural societies. Rhys-Taylor discusses the "somatic" work done by food market vendors in multicultural East London.⁴³ The work of Lu and Fine discuss the strategies Chinese restauranteurs use to balance between authenticity and familiarity in presenting Chinese food to American consumers.⁴⁴ Further, the work of Gaytan shows how the search for and performance of authenticity in ethnic foods is a social construction.⁴⁵ Crucially, Gaytan argues that these performances or expectations of authenticity upholds commonly held assumptions about ethnic cultures and communities. Abarca also finds that the strongly held desire to find authenticity in ethnic foods enables people to "too easily essentialize certain ethnic groups."⁴⁶ Ray's work on immigrant food producers and their practices in shaping white/dominant palates explores how these producers can strategically use authenticity to change these dominant perceptions of taste that can work to de-essentialize ethnic groups.⁴⁷

Constructing authenticity at the ‘kimjang’ festival in London

In 2019, the organizers of NMKBA held a *kimjang* festival in New Malden. That year, the (UK) National Lottery Fund helped to fund the event, along with the local New Malden Rotary Club. According to the NMKBA ‘*kimjang* project’ website:

Regrettably, what was often sold as ‘kimchi’ was more of an imitation rather than the authentic, traditional kimchi. Consequently, some kimchi tasted different and lacked the nutritional benefits found in authentic kimchi. Therefore, in late 2016 NMKBA set up an action plan to promote authentic and original kimchi recipes in the UK... In November 2019, the first Kimjang Festival was organised with various cultural activities.

Kimchi’s increasing popularity has been both a source of celebration and anxiety. On the one hand, it’s considered positive because there’s a recognition that this food item that is so central to Korean identity is delicious and healthful. It has meant that kimchi is more accessible, easier to find, and it has opened the doors for kimchi makers to make and sell kimchi. On the other hand, its popularity has encouraged newer (non-Korean) producers of kimchi who are making (and selling) more non-traditional forms of kimchi.

The NMKBA referred to the increased availability of “imitation” kimchi. By this, they were referring to those who make (and sell) kimchi who are not Korean and not employing traditional methods of making kimchi or using traditional ingredients. Organic supermarkets such as Whole Foods, Planet Organic, as well as smaller chains, had started to stock larger brands of fermented or pickled cabbage claiming that it was kimchi. But the implicit reference here is that this imitation kimchi was being made by non-Koreans. Invoking the concept of in/authenticity in relation to kimchi suggested that NMKBA wanted to stake a claim here over the cultural ownership of kimchi as something distinctly Korean. Thus, right from the start, the staging of the *kimjang* festival, as it was first conceived, was designed to feature local, and chiefly *Korean* kimchi makers and restaurants.

For Angela, the Director of NMKBA, it was important to bring authentically Korean organizations, chefs, and food to the 2021 event. She said:

They just were the perfect fit for a festival on Korean food and kimchi. Those from Chŏnju are renowned for food, so it was perfect, partly for them to have an experience of British Korean cultural events like this in London, but for us, it was the perfect way for us to educate

people on the authentic and have authentic educators, chefs and researchers who are at the heart of Korean cuisine from Korea so that people who are coming could get an authentic experience rather than someone or an organization from here. They were like the experts and so it was really important that they came over...

Angela, a second-generation British Korean, stressed that authentic educators and chefs were “*from Korea*”. Angela makes the distinction between someone who was from “here,” meaning someone who now lives in the diaspora, versus someone who hailed from Korea. The distinction here is significant because she tied authenticity at the *kimjang* event to place and nation. The assumed criterion for authenticity here tends to rest upon a (commonly held) hierarchical notion of what is *more* or *less* authentic when it comes to knowledge of food and culinary practices and traditions. Knowledge transmitted directly from Korea is considered to be more authentic than that which is diasporic and local. This view of authenticity reflects a commonly held view of the hierarchical relationship between diaspora and nation, where the nation is positioned as the source of origin, in contrast to the diaspora as an “impoverished imitation of an origin national culture.”⁴⁸

Throughout the festival, a great deal of value was ascribed to place when it came to performing authenticity that reflected these hierarchical notions of diaspora and nation. In particular, the concept of “terroir⁴⁹” was used throughout the festival. Terroir links food to geographical origin, otherwise referred to as “taste of place”⁵⁰ and in its contemporary meaning, it is most associated with “authenticity and quality...and to the production of artisanal products.”⁵¹ Thus, products of a terroir are objects and practices that display a *unique* cultural heritage and are associated with a particular ethnic or cultural group or nation with a rural and historical past.⁵² These ideas of place and authenticity become a strategic way of performing ethnic and cultural difference at the festival. For the organizers, in as much as terroir was about tradition, locality, and quality, it was about imbuing an ethnic and cultural authenticity to non-Korean audiences.

One explicit example where terroir was emphasized to non-Korean audiences was through the reference to Chŏnju. At least half of the food stalls were devoted to showcasing Korean food products from Chŏnju, a Korean city that claims to be the capital of traditional Korean cuisine. It is known for both its cuisine and traditional *hanok* architecture. In line with its claim to be the cultural capital of traditional cuisine. On an international scale, the city became part of the Cittaslow International (Slow Foods) network in 2010. It has also been recognized by UNESCO and has been given a “Creative City of Gastronomy” designation.

These forms of recognition highlight how claims to heritage via terroir and authenticity are increasingly negotiated and recognized at a global level, as they have become matters of world political importance. UNESCO's "heritagization" of food confer a great deal of status and privilege through recognition.⁵³

However, while known for its traditional Korean cuisine in Korea, Chŏnju is not associated with a signature or distinctive style of kimchi. Of course, there are many different styles and variations of kimchi in Korea, with regional, local, familial variations based on seasons, climate, and other factors. Yet, the indexing of terroir linking Chŏnju to kimchi was primarily about getting non-Koreans to associate Korean traditional culture overall with kimchi. Further to this, a separate, stand-alone kimchi "masterclass" was held in the afternoon portion of the *kimjang* event. Here also, terroir and authenticity were prominent and indexed throughout to underpin the performance of Koreanness to non-Korean audiences. Professor Suin Kim, from the Department of Korean Cuisine at Chŏnju University led the class. She and two sous chefs taught a room of about 40 people, with 10 actual participants (all of whom were non-Korean) and about 30 onlookers, who filled the small room to watch and listen to Professor Kim teach. She started her lesson by discussing how kimchi and kimchi-making are steeped in Korean history, to a hushed and almost reverent group of participants. Professor Kim's status as a professor at a university based in Chŏnju, had framed her as the inveterate expert on all things related to kimchi. Moreover, Professor Kim, and her professional role as chef and professor at Chŏnju University were key aspects highlighted in her brief introduction at the start of *kimjang* before she gave a brief speech to inaugurate the event.

Using the frames set out by Coupland and Coupland⁵⁴ the masterclass indexed the material and the historical dimensions of authenticity. The material frame was indexed primarily through the kimchi-making kit. Participants within the masterclass were presented with the necessary ingredients and supplies encased in branded kimchi-making kits. These held the ingredients to season kimchi, along with the (already) brined cabbage and sealed within a recyclable paper box emblazoned with the University of Chŏnju logo on the kit. The content within the kits offered the participants an unmistakable and tangible sense of terroir of the region; the local koch'ugaru (red pepper flakes), salt, and *paech'u* (cabbage) that people could touch, smell, and eat. The kit boxes came with descriptions that invited people to "make kimchi, Korea's most traditional food." In making kimchi, the person will get to "experience Korea's kimchi making culture," courtesy of the University of Chŏnju. Written in Korean and English, a brief introduction was given to the health benefits of eating kimchi and

to the fact that “94% of Koreans eat kimchi in a home-style table setting.” Referring to the “home-style table setting” further confers kimchi-making and consumption with a rustic, natural, and homespun quality that is practiced by most Koreans. The discourse on these kits provided what Coupland⁵⁵ refers to as a “systemic authenticity” because it pointed to an existing cultural matrix that has formed a consensus on the value of kimchi (in this case, on it being significant to Koreans and widely eaten and practiced). While there is some dispute and contestation over what constitutes authentic kimchi, and to whether kimchi can even be claimed as a purely Korean food, it can be argued that there is a general cultural system of recognition and consensus on kimchi as authentically Korean, eaten and made by Koreans. This consensus thus becomes further reinforced through the material and historical frames, indexed through an engagement and participation in the masterclass.

The historical frame of authenticity was apparent when Professor Kim introduced the workshop with an explanation of the social history behind kimchi-making. This included an explanation of the cultural collective practices of *kimjang* as a significant aspect of Korean culture. For Harry, a trustee of NMKBA and volunteer at the *kimjang* festival who often makes Korean food at home, the masterclass was one of the definite highlights of the festival. Harry said:

So, for me, it was about the sharing of knowledge about how people can do it themselves and different types, I think that’s kind of a lost knowledge because I literally have no idea how to make kimchi and I’ve asked six or seven people and I’m a trustee in a Korean organization! It’s not like a stir fry; you can’t just bang it in a wok. There’s a lot of love, care and you can screw it up pretty easily. Even though it looks like something where you can just slap it on, that’s not what goes behind it. That’s what the best bit and again, you don’t see enough of. For me, I was there when they were preparing the cabbage, more of the beginning sections, the knowledge, there was a lot beyond it because while it looks like a simple process that seems so haphazard, there’s a lot of thought beyond it and that was the kind of thing that I was fascinated by, the knowledge sharing that you would never get unless you went to Korea... You know how, a lot of Korean makers themselves, you don’t see many people breaking out of that barrier here [in the UK] of sharing recipes with others.

Harry referred to the kimchi-making process as a “lost” art, one that doesn’t automatically get reproduced and transmitted in the diaspora. This tends to be a commonly held criticism and anxiety of diasporic culture, closely linked to authenticity, where the claim is that they haven’t retained or passed on how to do things properly. The message here is that the process

of making kimchi can only be uncovered and made clear if it comes from the original source in Korea. Thus, it was the authentic kimchi expert from Korea who retained the knowledge and brought it back to the diaspora.

Further, Harry's characterization of the process of kimchi-making as an act of "love and care" suggests the success of terroir's associations with the homespun, rustic, and more broadly, with the "natural" that was emphasized in the workshop. The performance of Koreanness, linked to terroir, thus became infused with this love and care towards kimchi and gives it a further aura of authenticity.

The masterclass was but one example of the performance of Koreanness at the event. Distinguished guests of honor included the South Korean Ambassador to Britain and the Mayor of Kingston. Asked to give a few words to inaugurate the celebration, the mayor was then ushered to the front and given a microphone. Standing in front of the small kimchi-tasting booth at the center of the square, in front of a friendly and attentive audience, the Mayor started out by greeting everyone in Korean. She then pointed out New Malden's incredible diversity and the positive contributions that the Korean community has made to the town and borough, namely, in hosting community cultural events for all residents to enjoy.

After the speeches, the Mayor and Ambassador waited in front of the kimchi-tasting booth while the volunteers busied themselves laying out the various types of kimchi. Both waited patiently and were then rewarded with heaping cups of different kinds of kimchi to try in front of an expectant audience.

The Mayor highlighted the importance of celebrating Korean culture in New Malden, which reflected the kind of everyday cultural diversity that is considered to be valuable and worthy of celebration. Accordingly, the organizers drew upon these recognizable forms of cultural diversity to appeal to audiences and guests. Both the kimchi-tasting and the kimchi-making events with the guests of honor spectacularized kimchi-making as a unique, traditional, and historic cultural practice. More broadly, these events staged performances of Koreanness to non-Korean members of the audience with the intention to underscore cultural differences. Celebrations of cultural difference are most commonly understood through the display and consumption of different 'ethnic' foods. This is often still the way that culture is understood as discrete ethnic formations to be performed and consumed. Thus, the Mayor's opening speech where she highlighted such appreciation of this cultural diversity, reflected how the organizers understood that there is a politics to multiculturalism and that there are ways of being visible as an ethnic community that are considered to be more or less acceptable. The organizers understood that celebrating food and culture through the

performative elements were acceptable and even desirable ways of making 'ethnic' and cultural differences visible.

Martin, a volunteer, further noted how the *kimjang* festival allowed for a performative element that drew people in:

Kimjang is about a community getting together and there were a few classes like the masterclass and the open-air demonstration and a wider celebration of Korean food and culture. I thought it really did that and I saw a lot of people who were part of the festival who really wouldn't have engaged, and they joined in because it was an open-air festival.

A significant element to celebrating difference is to manage the extent to which that difference deviates from the cultural norm. Notably, staging an open-air event where kimchi would be presented, eaten, and made outdoors in public meant that the strong aromas of seafood paste, garlic and spices would offend those who were not used to the smell. The main organizers were very concerned about this possibility and attempted to minimize the strong smell of kimchi by instructing the volunteers to lay out the kimchi samples the very last minute before the guests of honor tasted them. Throughout the day, the kimchi samples were kept in odor-containing plastic tubs underneath the stall table and small portions of kimchi were doled out at regular intervals, in an attempt to minimize the smells. The anticipation that the smell of kimchi might possibly offend some people, suggests that there are limits to this celebration of cultural diversity. While discourses of diversity in the UK has often centered on embracing different and diverse cuisines, particularly by ethnic minority groups, these are often still limits to what is seen as palatable. Relatedly, foods that are coded as ethnic tend to also be associated with being smelly and odorous. The organizers were very aware of the potential for possible complaints of the smell and repeatedly told the volunteers to make sure to contain the smell as much as possible by limiting the amount of kimchi on display at any one time. In sum, the New Malden Korean British Association (NMKBA) strategically utilized discourses that drew on essentialist ideas of tradition, heritage, history, and culture unique to Koreans. These essentialist discourses highlighted makers, knowledge and tradition hailing directly from Korea. Through ideas of terroir or taste of place, these claims to authenticity become about promoting "foodie" regions in Korea that are known for producing certain food products or dishes. The appeal of terroir comes from a sense of history that is often attached to taste and place, which acts in service to make these claims more

legitimate and to have them be venerated. I drew upon the work done by Coupland and Coupland,⁵⁶ who break down authenticity claims by identifying how discourse deploy certain frames (material, cultural, performative, and recreational) in order to signal a symbolic capital and contextualize authenticity.

Throughout the event, authenticity was marked and measured by the extent to which something or someone was Korean enough. The national (chefs, experts, governmental organizations) had enormous influence in how authenticity of kimchi is valued and measured. Ultimately, authentic Koreanness was based on a hierarchical relationship between diaspora and nation, where the nation was always more authentic than the diaspora. Moreover, authenticity was performed strategically, in an effort to appeal to the intended audience of mostly British and non-Korean guests and audience. Organizers understood how these forms of authenticity could be performed to showcase an acceptable and desirable form of multicultural ethnic difference through the spectacular performance of food and culture. Official discourses of and practices of multiculturalism in the UK have long centered on celebrations of food, dress, dance and other visible cultural practices. The intended audience would have been drawn to the cultural event by the appeal and advertisements or just by walking past it by the desire to to see, taste, and experience cultural difference' through a celebration of an ethnic (Korean) tradition, in an area that has become known as London's Koreatown.

History, heritage, and Koreanness

Kimchi and *kimjang*, have become powerful and, increasingly, global symbols of Korean culture.⁵⁷ The Korean state, research institutes, and the Korean food industry have identified and positioned kimchi as being important one of the most important and recognizable cultural objects to protect, preserve, regulate, and promote globally. Indeed, in more recent years, claims to the cultural ownership of kimchi have become increasingly contested and conflictual particularly with China and Japan, countries who have made various claims to its ownership.

A prominent example of state support for research and promotion of kimchi is through the establishment of the World Institute of Kimchi (WiKim) in 2010. Part of the Korea Food Research Institute, it is based in Kwangju, South Korea, with 25 research scientists and 46 research technicians, dedicated to all kimchi-related research activities.⁵⁸ WiKim has developed extensive research programs to look at food production, distribution, as well as marketing and food policies in order to communicate how kimchi is a *unique* item to Korea.

Alongside spearheading research on kimchi, they also explicitly state that their research will increase “the enhancement of Korea’s status as a country where kimchi was first developed with support for the globalization of kimchi.”⁵⁹ WiKim thus presents itself then as an institution that plays an important role in negotiating changing cultural meanings of kimchi, and I would argue, more generally, a sense of Koreanness, on a global level. WiKim skillfully deploys discourses and images of history, localness, and tradition to highlight how kimchi and *kimjang* are special and unique to Korea and Korean culture and thus something that belongs to Korea and Koreans. WiKim’s promotional materials thus display a culinary nationalism, where “cuisine and nation are seen to coincide.”⁶⁰ More than just a form of diplomacy, culinary nationalism asserts a nation’s exceptionalism via food and cuisine, thus asserting a sense of ownership of kimchi.⁶¹

Equally, the natural images and discourses that WiKim utilize work to promote kimchi as a slow and unprocessed food, bringing in universal values of health and well-being.⁶² Claims to kimchi’s naturalness and health benefits become palatable to middle class consumers who place great value on foods that claim to be made in this way. This means that kimchi, and by association, Korean culture, become characterized as being organic and clean in being authentic.

The following section will thus explore how the use of WiKim’s promotional material at the *kimjang* event promoted kimchi and *kimjang* as local, traditional, as well as healthy, slow, and unprocessed. Using discourses that historicize and authenticate the making and consumption of kimchi (and *kimjang*), WiKim, in conjunction with the local NMKBA, asserts that kimchi is more than just about a shared food tradition. By using WiKim’s materials, the NMKBA was performing and identifying with a particular version of middle-class, South Koreanness.

WiKim’s marketing and education materials were distributed at the event stalls. Eye-catching posters with illustrations were displayed at different points throughout the event space. The posters pointed out various types of kimchi most commonly made, and showed a possible kimchi recipe, detailing ingredients needed to make the kimchi seasoning. Accompanying statements explained how kimchi is a “food that represents Korea” and that *kimjang* provides an opportunity for Koreans to “hand down family recipes to the next generation.” These posters pointed to the fact that *kimjang* has been recognized as an intangible cultural heritage practice by UNESCO.

Through design, symbols, and images, WiKim’s educational and promotional material on kimchi discursively construct kimchi and kimchi-making as authentic practices of national

identity and belonging. Entitled the “aesthetics of fermentation, kimchi,” these pamphlets were printed on heavy paper that evinced a sense of Korean tradition and culture, made to conjure up an image of Korean traditional mulberry paper used for calligraphy. The embossed designs on the pamphlet were of traditional geometric Korean patterns that is often found in architecture, clothing, as well as food items that symbolize good fortune and wisdom, thus reproducing (in design) images of a banal and everyday form of nationalism that remind the reader of Korea as a unique nation with particular characteristics.⁶³

Harry, who oversaw running the stall and for handing out the educational materials, said:

These materials were just really nice and [they] were perfect. They were fantastic and you could not have asked for better material to educate people on kimchi. I never even grabbed a copy, to be fair, because they went so fast, people really loved them. So, there were no issues with the material from what I could tell, it even went through the varieties of kimchi which people don't think about, you just think it's cabbage.

Correspondingly, the information inside the pamphlet explained in written and photographic detail, in Korean and English, how making and consuming kimchi are long-held and long-practiced aspects of Korean culture. The leaflet defined kimchi as an item of “living history” that contained and carried with it a “millennium of tradition.”⁶⁴ Some commonly made kimchi recipes were provided, with pictures, and a detailed description underneath that explained how these recipes were preserved and handed down to others from noble families. These discursive constructions continually reinforce the message that kimchi and the cultural practice of kimchi-making are significant symbols of national belonging.

Moreover, these constructions, are also forms of international branding and markets kimchi internationally as a marker that “demarcates national boundaries and identities”⁶⁵ by promoting it as a unique food item of Korea that exclusively belongs to Korea. These claims of Korea's cultural ownership of kimchi come in this form alongside disputes over the cultural ownership and accusations of kimchi's appropriation by China and Japan, dubbed the “kimchi wars.”⁶⁶ Japan's claim to have their own version of kimchi or *kimuchi* meant that the very meaning of kimchi as an authentic and Korean food item was under threat. This led to the filing recognition of its national status with the Codex Alimentarius Commission (CAC) to register kimchi as a standardized, recognized product of Korea in 2001. In China's case, the mass production of kimchi in Chinese factories for the Korean market became an issue

when there were accusations of inadequate standards of hygiene. These kimchi wars were the product of a national anxiety over the impact of globalization and homogenization.⁶⁷ In 2020, after receiving ISO status for *pao cai* (a fermented dish), Chinese media mistakenly reported that the ISO status was the “international standard for the kimchi industry led by China.”⁶⁸ This led to online disputes between Chinese and Korean netizens over the rightful ownership of kimchi, over which the South Korean agriculture ministry had to issue a statement to state that the two were not alike. Thus, the anxiety over these reoccurring claims has led the South Korean government to invest in organizations such as WiKim that promote kimchi as representative of Korea and legitimate these claims through different forms of research and marketing.

The language, photos, and images used within the WiKim educational material draw on two elements that are used to symbolize middle-class Koreanness. The first element is the use of heritage and successfully historicizing heritage, in that WiKim historicizes the making and eating of kimchi. They explain how kimchi is preserved through the passing down of recipes and through the communal act of making kimchi, usually headed by the female members/matriarch of the family who get together to make large batches of kimchi for the winter months, or what Han calls the “kimchi network,”⁶⁹ within the process of *kimjang*. This historization of *kimjang* was then performed in the kimchi-making session at the event. The kimchi making session was positioned in the center of the square, with long tables that held big tubs of cabbage and kimchi paste. Chopping boards and gloves were available to all who participated. A team of local Korean women volunteers led the kimchi making session, and demonstrated the different stages of seasoning, folding, and chopping cabbage to make into kimchi.

Barbara, volunteer, had observed this at the kimchi-making portion of the *kimjang*, recalled:

With it being outside, that really resonates with what *kimjang* is. In traditional Korean villages, there are lots of Korean *ajummas* making it, in the open areas, with big baskets outside, and it’s a community, a union thing so I think it’s very good that it was outside in the open air like that.

Interestingly, the way it was set up at the event also revealed how these traditions are adapted and changed to suit new spaces and places, rather than attempting to wholly recreate the traditional practice of *kimjang* in a new place. Long tables, chopping boards, as well as

salting and seasoning beforehand were all elements that would not be practiced at a traditional *kimjang* in a Korean village. Yet, as Barbara noted, staging it outside, in the town square, along with the use of certain elements such as the big baskets, the gloves, and the “kimchi network” of Korean matriarchs, which resonated with nostalgic and romanticized narratives of this practice as a form of cultural heritage, despite it not being completely authentic.

The second element was to naturalize kimchi, through references to kimchi as an exemplar of slow food of the soil and land of Korea, as opposed to a mass-produced and industrialized product made outside of Korea, and indeed, often produced in China. Discourses evident in the WiKim material highlighted the numerous health benefits of this slow fermentation, particularly in creating good gut bacteria. The claim was that the fermentation and the health benefits come from a natural process via the land, thus kimchi is marketed as being reflective of the taste of place. For example, the pamphlet calls kimchi a “miracle of nature,” and that it is “undoubtedly a slow food...made of earth, water, wind and sunlight.”⁷⁰ The slow food aspects of it come from the time it takes to ferment to reach its peak in taste and texture. Referring to kimchi-making and the resulting kimchi as a slow food, WiKim thus ascribes good taste, health, and privilege to kimchi production and consumption, and WiKim are aware that certain food items become an elite commodity once understood or labelled as organic, slow food, or healthy.

Indeed, kimchi’s organic production and the health benefits were a recurring theme at the *kimjang* event. Notably, the South Korean Ambassador to the UK, Kim Gunn, in his inaugural speech at the start of the festival extolled the virtues of kimchi and fermentation. He stated:

Kimjang is a process that is special and unique where we are not making kimchi by ourselves, but it’s that we make it together. It strengthens the bonds between us. The second part that’s important is that it is organic and healthy. It is a fermented food, so it strengthens your immune system. So, it is very good for you. I know it’s not scientifically proven yet, but I’m sure it helps us fight COVID-19. Because kimchi is one of the best things to share with the UK, I ‘m campaigning these days to make kimchi a part of UK life.

Referring to the process of kimchi-making as organic here is meant to suggest that kimchi is a natural or unprocessed tradition, rather than referring to the use of organic produce. This use of organic imbues kimchi with associations of health and “well-being.” Moreover, the term

organic is often linked to a range of different food movements including slow and healthy food production and consumption. What ties these movements together tends to be the association with reflexive and privileged eating and the discerning consumer with distinction who can reflect upon and then make conscious choices over the food they consume⁷¹

Characterizing the process of making kimchi as a slow food that is relatively unprocessed indicates that kimchi is being folded into a nation-branding strategy, and particularly one that emphasizes a middle class sensibility, of discernment, distinction, and good taste. It suggests that kimchi, and the nation itself, are producers of good and healthy food. Thus, the *kimjang* event highlighted and showcased a particular sense of middle-class Koreanness that stems from being part of a wealthy nation that is globally recognized as having a longstanding, culinary culture.

Further, this middle-class distinction and good taste that the Ambassador and WiKim imply in various ways are useful in distinguishing Koreanness and Korea from other East Asian nations and cultures in the UK and in Europe. Japanese cuisine had long been considered haute cuisine, whereas Chinese cuisine tends to have relatively low (er) status in the UK. In contrast, Korean foods had only more recently become popular in the UK, and generally through Korean films and television dramas. Streaming channels such as Netflix have produced popular shows by Korean-American celebrity chefs who have focused on everyday, homespun, ordinary and indeed, authentic Korean food made in homes as well as on popular street foods commonly eaten by ordinary Koreans. Similarly, the Ambassador's and Wikim's emphasis on slow, organic, long-standing culinary traditions have highlighted the everyday authenticity of Korean food to appeal to middle class tastes.

In contrast, the New Malden Korean diasporic community is socio-economically and ethnically diverse. Ethnic Koreans include South Koreans, North Koreans and Chinese Koreans. Indeed, the first *kimjang* event emerged from a cookbook project that brought together recipes from North Korean, Chinese, and South Korean New Malden residents. Yet, for the 2021 event, those who were represented were the South Korean majority community in New Malden. Ultimately, utilizing WiKim's promotional materials, showcasing food brands from Chŏnju, and having the South Korean ambassador as the guest speaker meant that the event reflected a particular version of (South) Koreanness within the New Malden Korean diaspora. This reveals the local tensions and contestation over who gets to speak for and represent the Korean diaspora in New Malden. In doing so, it complicates the assumption of a cohesive and internally homogenous, ethnic community politics. The construction of this Koreanness suggests that the majority ethnic group tends to dominate and "speak for" the

Korean diaspora, particularly when it comes to these kinds of public cultural events, and that this may lead to the erasure of other, more marginalized voices and representations of the Korean diaspora in New Malden.

Conclusion:

Analyzing the New Malden *kimjang* event revealed how authenticity in various ways can be strategically used to construct a diasporic Koreanness. The event, organized by the NMKBA, placed an emphasis on exhibiting and performing authenticity in relation to *kimjang* and kimchi to a mostly non-Korean audience. Notions of terroir or taste of place were referenced throughout the event, and particularly in the masterclass, as a way of marking authenticity. Staging these events also had an equally important purpose in performing ethnic difference which is often valorized and celebrated within the context of urban multiculturalism.

The New Malden *kimjang* event also indicated how culinary nationalism plays a significant role in the diaspora, and how authenticity is tied to a particular version of (South) Koreanness. From entering “kimchi wars” with neighboring Japan and China and registering kimchi as a unique practice, to receiving UNESCO designation for *kimjang* as intangible cultural heritage, Korea has fought on many fronts to protect and promote kimchi as a unique, national food product. As discussed in the article, Korea has set up research institutes such as WiKim to promote and “heritagize” kimchi globally. WiKim’s educational materials were prominent and distributed at various stalls at this New Malden *kimjang* event to highlight the unique, traditional, and deeply historical characteristics of *kimjang*. In connection with the commodification of heritage, I also discussed how discourses of health and specifically, how organic and slow food were strategically used in WiKim materials and in Ambassador Gunn’s inaugural speech to imbue kimchi with a sense of the natural, artisanal, simple, and pure. The organic process of kimchi becomes wrapped into the larger nation-branding strategy that promote narratives that valorize Korea as a gastronomic nation with its own long-standing practices of unique culinary heritage to be bestowed unto others and readily experienced through middle class consumption.

The heritagization of kimchi is continually reinforced and embodied by the presence and performance of distinguished guests who represent the Korean nation, such as Professor Kim from Jeonju University who led the kimchi masterclass, as well as the (then) South Korean Ambassador to the UK, Kim Gunn. These suggested that the diasporic Koreanness constructed and performed at the event reflected the interests of the South Korean diaspora in

New Malden. As the largest ethnic group of Koreans in New Malden, they tend to dominate and “speak for” the Korean diaspora, particularly at cultural events. This may lead to the erasure of other, more marginalized voices and representations of the Korean diaspora in New Malden.

Reference List

Abarca, Meredith. "Authentic or Not, It's Original." *Food & Foodways* 12.1 (2004): 1-25.

Aykan, Bahar. "The Politics of Intangible Heritage and Food Fights in Western Asia." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22.10 (2016): 799-810.

Bérard, Laurence and Marchenay, Philippe. "Le Vivant, le Culturel et le Marchand: Les Produits de Terroir." *Autrement. Série mutations (1989)* 194 (2000): 191-216

Billig, Michael. "Banal Nationalism and the Imagining of Politics," in *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, eds. Skey, Michael, and Antonsich, Marco 307-321. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Cang, Voltaire. "Policing washoku"2019; Ronda Brulotte and Alvin Starkman. "Caldo de Piedra and Claiming Pre-Hispanic Cuisine as Cultural Heritage," in *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, eds. Brulotte, Ronda and Di Giovine, Michael, 109-124. London: Routledge, 2016

Cho, Hong Sik. "Food and Nationalism: Kimchi and Korean national identity." *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 4.1 (2006): 207-229.

Choi, Moon-Hee. "ISO Refutes Chinese Media Outlets' Claim that China's Pao Cai Has Become International Standard for Kimchi." *Business Korea*, 2 December 2020, <https://www.businesskorea.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=56094>. Accessed 10 September, 2022.

Cook, Ian, Crang, Philip and Thorpe, Mark. "Regions to be Cheerful: Culinary Authenticity and its Geographies," in *Cultural Turns/Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography*, eds. Naylor, Simon, Ryan, James, Cook, Ian and Crouch, David, 109-139. London: Routledge, 2018.

Coupland, Nikolas. "Language, Society and Authenticity: Themes and perspectives," in *Indexing Authenticity: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, eds. Lacoste, Véronique, Leimgruber, Jakob and Breyer, Thiemo, 14-39. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2014.

Coupland, Bethan and Coupland, Nikolas. "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18.4 (2014): 495-517.

Demossier, Marion. "Beyond Terroir: Territorial Construction, Hegemonic Discourses, and French Wine Culture." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17.4 (2011): 685-705.

Demossier, Marion. "The Europeanization of Terroir: Consuming Place, Tradition and Authenticity," in *European Identity and Culture. Narratives of Transnational Belonging*, Friedman, Rebecca and Thiel, Markus, 119-136. London: Routledge, 2016.

DeSoucey, Michaela. "Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union." *American Sociological Review* 75.3 (2010): 432-455.

DeWind, Josh, Kim, Eun Mee, Skeldon, Ronald and Yoon, In-Jin. "Korean Development and Migration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38.3 (2012): 371-388.

Ferguson, Priscilla Parkhurst. "Culinary Nationalism." *Gastronomica*, 10.1 (2010): 102-109.

Filippucci, Paola. "A French Place Without a Cheese: Problems with Heritage and Identity in Northeastern France." *Focaal* 44 (2004): 72-86.

Freidberg, Susanne. "Not all Sweetness and Light: New Cultural Geographies of Food." *Social and Cultural Geography* 4.1 (2003): 3-6.

Gopinath, Gayatri. *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.

Gaytan, Marie Sarita. "From Sombreros to Sincronizadas: Authenticity, Ethnicity, and the Mexican Restaurant Industry." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37.3 (2008): 314-341.

Guthman, Julie. "Fast Food/Organic Food: Reflexive Tastes and the Making of 'Yuppie Chow'." *Social and Cultural Geography* 4.1 (2003): 45-58.

Han, Kyung-Koo. "Noodle Odyssey: East Asia and Beyond." *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 60-84.

Han, Kyung-Koo. "The "Kimchi Wars" in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity," in *Consuming Korean tradition in early and late modernity*, ed. Kendall, Laurel, 149-166. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2010

Hanhee, Hahm. "Rice and Koreans: Three Identities and Meanings." *Korea journal* 45.2 (2005): 89-106.

Lisa Heldke. "'Let's Eat Chinese!': Reflections on Cultural Food Colonialism." *Gastronomica* 1.2 (2001): 76-79.

Hollander, Gail. "Re-naturalizing Sugar: Narratives of Place, Production and Consumption." *Social and Cultural Geography* 4.1 (2003): 59-74.

Ichijo, Atsuko. "Banal Nationalism and UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage List: Cases of *Washoku* and the Gastronomic Meal of the French," in *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, eds. Skey, Michael, and Antonsich, Marco 259-284. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Ichijo, Atsuko and Ranta, Ronald. *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Every Day to Global Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

Jackson, Peter. "Food Stories: Consumption in an Age of Anxiety." *Cultural Geographies* 17.2 (2010): 147-165.

Kim, Eun-Young. "World Institute of Kimchi as a Leading Global Institute of Fermented Foods." *Biotechnology Journal* 8.7 (2013): 759-760.

Kim, Young Jeong. "The Gendered Desire to Become Cosmopolitan: South Korean Women's Motivations for Migration to the UK," in *Women's Studies International Forum* 3.5 (2010): 433-442.

Kottasz, Rita. "Understanding the Cultural Consumption of a New Wave of Immigrants: The Case of the South Korean Community in Southwest London." *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 20.2 (2015): 100-121.

Lee, Je Seung. "For Surrey's Koreans, Simmering Tensions Reflect the North-south Divide at Home." *The Guardian*, 9 Feb 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/09/notebook-new-malden-korea-north-south-tension>. Accessed, 9 August 2022.

Long, Lucy. *Culinary Tourism*. Lexington, KN: University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Lu, Shun and Fine, Gary Alan. "The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment." *Sociological Quarterly* 36.3 (1995): 535-553.

Mannur, Anita. *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009.

Mapes, Gwynne. "(De) constructing Distinction: Class Inequality and Elite Authenticity in Mediatized Food Discourse." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 22.3 (2018): 265-287.

Milanesio, Natalia. "Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90.1 (2010): 75-108.

Office for National Statistics (ONS), Kingston Data, Population by Ethnicity (2011), <https://data.kingston.gov.uk/population/#/view-report/ca94b1c3478d4958a0a993dd9d406c5a/I/G42>

Young, Rae Oum. "Authenticity and representation: cuisines and identities in Korean-American Diaspora." *Postcolonial Studies* 8.1 (2005): 109-125.

Padoongpatt, Mark. *Flavors of empire: Food and the making of Thai America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2017.

- Raento, Pauliina. "Stomaching change: Finns, food, and boundaries in the European Union." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 92.4 (2010): 297-310.
- Ray, Krishnendu. "Dreams of Pakistani Grill and Vada Pao in Manhattan: Re-inscribing the Immigrant Body in Metropolitan Discussions of Taste." *Food, Culture and Society* 14. 2 (2011): 243-273.
- Rhys-Taylor Alex. *Food and Multiculture: A Sensory Ethnography of East London*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Shim, Sung Eun. "Immigration as Personal and Cultural Interchange: South Koreans in Germany, the United Kingdom, and France 1," in *The Routledge Handbook of Europe–Korea Relations*, eds. Casarini, Nicola, Fiori, Antonio, Kim, Nam-Kook, Lee, Jae-Seung, Pardo, Ramon Pacheco, 93-103. London: Routledge, 2021.
- Shin, HaeRan. "The Territoriality of Ethnic Enclaves: Dynamics of Transnational Practices and Geopolitical Relations Within and Beyond a Korean Transnational Enclave in New Malden, London." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108.3 (2018): 756-772.
- Shin, HaeRan. "Precarity to Empowerment: The Consequences of Female North Korean Defectors' Coping Skills and Social Navigation." *Gender, Place & Culture* 29.11 (2021): 1-22.
- Warde, Alan and Martens, Lydia. *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption, and Pleasure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Weiss, Brad. "Making Pigs Local: Discerning the Sensory Character of Place." *Cultural Anthropology* 26.3 (2011): 438-461.
- Welz, Gisela. "Contested Origins: Food Heritage and the European Union's Quality Label Program." *Food, Culture & Society* 16.2 (2013): 265-279.
- World Institute of Kimchi. "Vision and Goals," 2022, <https://www.wikim.re.kr/index.es?sid=a2>, Accessed 9 September 2022,
- World Institute of Kimchi. "The Aesthetics of Fermentation, Kimchi," Accessed 1 August. 2022
- Xu, Wenying. *Eating Identities: Reading Food in Asian American Literature*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.
- Yotova, Maria. "The 'Goodness' of Homemade Yogurt: Self-provisioning as Sustainable Food Practices in Post-socialist Bulgaria." *Local Environment* 23.11 (2018): 1063-1074.
- Yang, Young-Kyun. "Jajangmyeon and Junggukjip: The Changing Position and Meaning of Chinese Food and Chinese Restaurants in Korean Society." *Korea Journal* 45.2 (2005): 60-88.

Endnotes

- ¹ I would like to thank Professor Yonson Ahn and Dr Robert Winstanley-Chesters for their insight, support, constructive feedback and patience on the article for this special issue. The ideas and initial workshop presentation were supported by the Academy of Korean Studies grant (AKS-2021-OLU-2250003). The research for the article was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies grant (AKS-2022-R068).
- ² Dr. Helen Kim is an Associate Professor in Media and Communication at the University of Leeds. Her email address is h.kim2@leeds.ac.uk.
- ³ Gayatri Gopinath, *Impossible Desires: Queer Diasporas and South Asian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 2005, p. 7.
- ⁴ Josh DeWind, Eun Mee Kim, Ronald Skeldon, and In-Jin Yoon, "Korean Development and Migration" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38.3 (2012): 371-388.
- ⁵ Young Jeong Kim, "The Gendered Desire to Become Cosmopolitan: South Korean Women's Motivations for Migration to the UK" In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 33.5, pp. 433-442.
- ⁶ HaeRan Shin, "The Territoriality of Ethnic Enclaves: Dynamics of Transnational Practices and Geopolitical Relations Within and Beyond a Korean Transnational Enclave in New Malden, London" *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 108.3 (2018): 756-772.
- ⁷ Rita Kottasz, "Understanding the Cultural Consumption of a New Wave of Immigrants: The Case of the South Korean Community in Southwest London" *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing* 20.2 (2015): 100-121.
- ⁸ HaeRan Shin, "The Territoriality of Ethnic Enclaves."
- ⁹ Rita Kottasz, "Understanding the Cultural Consumption of a New Wave of Immigrants."
- ¹⁰ HaeRan Shin, "The Territoriality of Ethnic Enclaves."
- ¹¹ HaeRan Shin, "Precarity to Empowerment: the Consequences of Female North Korean Defectors' Coping Skills and Social Navigation" *Gender, Place & Culture* 29.11 (2021): 1-22.
- ¹² Je Seung Lee, "For Surrey's Koreans, simmering tensions reflect the north-south divide at home" *The Guardian* 9 Feb 2019 <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/09/notebook-new-malden-korea-north-south-tension>, accessed on 9 August 2022.
- ¹³ Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2011, Kingston Data, Population by Ethnicity, <https://data.kingston.gov.uk/population/#/view-report/ca94b1c3478d4958a0a993dd9d406c5a/I/G42>
- ¹⁴ Office for National Statistics (ONS), 2011.
- ¹⁵ Sung Eun Shim, "Immigration as Personal and Cultural Interchange: South Koreans in Germany, the United Kingdom, and France 1" in *The Routledge Handbook of Europe-Korea Relations*, eds. Nicola Casarini, Antonio Fiori, Nam-Kook Kim, Jae-Seung Lee, Ramon Pacheco Pardo, 93-103 (London: Routledge), 2021.
- ¹⁶ HaeRan Shin, "Precarity to Empowerment,"
- ¹⁷ Bethan Coupland and Nikolas Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales" *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18.4 (2014): 495-517; Gwynne Mapes. "(De) Constructing Distinction: Class Inequality and Elite Authenticity in Mediatized Food Discourse." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 22.3 (2018): 265-287.
- ¹⁸ Coupland and Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales."
- ¹⁹ Coupland and Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales," p.502
- ²⁰ Hahm Hanhee, "Rice and Koreans: Three Identities and Meanings" *Korea Journal* 45.2 (2005): 89-106.
- ²¹ Kyung-Koo Han, "Noodle Odyssey: East Asia and Beyond" *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 60-84.
- ²² Young-Kyun Yang, "Jajangmyeon and Junggukjip: The Changing Position and Meaning of Chinese Food and Chinese Restaurants in Korean Society" *Korea Journal* 45.2 (2005): 60-88.
- ²³ Young Rae Oum, "Authenticity and Representation: Cuisines and Identities in Korean-American Diaspora" *Postcolonial Studies* 8.1 (2005): 109-125.
- ²⁴ Hong Sik Cho, "Food and Nationalism: Kimchi and Korean National Identity" *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 4.1 (2006): 207-229

-
- ²⁵ Kyung-Koo Han, "The "Kimchi Wars" in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity," in *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*, ed. Kendall, Laurel, pp. 149-166 (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press), 2010.
- ²⁶ Han, "The "Kimchi Wars."
- ²⁷ Susanne Freidberg, "Not all Sweetness and Light: New Cultural Geographies of Food" *Social and Cultural Geography* 4.1 (2003): 3-6.
- ²⁸ Gail Hollander, "Re-naturalizing Sugar: Narratives of Place, Production and Consumption" *Social & Cultural Geography* 4.1 (2003): 59-74.; Julie Guthman. "Fast Food/Organic Food: Reflexive Tastes and the Making of 'Yuppie Chow'" *Social & Cultural Geography* 4. 1 (2003): 45-58.
- ²⁹ Peter Jackson, "Food Stories: Consumption in an Age of Anxiety" *Cultural Geographies* 17.2 (2010): 147-165.
- ³⁰ Ian Cook, Philip Crang, and Mark Thorpe. "Regions to be Cheerful: Culinary Authenticity and its Geographies" in *Cultural Turns/Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography*, eds. Simon Naylor, James Ryan, Ian Cook and David Crouch, pp. 109-139 (London: Routledge), 2018.
- ³¹ Michaela DeSoucey, "Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union" *American Sociological Review* 75.3 (2010): 432-455.
- ³² Natalia Milanesio, "Food Politics and Consumption in Peronist Argentina" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 90.1 (2010): 75-108.
- ³³ Pauliina Raento, "Stomaching Change: Finns, Food, and Boundaries in the European Union" *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 92.4 (2010): 297-310.
- ³⁴ Michael Billig, "Banal Nationalism and the Imagining of Politics," in *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, eds. Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich, pp. 307-321. (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 2017.
- ³⁵ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, "Culinary Nationalism" *Gastronomica* 10.1 (2010), p. 102.
- ³⁶ Gisela Welz, "Contested Origins: Food Heritage and the European Union's Quality Label Program" *Food, Culture & Society* 16.2 (2013): 265-279.
- ³⁷ Atsuko Ichijo, "Banal Nationalism and UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage List: Cases of *Washoku* and the Gastronomic Meal of the French" in *Everyday Nationhood: Theorising Culture, Identity and Belonging after Banal Nationalism*, eds. Michael Skey and Marco Antonsich, pp. 259-284 (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 2017.
- ³⁸ Mark Padoongpatt, *Flavors of Empire: Food and the Making of Thai America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), 2017.
- ³⁹ Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press), 2009.
- ⁴⁰ Wenying Xu, *Eating Identities: Reading Food in Asian American Literature* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press), 2007.
- ⁴¹ Lisa Heldke, "'Let's Eat Chinese!': Reflections on Cultural Food Colonialism" *Gastronomica* 1 2 (2001): 76-79.
- ⁴² Lucy Long, *Culinary Tourism* (Louisville, KN: University Press of Kentucky), 2004.
- ⁴³ Alex Rhys-Taylor, *Food and Multiculture: A Sensory Ethnography of East London* (London: Routledge), 2020.
- ⁴⁴ Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine, "The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment" *Sociological Quarterly* 36.3 (1995): 535-553.
- ⁴⁵ Marie Sarita Gaytan, "From Sombreros to Sincronizadas: Authenticity, Ethnicity, and the Mexican Restaurant Industry" *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 37.3 (2008): 314-341.
- ⁴⁶ Meredith Abarca, "Authentic or Not, It's Original" *Food & Foodways* 12.1 (2004): 1-25.
- ⁴⁷ Krishnendu Ray, "Dreams of Pakistani Grill and Vada Pao in Manhattan: Re-inscribing the Immigrant Body in Metropolitan Discussions of Taste." *Food, Culture & Society* 14.2 (2011): 243-273.
- ⁴⁸ Gopinath. *Impossible Desires*, p. 7.
- ⁴⁹ Marion Demossier, "Beyond Terroir: Territorial Construction, Hegemonic Discourses, and French Wine Culture" *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17.4 (2011): 685-705.
- ⁵⁰ Brad Weiss, "Making Pigs Local: Discerning the Sensory Character of Place" *Cultural Anthropology* 26.3 (2011): 438-461.
- ⁵¹ Laurence Bérard and Philippe Marchenay, "Le Vivant, Le Culturel et Le Marchand: Les Produits de Terroir" *Autrement. Série Mutations* (1989) 194 (2000): 191-216; Marion Demossier. "The Europeanization of Terroir: Consuming Place, Tradition and Authenticity," in *European Identity and Culture. Narratives of Transnational Belonging*, eds. Friedman, Rebecca and Thiel, Markus, pp. 119-136 (London: Routledge), 2016.
- ⁵² Paola Filippucci, "A French Place Without a Cheese: Problems with Heritage and Identity in Northeastern France." *Focaal* 2004, 44 (2004): 72-86.

-
- ⁵³ Voltaire Cang. "Policing Washoku.;" Ronda Brulotte and Alvin Starkman. "Caldo de Piedra and Claiming Pre-Hispanic Cuisine as Cultural Heritage" in *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage*, eds. Ronda Brulotte and Michael Di Giovine, pp. 109-124 (London: Routledge), 2016; Bahar Aykan, "The Politics of Intangible Heritage and Food Fights in Western Asia" *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22.10 (2016): 799-810.
- ⁵⁴ Coupland and Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales."
- ⁵⁵ Nikolas Coupland, "Language, Society and Authenticity: Themes and Perspectives" in *Indexing Authenticity: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, eds. Véronique Lacoste, Jakob Leimgruber, and Thiemo Breyer, pp. 14-39 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter), 2014.
- ⁵⁶ Coupland and Coupland, "The Authenticating Discourses of Mining Heritage Tourism in Cornwall and Wales."
- ⁵⁷ Hong Sik Cho, "Food and Nationalism" *The Korean Journal of International Studies* 4.1 (2006): 207-229.
- ⁵⁸ Eun-Young Kim, "World Institute of Kimchi as a Leading Global Institute of Fermented Foods" *Biotechnology Journal* 8.7 (2013): 759-760.
- ⁵⁹ World Institute of Kimchi, "Vision and Goals, 2022," <https://www.wikim.re.kr/index.es?sid=a2>, accessed 9 September, 2022,
- ⁶⁰ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, "Culinary Nationalism," p.102.
- ⁶¹ Voltaire Cang, "Policing Washoku."
- ⁶² Maria Yotova, "The "Goodness" of Homemade Yogurt: Self-provisioning as Sustainable Food Practices in Post-socialist Bulgaria" *Local Environment* 23.11 (2018): 1063-1074.
- ⁶³ Atsuko Ichijo, and Ronald Ranta, *Food, National Identity and Nationalism: From Every Day to Global Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan), 2016.
- ⁶⁴ World Institute of Kimchi "The Aesthetics of Fermentation, Kimchi." accessed 1 August, 2022.
- ⁶⁵ Michaela DeSoucey, "Gastronationalism," p. 433.
- ⁶⁶ Han, "The 'Kimchi Wars'.;" Cho, "Food and Nationalism."
- ⁶⁷ Han, "The 'Kimchi Wars'."
- ⁶⁸ Moon-Hee Choi, "ISO Refutes Chinese Media Outlets' Claim that China's Pao Cai Has Become International Standard for Kimchi" *Business Korea*, 2 December 2020, <https://www.businesskorea.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=56094>, accessed 10 September, 2022.
- ⁶⁹ Han, "The "Kimchi Wars"," p.152.
- ⁷⁰ World Institute of Kimchi, "The Aesthetics of Fermentation, Kimchi"
- ⁷¹ Julie Guthman, "Fast Food/Organic Food", 2003; Alan Warde and Lydia Martens, *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption, and Pleasure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2000.