

Reorienting Tradition:
The Modern Revival of Makkölli Tradition
in South Korea

Caroline Mahon
S1731076
c.b.mahon@umail.leidenuniv.nl
East Asian Studies 2016

Contents:

Abstract:	3
1. Introduction	4
 Chapter One: The New Look of Makkölli Tradition	
1.1 Finding or Eliding Tradition?.....	10
1.2 Consuming Tradition.....	12
1.3 Locating Authenticity in Consumption.....	14
1.4 Unlikely Origins of the Makkölli Craze.....	16
 Chapter Two: Makkölli as Ambassador of Korean Tastes	
2.1 Nation Branding at Home and Abroad.....	22
2.2 The Korean Brand.....	24
2.3 Korean Rice for Korean Alcohol.....	27
 Chapter Three: Makkölli As Vanguard of the Craft Movement	
3.1 The Artisan Makkölli Brewer.....	34
3.2 Emergence of Brewing Schools and a Revived Craft Culture.....	38
3.2 Rediscovering Makkölli Experiences.....	40
 Conclusion:	43

Abstract:

In the course of my thesis I will explore ideas surrounding the ownership and meaning of tradition and national identity from the perspective of the nation and the community, in the specific context of makkölli culture in South Korea. Paying particular attention to the works of Eric Hobsbawm, Stephen Vslatos, Dean MacCannel, and Richard Sennet, I seek to illuminate the ways in which the nation and community speak to one another and to a larger, global audience through cultural expression and a renegotiation of national tradition. The recent revival of interest in makkölli began with small communities of brewers and has expanded through craft movements leading to a modern re-invention of the practice. However, the beverage only gained attention domestically after it gained popularity abroad in 2009. As governing elites have become aware of the economic power embedded in associating national identity with a particular ‘brand’, certain aspects of popular or traditional culture have been mobilized to serve this end. In the process we encounter a double dynamic between small community actors and larger political entities both interested in the same objects, in this case makkölli – yet their motivations and interests speak to entirely different, and often contradictory concerns.

Introduction:

In 2009 Korean newspapers heralded the resurgence of makkölli. A sudden boom in sales of the previously ill-regarded beverage associated mainly with poor farmers, bad hangovers, the elderly, and cheap dingy bars captivated headlines. Overnight it seemed that the drink shed all of its negative connotations, and found itself an unexpected emblem of prestige and sophistication. Headlines such as “Call it a Comeback: Makgeolli in Favor Once Again,”¹ “Move Over Beaujolais, It’s Makgeolli Time,”² “Makgeolli Picked Hit Product of 2009”³ graced national newspapers, and a flurry of editorials in praise of the drink’s perceived health benefits and newfound cachet were printed. Despite the luminous praise found in Korean newspapers, and further heaped upon the drink by scientific studies, the most unique and compelling characteristic of Makkölli lies in its ability to straddle the line between traditional and modern consumption and production. This paper seeks to illuminate the various implications of an increased desire to produce, purchase, and export Makkölli in modern South Korea and the impact this has on tradition, consumption, agriculture, nation branding, and craft movements. The makkölli revival of the last decade represents the culmination of efforts from a diverse groups of citizens and the government, who through their actions can illuminate for us the nuances of citizen and government concerns in South Korea attendant to the anxieties of globalization.

What is Makkölli?

The ingredients for makkölli consist simply of rice, water, and a special yeast compound — nuruk (sometimes referred to mistakenly by its Japanese counterpart, *koji*

¹ Cho, Kangsu. “Call it a Comeback: Makgeolli in Favor Once Again.” *Korea Joongang Daily*, 25 Nov. 2009.

² Jung, Hawon. “Move Over Beaujolais, It’s Makgeolli Time.” *Korea Joongang Daily*, 13 Nov. 2009.

³ Anon. “Makgeolli Picked Hit Product of 2009.” *Chosun Ilbo*, 17 Dec. 2009.

or *ipguk* in Korean). Nuruk is made by compacting ground, wet wheat into molded discs; these discs are then left to dry and ‘collect’ wild yeast in a box covered with hay. The unique flavor of nuruk comes from the molds which colonize the wheat as it dries. Through a process called saccharification, the molds produce enzymes, yeasts and bacterias which when added to rice break down the starch and produce alcohol from the remaining sugars. Natural nuruk production allows for a highly complex colonization of bacterias and yeast, which then characterizes the taste of the resulting makkölli. As nuruk takes on the characteristics of the yeast in the environments in which it is made, it is of equal importance to the quality and type of rice used, and differentiations in both account for a very wide variety of flavor profiles not commonly found in industrial makkölli brands. Today, industrial makkölli is commonly made with Japanese *koji*. Whereas nuruk is a multi organism yeast, *Koji*, cultivated on cooked rice, is a single organism yeast and as such it requires an additional starter yeast in order for saccharification to occur.

A simple makkölli recipe is made by mixing steamed rice with a small amount of nuruk and water. The drink typically takes between one week and two months to ferment depending on the temperature of the environment and processes used. An ordinary recipe requires only one cycle of fermentation, yet more complex recipes use up to five different cycles of fermentation. More complicated methods of rice preparation, such as grinding the rice or making flat, donuts-shaped rice cakes also yield varied results. The different preparation methods achieve flavor profiles ranging from sweet, bitter, to sour, as well as different consistencies: from thin and wine-like to a yogurt-like thickness.

When a brewer decides to end the primary fermentation process the rice sediment is filtered from the brew. The remaining alcohol separates into two distinct layers. The top layer, clear and wine-like in appearance is called *cheongju*, and can be enjoyed separately. Traditionally *cheongju* was more expensive and thus associated with the yangban and royalty. The bottom layer of the drink, called *takju*, takes on a cloudy appearance as the remaining rice sediment falls to the bottom. Before consuming

makkölli in either a traditional golden kettle or ceramic vessel, the drink is shaken lightly to re-mix the sediment from the bottom with the clear *cheongju* on top. The fermented drink possesses a low alcohol content of six to eight percent, and has typically enjoyed an association with farmers, earning itself the nickname *nongju*, or farmers liquor. Besides from makkölli and *nongju* the drink also goes by the name of the cloudy liquor on the bottom, *takju*, which literally means ‘unrefined wine’.

Makkölli is distinct from beer, wine, and other liquors because the saccharification and transformation of sugar to alcohol happens simultaneously throughout the fermentation and continues after the bottling process. To understand the comparison better, wine ferments in a single stage, and beer in two distinct phases. The process by which makkölli ferments makes it a unique type of alcohol that can neither be classified as a beer nor a wine, makkölli has often been referred to as a ‘rice-wine’ or a ‘rice-beer’ but these comparisons invite both cultural and scientific misunderstandings regarding the drink.

Makkölli belongs to a larger “tradition” of unique food products indigenous to each household, village, or region of the nation, crafted by hand and produced in small batches. The traditional production methods represented by this stage in the history of makkölli resonates with Koreans on both a conscious and unconscious level, and constitutes the longest held method of production for the beverage. The knowledge of each particular recipe was relayed from one generation to the next until the Liquor Tax Act of February 1909 instated by the Japanese prohibited brewing alcohol at home, or outside of a commercially licensed establishment. The liquor tax dismantled home brewing makkölli culture and tradition, and as regional alcohol varieties decreased significantly, public knowledge of the drink lay fallow.

The opening of the Seoul Takju Manufactures Association in the 1960s revitalized the makkölli tradition to a certain extent. The company is now the largest and oldest makkölli manufacturer in the nation and has been at the forefront of many developments in the industry. The largest contribution the company made to the drink was the introduction of individual plastic bottles, whereas before the drink had been

transported to restaurants in unsanitary tanks and barrels.⁴ During this period, strict liquor laws prohibiting the sale of makkölli outside of a five mile radius from which it was brewed precluded other brewers and companies from contributing to the expansion and diversification of the drink.⁵ At the same time, given the short shelf life of the drink and the scarcity of refrigerated transportation the impact of the five mile radius law remained insignificant until later technology rendered the law a serious handicap to growth.

Popular and commonplace throughout the 1960s-70s, the reputation and sales of makkölli took a serious nosedive in the 1980s as imbibers turned away from the drink in droves claiming painful day-after headaches and uncomfortable gassy feelings. The culprit was carbide, a chemical additive whose sole purpose was to speed up the fermentation process of makkölli. Carbide, an unfortunate consequence of the the drive for ever increased efficiency under the dictate of the industrial model, made the drink unpalatable. As did aspartame, a common ingredient used in soft drinks as sweetener, and used by the industry to extend the shelf life of makkölli. Aspartame disguises the sour taste that appears as the drink continues to ferment beyond its expiration date. Additionally, the Grain Management Act of 1964 forced industrial producers to use wheat instead of rice,⁶ a change which coupled with the addition of carbide and aspartame resulted in an unappealing uniform and slightly chemically tinged flavor. These changes in the industrial production of makkölli resulted in the beverage tumbling from near domination of the market throughout the 1960s-80s, to holding just 4.3 percent of the share in the domestic liquor market in 2002.⁷ The downfall of makkölli was accompanied by a decrease in breweries: in 1960 there were 2,623 official

⁴ Yöm, Söngkwan. "Kungnae Makkölli Sanöbui Pyönc'h'önsa" (The History of the Makkölli Industry). *Shikp'umgwahakkwa Sanöp*, vol. 44.4 (2011), pp. 18-27.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ Kim Myöngyu. "*Han'gukchaejöngüi Kujo*" Koryödaehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu: Söul, 1967.

⁷ Kim, Da-Ye. "If Samsung Makes Makgeolli." *Korea Times*, 15, Jan. 2016,

breweries and by the year 2000 that number shrank to 992.⁸ Since then consumer tastes have changed dramatically and soju, whiskey, and imported beer have usurped the popularity of makkölli.

Korean consumer culture tends to lean into fads, and particularly culinary fads; the sudden buzz surrounding makkölli in 2009 had the potential to be just that, a momentary fascination, albeit given the place makkölli holds in Korean history, it was a more self-conscious trend than say honey butter chips, or churros in the popular neighborhood of noksapyeong. Celebrities posed with the drink, and touted its health benefits, especially those correlated with improvement of the complexion. KBS and Arirang commissioned and aired made for T.V. programs in celebration of the drink—programs that at times walked the line between a documentary special highlighting the artisan skills of brewers and a crudely disguised infomercial. By 2014 the Makkölli headlines turned sour, and it seemed that the ‘boom’ was over. Domestic sales were much lower and exports to Japan all but froze as political tensions between the two countries escalated. Yet, the lack of media attention does not correspond with a decrease in interest for the traditional fermented frothy brew. In fact, a flourishing of high-end makkölli restaurants, a museum, brew schools, innovations within the industry and more breweries themselves have opened their doors to an appreciative and engaged public. As many graduates of the new makkölli schools have gone on to open their own breweries, it can be said for certain that the interest in makkölli is a revival, and not a passing fad.

This constitutes a rough summary of some aspects of the recent history of makkölli industrialization and culture over the last century. Before we attempt to make sense of the recent developments surrounding the makkölli industry, let us first consider the crossroads makkölli occupies between tradition and consumerism, and what it might mean to partake in or consume tradition in 21st century Korea. The momentum behind the makkölli renaissance proves far more complex than mere

⁸ I, Tongp'il. "*Han'gugüi Churyujedowa Chönt'ongjusanöp*" Han'gunongch'on'gyöngjeyön'guwön: Söul, 2013. p. 31

fluctuating consumer tastes and trends; the upturn in the makkölli market was the result of a confluence of factors domestically, and internationally, both in favor of, and as a reaction against globalization. The media attention in 2009 was but one kernel, and a deeper look shows clearly the efforts of brewers, farmers, and the government to construct alternative identities through craft movements, health trends, nation branding, and agricultural policy. By examining the makkölli renaissance, a nuanced reflection of the Korean geopolitical position over the last century or so, and the nation's coming to terms with modernity emerges — an idea we will examine from both the perspective of the brewer and government official.

In the first chapter we will examine what it means to consume national tradition in the modern age, by examining the issues surrounding its modern articulation and attempts to establish, or claim authenticity. From this vantage we can better understand the implications of the Japanese role in the makkölli revival, as Korea seeks to define a unique national culture in a global context. The second chapter will focus on the government's attempt to associate makkölli with particular images and ideas. Through a process of nation branding we see the government's effort to curate the consumption of culture and tradition, both abroad and domestically. Here we shall encounter a double dynamic as the South Korean government seeks to re-define makkölli as a marker of prestige, in the process disassociating the drink from its humble origins. At the same time, the increased consumption and production of the drink can be used to empower the rice farmers who have been left behind by globalization. Finally, through a discussion of craftsmanship and artisans, the true purveyors of the beverage, we will encounter those who are engaging with and practicing culture on their own terms, in the process defining national culture and tradition authentically in the twenty-first century.

Chapter One: The New Look of Makkölli Tradition

1.1 Finding or Eliding Tradition?

Vestiges of ‘traditional Korea’ characterize the physical, visual, and social spaces of Seoul; from the top floors of high-rises one can spot the complex maze of back-alleys constructed before the war, winding un-even pavements, unplanned, unkempt, chaotic, charming and home to many of the capitals oldest, dingiest and most traditional makkölli restaurants. The ability to maneuver between these two distinct landscapes, the overtly traditional and modern, so effortlessly in Seoul reminds one on a deeper level that the project of modernity is far from complete or whole. The contrast between the two worlds imparts a sense of deep romanticism— the charms of highly individualized and quirky ‘traditional’ restaurants speak to the sense of individual cultivation that has become a hallmark of identity politics in the modern age. But, what does it mean to consume tradition, or seek out traditional experiences? How can we define tradition in an age of conscious consumption, globalization, and capitalism? If a ‘tradition’ possesses an acute self-awareness, is its authenticity diminished? These are questions we shall endeavor to understand as we probe the repositioning of tradition in modern South Korea as seen through the lens of the makkölli revival.

Thirty years ago, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrance Ranger’s fundamental work, *The Invention of Tradition*, asked us to approach tradition with a heightened degree of skepticism by sifting through lineage, considering the circumstances—political, economic, and social, attendant to the time frame within the appearance of each tradition. The book encouraged us to examine why and how traditions become visible at the moments they did and still do. Ultimately, they connected the appearance of invented traditions to the formation and consolidation of nation-states and as such, they are deeply political acts.⁹

⁹ Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrance Ranger, eds. 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press. p. 13.

As Laurel Kendall points out, modern Korean history is rife with such examples of invented traditions: “from President Park Chung Hee’s annual photo op...to the drums, gongs, and shamanic protest theater of the Popular Culture Movement.”¹⁰ Hobsbawm’s work praises examples of inauthentic tradition as manifestations of national power, yet his thesis neglects the importance of, as Kendall suggests, the “grassroots customs.” Organic outgrowths of traditions are lumped in with the ‘inauthentic and recent traditions’,¹¹ as opposed to being something more subtle within the realm of invented traditions. Hobsbawm and Ranger defined tradition by showing us what it is not.

The intellectual charter put forth by Hobsbawm allows for one to plumb the shallows and depths of history meaningfully, yet does not proffer a deep theoretical well to pull from. Using the prognosis of invented traditions, we shall endeavor to look beyond its heuristic applications. Steven Vlastos reconsidered the legacy of Hobsbawm differently: he posited that the invention of tradition is not influenced so wholly by the emergence of nation-states, but just as importantly coincides with the global shift to late capitalism.¹² It is from this juncture that the realm of ‘tradition’ becomes something else, and where we shall begin our study.

In the purview of scholars Stephen Vlastos, Anthony Giddens, and Edward Shils tradition can be defined dually. The first working definition “designates a temporal frame preceding modernity”, however, such a generalized view tends to produce a homogenized vision of traditional life, bereft of multiplicity.¹³ Anthony Giddens supplements this viewpoint by positioning modernity and tradition in opposition to one another, categorizing tradition by its “moral bindingness” and modernity, by its

¹⁰ Kendall, Laurel. "Introduction: Material Modernity, Consumable Tradition." *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011. p 5.

¹¹ *ibid* p. 7.

¹² Vlastos, Stephen. "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History." *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkeley: U of California, 1998. p. 1-16.

¹³ *ibid*. 2

“radical doubt”.¹⁴ The second definition of tradition overlaps with the first and refers to a “cultural transmission in the form of discrete cultural practices of ‘the past’ that remain vital in the present.”¹⁵ Edward Shils supports this definition of tradition, yet insists that the transmission from past to present via ‘tradition’ isn’t an oppositional force, but instead a necessity.¹⁶ The presumed dichotomy between tradition and modernity is far from radical, as tradition is remarkably flexible in both practice and concept. In every society there is an overlapping of the two - traditional and modern forms are not mutually exclusive as they both coexist in an “implied continuity with the past.”¹⁷ Through the observations of Giddens, Kendall, MacCannel, Shils, and Vlastos we shall reorient our interest in tradition, and examine how the concept interacts with consumerism, authenticity and globalization through modernity.

1.2 Consuming Tradition

The anxiety over invented traditions leads to other disquieting terrain, namely: the conspicuous triumph of modernity over once-ordinary customs, and with them the recession of certain older, integrated and sanctified values. Myths, social memories, rituals, symbols and images are displaced or vanish. The disappearance of these values is perhaps less visible than their associated practices, but more deeply felt and contributes further to the already heightened anxieties over globalization. The visual dominance of modernity by its very nature silences an already quiescent response the part of the citizenry, and as Dean MacCannel so aptly wrote, it is perhaps not the disappearance of traditional iconography, so much as its “artificial preservation and reconstruction in modern society” which gestures towards the triumph of modernity.¹⁸

¹⁴ Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1991. p. 3.

¹⁵ Vlastos, Stephen. "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History." *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkeley: U of California, 1998. p 4.

¹⁶ Shils, Edward. *Tradition*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1981. p. 26

¹⁷ Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrance Ranger, eds. 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press. p. 10.

¹⁸ MacCannel Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1999. p. 7.

Both traditional and modern consumption pivot on social transactions between members of communities. Combined, the two consumption practices serve as ideological bookends of modernity. Tradition, as the idiom of pre-industrial society, serves as a model of the unselfconscious processes which formerly determined production techniques: small-scale, localized efforts in the culmination of generations of knowledge passed on, replete with individual imprints on goods. Modern consumption, particularly conspicuous consumption forms the opposite experience as an individual is granted countless opportunities to identify purposefully with particular aspects of their material environment. Dean MacCannel sums up the essential difference between traditional and modern consumption in Marxist terms, as “the most important relation in modern society is not between man and man (as in peasant/traditional society) but between man and his productions.”¹⁹ In modernity the value of an object is determined by the experience it promises.²⁰

The use of tradition, as either an object or experience, has the ability to project a great deal of power consciously and subconsciously. Through its various positive associations — custom, common values, ethnic or communal unity, a continuity and spiritual connectedness with the past. The mere evocation of tradition can exert deep political, social, nationalist, economic, or spiritual power. In essence, tradition can be used a social unifier or divider depending on who takes charge of projecting its image. Tradition as something *consumable* recycles the element of sociability in traditional networks governed by personal relationships, into something more in line with the economic infrastructure of modernity, and as MacCannel wrote, the promise of this experience holds allure and value, and most importantly the experience of connecting with something outside of modernity.²¹

In the case of Makkölli, we see a model of both traditional and modern consumption play out through the relationships of both small and industrial breweries

¹⁹ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* Berkeley: University of California Press: 1999. p 25.

²⁰ *ibid.* 27.

²¹ *ibid.* 27.

to their respective beverages and consumers. The act of purchasing and consuming craft makkölli offers a simulated experience of authenticity, tradition, and a connection to the countryside. As we pointed out, ‘social transaction’ provides the hinge upon which both traditional and modern consumption swing on, a theme we shall explore further while discussing the craft and other consequent identity movements. First, we shall take a step further and explore the relationship between the re-negotiation of tradition and modern consumption and their equal dependence on artifice, an artifice that both unites them theoretically, and in some senses ideologically as well. The consumption of goods, both modern and traditional, is an attempt for one to identify with a meaningful totality beyond the bounds of the uniformity dictated by globalized industrialization.

1.3 Locating Authenticity in Consumption

In some cases, a lack of authenticity is very easy to distinguish, or indisputably obvious, in particular the visual spectacle of so called ‘traditional’ neighborhoods such as Insadong, which sell ‘traditional Korean’ trinkets manufactured in factories, and sold is houses that are mock representations of traditional architecture, resulting in a blatant disney-fied atmosphere. Yet, the pageantry of Insadong invites little controversy, and instead the more visually unobtrusive ‘inauthentic’ made-in-China Kimchi caused a national moral uproar.²² The problem of Chinese kimchi was brought to light by food safety concerns, yet the underlying issue which galvanized the public was that Chinese production of *the* national Korean food threatened the sanctity of national tradition. The issue called attention to the diminishing ‘kimchi networks’ which previously provided social opportunities for to women to practice culture by making and improving on their kimchi techniques together. The Chinese imitation kimchi induced guilt amongst housewives who bought kimchi rather than prepared it at home, highlighting the abrupt transition from traditional handmade production to an

²² Han, Kyung-Koo. "The 'Kimchi Wars' in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity." *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011. p 161.

industrialized one.²³ The Chinese kimchi made plain the tensions of globalizations and the dangers of the ease with which tradition can be counterfeited. The kimchi was an imitation, inauthentic, and thus deeply offensive. How could kimchi be kimchi if it were made in China?

From a more theoretical standpoint, consumption as posited by Baudrillard, reveals the possibility of locating inauthenticity in tradition, by showing us that the objects of our desire are part of the “precession of simulacra”; a representation of symbols whose possible meanings become as ineffectual as they are infinite.²⁴ Baudrillard’s idea of consumption harmonizes well with definitions of tradition as they both focus heavily on the act of transmission and in the case of Hobsbawm, artifice. The honey-butter chip phenomenon which gripped Korea in late 2014 might be an appropriate example of the relationship between superficial consumption and simulacra, an endless replay of obsessive consumer culinary fads. The recent changes in the makkölli market, allow the beverage to fit in with a re-packaging, or re-playing of tradition, a self-conscious process of consumption which hinges on its ability to resonate emotionally with its consumers. Whereas the “historic” neighborhood Insadong, a near parody of traditional culture, is the penultimate example of the irony in the infinite and ultimately meaningless representation of an image, per Baudrillard’s simulacra, a place where mere symbols as opposed to objects are consumed. Like Hobsbawm’s *invented tradition*, the ‘simulacra’ of Baudrillard establishes legitimacy by way of repeated references to symbols of another, older order (often imagined) and in the case of makkölli, or the interest in traditional culture in Korea, these are often symbols of nostalgia.

Tradition does not possess an ‘origin moment’ that can be returned to despite its evocation of an ‘immemorial past.’²⁵ And so, in the revival, or practice of tradition

²³ Han, Kyung-Koo. "The 'Kimchi Wars' in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity." *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011. p 150.

²⁴ Baudrillard, Jean, and Mark Poster. *Selected Writings*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2001. p. 166-184.

²⁵ Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrance Ranger, eds. 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press. p. 13.

we often instead experience an authentic desire correlated to the moment of practice, rather than the past. That is to say, the ways in which tradition are reinforced though modernity convey an authenticity which reveals the consequences of modern consumption. In this configuration, beneath the umbrage of tradition vs. modernity we return to questions of authenticity, identity, and social imagination.

Instead of an invention, a progression or inversion of tradition occurs as groups of national, regional, or ethnic, groups encounter different phases of global capitalism. Modernity's domination position thus allows it to define tradition. The interest in Makkölli is multidimensional and in this section we shall examine the stake producers, consumers, the government, and the agricultural sector have in the success of the beverage both domestically and abroad. Indeed, makkölli can be used as a lens to examine the tensions in Korea over globalization, modernization, national identity and authenticity, community, craftsmanship, and international standing— particularly when all of these forces come together in the production of a single good.

1.4 Unlikely Origins of the Makkölli Craze:

It is appropriate to begin our study of Makkölli from the perspective of globalization, not merely because it serves as a defining issue of global power, but more so because, the makkölli revival did not actually originate in South Korea. Ironically, the phenomenon was a spontaneous outgrowth of the hallyu craze in Japan. The popularity of the 2003 Korean drama *Winter Sonata* has generally been cited as the catalyst for hallyu in Japan, but up until that point the enthusiasm for Korean culture was more or less limited to dramas and certain more accessible foods like kimchi, barbecue and seaweed.²⁶ Previously in Japan, Korean cuisine had “been the food of the colonized and so it was looked down upon”,²⁷ in the 1980s, the popularity of Kimchi changed this perception and Japanese customers began to consume and produce a

²⁶ Hanaki, Toru, Arvind Singhal, Min Wha Han, Do Kyun Kim, and Ketan Chitnis. “Hanryu Sweeps East Asia: How Winter Sonata Is Gripping Japan.” *The International Communication Gazette*. vol. 69(3) 2007: p. 281–294.

²⁷Han, Kyung-Koo. "The 'Kimchi Wars' in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity." *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011. p. 155.

slightly less spicy version of their own kimchi. Curious female Japanese customers were reportedly drawn to the consumption of makkölli through its status as a low alcohol content, low calorie and relatively healthy alcohol.²⁸ In 2009 Makkölli exports surged 41.9 percent higher than the previous year, and for the first time ever export sales totaled over 1 million USD.²⁹ That year, over 80 percent of exported bottles were sold in Japan, and makkölli was stocked in the majority of Japanese convenience stores and supermarkets.³⁰ In order to better appreciate the abrupt growth of the industry, let us consider some other numbers: in 2008 Japan imported a mere \$4.42 million worth of Makkölli. By 2011 that number had risen abruptly to \$48.42 million.³¹

As the Japanese media began to report on the makkölli phenomenon, the Korean media also turned their attention to the drink. The fact that the Japanese played such a major role in the rediscovery of the beverage touched a nerve in Korea for two important reasons. First, the recent “kimchi wars” with China and Japan left a very bitter aftertaste in the mouths of the passionately nationalist population. Both nations had encroached on the Korean national food by producing popular kimchi brands themselves. In the late 1990s the Japanese mounted a campaign for the international recognition of the spelling of *kimchi* as *kimuchi* in an effort to protect their exports of the fermented cabbage.³² In 2001 the Codex Alimentarius Commission, a joint body organized by the WHO and the UN, made the decision to formally recognize *kimchi* as the official international spelling of the dish. The debate arose due to economic concerns over market shares, and in the end *kimchi* won out, but the Japanese were still permitted to use the *kimuchi* in the domestic markets. Despite the ‘victory’, the

²⁸ Seo, Jieun. “A Growing Obsession With ‘Drunken Rice’” *Korea Joongang Daily*. June 1, 2010.

²⁹ Anon. “Makgeolli Exports Surge to Record Levels.” *The Choson Ilbo*, June 15, 2016.

³⁰ Cwiertka, Katarzyna. *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-century Korea*. London: Reaktion, 2012. p 137.

³¹ Anon. “Makgeolli Exports Surge On Strong Demand in Japan.” *Korea Times*, January 26, 2016.

³² Han, Kyung-Koo. “The ‘Kimchi Wars’ in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity.” *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity: Commodification, Tourism, and Performance*. Honolulu: U of Hawai‘i, 2011. p 159.

experience exposed the vulnerability of tradition to the danger of being coopted by another nation.

In 2009 a replay of the kimchi/kimuchi debate was playing out between Korean ‘makgeolli’ and Japanese ‘makkori’ as the rediscovery of the long held, but battered Korean tradition of brewing and enjoying makkölli was suddenly in danger of being appropriated by the Japanese. The humiliation was reminiscent of not only recent history, but colonial history too. Given the Korean colonial experience, the loss of tradition and attempt to reclaim it carries an added emotional value. In turn the threat of national foods enduring a similar ‘colonization’ has driven much of the response to the global popularity of Korean foods.

The Japanese enthusiasm for the beverage reminded Korean brewers of the tragic loss of a once vibrant home brewing culture. Korean historians and brewers blame the Liquor Tax Act of February 1909 instated by the Japanese for marking the beginning of the end for makkölli. As a result of the prohibition of home-brewing coupled with the social upheaval of the following years — the estimated 600 recipes for wines and spirits of the Choson dynasty faded from view fell out of practice or were forgotten within the space of a few generations. As a point of contention, the story of the Japanese liquor tax has accompanied nearly every article on the resurgence of popularity in makkölli over the last decade.

Despite the prominence of hallyu in Japan and rise in popularity of Korean dining worldwide, the Japanese affection for Makkölli caught Korean distributors off guard. In 2010 the affiliate brand of the nation’s oldest and largest brewery Seoul Takju Manufacturers Association began importing to Japan for the first time.³³ A year later, Seoul Jangsoo Makkölli expanded their distribution network by creating a partnership with the Japanese alcohol giant Suntory. An advertisement campaign in celebration of the new partnership was launched in 2011. Television spots featuring the popular drama actor Jang Geun Seok celebrated the release of a canned makgeolli specifically

³³ Anon. “History.” <http://www.koreawine.co.kr/Söult’akchujejohyöp’oe>, 2011.

designed for a Japanese audience. The advertisements with Jang were simple yet reinforced the Korean heritage of the beverage. With Japanese subtitles, Jang informs his audience that:

“This is a good opportunity to spread knowledge about our native drink. Japan is starting to gain awareness of makkölli, and I hope the people here grow to love it as the Koreans do.”³⁴

Considering that previous attempts to advertise makkölli in Japan were either nonexistent or on a small scale, the rhetoric of the advertisements for Seoul Makgeolli and Suntory are particularly interesting. Curiously, the advertisements do not emphasize qualities associated with the drink itself- not the flavor, hue, consistency perceived health benefits, nor the low alcohol content. The product feels secondary, instead, the advertisement stresses the Korean heritage of the drink almost to exclusivity.

Previously only a few Korean companies created makkölli products solely for the Japanese market. *Choga* constitutes one such example. Founded in 1997 near the Demilitarized Zone in Chöngwön, a bucolic town famous for its clear water and abundance of migratory birds. The company prides itself on the healthiness, cleanliness, and “hygienic” qualities of its liquor, which are derived from the local water and rice. The location of the brewery is as important to its marketing strategy as the taste as affirmed by the CEO Lee Changho, who in numerous interviews has stated that the location of the brewery was the first and most important consideration for him when he started out in the late 1990s.³⁵ From the outset, the makers of *Choga* have focused on artisanal production for the Japanese market. However, this company is certainly an outlier in the international makkölli scene as most artisan producers focus on regional markets within Korea.

As the makers of *Choga* picked up on, hygiene and health were the main selling points of makkölli to the Japanese market. The Korean cosmetic company Nature

³⁴ Anon. “Suntory Product Information” <http://www.suntory.co.jp/sho-chu/makkoli/product/>. Suntory, 2011. Web. 19 Apr. 2016.

³⁵ Anon. “Small Brewery Promoting Makgeolli to the World.” *Dong A Ilbo*. 12 Feb. 2010.

Republic capitalized on this aspect of the craze by developing a special line of facial soaps for the Japanese market entitled *Maccola*, a wordplay on makkölli and collagen. Due to its natural fermentation process, makkölli is believed to have properties very beneficial to the skin. The imagery used in the *maccola* line focused on the natural, hand crafted aspects of the drink, an asset the Korean government later used to advertise makkölli at home too.



The Japanese discovery of makkölli caused anxiety over claims to authenticity in the same manner it did during the so-called 'Kimchi Wars'. However, the response to the Japanese interest in makkölli differed significantly in tone. Whereas the kimchi debate was taken as an affront to ethnic intellectual copyright, the interest in makkölli served as a catalyst for a domestic revival and improved efforts to globalize the drink. Exports to Japan in general decreased significantly in 2014, and makkölli sales suffered as a result too. The irony that underscores the revival of tradition in modern contexts takes on another dimension in the case of makkölli. The Japanese who in the eyes of brewers and the media share the blame for inadvertently bringing about the demise of traditional rice brewing culture, are also partly responsible for its emerging status today. Makkölli, as a traditional object is inextricably linked to modern methods of production and consumption practices. The popularity of makkölli in Japan is devoid of social history and traditional understanding, yet its popularity serves as a cultural bridge between the two nations through the consumption of explicitly Korean goods.

The difficulty in navigating the territory between modernity and national tradition both defines and problematizes the position of makkölli in Korea.

Chapter Two: Makköllli as Ambassador of Korean Tastes

2.1 Nation Branding at Home and Abroad

The South Korean government has invested greatly in the projection of soft power, first through dramas, Kpop, and more recently through food. The Korean government is also no stranger to using food items to reify nationalism, with kimchi serving as the most notable example of this.³⁶ Before discussing the specifics of the Korean government plan to promote makköllli globally, let us first consider some of the theoretical implications of nation branding as a marker of distinction in a globalized economy.

Globalization has promoted the importance of economic integration as the most essential and significant cornerstone of international power.³⁷ How can we define a concept as amorphous as globalization? It is tempting to think of it as a uniformity across nations, but instead as scholar David Harvey asserts, it is a “geographically articulated patterning of global capitalist activities and relations”.³⁸ In turn, the effect of globalization on consumption, trade, international relations, and an increased investment in soft power has created what some scholars deem a “post-political” atmosphere.³⁹ The ‘post-political’ arises through the creation of imagined bonds between the citizens of different nations based on mutual respect and appreciation of cultural difference regardless of ethnicity, cultural values, and even national history. The popularity of Korean dramas in places as unlikely as the Middle East attests to the influence soft power can project and its ability to penetrate unlikely markets.⁴⁰

³⁶ Han, Kyöng gu. Öttön Ŭmshikün Saenggak’agiüi Chot’a Koo. Öttön Ŭmshikün Saenggak hagi e Chot’a: Kimch’i wa Han’guk üi chöngsu:. *Hang’uk Munhwa Illlyuhak*. 26:51-68.

³⁷ Beck, Ulrich. *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000. p. 86

³⁸ Harvey, David. “The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture.” *Socialist Register*. vol 38: 2011. p 102

³⁹ Aronczyk, Melissa. "New and Improved Nations: Branding National Identity." Ed. Craig J. Calhoun and Richard Sennett. *Practicing Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007. p-105-128

⁴⁰ Kim, Do Kyun, and Kim Sun Kim. *Hallyu: Influence of Korean Popular Culture in Asia and Beyond*. Seoul: Seoul U, 2011.

Yet, just as globalization allows for other cultures to experience one another from afar, it erodes the particular and specific dignity of any given nation's culture. Scholars have pointed out the in which the rise in nation-branding correlates with a decrease in the power of the state to establish and maintain a singular concept of national identity amongst its constituents.⁴¹ The definition of culture, much like national identity or nationalism defies categorization, totality, or generalization and its meaning depends just as much on its participants as it does its those who seek to define it. Increasingly, the promotion of national culture has become a corporate affair as nations build relationships with advertising firms.⁴² The trend towards nation branding has been observed in nations with emerging market economies as well in nations with already well established international economic and cultural reputations.⁴³ The criticism of this practice should be obvious enough, and the delicacy of the task to effectively nation brand enhances the propensity for cultural misunderstandings to arise.

The practice of nation branding draws ire as it can be seen as a violation of the inherent, specific dignity of a nation. The separation between a commodity such as a Nike shoe and a culture still exists, yet has become highly porous, and the inherent comparison with the more mundane aspects of commercialization debases a national culture or spirit.⁴⁴ The most outspoken proponents of nation branding are of course the firms themselves who profit from the practice. They believe their efforts are a logical outgrowth of the times we live in and “identify the phenomenon of branding a particular nation as nothing more than a manifestation of the ways cultural affiliation and social cohesion have always been formed and practiced”.⁴⁵ Korean dramas, Kpop,

⁴¹Aronczyk, Melissa. "New and Improved Nations: Branding National Identity." Ed. Craig J. Calhoun and Richard Sennett. *Practicing Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007. p 105.

⁴² *ibid.* 105.

⁴³ *ibid.* 104.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* 105.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* 109.

and the associated hallyu wave receive a great deal of government funding, as does makkölli. The images and ideas these culture enterprises transmit are precisely calculated and encompass a larger effort to brand a specific image of national identity.

2.2 The Korean Brand

South Korea's status as a technology giant and its position as the eleventh largest economy in the world speaks to its high position in the global order. And still, the effort to promote Korea abroad seems clumsier, and thus more conspicuous than the attempts of other nations to promote their national food, culture, landscape, and atmosphere. Immediately what comes to mind is the painfully unsophisticated front-page advertisements promoting makkölli in the Wall Street Journal which appeared in 2014.⁴⁶

Before its internet ridicule, the advertisement was editorialized in many Korean newspapers and was seen as a positive step towards bringing the drink to American and European audiences. The advertisement was paid for by the Ministry of Agricultural, Food, and Rural Affairs (MAFRA), and designed by a professor from Sungshin Woman's University, who in addition works as a "popular hallyu campaigner" abroad.⁴⁷ The advertisement featured popular hallyu actor, Song Il-Gook. Gook has also campaigned at home as an activist for the 'promotion of national historical understanding' (a contested and difficult undertaking given the recent textbook controversy).⁴⁸ The text chosen for the advertisement reads like a google-translate robot; it's stilted and uncomfortable language stands out:

"Makgeolli is Korea's favorite rice brew. Pair it with kimchi to really bring out the flavors.

It's a healthy way to drink. Head to the nearest Koreatown to enjoy!"

Song Il-Gook attired in a white hanbok offers a beautiful ceramic glass of the white milky liquid, therein resolving the initial question in large black bold at the top of

⁴⁶ Ko, Dong- Hwan. "Makgeolli Ad Published on WSJ Front Page." *Korea Times*, January 7, 2014.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

the image, “Makgeolli?”. Combing the text and image, the attempt to sell “makgeolli” appears painfully, and comically out of touch. Similar in tone to the Japanese Seoul Jangsoo-Suntory commercial, the copy focuses almost exclusively on Korean heritage and tradition without any mention of the flavor profile or other qualities of the drink. Ultimately, the awkwardness of the advertisement represents more than a misstep on the part of MAFRA, it also epitomizes the difficulty of successful nation branding.



Other attempts to re-brand makkölli have been undertaken by MAFRA and have included the festivals, contests for foreigners to create a commercial for the drink, and a contest to re-name the beverage itself. The winning name for the campaign was “drunken rice” and the runner-up choices were “Makcohol,” “Koju” and “McKorea.”⁴⁹ These name choices and the contest itself reveal a desire to entirely re-conceptualize makkölli by intentionally breaking with its social history. The names were eventually dropped and the drink has maintained its original appellation. As we shall see, the government efforts to define the drink have blended domestic and international approaches, highlighting for Korean consumers the capacity for the drink to be enjoyed

⁴⁹ Seo, Jieun. “A Growing Obsession With ‘Drunken Rice’” *Korea Joongang Daily*. June 1, 2010.

both at home and abroad, in the process positioning the drink away from the image of rural farmers and backwardness and instead, towards one of international prestige.

Since 2009, the government and major alcohol companies alike have attempted to break into foreign liquor markets and promote its global appeal. The Federation of Korean Industries selected makkölli as the drink of toast for the Korea event at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland in 2010. Given the irregularity of this choice it was reported on by a number of newspapers following government sponsored press releases on the decision. Makkölli was also served as the drink of toast at the highly prestigious G20 Summit held in Seoul November 2010. MAFRA promoted enthusiasm for the drink domestically by hosting a competition amongst 100 different companies, in the end selecting 14 brews from the competition to serve at the summit.⁵⁰ After the G20 event, anyone visiting a high-end makkölli bar in Seoul was presented with the option of sampling President Obama's favorite makkölli. The veracity of such statements is highly doubtful, however, the fervor certainly indicting a new appreciation for the drink. Makkölli has since been promoted in other prestigious international contexts, particularly at meetings between heads of the states with Japan. The drink has been promoted internationally in less politicized environments too. Starting in 2009 makkölli was served on AirAsiana flights between Tokyo and Seoul, and later on all of its flights, and subsequently in the Singapore VIP airline lounges (one of many locations the government has singled out as a target market for the drink).⁵¹

The government has provided a great deal of financial resources to local and small scale breweries in the hopes of creating an international market for makkölli. They have also directed many of these resources inwards, and have attempted to re-brand makkölli in the eyes of the domestic population. How closely does nation branding relate to the experience of national identity? How do these messages affect

⁵⁰ Söult'ükpyölsi Munhwaguk. Han'gugüi Churyujedowa Chönt'ongjusanöp. *G20 Sönggonggiwön Makköllit'phanshik P'esüt'iböl*. [Http://www.seoul.go.kr](http://www.seoul.go.kr). NewsWire, 25 June 2010. Web. 17 Mar. 2016.

⁵¹ Joo Kyung-don, "Makgeolli Arrives at VIP Airline Lounge" *Korea Joongang Daily*. 26 Feb. 2013.

producers and consumers? This returns us to the essential, slippery question of the construction of a national identity. On the one hand, Benedict Arnold's *imagined communities* constitutes the most widely accepted and popular approach, wherein national identity is a deliberate construct. A reading of nationalism as a product of "social engineering" opens up the possibility for the manufacturing of nationalism.⁵² As we previously discussed, consumerism is central to modern capitalism and contemporary culture, as well as modern and postmodern theory.⁵³ On the other hand, scholars have also written about the primordial essence of nationalism, and asserted that the expression of nationalism remains constantly in flux throughout history.⁵⁴

The practice of nation branding lies somewhere in-between the spectrum of the nature-nurture debate surrounding the inherent existence or emergence of nationalism. Nation branding attempts to reposition the national image away from or towards particular social and economic conditions.⁵⁵ In the process, effective nation branding creates a fantasy image of the nation and in particular in the case of makkölli an *exoticized* image of that which is already familiar. As we saw in the rhetoric of the Korean MAFRA, the globalization efforts focused on an embrace of ethnic, immemorial Korean "tradition", and more indirectly health benefits.

2.3 Korean Rice for Korean Alcohol

In 2013 Lee Dong Phil was appointed as the head of the Korean Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (MAFRA). Before this post, he held the position of President of the *Korea Rural Economic Institute* wherein he created a special committee to study makkölli and traditional alcohol in its entirety, the first of its kind. He

⁵² Smith, Anthony D. "Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations." *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1995. p. 3-23.

⁵³ Trentmann, Frank. "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption." *Journal of Contemporary*. 39.3 (2004): 373-401

⁵⁴ Gellner, Ernest *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. p 48.

⁵⁵ Aronczyk, Melissa. "New and Improved Nations: Branding National Identity." Ed. Craig J. Calhoun and Richard Sennett. *Practicing Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007. p 105-128.

published a book on his study in 2013, which was given out for free at the opening of the traditional alcohol museum in the epicenter of Korean reified tradition, Insadong, in 2014. The museum is named *Sool*, the Korean word for alcohol and provides both tours and tastings in Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and English. Lee's book provides both a detailed history of the drink and focuses on the importance of recognizing the drink as a living tradition (both figuratively and literally). In the introduction to his treatise on the state of the traditional alcohol industry Lee clearly establishes the important role that the agricultural sector can and must play in the further successful popularization of Korean traditional liquor.

As the main ingredient in makkölli is rice, fluctuations in the availability of the grain have played a determining role in the history of the drink. Rice farming is a politically and culturally charged topic in South Korea, and the liberalization of the rice market threatens the national food staple as well as the livelihood of "Korea's historically significant base of farmers."⁵⁶ Currently farming accounts for only three percent of Korea's national income, down from fifty percent in the 1950s.⁵⁷ The staggering drop over a relatively short span of time, one or two generations at best, has caused considerable tension between the government and agricultural sector, as well as between rural dwellers and urbanites. At the center of the consequences of globalization, yet on the periphery of the public debates surrounding this latest stage of modernity, agricultural policies related to the rice farming have always been a determining factor in Korea's meteoric modernization.⁵⁸

The issue of grain self-sufficiency and rice farming has long vexed agricultural policy in Korea. The desire of the government to be at the helm of a grain self-sufficient Korea can be traced back to the colonial period wherein the Japanese protected the

⁵⁶ Hong, Sukjong, and Fuzhi Cheng. "Trade Liberalization in South Korea's Rice Sector: Some Policy Implications." *Food Policy for Developing Countries: Case Studies*. Cornell University, 2007. Web.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Burmeister, Larry, and Yong Ju Choi. "Food Sovereignty Movement Activism in South Korea: National Policy Impacts?." *Agriculture and Human Values* (2012) 29:247–258.

Korean and Taiwanese rice markets from world prices.⁵⁹ The rice produced by Koreans during this period was either too expensive for ordinary citizens to purchase or shipped to Japan. Using rice to brew liquor at home was not only illegal, but a financial impossibility too, and the memories of deprivation associated with this period still figure very largely in the national memory of colonization.

The Grain Management Act of 1964 was passed in response to rice shortages and facilitated the shift to wheat-based recipes. The Act also underscores the longterm predicament and anxieties of domestic rice supply. Market liberalization in the late 1990s and early 2000s saw the number of self-sufficient farming households plummet.⁶⁰ The WTO agreement of 1997 forced Korea to open up their rice market to imports. The arrangement dramatically altered the economic sustainability of rice farming. The imports of foreign rice increased from 51,000 tons to 205,000 tons in the span of a year, in the process creating a formidable rice surplus.⁶¹ In 2006 the arrangement was up for renewal. The 2006 WTO agreement was protested by farmers of all ilk, in particular rice farmers. The agreement forced South Korea to commit to doubling rice imports over the space of 10 years without the possibility of reimbursing farmers for losses on profit. The trade-off for the Korean government in submitting to the WTO agreements on rice imports was “increased market access for its manufacturing and industrial sector.”⁶² When the WTO arrangements expired in 2015, Korea set a 513 percent tariff on imported rice, yet this action may have come too late to undo the damage that had already been done.⁶³

⁵⁹ Anderson, K. “Korea: A Case of Agricultural Protection.” *Food Price Policy in Asia: A Comparative Study*. Ed. Terry Sicular. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.

⁶⁰ Burmeister, Larry. “South Korea’s Agrarian Transformation.” Ed. Steven Hugh Lee and Yunshik Chang. *Transformations in Twentieth Century Korea*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. p. 77.

⁶¹ Anderson, K. “Korea: A Case of Agricultural Protection.” *Food Price Policy in Asia: A Comparative Study*. Ed. Terry Sicular. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ Chung, Joowon. “Korea to defend rice market in TPP talks.” *The Korea Herald*, 5 May 2016.

From Japanese rule, through the military dictatorships, up until the present day, the issue of agricultural sustainability and its ramifications has consistently undergirded the national subconscious. The implications of rice policy intersects with the debate on tradition, what is at stake here is not the representation of tradition or the consumption of nostalgic goods, but an entire way of life. Since the start of the WTO negotiations in 1997, imported rice has undercut the price of domestic rice, creating huge surpluses. Further compounding the problem of expensive, surplus domestic rice is the reality of falling rice consumption in Korea. In 1998 rice consumption per capita was 99.2 kilograms, and that number fell to 75.8 kilograms in 2008, and hit a historic low in 2015 at 62.9 kilograms per person.⁶⁴

At various points the government has appealed to the populace through the use of advertisement campaigns in the hopes of encouraging domestic rice consumption. In 1992 amid rising fears of the impact of the WTO, the National Agricultural Cooperative Federation in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (renamed in March 2013 as MAFRA) produced an advertisement campaign urging citizens to consume exclusively Korean rice. The re-branding of rice consumption was crystallized in the tagline *sint'o puri* (body and earth are one). Scholar Katarzyna J. Cwiertka writes that the phrase eloquently appealed to the national Buddhist tradition by reminding one of the inexorable connection between “the karma of an individual and that of his of her surroundings.”⁶⁵ The publicity campaign was effective to the point that the phrase is now synonymous with the concept that Korean food is best suited to Korean bodies.⁶⁶ The *sint'o puri* campaign exemplifies the attempt to diffuse tension between the agrarian countryside and cities by reminding the urban dweller of the importance of supporting their compatriots.⁶⁷ Reifying nationalism by turning the consumption of domestic rice into a patriotic act, is a strategy that has been

⁶⁴ Anon. “South Korea’s Rice Consumption Hits All-Time Low in 2015.” *The Korea Times*. 29 Jan 2016.

⁶⁵ Cwiertka, Katarzyna. *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-century Korea*. London: Reaktion, 2012. p.129.

⁶⁶ *ibid.* 129.

⁶⁷ *ibid.* 129.

employed again in recent years. Lee Dong Phil, the current president of MAFRA, has updated the *sint'o puri* campaign of the 1990s, by creating a distinct market for domestic rice through the makkölli revival. In his research project on the state of the traditional liquor industry he stresses the need to focus on the plight of the rice farmers. In the introduction to his book, *Korean Liquor and Traditional Alcohol Industry*, he proclaims that: “If we are to understand the problems of farmers we must bring sincerity”.⁶⁸ Convinced of the viability of a productive relationship between Korean farmers, brewers, and the government he lays out his intention to bridge the gap between the rural farmer and globalization by encouraging the use of Korean rice for makkölli in order to create premium agricultural products.

Lee began his research on traditional alcohol and its relationship to the agricultural sector in 2004 as a commissioner for MAFRA. Initially his proposals to develop traditional alcohol were met with political backlash at a meeting of the national Assembly in November 2008.⁶⁹ However, a year later, after the Japanese boom, the National Assembly awarded Lee committee research grants in order to pursue the globalization of the makkölli and other traditional alcohol.

Lee's effort to incorporate rural farms into the preservation and development of traditional alcohol is most apparent in the introduction of regulations which require producers to label the origin of ingredients used in each brew.⁷⁰ The labeling system mirrors the efforts of the *sint'o puri* movement by encouraging the use of exclusively Korean rice to make Korean makkölli. Korean rice must be used in the authentic production of Korean alcohol. The intention of the provision encourages producers and consumers to focus on the origin of the ingredients in the drink, in the process creating and enforcing regional markers of identity, or ethnicity and transforming them into cordons of prestige. The secondary purpose of the law relieves

⁶⁸ I, Tongp'il. “*Han'gugüi Churyujedowa Chönt'ongjusanöp*” Han'gunnongch'on'gyöngjeyön'guwön: Söul, 2013. p. iii.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* p. iii

⁷⁰ Lee Eunjoo “Makgeolli Makers Rush to Use Domestic Rice” *Joongang Daily*. May 6, 2010.

the tension between the rural farmers and urbanites, ensuring that the former are no longer left behind economically.

The inspiration for this policy was modeled on the French concept of *terroir*. *Terroir* is a system which assigns value to wines based on of a set of ecological factors such as: soil quality, locale, proximity to the ocean, which effect the quality and character of a grape used in wine production. *Terroir* differentiates wines on the basis of an inherent quality derived from the earth, and therefore makes certain products more desirable, hence more scarce, prestigious and expensive than others. By placing such an emphasis on the location in which grapes are grown, the area in which the vineyard itself is situated takes on a more mythic, esteemed, and romanticized quality. It exoticizes the familiar, the mundane, which is one of the major goals of nation branding.

In 2011 the government announced a plan to double the exports of makkölli. The government set aside a large amount of money in order to help facilitate the expansion of local breweries to international markets. The government marked 98 U.S. million in loans and investment for traditional brewers with the expectation of increasing international exports from \$300 million to \$600 million by 2015. Breweries in Korea began to develop products specifically for the Chinese market. The GUAM agriculture company in North Gyeongsang province developed a jujube makgeolli mad with local rice specifically to appeal to the taste of Chinese consumers who value the jujube for it's medicinal properties.⁷¹ The project brought together brewers, rice and jujube farmers creating new opportunities for local agriculture business in the process. The jujube makkölli demonstrates only one such example of brewery expansions that have taken place since 2009.

Before the democratization, the government organized multipurpose business opportunities for rural farms through the creation of various federations. The structure of these farming cooperatives aimed to create, or maintain, communal social units

⁷¹ Kim Sangil "Kyöngbuk Ch'öngsong Taech'umakkölli...Chungguk Such'ul Ch'öt Sönggong!" *Korean Herald*. 8 Jul. 2012.

similar to those that existed in pre-modern rural South Korea.⁷² The success of this model has all but vanished over the last twenty years as Korean agriculture and especially small farms have suffered considerably under globalization and WTO arrangements. However, the GUAM project mimics these earlier social agricultural structures of pre-WTO, and market liberalization. Whether or not the jujube makkölli business is an aberration or the sign of a the new direction of agriculture in Korea remains to be seen.

The desire to have a national alcohol has been called for increasingly in the media since the initial 2009 ‘makkölli boom’. The government’s desire to re-brand the image of makkölli at home and abroad has been both symbolically reinforced through the adulation of makkölli in prestigious social settings, such as the G20 Summit, and more directly through policies whose intention is to prompt producers and consumers to approach the beverage differently. The government attempt to brand, or re-band makkölli has shifted wildly in tone over the last few years, between the contest to rename the drink for a foreign audience, and the more subtle introduction of labelling policies, it seems that the government has yet to decide upon a strategy that suits its goals. Regardless, the government has recognized the importance of tradition and in view of that, in 2011 the National Assembly set aside 106.7 million US dollars in subsidies for traditional liquors. Much of this money has been set aside for a research and development project which aims to recover 50 traditional liquor and makkölli recipes within the next three years.⁷³ Despite the uneven tone of the government’s national and international makkölli campaigns, the project to recover old recipes has both inspired and employed artisan brewer who have already been doing much of this work themselves. In the next section we shall examine the true innovators in the makkölli industry, the craft brewing community.

⁷² Burmeister, Larry. "South Korea's Agrarian Transformation." Ed. Steven Hugh Lee and Yunshik Chang. *Transformations in Twentieth Century Korea*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006. 68

⁷³ Moon, Gwanglip. "State support for traditional Korean liquor." *Joongang Daily*. 27. Aug 2009.

Chapter Three: Makkölli As Vanguard of the Craft Movement

The Artisan Makkölli Brewer

In chapter three I shall endeavor to demonstrate how craft movements have functioned both in symbiosis with and reacted against global tendencies and nation branding as effected by the Korean government, and contributed to the revival of Makkoli. Financial aid provided by the government and new regulations imposed on the industry have helped considerably in the process of promoting and re-branding the image of makkölli. The regulations for the size and capacity of fermenting vessels and brewing facilities have been significantly lowered and restrictions have been placed on larger brewing companies from entering the makkölli market, clearing the way for small breweries to succeed.

However, the production and quality of the drink is determined solely by the artisan brewers and craftsman of South Korea. All forms of craft require a certain learned language which manifests itself in a purely unconscious physical realm. Craft skills cannot accurately be conveyed through verbal means or the precision of a user manual.⁷⁴ The only way to acquire craft skills is to develop a form of manual competence steadfastly over time.⁷⁵ A competent makkölli brewer requires a specialized relationship between the head and hand, access to the explicit and tacit forms of knowledge that accompany each type of intelligence. While brewing makkölli, one must be sensitive to the pressure applied to the rice while washing it, slight changes in temperature as the beverage ferments, the speed with which one stirs the drink at the various stages in its development. The right scent and color of nuruk must also be learned through trial and error, and a particular feel and inherent understanding of the living bacteria itself is crucial to a successful brew. While the beverage ferments the quality and activity of gaseous bubbles, and the fragrance they impart indicate to the

⁷⁴ Sennet, Richard, The Craftsman <http://www.iflscience.com/health-and-medicine/obama-just-became-the-first-sitting-president-to-publish-a-scientific-paper/>

experienced brewers whether or not their drink will be a success or if it needs additional tinkering. Makkölli requires the knowledge of a craftsman, an insight developed through patience and observation.

The demand for products outside of the system, in the domain of the craftsman has spawned a small, but emerging movement within Korean society. The nation's uneven path to economic development has focused predominantly on large chaebols and thus a tier of small and medium sized businesses has until this point has failed to evolve. Korea has one of the highest worker dissatisfaction rates in the world and those left behind or interested in opting out have had few opportunities find success in alternative occupations. The national pastime of hiking and the superfluous number of noraebangs are but two examples of hobbies that have developed as means of stress relief in the harried nation. And only recently has the switch from a six day work week to a more standard five day work week in 2002 has also created more space for hobbyists to pursue craftsmanship.

Matthew Crawford has linked the recent interest in the cultivation of manual skills to the loss of individual agency which pervades the modern workplace. The workforce of the information economy finds itself denied the pleasure of reveling in any tangible success because there is none to behold. In his book Crawford uses the example of a carpenter and an office worker. At the end of the day the office worker has contributed in some larger way to the growth of the company through seemingly arbitrary measures, such as paperwork, order forms, invoices, etc whereas the work of a carpenter culminates with a tangible product.⁷⁶

Capitalism has coopted the esthetic productions which in earlier times served as a critique of capitalism,⁷⁷ emerging craft movements have recently begun to fill this void by acting as an alternative successor to, or as a reaction against global industrialization. We have not yet seen anything replace or rival capitalism and the

⁷⁶ Crawford, Matthew. *The Case For Working With Your Hands: or Why Office Work is Bad for Us and Fixing Things Feels Good*. London: Penguin, 2005. p 5.

⁷⁷ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: U of California, 1999. p. 8.

efficiency of industrialization, but the rise of craft movements plays a large role in filling the ethical, spiritual, or communal void left behind in the global era.⁷⁸ The infusion of a perceived spirituality into work done with a rational, creative and capable brain accounts for the allure of the pursuit of craftsmanship, as well as its consumer appeal. Craft creates a space for those who feel overly burdened by the constraints of industrialization. The craft movement turns *constraint* into a highly attractive dimension as it aligns itself with locally sourced, regionally specific qualities.

Tellingly, the popularity of craft movements has increased dramatically in highly developed capitalist societies worldwide over the last decade: the craft beer brewing movement in the United States and United Kingdom,⁷⁹ as well as the rise in artisanal products such as cheeses in the U.S serve as notable examples of this trend.⁸⁰ The politics of globalization have created a ‘global garden’, completely obscuring the consumer from the origin of their food, and a consumer backlash has partially arisen in the popularity of artisanal food products. Concerns over farming practices, pesticides, and GMOs spawned the organic movements, which although began in earnest has now become a parody of itself due to lax regulations and the corporatization of “organic” labeling. Following the failure of ‘organics’ as an authentic alternative, craft movements have consistently manifested within agricultural sectors and the food industry instead, and the makkölli revival fits this pattern well.

Craft consumption designates consumer patterns by which the consumer and producer collaborate in the individual creation of goods, which they themselves later consume.⁸¹ The craft movement closely relates to other consumer identity movements through the marketing of nostalgia: the recent obsession over vintage goods, local

⁷⁸ Luyckx, Marc. "The Transmodern Hypothesis: Towards a Dialogue of Cultures." *Futures* 31.9-10 (1999): 971-82

⁷⁹ Pozner, Jo-Ellen, Michaela DeSoucey, and Katarina Sikavica. . "Bottle Revolution: Constructing Consumer and Producer Identities in the Craft Beer Industry". *IRLE Working Paper*, 2014: No. 118-14. <http://irle.berkeley.edu/workingpapers/118-14.pdf>

⁸⁰ Paxson, Heather. "Artisanal Cheese and Economies of Sentiment in New England". Ed. Richard Wilk. *Fast Food/Slow Food: The Cultural Economy of the Global Food System*. Lanham: Altamira, 2006.

⁸¹ Campbell, Colin. The Craft Consumer culture, Craft and Consumption in a Postmodern Society. *Journal of Consumer Culture* 2005: 5.1, 23–42.

foods, farm to table, even the global success of super hero movies revived from the 1960s all peddle in the nostalgia market.⁸² The theories of Bourdieu easily justify the popularity of the craft movement through it's appeal to the bourgeois ideal to reaffirm socioeconomic position through adherence to a particular style, which is then perpetuated through peer pressure.⁸³ Craft as an identity movements fits in with a larger paradigm of nostalgia based consumption in which consumer desires are reflections of values outside of the hegemony of globalization. In this manner craft and artisanal food movements are deeply related to the same concerns that we examined in the consumption and revitalization of tradition.

The defining values of the craft movement and nostalgia market can be traced back to Dean MacCannel's landmark *The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class*. The prescient nature of MacCannel's observations on tourism in the late 1980s crystallize the ideological attempt to reclaim authenticity and tradition through alternative means outside of modernity. MacCannel writes about the fetishization of the work of others by transforming that labor into an experience for tourists through museums, and do-it yourself classes.⁸⁴ He credits the popularity of this type of tourism with the desire to witness creativity and innovation in work, as the industrialization of society has wrought relations that are "marred by cold calculation."⁸⁵

Richard Sennet's book *The Craftsman*, furthers the ideas of MacCannel and applies them more directly to the rise in alternative occupations. Sennet's book is one of many recent contributions to academia which endeavors to restore honor to the labors typically associated with the pre-industrial age. Sennet draws us into the world of the craftsman philosophically, by redefining the terms *animal laborens* and *homo faber*. Sennet asks us to reconsiders the assumed intellectual superiority of *homo*

⁸² Harvey, David. "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture." *Socialist Register*. vol 38: 2011. p. 97.

⁸³ Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.

⁸⁴ MacCannel Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1999. p.18.

⁸⁵ *ibid.* p. 18

faber. In Sennet's estimation 'man as maker' should be applied to a reimagined role of *animal laborens* too, as work accomplished with the mind or the hands is equally full of intellectual labor. Hannah Arendt posited that 'the mind engages once the labor is done', and Sennet asks us to reverse this assumption, as the physical labor of a craftsman is a deeply intellectual work full of problem solving and tacit realization.⁸⁶ In the purview of Sennet, the work of the craftsman has receded from popular representation with the growth of the knowledge economy, but the impulse to create with one's hand is a deeply held and felt human desire which continues to propel society.⁸⁷

3.2 Emergence of Brewing Schools and a Revived Craft Culture

Due to historical factors, the manual competence and craft of makkölli had largely receded from Korean life. Yet, this aspect of craft production has recently taken up residence in new brewing schools in the capital. Two schools have emerged as the leaders in makkölli instruction: Susubori and Makkölli Hakkyo. Classes at each institution can be taken for just an afternoon, or as a multi-week course including instruction on appreciation, history and advanced brewing techniques. The mission statement of the Makkölli Hakkyo highlights the importance of strengthening the bond between traditional alcohol, brewers and society, and emphasizes the cultural significance of taking part in makkölli production.⁸⁸ The slots in these courses are typically filled by members of the younger generations in their 20s-30s looking to connect with an imagined social history they have not experienced firsthand. The rest of the students tend to be well educated older retirees who lived through the rapid modernization of the 1960-80s and have fond memories of the drink. As intimate, craft knowledge of the drink remains scarce, professional brewers have also taken the

⁸⁶ Sennett, Richard. *The Craftsman*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2008. p.6

⁸⁷ *ibid.* 10.

⁸⁸ Makkölli Hakkyo. "Kyoyuginyömgwa Mokchök" (Educational Philosophy) <http://www.soolschool.com/html/sub/0103.html> Makkölli Hakkyo, 2012. Web. 1 Jun. 2016.

courses in order to bolster their brewing skills, learn different techniques and further develop regional and national networks.

Both Susubori and Makkölli Hakkyo were developed without the aid of government subsidies and should be treated as natural outgrowths of the interest in the crossroads between tradition and makkölli. Financial barriers have prohibited many students of these programs from opening up their own breweries, yet many have also gone on to develop and market their own beverages after graduating from these two schools. The schools not only bring together beginner and advanced brewers in the classroom, they also provide for extracurricular activities. Both schools enter the brews of their students in nationwide contests at various folk festivals, creating the conditions for brewing networks amongst students, artisans, and professionals to develop. These extracurricular activities received government subsidies, and reinforce the relationship between the interests of the two groups. The government sponsored folk festivals and makkölli events help energize the agriculture sector and promote national tradition and culture. At the same time, professional and non professional brewers are given the opportunity to build communities, share knowledge, experience and bring their crafts to a wider audience.

The brewing schools enable craftsmanship and perpetuate an exoticization of the countryside. The nostalgia for the countryside of course does not match the expectations of the fantasy put upon it by the city dweller. As we saw through our discussion on farming in Korea, the life of a farmer is rife with hardship. The dismal economic prospects of the rice farmer in modern Korea have social repercussions as well. The exodus from the rural provinces to the cities has caused an imbalance which has led to a separate market for mail order brides from impoverished rural areas in other parts of Asia.⁸⁹

Aware of this tension, artisanal makkölli brands have given their brews names which reflect the desire to reconnect with an imagined pastoral paradise: *neurin maeul*

⁸⁹ Moon, Okpyo. "Guests of Lineage Houses: Tourist Commodification of Confucian Cultural Heritage in Korea" *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011. p. 90.

(slow city), and *yetnal* (old times) serve as two examples of popular additive free brands who have capitalized on this nostalgia for the rural farm life. The *neurin maeul* brand is owned by the Paesangmyŏn brewery, who made their name by manufacturing medicinal liquors in the later 1990s. The Paesangmyŏn company the largest of the small breweries has emerged as a leader in artisanal movement. The company focus on using natural, simple ingredients and its popularity has pushed other companies to take the aspartame out of their beverages.⁹⁰ The use of aspartame masks the true flavor the drink and in the process obscures the social history of the beverage.

This is particularly significant as eliminating aspartame significantly shortens the shelf life of the drink, potentially diminishing sales in the process. This is in some ways a response to consumer trends which value health and “clean eating” over convenience or price. The desire to seek out food products with the promise of transparency, (i.e. this makkŏlli contains only rice, water, and nuruk) links up with global discourses on health and concerns for authenticity. Makkŏlli’s status as a healthy alcoholic alternative broadens its appeal to health conscious customers, and again those interested in goods outside of the system. Since 2009 many studies and newspaper articles have been published on the anti-cancer properties of makkŏlli, highlighting the positive impact lacto-bacillus has on the stomach as a probiotic, and the benefits for the complexion. These factors undoubtedly contribute to the recent popularity of the drink.

3.3 Rediscovering Makkŏlli Experiences

As the purveyor of clean makkŏlli, Paesangmyŏn has also recently unveiled plans to build brew pubs in Seoul that are reminiscent of the traditional establishments who brewed alcohol on-site.⁹¹ The idea behind the establishment of brew pubs is to provide fresh, unpasteurized, and unadulterated makkŏlli directly to the public.

⁹⁰ Anon “Makgeolli Makeover” *Joonang Daily*. 9 Apr. 2013.

⁹¹ Park, Hanna. “Baesangmyun Seeks to Revive Traditional Liquor Culture with Brew Pubs” *Korea Herald*. 17 Jul. 2015.

Currently, no such establishments exist in the capital. New opportunities to consume makkölli abound in Seoul today. Since 2009 many restaurants specializing in artisanal brews from around the nation have opened up in the capital. The genesis of the movement was *Wolhyang*, a restaurant in the trendy, gentrified neighborhood of Hapjeong. The restaurant mission is to serve artisanal makkölli from all corners of the country. *Wolhyang* was opened in 2009 after ten years of research on traditional alcohol in Korea, and chefs worked to create foods other than the typical *pajeon* to accompany the drink. The story of *Wolhyang*, much like the story of *makkölli*, tellingly also has an origin connection with Japan. The owner of the establishment, Zhang Kichul, after nineteen years of business, converted his Japanese restaurant into *Wolhyang*, a makkölli house serving drinks made exclusively from rice.⁹²

Another barometer of the success for the grassroots or craft makkölli movement are the new innovations within the bounds of traditional production. Old recipes have been recovered and developed for a modern audience, ingredients such as ginseng and pumpkin have been incorporated into recipes, and new traditions focusing on natural production means have been created. New approaches to the drink have also been borrowed from other nations. Local producers, inspired by the French tradition of *Beaujolais*, a seasonal wine which is made from the first grapes of the year, created a speciality line of expensive and limited quantity makkölli brewed with the first rice harvest of the year. With the debut of the line in 2001, the department stores Lotte and Hyundai reported hundreds of reservations for this new type of makkölli, “Gamak”.⁹³ The popularity of these limited edition, craft makköllis fetishizes a natural connection to the earth, farming and authenticity, or purity of ingredients. The craftsman behind the invention of Gamak have spawned a new tradition within the brewing communities in Korea.

⁹² Oh, Jean “Artisanal Makgeolli Movement Underway” *The Korea Herald*. 30 Mar. 2010.

⁹³ Jung, Hawon. “Move Over Beaujolais, It’s Makgeolli Time.” *Korea Joongang Daily*, 13 Nov. 2009.

Currently the craft makkölli network in Korea stands at 732 licensed breweries.⁹⁴ Despite this relatively small number, the innovations within the industry over the last few years are considerable. The makkölli renaissance has restored honor and prestige to the drink by returning to the humble, hand-crafted origins of the drink through the production of beverages that reflect both authentic tradition and use of natural ingredients. Brewers, students, artisans, and instructors driven by a desire to reconnect with and reconstruct the brewing tradition of the past have in the process created a new social history through expanded networks of brewers. In turn this small but highly productive community has redefined aspects of national tradition and identity. The power of using nostalgia and national tradition as a symbol may not be the main goal of the brewers in their pursuit of reviving the Makkölli experience but it certainly figures largely in the subconscious of artisan brewers today.

⁹⁴ I, Tongp'il. "*Han'gugŭi Churyujedowa Chŏnt'ongjusanŏp*" Han'gunnongch'on'gyŏngjeyŏn'guwŏn: Sŏul, 2013. p. 31.

Conclusion

The makkölli renaissance currently underway in South Korea provides unusual insight into the nation's experience of modernity. Makkölli as an object of both traditional and modern consumption represents an effort to simultaneously recover and invert traditions of the past. The desire to redefine the image of makkölli as a craft product of regional specificity is simultaneously at odds with, and enabled by the processes of globalization. Both the downfall of the drink, and its current ascendancy are inextricably linked to Korea's past and present relationship with Japan. However, the unlikely foreign attention paid to the drink, best serves to highlight the complex origins of the makkölli revival, which in truth owes its momentum rather to the mechanics and interplay between nation branding and tradition, between the global and the local system, between government and brewer.

Per Craig Calhoun and Richard Sennet's observations in their volume *Practicing Culture*, "culture treated as a domain distinct from political and economic concerns limits our ability to integrate the study of culture into a more complete analytical field."⁹⁵ The government interest in the drink both makes use of the opportunities provided by globalization as well as seeks to mitigate its effects. The government of Korea, eager to enhance its national prestige and curate national cultural expression has taken an interest in makkölli as a symbol of power or international prestige. Given the nature of the drink itself, particularly its fragility and short shelf life, makkölli's expansion outside of Korea faces considerable challenges. As we saw in chapter three on craftsmanship, the appeal of the drink comes from its local specificity and connection to rural life. Korea's participation in globalization, and specifically the WTO has destroyed the romanticized view of the countryside that makkölli seeks to recuperate. Attempting to economically rehabilitate and *exoticize* an image of the countryside, the Korean government has partially funded and structured new opportunities which have allowed makkölli business to flourish in recent years. The

⁹⁵ Calhoun, Craig J., and Richard Sennett. "Introduction." *Practicing Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007. p. 5.

contradiction between makkölli as a global product, and makkölli as a regional, artisan delicacy has created a unique, and perhaps paradoxical opening for artisanal brewers to reclaim makkölli and reconstruct the tradition anew in the twenty first century. The enmeshed nature of modern and traditional forms of consumption are not unique to Korea, yet the particularities of the makkölli revival are. Currently, makkölli is at a crossroads between crafting consumability and crafting tradition, in a sense the beverage has two masters, inhabiting the realms of global and local interest in equal measure. It remains to be seen whether or not makkölli will maintain its current popularity, or undergo another dip, only to remerge again during another stage of symbiosis between market and tradition in the global age. Whatever direction the traditional alcohol industry in Korea eventually takes, this very likely serves as the pivotal moment from which the future of makkölli tradition will orient itself.

Works Cited:

- Anderson, K. "Korea: A Case of Agricultural Protection." *Food Price Policy in Asia: A Comparative Study*. Ed. Terry Sicular. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.
- Anon. "History." <http://www.koreawine.co.kr/> Söult'akchujejohyöp'oe (Seoul Takju Manufacturers Association) , 2011. Web. 7 Mar. 2016.
- Anon. "Makgeolli Exports Surge On Strong Demand in Japan." *Korea Times*, January 26, 2016. Web. April 10, 2016.
- Anon. "Makgeolli Exports Surge to Record Levels." *Choson Ilbo*, June 15, 2016, Web. May 17. 2016
- Anon. "Makgeolli Picked Hit Product of 2009." *Chosun Ilbo.*, 17 Dec. 2009. Web. 14. May 2016.
- Anon. "Small Brewery Promoting Makgeolli to the World." *Dong A Ilbo*. 12 Feb. 2010. Web. 16 May 2016.
- Anon. "South Korea's Rice Consumption Hits All-Time Low in 2015." *The Korea Times*. 29 Jan 2016. Web. 17 Apr. 2016.
- Aronczyk, Melissa. "New and Improved Nations: Branding National Identity." Ed. Craig J. Calhoun and Richard Sennett. *Practicing Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007. p 105-128.
- Baudrillard, Jean, and Mark Poster. *Selected Writings*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2001. p. 166-184.
- Beck, Ulrich. *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2000.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.
- Burmeister, Larry. "South Korea's Agrarian Transformation." Ed. Steven Hugh Lee and Yunshik Chang. *Transformations in Twentieth Century Korea*. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- Burmeister, Larry, and Yong Ju Choi. "Food Sovereignty Movement Activism in South Korea: National Policy Impacts?." *Agriculture and Human Values* (2012) 29:247–258.

- Calhoun, Craig J., and Richard Sennett. "Introduction." *Practicing Culture*. London: Routledge, 2007
- Campbell, Colin. The Craft Consumer culture, Craft and Consumption in a Postmodern Society. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2005: 5.1, 23–42.
- Cho, Kangsu. "Call it a Comeback: Makgeolli in Favor Once Again." *Korea Joongang Daily*, 25 Nov. 2009. Web. 14 May 2016.
- Chung, Joowon. "Korea to defend rice market in TPP talks." *The Korea Herald*, 5 May 2016. Web. 15 May 2016.
- Crawford, Matthew. *The Case For Working With Your Hands: or Why Office Work is Bad for Us and Fixing Things Feels Good*. London: Penguin, 2005.
- Cwiertka, Katarzyna. *Cuisine, Colonialism and Cold War: Food in Twentieth-century Korea*. London: Reaktion, 2012.
- Gellner, Ernest *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1991.
- Han, Kyöng gu. Öttöñ Ŭmshikün Saenggak'agiüi Chot'a Koo. Öttöñ Ŭmshikün Saenggak hagi e Chot'a: Kimch'i wa Han'guk üi chöngsu:. *Hang'uk Munhwa Illyuhak*. 26:51-68.
- Han, Kyung-Koo. "The 'Kimchi Wars' in Globalizing East Asia: Consuming Class, Gender, Health, and National Identity." *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011
- Hanaki, Toru, Arvind Singhal, Min Wha Han, Do Kyun Kim, and Ketan Chitnis. "Hanryu Sweeps East Asia: How Winter Sonata Is Gripping Japan." *The International Communication Gazette*. vol. 69(3) 2007: p. 281–294
- Harvey, David. "The Art of Rent: Globalization, Monopoly and the Commodification of Culture." *Socialist Register*. vol 38: 2011. p 93-110.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrance Ranger, eds. 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge, University Press.

Hong, Sukjong, and Fuzhi Cheng. "Trade Liberalization in South Korea's Rice Sector: Some Policy Implications." *Food Policy for Developing Countries: Case Studies*. Cornell University, 2007. Web.

I, Tongp'il. "*Han'gugüi Churyujedowa Chönt'ongjusanöp*"
Han'gunngongch'on'gyöngjeyön'guwön: Söul, 2013.

Joo Kyung-don, "Makgeolli Arrives at VIP Airline Lounge" *Korea Joongang Daily*. 26 Feb. 2013. Web. 4 April 2016.

Jung, Hawon. "Move Over Beaujolais, It's Makgeolli Time." *Korea Joongang Daily*, 13 Nov. 2009. Web. 14 May 2016.

Kendall, Laurel. "Introduction: Material Modernity, Consumable Tradition." *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011.

Kim, Da-Ye. "If Samsung Makes Makgeolli." *Korea Times*, 15, Jan. 2016, Web. 14, May 2016.

Kim, Do Kyun, and Kim Sun Kim. *Hallyu: Influence of Korean Popular Culture in Asia and Beyond*. Seoul: Seoul U, 2011.

Kim Myöngyu. "*Han'gukchaejöngüi Kujo*" Koryödaehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu: Söul, 1967.

Kim Sangil "Kyöngbuk Ch'öngsong Taech'umakkölli...Chungguk Such'ul Ch'öt Sönggong!" *Korean Herald*. 8 Jul. 2012. Web. 5 May 2016.

Ko, Dong- Hwan. "Makgeolli Ad Published on WSJ Front Page." *Korea Times*, January 7, 2014. Web. 17 April 2016.

Lee Eunjoo "Makgeolli Makers Rush to Use Domestic Rice" *Joongang Daily*. May 6, 2010 Web. 17 April 2016.

Luyckx, Marc. "The Transmodern Hypothesis: Towards a Dialogue of Cultures." *Futures* 31.9-10 (1999): 971-82

MacCannel Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of Leisure Class*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1999.

Makkölli Hakkyo. "Kyoyuginyömgwa Mokchök" (Educational Philosophy)
<http://www.soolschool.com/html/sub/0103.html> Makkölli Hakkyo, 2012. Web. 1 Jun. 2016.

- Moon, Gwanglip. "State support for traditional Korean liquor." *Joongang Daily*. 27. Aug 2009. Web. 3 May 2016.
- Moon, Okpyo. "Guests of Lineage Houses: Tourist Commodification of Confucian Cultural Heritage in Korea" *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity*. Honolulu: U of Hawai'i, 2011.
- Seo, Jieun. "A Growing Obsession With 'Drunken Rice'" *Korea Joongang Daily*. June 1, 2010. Web. May 29, 2016.
- Smith, Anthony D. "Gastronomy or Geology? The Role of Nationalism in the Reconstruction of Nations." *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1995. p. 3-23.
- Suntory. "Suntory Product Information" <http://www.suntory.co.jp/sho-chu/makkoli/product/>. Suntory, 2011. Web. 19 Apr. 2016.
- Oh, Jean "Artisanal Makgeolli Movement Underway" *The Korea Herald*. 30 Mar. 2010. Web. 17 Maty. 2016.
- Park, Hanna. "Baesangmyun Seeks to Revive Traditional Liquor Culture with Brew Pubs" *Korea Herald*. 17 Jul. 2015. Web. 5 May 2016.
- Paxson, Heather. "Artisanal Cheese and Economies of Sentiment in New England". Ed. Richard Wilk. *Fast Food/Slow Food: The Cultural Economy of the Global Food System*. Lanham: Altamira, 2006.
- Pozner, Jo-Ellen, Michaela DeSoucey, and Katarina Sikavica. (2014). "Bottle Revolution: Constructing Consumer and Producer Identities in the Craft Beer Industry". *IRLE Working Paper*, 2014: No. 118-14. <http://irle.berkeley.edu/workingpapers/118-14.pdf>
- Sennett, Richard. *The Craftsman*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2008
- Söult'ükpyölshi Munhwaguk. Han'gugüi Churyujedowa Chönt'ongjusanöp. *G20 Sönggonggiwön Makköllit' phanshik P'esüt'iböl*. <Http://www.seoul.go.kr>. NewsWire, 25 June 2010. Web. 17 Mar. 2016.
- Shils, Edward. *Tradition*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1981.
- Trentmann, Frank. "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption." *Journal of Contemporary*. 39.3 (2004): 373-401

Vlastos, Stephen. "Tradition: Past/Present Culture and Modern Japanese History." *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan*. Berkeley: U of California, 1998.

Yöm, Söngkwan. "Kungnae Makkölli Sanöbui Pyönch'önsa" (The History of the Makkölli Industry). *Shikp'umgwahakkwa Sanöp*, vol. 44.4 (2011), pp. 18-27.