

Consuming food in pre-industrial Korean travel: approaching from Veblen's conspicuous consumption

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Introduction

Food is an absolute necessity to enable travel regardless temporal and spatial locations. This undeniable fact, to a degree, has led to tourism researchers' rather belated attention to the inquiries into food in tourism (Cohen & Avieli, 2004; Kim, Eves & Scarles, 2009). Food and its consumption in tourism studies are beginning to receive more attention, giving a rise to more focused domain of 'food tourism'. This attention may partly due to the implications for the industry sector, which strives to develop products, to market them and to deliver adequate experiences to the target markets. What and how some ingredients are chosen and then prepared; who would eat the prepared food; in what manners and contexts, have important implications for both industry and academia (Chang, Kivela, & Mak, 2010; Gyimóthy & Mykletun, 2009; Lin, Pearson & Cai, 2011).

The attention to food tourism also comes with a view that food while travelling has cultural and symbolic elements that can bring enhanced status of the tourists in a society (Richards, 2002). This symbolic element in food can be further linked to the conspicuous consumption by Thorstein Veblen in his classic work on the emergence of leisure class in the late 19th century America. As an East Asian experience, Kim & Jang (2014) highlight the culturally symbolic function of drinking coffee in upscale cafes.

Current understanding of consuming food within the context of food tourism, that is on one end of spectrum being a mundane necessity and on the other being a cultural sign that is not essential per se for social distinction, is where this chapter's focal point lies.

How can we have comprehensive understanding the full meaning of consuming food, for the benefit of for both industry and academia? That is to say, the subject of consuming

food while travelling possesses the element of 'essential-necessity', as well as near-complete surplus of luxury in life. Food consumption as a sign for social recognition seems to be a good example for conspicuous consumption. Indeed, it appears that when referring to consuming food, this consumption can be related to the exclusive use of instrumental value only and none of intrinsic value. Instrumental value can be conceptualised as an object's quality where it exists as a means to an end. Intrinsic value, in comparison, can be understood as an object's quality where the existence itself is its own end (James, 2003).

The point on intrinsic value is important here, because in Veblen's description of conspicuous consumption of the leisure class, he critiques the leisure class's devotion for objects that has 'of no intrinsic use', that is, no use for its own being or existence:

*As seen from economic point of view, leisure, considered as an employment, is closely allied in kind with the life of exploit; and the achievements which characterise a life of leisure, and which remain as its decorous criteria, have much in common with the trophies of exploit. But leisure in the narrower sense, as distinct from exploit and from any ostensibly productive employment of effort on objects which are **of no intrinsic use**, does not commonly leave a material product. The criteria of a past performance of leisure therefore commonly take the form of 'immaterial' goods. Such immaterial evidence of past leisure are quasi-scholarly or quasi-artistic accomplishments which do not conduce directly to the furtherance of human life (Veblen [1899], 2005, p.22)*
emphasis added.

Food while travelling, however, may not be said that its use is of no intrinsic at all. Whether it is an elaborate, utmost fashionable dish by a celebrity chef or a simple food for 'fuel', the nutrition by the food is used to enable physical functions required for the travel. In this sense, the use of Veblen's conspicuous consumption in food tourism can benefit from a contemplation on the nature of 'intrinsic use'.

Central idea to Veblen's conspicuous consumption is that people invest for unproductive consumption that has 'of no intrinsic use', because such consumption is perceived socially desirable and demonstrates the power of the consumer:

Unproductive consumption goods is honourable, primarily as a mark of prowess and a perquisite of human dignity...(Veblen [1899], 2005, p.43)

This aspect of unproductive consumption, seeking societal distinction, does form part of food consumption in travel when we consider tourists going for haute-cuisine, trendy restaurant experiences and the like.

As a related issue to food tourism in this chapter, it is worth noting that certain drinks were categorised by Veblen as the objects for the demonstration of superior class of the consumer. In this case, limited access acts as the ground for the superiority of the consumer:

... In the nature of things, luxuries and the comforts of life belong to the leisure class. Under the tabu, certain victuals, and more particularly certain beverages, are strictly reserved for the use of the superior class (Veblen [1899], 2005, p.44).

Following the revisit to Veblen's notion of conspicuous consumption, the current chapter studies on the consuming food in pre-industrial Korean travel. Given the increasing awareness on the need for Asian tourism in the dominant tourism studies (Paolo Mura, Elise Mognard & Saeed Pahlevan Sharif, 2017; Winter, 2006; Winter, Teo & Chang (eds), 2009), understanding the East Asian food consumption during the pre-industrial times would make a contribution towards our knowledge on Asian food tourism. Accordingly, the chapter studies to understand the meaning of consuming food in travel in the pre-industrial Korean society with Daoist, Confucian and Zen Buddhist values. The meaning of consuming food in the pre-industrial East Asian society is then reflected within the context of Veblen's conspicuous consumption and the application of the concept in food tourism research. The following

section reviews research on food, related to tourism studies and the notion of conspicuous consumption.

Studies on food in social sciences

The meaning of food in tourism, let alone in Asian tourism, is yet to be fully known. There have been, nonetheless, some investigations on food in social science disciplines.

Within the tourism studies enquires, identity has been one of the main themes related to eating prepared foods and drinking beverages while travelling. Tourism researchers paid focused attention on food and its quintessential property for regional, national and destination identity across Wales, England and Norway (Jones & Jenkins, 2002; Everett & Aitchison, 2008; Gyimóthy & Mykletun, 2009). The identity related to food is also found contributing to building a destination brand (Lin, Pearson & Cai, 2011). Contrary to the assumption that globalisation poses threats to diverse identities, Mak, Lumbers & Eves (2011) demonstrate how the globalisation trend may be taken up as a tool to reinvent traditional identities through culinary tourism.

Researchers further delineate certain luxury element in consuming food within tourism context. Referring to Bourdieu's classic work on class distinction and taste, Richards (2002: 9) brings the consumption of food, that is essential part in travel and tourism activities, to the similar line of luxury goods consumption. This is because some food and drinks are consumed more than just as fuel for the body, essential for the work of travel. Indeed, certain consumption of food is used as a cultural medium with socially endowed meanings attached. This socially endowed meaning is subsequently used to signify the social class that the consumers of the food are placed in. Richards discusses 'right' habits in eating, drinking and table manners in this context. Because what we eat and how we eat display sufficient cultural elements and locate the consumers in certain class of their society.

Similarly, consuming particular beverages is viewed in conjunction with a status symbol. Studying the underlying motivational factors for consuming premium coffee in South Korea, Kim & Jang (2014) demonstrate that these factors are similar to those of the luxury goods consumption.

Beyond tourism studies, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and historians traced the meaning of food in cultural, political and economic boundaries. These earlier works may further provide a sound backdrop in searching for the meaning of consuming food in the pre-industrial East Asian society.

Taking an anthropological approach to the advent of McDonalds in East Asia, Watson (2006) presents the fast food restaurant's arrival and subsequent interactions of the quintessential American or capitalist symbol in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan. While the individual countries have their own pathways to bring the American fast food outlet, all five cases from Beijing, Hong Kong, Taipei, Seoul and Japan reinforce the idea that food in society is much more than the substance for biological needs. As such, all presented East Asian cases reflect the experiences of both being influenced and influencing the symbolically Western presence in their own societies.

In the case of South Korea, the adoption of the fast food restaurant was a negotiation between its nationalism and the new trend (Bak, 2006). Owing to the history between Korea and America, eating the fast food was linked to being pro-America and anti-Korean identity. This Korean experience in the adoption of McDonald's affirms other studies on food tourism with the focus on identity (Everett & Aitchison, 2008; Gyimóthy & Mykletun, 2009; Jones & Jenkins, 2002).

Drawing from social sciences literature on food, Mintz and Du Bois (2002) conducted an extensive review on food and eating. From the main areas of research on food and eating, which are 'single commodities and substances'; 'food and social change'; 'food insecurity';

`eating and ritual'; `eating and identities'; and `instructional materials', two areas are most relevant in the current chapter. These are `eating and identities' and `eating and ritual'. Here, the subject of identity is highlighted once more, which was echoed in the research into food tourism (Everett & Aitchison, 2008; Gyimóthy & Mykletun, 2009; Jones & Jenkins, 2002). The area of `eating and ritual' is a highly akin topic to consuming food as conspicuous consumption. Indeed, this is where one finds that food binds people and enforces religious and ethnic boundaries (p, 107), while eating habit establishes certain food etiquette and even establishes hierarchical power relations or access to material good (p. 108). Food, acting as binding element among people, can establish etiquette and certain heretical power that enables access to restricted materials goods. Such establishments subsequently enable conspicuous consumption of food.

On `of no intrinsic use' in conspicuous consumption: its application in marketing and tourism research

It is essential to discuss instrumental and intrinsic values of an object in order to understand the conspicuous consumption in food tourism. As noted earlier, conspicuous consumption is described as investing on objects `of no intrinsic use'. Without intrinsic use of an object, the consumption shows the consumer's power and ability to deploy his or her means for the sake of consumption. Such consumption, subsequently brings societal recognition of high class or exclusivity. Here one needs to be clear about intrinsic value of an object, due to its centrality in defining conspicuous consumption.

The notion of intrinsic value is often found in environmental sciences, referring to the value of nature. Aspired from Zen Buddhist notion of nature, intrinsic value refers to an object's existence and the very existence itself is its own end. In this description of an object's intrinsic value, it (object or nature) does not exist as an instrument in order to be used to reach

an end. In other words, the very existence of the object makes the world better or richer. Comparatively, when an object exists in order to get to an end, the object is described as having instrumental value, that is the object exists as a means to an end (James, 2003; Eckel, 1997).

When Veblen described the central idea in conspicuous consumption in 1899, he pointed out some objects' *'of no intrinsic use'* in the consumers' efforts to display his or her excessive resources. The display of abundant resources, subsequently, would bring societal distinction to the consumers. This logical path in Veblen's description of conspicuous consumption delineates that a clear understanding on an object's use of instrumental value is also in the central aspects of conspicuous consumption.

The binary position in conceptualising the intrinsic and instrumental values has been the dominant tradition in philosophy. Contemplating on the aspects of intrinsic value, Kagan (1998) points out a possible error in pursuing the binary approach. He argues that according to the dominant philosophical view, intrinsic value must depend solely upon intrinsic properties. However, there are certain inherently relational dimensions in objects of things. Accordingly, he highlights that "Intrinsic value reflects a philosophical theory about the nature of the value in question" (p.278).

Based on the relational dimension of objects, he suggests two concepts within intrinsic value. The first concept is the intrinsic value that depends upon the intrinsic properties of the object alone thus, non-relational. Second is that of the value that object has "as an end" (p. 278). This second concept lead to the possibility that the intrinsic value of an object may be partially based on its instrumental value (p. 281). This is owing to the object's relational dimension (e.g., rarity of an object, which contributes to its intrinsic value because it is so rare or the only one in the world, is only meaningful in comparison to other objects that are not unique).

Taking this two-concept-approach to intrinsic value in the research into food tourism in this chapter, the use of food might be viewed beyond the strictly binary division between instrumental and intrinsic values. Even when the consuming food was related to cultural sign for the traveller's social distinction, one cannot deny the fact that that the consumed food is used for its intrinsic value (related to the physical needs of the travellers).

To date, the adoption of conspicuous consumption in marketing and tourism research has focused on instrumental value in the dominant philosophical view. When marketing researchers examined conspicuous consumption in comparison to status consumption, for example, interpersonal influences are found to be affecting conspicuous consumption but not status consumption (O'Cass & McEwen, 2004). This identified interpersonal influences mean the relational dimension, indeed, serves as the instrument to gain social recognition. Taking the concept of conspicuous consumption to measurable categories, Marcoux et al. (1997) develop 5 meanings of conspicuous consumption; interpersonal mediation, materialistic hedonism, communication of belonging, status demonstration, and ostentation. All identified dimensions reflect relational dimension.

In tourism studies, measurement items of conspicuous consumption by the marketing researchers have been adopted to better understand tourist destinations. The research investigated whether there might be a connection between tourist's propensity towards conspicuous consumption and a destination's degree of conspicuous consumption. The result indicate that interpersonal mediation positively influence tourist's visiting intension to a destination with a high degree of conspicuous consumption (Phillips & Back, 2011). This study further affirms the adoption of conspicuous consumption, focusing on instrumental value.

It is evident that the central meaning of conspicuous consumption adopted in marketing and tourism studies is its interpersonal and relational property. This adoption of conspicuous

consumption in tourism studies highlights the way, in which materials, services and experiences derived from tourism being used as a tool to gain social recognitions through various forms by the tourists in their societal settings.

Meaning of consuming food while travelling in pre-industrial Korea

The chapter employed archival research method and studied available Korean classic travelogues (기행가사, Gi Hang Ga Sa) from 1349. The travelogues were studied for the records of the consumption of food and drink by the travellers through critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2003). Accordingly, the consumption of food and drink while travelling are identified and interpreted to understand the socially and personally endowed meanings.

Table below shows the studied travelogues.

Table 1: Studied 기행가사(Gi Hang Ka Sa) or Travel Literature

Travel Literature	Year of writing	Author	Title
1.	1349	이 곱 (Lee, Gok)	동유기 (Dong Yoo Gi – A chronology from East)
2.	1485	남 효온 (Nam, Hyo-Onn)	유금강산기 (Yu Geum Gang San Gi – A chronology of having been in Geum Gang mountain)
3.	14??	성 현 (Sung, Hyun)	동행기 (Dong Hang Gi – A chronology to East)
4.	1524	송 순 (Song, Soon)	면양정가 (Myun Ang Jung Ka - A song from Myun Ang Jung)
5.	Between 1552-1562	정 철 (Jung, Chul)	성산별곡 (Sung San Byul Gok-A song from Sung San area)
6.	1580	정 철 (Jung, Chul)	관동별곡 Gwan Dong Byul Gok-A Song from Gwan Dong area)
7.	1615	이 형운 (Lee, Hyung-Yun)	유금강산기 (Yu Geum Gang San Gi- A chronology from Geum Gang Mountain)
8.	1617	조 우인 (Cho, Oo-In)	틀새곡 (Tyul Sae Gok-A Song of Crossing Border)

9.	1622	조 우인 (Cho, Oo-In)	관동속별곡 (Gwan Dong Sok Byul Gok-Another Song from Gwan Dong area)
10.	1671	김 창협 (Kim, Chang-Hyup)	동유기 (Dong Yu Gi – A chronology of East)
11.	1695	박 권 (Park, Kweun)	서정별곡 (Seo Jung Byul Gok-A Song for Conquering the West)
12.	1698	노 명선 (Noh, Myung-Sun)	천풍가 (Chun Pung Ga-A Song of the Heavenly Winds)
13.	1704	권 섭 (Kweun, Sup)	녕삼별곡 (Nyung Sam Byul Gok -A Song from Nyung Sam area)
14.	1739	박 순우 (Park, Soon-Woo)	명촌금강별곡 (Myung Chon Geum Gang Byul Gok-A Song from Myung Village of Geum Gang mountain)
15.	1749	정 은유 (Jung, Eun-Yoo)	탐라별곡 (Tam Ra Byul Gok-A Song from Tam Ra area)
16.	1752	신 광수 (Shin, Kwang-Soo)	단산별곡 (Dan San Byul Gok -A Song from Tan San area)
17.	1763	김 인겸 (Kim, In-Kyum)	일동장유가 (Il Dong Jang Yu Ga – A song on travel to Il Dong)
18.	1776	이 용 (Lee, Yong)	북정가 (Pook Jung Ga-A Song of Going North)
19.	1796	이 방익 (Lee, Pang-Ik)	표해가 (Pyo Hae Ga-Drifting in the Sae)
20.	17??	이 만부 (Lee, Man-Boo)	금강산기 (Geum Gang San Gi – A chronology of Geum Gangmountain)
21.	17??	이 중환 (Lee, Joong-Whan)	금강산 (Geum Gang San - Geum Gang mountain)
22.	1845	은진 송씨 (Song-origin of the surname: EunJin)	금행일기 (Geum Hang Il Gi-Diary of Returning Home)
23.	1853	김 진형 (Kim, Jin-Hyung)	북천가 (Book Chun Ga-A Song of Moving North)
24.	1859	무명씨 (Unknown)	관동장유가 (Gwan Dong Jang Yoo Ga-A Song of Extended Travel to North)
25.	1875	조 희백 (Cho, Heui-Peak)	도해가 (Do Hae Ga-A Song of Crossing the Ocean)
26.	1894	조 윤희 (Cho, Yoon-Hee)	관동신곡 (Gwan Dong Shin Gok-New Song of Gwan Dong area)

Of the twenty-six gathered and studied travelogues, there was only one female author and she was travelling with her husband to visit their son in a different part of the country. This gender stratification, particularly in travelling, was a distinctive characteristic of the traditional Korean society. Because in the Confucian valued-based pre-industrial society,

travel was not considered part of a woman's virtue. The fact that a separate literary genre called 규방가사 (Kyu Bang Ka Sa) or Literature from the Women's Chambers, existed during the same time as the travelogues (기행가사, Gi Hang Ga Sa) (Kim, 1976; Whang, 1982; Kwen, 1990) may further explain the reason for the only female author of the studied travelogues in this chapter.

Researching the discourses of food consumption in the pre-industrial Korean travelogues, it was observed that often in one travelogue, food and drink were recorded as 'the fuel for the travelling work' while at the same time, in other parts as the medium for socially endowed meanings.

Consuming food as mundane necessity

One notable point in studying the pre-industrial era travellers' food consumption was that when it was for the essential 'fuel for body', the process of consumption was either not mentioned at all or with little attention in their travelogues. When recorded, the travelogues would simply mention that they stayed in certain areas on the night of travel and had either no description or few words on the food they ate on those days. When eating food for the purpose of required nutrition, the activities were expressed in a matter-of-factly occurring mundane necessity. Such expressions for the mundane activities were along the similar line as:

'that night we stayed at (name of temple, name of host or name of catering establishment) after a meal' (studied travelogues #1; #2, #3; #17; #23; #24; #25; #26).

This way of consuming food while traveling hardly demonstrates conspicuous consumption described by Veblen and adopted by the marketing and tourism researchers. When consuming food was more than just for the needs for the travelling body, the use of conspicuous

consumption as originally described by Veblen may require some more thoughts as discussed in the following part.

Consuming food for cultural signs

Studying the travelogues, it was observed that when eating and drinking was mentioned in relation to the place of visit or the host, the authors would describe, in detail, the ingredients, atmosphere and who the hosts were (studied travelogues #1; #2; #9; #10; #11; #26). The meaning of consuming food for the pre-industrial era Korean travellers were observed in two areas from the studied travelogues: ability to get exquisite ingredients; consuming drinks as cultural appreciation.

Ability to get exquisite ingredients

Many of the travelogues referred to the need for servants, who brought the comfort and extravagance to the travel experience. For example, travellers did not even have to forgo their tastes for delicacies on the road because they could simply tell their servants to find the necessary ingredients:

...(I) got the servants to get some special seaweed for the soup...and we had lunch with the seaweed soup and abalone dish... (studied travelogue #3);

...accompanied by (friend) Unsan we walked down the valley and found a big flat stone where we sat down. (I) commanded the servants to harvest abalone, conch, mussel, seaweeds and the like... (studied travelogue #2).

In some occasions, the travellers were treated with delicacies by the host:

...that night we stayed at Suk's place... and the owner brought out fresh abalone to us on the specially prepared dinner table...(studies travelogue #7)

Abalone was the type of ingredient, particularly in the pre-industrial era of Korea, which only the rich and the powerful could afford. The ability to obtain the socially considered exquisite ingredients for their meals while travelling is a clear display of the traveller's high social class.

But the ingredients for food were not the only luxury element to be demonstrated by the travellers as recorded in the travelogues. Being attended by servants on their journeys, the pre-industrial era travellers did not have to compromise many parts of their extravagant and comfortable lifestyles. Some of the travelogues noted that the travellers were even carried in palanquins when they did not feel like walking (studies travelogues #6; # 22). In winter times, the servants were expected to carry these palanquins in harsh weather, but for the high-class travellers, this made little difference except for noticing that the servants changed their duties more often than other times (studies travelogue #17).

While the extravagant and comfortable journeys were made available to the high-class travellers, the conditions for the servants were in sharp contrast, especially under harsh weather conditions. In the travelogue written by the female author Song in 1845, the extreme cold that the servants had to endure in order to ensure the comfort and expected level of luxury for their masters were recorded with an extreme sympathy:

... how pitiful to see (the servants) losing their toenails suffering from harsh frostbite...how sad... (studies travelogue #22).

Given the extreme contrast in the travelling conditions for the high- class and the attending servants, the very fact that the authors of the travelogues had access to the ingredients show the consumption of food as a cultural sign for exclusivity.

This identified meaning of food consumption conforms to Veblen's conspicuous consumption with the use of instrumental value of food. Indeed, the accounts on the access to exquisite ingredients for the travellers' food consumption can be viewed as using food (object) to display the travellers' power and wealth they possess as a member of high class of the society.

However, food being consumed by the travellers as recorded above can hardly be said that it was '*of no intrinsic use*', at all. Indeed, it should be made clear that this kind of use cannot be treated as using exclusively instrumental value of the food for conspicuous consumption. For social recognition, of course, the food was used as the instrument to demonstrate the consumers' exclusivity. Importantly, there is another level to be considered here.

Two points of interpretation presents critical evaluation on the currently adopted view of conspicuous consumption in food tourism. First point derives from the very fact that the object of discussion is food; essential fuel for our bodily functions. The simple fact that the nutrition afforded by the food enabled the traveller's body to function presents another level of consumption that cannot be considered part of the conspicuous consumption, that is intrinsic value of the food was *not* used.

The second point is drawn, owing to the relational aspect between the ingredients and the travellers. The socially exclusive ingredients recorded by the travellers included abalone, special seaweeds, conch and the like. These were considered in the pre-industrial Korean society as exquisite food ingredients, thus having certain relational dimension with the travellers. If the travellers were in different eras of time or in other societies, the recorded ingredients might possibly have been considered inedible let alone something of exquisite. If they were considered inedible, there would not have been food produced using them. In the pre-industrial Korea, the ingredients were something of exquisite and sumptuous foods were

produced and consumed. In this sense, the food ingredients, “had an end” of providing nutrition in relation to the travelling body. Therefore, this aspect of food consumption cannot be part of Veblen’s concept of conspicuous consumption, because this consumption uses *object’s intrinsic value with relational dimension*.

This relational aspect in the use of the food ingredients highlight one point in adopting conspicuous consumption as a concept to explain food tourism. That is, even when food is consumed for social recognition of various kind, only part of it conforms to the concept of conspicuous consumption.

Consuming drinks as cultural appreciation

Drinking while travelling appears to have had special social meanings as recorded in the travelogues. It was not uncommon to see the authors of the travelogues narrating the warm reception by the hosts with specially prepared table for drinks (sometimes called drinking seat) to provide the visitors with festive atmospheres.

...(we) entered the town and Sir Lim, who is a good friend of my father received us warmly...he brought out a nice drink table for us and showed us place to sleep. At the same time, we heard beautiful music from pipe from somewhere under serene moon light following the light rain... (studies travelogue #10);

...the generous host, who is a high-level judge of the region, opens up hospitality with beautiful music and clear drinks... the high level classic music (Chinese classic) from the pipe... (studies travelogue #11);

...with specially prepared drinking seats...I can find friends to join.....let the music come out of the instruments and let the singing (poems) come out of the friends (studies travelogue #4);

...on the 22nd, PuBak invited BangPak and us to YoInDang Chamber, giving us small drinking seats and music... ...singing songs and listening to others singing... the atmosphere was heavenly... (studies travelogue #7).

These festive occasions often induced purely indulgent moments, allowing the travellers to enjoy nature and forget about the worries of life:

...holding the glass of the heavenly drink, (we) enjoyed the beautiful winds immensely.... (studies travelogue #16);

...let the glass be filled... sorrow can be forgotten... (studies travelogue #8);

...having drinks with friends one after the other...discomfort in mind is completely washed away... (studies travelogue #5);

...while holding a full jade glass, fairy from the Moon comes down into the glass.....troubles of human life...(I) forget... (studies travelogue #9);

...while sitting on a drinking seat with the heavenly people, what kind of worries could there be remaining? (studies travelogue #15).

It was also noticeable that when drinks were consumed, it was often in close association with appreciating classic legends, enchanting the place where Daoist spirits reside (studies travelogue #9); yearning for classic Chinese and Korean culture and history (studies travelogue #1; #10)

... on the pagoda named Han Song Jung, we drank for farewell...This was another pagoda where the Sa Sun (Four enlightened figures in Korean history) used to stay... (studied travelogue #1).

Consuming drinks in the pre-industrial travel in Korea was a culturally meaningful activity.

Concluding remarks

This chapter researched the meaning of consuming food in pre-industrial Korean travel. The meanings were extracted from remaining travelogues of the society and subsequently reflected upon the Veblen's conspicuous consumption notion.

Two points of concluding remarks can be presented. The first point of concluding remark relates to the literature on food tourism (i.e. 'eating and identities' and 'eating and ritual'). Although not a great amount of work has been produced to date in the areas of identity and ritual related to food tourism, research in the area so far gives a focused attention and significance on the understanding of social relations. It is both in the identities related to food production and consumption as well as particular rituals performed as tourists (e.g. going to the latest and trendy restaurants and join somewhat new ways of eating and enjoying food by way of different ways to cook or adopting different ingredients, etc.) in food tourism. In this context of important social relations in food tourism, the current chapter's recounting of the traditional Korean travellers' meaning of food provides a backdrop on today's Korean food tourists.

Secondly, Veblen's description of conspicuous consumption reflects the binary approach to intrinsic and instrumental values of an object. Recent discussion on the binary approach suggests a less strict conceptualisation of intrinsic values. It suggests that an object's intrinsic value might be partially based on instrumental value if the object's relational dimension exists.

When the consumption of food in the pre-industrial travel was reflected on conspicuous consumption, where investment in objects of 'no intrinsic use' is the central idea, only part of the food consumptions could be viewed as conspicuous consumption. The other part was the consumption of the food that used its ingredients' relational dimension with the consumer, that is its intrinsic value. Because this consumption used intrinsic value of the food ingredients, it contrasts Veblen's description on objects '*of no intrinsic use*' as the central idea

to conspicuous consumption. Research into food should consider this part of consumption when explaining food consumption as part of tourism activities.

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