

# ‘IF IT’S KOREAN, IT MUST BE GOOD’: THE NATION BRANDING OF SOUTH KOREAN POPULAR CULTURE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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## **Abstract**

Filipinos are avid consumers of exported South Korean media products. Teenagers and young adults know the lyrics and dance moves of their favorite K-Pop performers while older viewers are engrossed in the weekly Korean television dramas (known in the Philippines as ‘Koreanovelas’). There exists, however, a fundamental disconnect between the idealised images disseminated in the media and their everyday lived experiences that are characterised by mutual antipathy. My objective in this research project was to examine how Filipino consumers negotiate these conflicting messages by exploring the correlation between the consumption of Korean media products and the consumerism of Korean non-media products by Filipino fans of the Korean Wave.

Key words: South Korea, Philippines, popular culture, consumerism, globalisation.

# 'IF IT'S KOREAN, IT MUST BE GOOD': THE NATION BRANDING OF SOUTH KOREAN POPULAR CULTURE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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This article will explore the impact of what has now been referred to as the 'Korean Wave' to describe the phenomenon by which South Korean media exports, such as cinematic films, television dramas, and popular music, are spreading throughout Asia and, increasingly, the world. Indeed, Psy's 'Gangnam Style' has been viewed more than three billion times on YouTube, making it the site's most 'liked' video until 2015.<sup>1</sup> Not surprisingly, Euny Hong has declared of the Korean Wave that 'it would not be an exaggeration to say that *Hallyu* is the world's biggest, fastest cultural paradigm shift in modern history.'<sup>2</sup>

The South Korean government has supported the expansion of the country's culture industry abroad, seeing it as a tool to promote Korea's global reputation. The Korean Wave serves as a vehicle for 'soft power' through the marketing of Korean cultural values as opposed to traditional methods of 'hard power' based on coercion and oppression. The purpose of soft power, following Nye's<sup>3</sup> argument, is to make people in other countries more receptive to South Korea's positions through the dissemination of its culture and values.<sup>4</sup> In an article for NPR titled, 'Three Reasons K-Pop is Taking Over the World,' Zoe Chace attributes the global phenomenon of 'Gangnam Style,' and South Korean pop music more generally, to the government's deliberate decision to produce mass media in the same way that it produces cars: 'An infrastructure to make and export culture can develop just like an infrastructure to make and export anything else'.<sup>5</sup> In the 21st century, the South Korean government has emphasized the importance of cultural content as the new driving engine for the national economy. As part of its '10 Point Action Plan,' the Council on Korea's Nation Branding decided to promote the Korean Wave program by providing developing nations with the technical assistance to help their economies move forward based on its past achievement of double-digit economic growth during the industrialisation period (2009).

The objective in my research project was to investigate sites of media reception in one particular developing Southeast Asian country, the Philippines, to determine how these messages are transmitted and interpreted. Although Koreans now constitute the largest immigrant population in the Philippines, there is a tenuous

relationship between these two groups marked by mutual antipathy. I have overheard many Koreans describe Filipinos as impoverished, lazy, and socially backwards. Conversely, Filipinos complain incessantly that Korean immigrants and visitors alike are arrogant, rude, and provincial, refusing to learn not only Tagalog but also English.

Yet Filipinos are avid consumers of South Korean media products. Teenagers and young adults know the lyrics and dance moves of their favorite K-Pop performers while older viewers are engrossed in the weekly Korean television dramas (known in the Philippines as ‘Koreanovelas’). South Korea’s perceived cultural superiority is asserted through the spread of its popular culture.<sup>6</sup> There exists, however, a fundamental disconnect between the idealised images disseminated in the media and their everyday lived experiences. Thus, my primary goal was to examine how Filipino consumers of Korean media negotiate these conflicting messages by exploring the relationship between Koreans and Filipinos in the Philippines through the prism of the Korean Wave.

As I inquired about the popularity of South Korean exported media in the Philippines, I repeatedly stumbled upon a strong correlation between the consumption of Korean media products and the consumerism of Korean non-media products such as food, fashion, and gadgets. It was as if the former served as advertisements for the latter. Indeed, the title of this article comes from a statement made by a Filipino female university student when asked why she prefers Korean-made products instead of their counterparts from other countries. This correlation clearly demanded further investigation. As such, I determined that it was necessary to investigate how music spreads and is consumed by a global market, and how this feeds back into the business of production. More specifically, I wanted to know what cultural ideals are disseminated via K-Pop music and how messages that are either ignored or rejected impact the economic success and reproduction of these ideals. I therefore proceeded to critically analyse the messages and themes in Korean media consumed in the Philippines that may influence Filipino values. I focused on the ways in which Filipino consumption and interpretation of Korean media is impacted by tensions of ethnicity and nationality between Koreans and Filipinos. Finally, I explored the sociocultural relations underlying both the rise of consumer demand for Korean pop culture products in the Philippines as well as the subsequent rise in supply to meet that demand.

## **Methodology**

Six months of research in the Philippines focused on the consumption of South Korean media and non-media products by Filipino fans of the Korean Wave. De La Salle University (DLSU) in Manila served as a central field site. DLSU is widely considered to be one of the top research universities in the country, and my institutional affiliation as a Visiting Professor<sup>7</sup> in the Department of Behavioral Sciences for

two years provided use of facilities and materials, provision of office space, and assistance in informant recruitment. College students are a logical constituency since college-age consumers constitute a key demographic by advertisers. I targeted more than three-dozen students ranging from first years to seniors and made deliberate efforts to ensure that they came from different colleges within the university. I also interviewed over 100 working adults in Manila and other areas of the country such as Angeles City, Baguio, Cebu, and Iloilo in order to expand the sample size beyond college students.

In keeping with my anthropological training and previous fieldwork experience, I employed the standard ethnographic techniques of participant observation, an online survey, focus groups, and semi-structured interviews to collect my data. Field sites outside the university included coffee shops, restaurants, and shopping malls. Respondents were recruited through snowball sampling wherein my DLSU students solicited their friends and classmates as part of a mandatory class assignment. I located off-campus informants by randomly approaching individuals sitting alone or in pairs in public spaces. The majority of those who agreed to participate happened to be young female professionals.<sup>8</sup> The research design was organised in the form of an inverted triangle, proceeding from the broad to the increasingly narrow. Thus, the responses from the surveys helped to identify members to invite for the focus groups, from which the most engaging individuals were selected for one-on-one interviews.

## **K-Popped**

K-Pop is situated within a larger context of increased Korean cultural exports. In addition to music, Korean television dramas and films have gathered a large following among fans in Asia, particularly in China, Japan, Vietnam, and, of course, the Philippines. The Korean Wave emerged during a period marked with decreased media restriction and censorship by the South Korean government.<sup>9</sup> This era of neoliberal globalisation, characterised by market deregulation and reduced state intervention in economic and cultural affairs, led to a large amount of unscheduled airtime.<sup>10</sup> Television networks consequently turned to the music industry to fill these slots. This resulted in the development of music videos, which established the high degree of visibility and aesthetic focus of K-Pop music. The industry also created promotional programs, such as interviews with musicians, reports about concerts, shows hosted by singers, etc. that served to increase interest in the artists, in addition to the music.<sup>11</sup> This led to a culture of idolisation, where stars are constantly scrutinised in their role as ‘national representatives’ of Korea.

Filipinos have developed a taste for all things Korean—whether it be grilled *samgyeopsal* (pork belly) or gadgets or cosmetics. However, the most popular Korean products tend to be media-related. Korean novels are appealing to Filipinos

because of their more riveting plotlines compared to the locally produced telenovelas and also because the characters are more aesthetically pleasing. Matthew Banzon,<sup>12</sup> a Behavioral Sciences student at DLSU described Koreanovelas as ‘more unpredictable’ than their local counterparts. Filipino fans find mass mediated Koreans attractive yet also easy to relate to because they share similar Asian values such as the importance of family and respect for elders. But there is also something else happening.

The immense popularity of South Korean media exports in the Philippines can also be attributed to the ways in which they are ‘packaged’ for local consumption. Ellie Santos, a 20-year-old chemistry student, elaborates:

I think the reason why more and more Filipinos are starting to be K-Pop fans is due to the effective marketing strategy that Korean companies use. I say it is effective because K-Pop creates a strong impression that picks on the curiosity and interest of the public. Also, it was a good point to target teens in promoting music. I think it was also the influence on one another that contributes to the growing number of Filipino K-Pop fans. Social networking sites also contribute in the growing number of Filipino fans. Television also plays a big role especially now with a lot of Korean dramas airing in several local channels.

Filipino fans of Korean media exports do not seem to be discouraged about the language barrier. As the saying goes, music is a universal language. Moreover, fans of K-Pop are drawn mostly by the beat and choreography. In addition, Mary Jane Sevilla, a 24-year-old hotel receptionist in Angeles City, stated that the first thing she looks for in a K-Pop song is not the message or its lyrics but the catchiness of their music.

Language isn’t always the barrier in liking K-Pop. It is the essence of music that makes it unique to the ears of the people. And it gives motive in achieving one’s passion in dancing. The emotion of the singer is what’s more important in listening to their music. And their conservativeness allow us to even love their music videos rather than in English. For me, K-Pop is one of the successful pop groups in music industries nowadays, because even if I can’t understand the lyrics of their music but by just listening to the beat and melodies of their music, it makes me want to listen more to it.

Fans are also attracted to the universal themes present in these songs, such as romantic love, unrequited love, friendship, and diligence. So in spite of the unfamiliar language, fans still found a way to understand the stories behind the music.

## **Media consumption**

The first area of inquiry related to the consumption of Korean media exports. Here, I focused on fans of K-Pop and other forms of Korean media among the student body of De La Salle. I began by distributing an online survey among students enrolled in

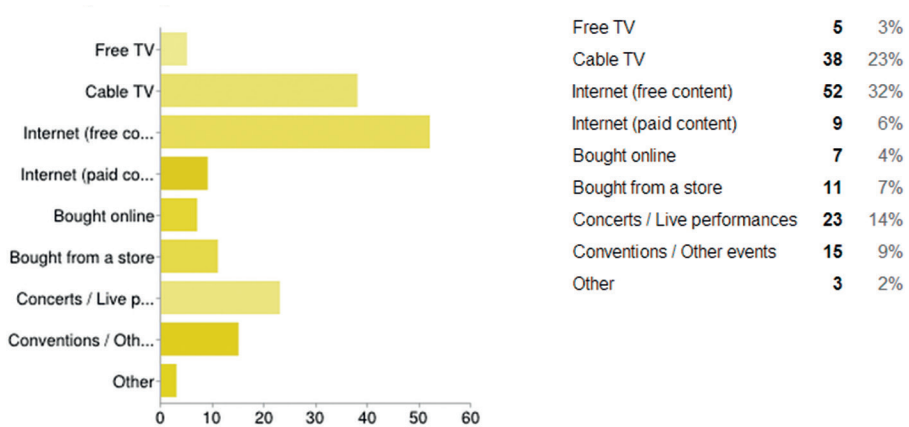


Figure 1. How do you acquire media connection?

the College of Liberal Arts. To my pleasant surprise, there were 276 total respondents. Although the surveys were anonymous, we included a section that asked for contact information if they were willing to discuss their interests further in interviews. Almost a third of the respondents complied. It became abundantly clear to me that not only are young Filipino men and women avid consumers of Korean media products, they are more than willing to share their enthusiasm as fans.

Although television and the Internet both offer K-Pop content, these media differ in the amount of content they provide. For instance, free television channels like ABS-CBN and GMA have little or no airtime for Korean music and videos, which explains why so few of the respondents selected it as their primary means of consumption. Meanwhile, pay cable channels such as Arirang and KBS World have relatively more content available but these are also available online in free media-hosting sites such as YouTube and MediaFire. There are many Internet users worldwide who upload videos, songs, and other media content in these media-hosting sites, which in turn become available for free to anyone who wishes to access the links.

Due to the proliferation of online content, Filipino fans primarily utilize the Internet to access Korean music and videos. Aside from being the main source of media content such as videos, songs, and images, the Internet also served as a tool for news and updates. Indeed, my interviewees mentioned sites like allkpop and dailykpop as their main sources for the latest news about their favorite idol groups. According to one of my informants, this type of crowdsourcing enables fans such as herself to feel closer to their idols: 'Fans are able to share their fan art, get info about their idols, and the idols themselves are able to communicate with their fans in a personal way.' Another informant told me that she regularly checks updates from her favorite K-Pop idols through various social networking sites. The rapid

growth of social media, such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook, is also credited with promoting Korean content in foreign markets.<sup>13</sup> Having browsed the accounts of some of these Korean stars, I noticed that they openly provide information about themselves for the fans to read. Through these, fans can obtain a closer look to the daily lives of their favorite idols with just one click.

To pursue this phenomenon further, I followed several K-Pop fans via Twitter and observed the happenings in their timelines. A large number of tweets were devoted to their favorite K-Pop groups and idols. Noticeably, all the tweets contain stories about what a certain artist was doing at a certain moment and included promotional information about their albums, music videos and the like. There were also videos and live streams that have millions of views from users around the world with a great number coming from the Philippines.

Figure 3 indicates the most common reasons given for the popularity of Korean novels: Korean novels are appealing to Filipinos because of their more riveting plotlines compared to the locally produced telenovelas and also because the characters are more aesthetically pleasing. Filipino fans find mass mediated Korean attractive

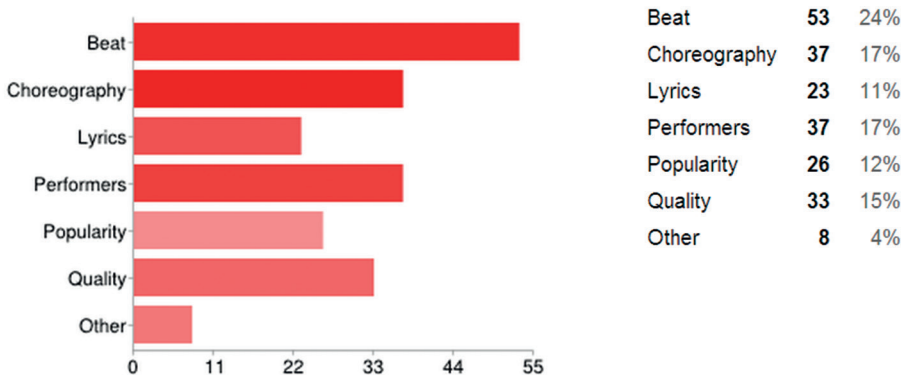


Figure 2. What affects your taste in Korean music?

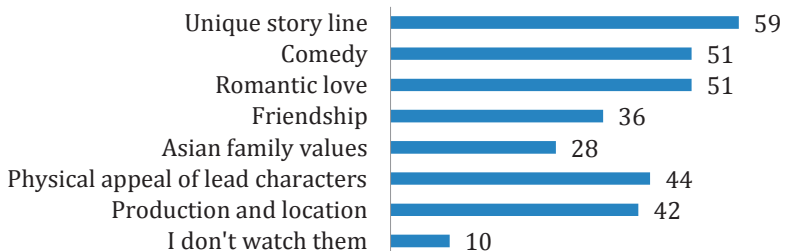


Figure 3. Reasons for watching Korean series and movies

yet also relatable because they share similar Asian values such as the importance of family and respect for elders. Only 10% of survey respondents did not watch the K-dramas.

### **Non-media consumerism**

For some fans, K-Pop has a more profound effect. Elmira Mirano, a 34-year-old civil engineer, explains:

When I listen to it, it makes me want to become a better person. It transforms me and creates a better side of me. Honestly, I think K-Pop affects most aspects in my life. Doing something Korean-related makes me tingly and giddy inside.

This motivation to improve their lives was frequently expressed by my informants. Dr. Crisanta Flores, a professor of Filipino Literature at the University of the Philippines in Diliman, stated that ‘the target audience of the Korean dramas is not the poor but the lower middle class with aspirations to advance in their economic and social status.’ In poorer countries such as the Philippines, the peoples and lifestyles presented in the Korean music videos and soap operas are aspirational. Exported media products are exceedingly popular throughout Southeast Asia precisely because they represent an idealised future. This explains why Korean media products encourage Filipinos to consume their non-media counterparts: they are, in essence, attempting to get closer to an idealized way of life.

Janine Barcelon, a 27-year-old executive, offers an illuminating case study as an avid consumer of all things Korean. She loves Korean food, eats *jajangmyeon* and *japchae* whenever her family goes out for lunch or dinner. Korean cosmetics have likewise earned her stamp of approval: ‘I love buying products in Etude house and the Face Shop because I feel secure and I think their products are well trusted since know many things about beauty.’ Although Janine considers herself to be reserved, she does follow Korean fashions as well: ‘I’m a shy type person, so I don’t usually show it to others that I’m affected by their fashion. But sometimes, yes, because they (the Korean outfits) are really cute, and the hairstyle are really nice. I learned how to match this kind of dress to that kind of dress, what color looks good with what color.’ The common thread is her consumption of Korean media, which serves as a de facto infomercial for all of these other aspects of fandom. She readily, and unabashedly, admits: ‘K-Pop has influenced me to buy Korean products.’

There are also a tremendous variety of Korean products available in the Filipino marketplace. Some of these products, such as cosmetics, are marketed directly in connection with Korean media. According to Soo Jin Hwang, a marketing manager of The Face Shop: ‘Sales of cosmetics usually reflect the popularity of Korean pop culture so K-Pop stars are the most effective advertising.’ Moreover, the way these



idols and stars are marketed is very specialized. As one of my interviewees stated, 'Koreans offer something for everyone.' She added that 'if you like the badboy type, they'll market one of the members of the boy band to be like that. Every pop star and artist has his or her own appeal and character marketed to audiences.' The use of single-gender bands is effective at focusing their target demographic on only one gender rather than trying to please both.

## **Koreanisation**

The surge of Koreans into the Philippines further helps to promote their products in the country. As more Koreans arrive, they invest or start their own businesses selling Korean-related products. Min Kyong-ho, minister and consul general of the South Korean embassy, told the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* in a 2013 article that 'Korean companies are very much interested in investing in the Philippines, because there are many good elements, favorable elements for investing.'<sup>14</sup> In fact, some areas have already been earmarked as 'Korean territories' due to their large Korean presence. So true to any effective marketing strategy, supply and demand are mutually constitutive and reinforcing.

'Koreanisation' has been observed in at least three distinct kinds of urban spaces: residential neighborhoods, university districts, and commercial areas.<sup>15</sup> Korean establishments are readily identifiable by the signage in Hangul script that is unintelligible to locals, thereby functioning as a de facto 'No Trespassing' sign. Once Koreans start moving into neighborhoods, their presence becomes immediately—and indelibly—palpable and visible.

A similar intrusion occurs near the nation's top universities, where Korean students occupy several floors of high-rise apartment buildings. At DLSU, several state-of-the-art condominium complexes that cater mostly to Korean students have been recently constructed directly adjacent to the campus. The monthly rent at these properties is significantly higher than other accommodations in the area, which serves as a form of economic apartheid by bifurcating the haves from the have-nots. The commercial spaces on the ground floors, such as restaurants and coffee shops, also predictably target a Korean clientele by mimicking the décor and products commonly found in their motherland.

The sudden influx of Korean immigrants to the Philippines has coincided with other kinds of transmissions as well. The anthropologist, Arjun Appadurai, has identified five dimensions of global cultural flow: ethnoscapes (the movement of people), ideoscapes (the movement of political ideas), finanscapes (the movement of money), technoscapes (the movement of technology), and mediascapes (the movement of media).<sup>16</sup> The suffix '-scape' is intended to demonstrate that these dimensions are not fixed in that they cross national boundaries. All of these 'scapes'

apply to the Korean influences in the Philippines, but the migration of people has magnified the impact of ideologies (and counter-ideologies) and mass media. Indeed, these are mutually constitutive. As Adrienne Sison, a 26-year-old call center worker from Cebu, explains:

It's because a huge part of the Philippines is into the so-called 'Korean invasion' to the point that they really idolise Korean idols and they end up dressing and looking like the idol. Korea has also become the fashion trendsetter for some reason. There are many instances wherein the Filipinos always follow what they think is cool or a lot of people is wearing it, so Filipinos would end up buying a lot of Korean look-a-like clothes so they could just be in the 'in' group.

These perceptions of Koreans as 'fashion trendsetters' are rooted in their mass mediated representations.

### **'Glocalisation'**

Despite the relaxation of direct control and regulation, the South Korean government remained involved in the film and, to a lesser extent, music industries in the late 1990s. Following the economic collapse in 1997, the Korean government began to invest in the cultural industries, recognising the importance of local production; for instance, it required that movie theaters show only locally produced movies for a certain number of days per year.<sup>17</sup> With the rising popularity of Korean media abroad, cultural exports such as film, television shows, and music became a significant component of South Korea's economic growth. Fans from all over East and Southeast Asia spend money on Korean language courses, tours of locations depicted in television dramas, and camps that will bring them closer to their idols. Some artists are also linked to Korean consumer products and services through marketing and advertisement campaigns in foreign countries.<sup>18</sup> In these ways, 'Korean' culture is commoditised, packaged and exported throughout Asia.

K-Pop reflects issues of cultural rights, given its place as a locally produced and globally consumed medium. It could be argued that K-Pop is counter-hegemonic, in its attempts to challenge the influence of traditionally colonial, Western media. With the rapid expansion of the Korean cultural market in the Southeast Asian region, some critics have alluded to the end of cultural imperialism in Korea.<sup>19</sup> Yet at the same time, Korea's cultural influence has been characterised as 'soft power,' an expression of influence that relies on manipulating images and values, rather than the typical military or economic control of 'hard power'.<sup>20</sup> The global spread of K-Pop represents a wider assertion of Korea's competitive edge in its political interactions with other countries, resulting in a sense of 'cultural nationalism,' where culture is associated with knowledge and economy.<sup>21</sup> This can also lead to feelings of cultural

essentialism, where producers or government officials express the sentiment that K-Pop is appealing because of the inherent 'superior' nature of Korean culture and values conveyed in the music. This discourse tends to overemphasise the national consciousness of the artists, while disregarding the hybrid nature of K-Pop music, such as the influence of Western styles like hip-hop and rap.

Others argue that the localisation of K-Pop messages and artists can be a hindrance to its future ability to attract a global audience. Yi Oh Yong, the former Minister of Culture and Tourism in Korea, claims that K-Pop must lose its 'parochial' character in order to appeal to a mainstream, global audience.<sup>22</sup> Some Korean celebrities and producers even bristle at the negative connotations associated with the Korean Wave—namely, the myopic planning, poor financing, and crude nationalism.<sup>23</sup> One method for creating a more global product is by 'pluralising us,' where the boundaries of 'Korean-ness' in the music become broader through tropes, such as the use of non-black hair dye and non-Korean lyrics.<sup>24</sup> Although the Korean character of the music may not have changed, the artists aesthetically link themselves to a more international culture.

The imagery of K-Pop music videos reflects both a sense of nostalgia and modernity. Many of the music videos focus on an urban setting, to appeal to its primarily socially mobile, young audience. A sense of Korean identity is presented as belonging to a pure, yet modern past. This is particularly apparent in the ballad genre of Korean popular music, where the singers place themselves and their sad love story within a cityscape that reflects elements of nostalgia, such as old shops or small towns.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, the 'traditional' themes and messages of Korean media reflect a wish to return to this purified past, while remaining relevant in an urbanised, modern setting.

Perhaps authenticity is found precisely in this type of hybridity. Cultural expression is not necessarily found at the point of first contact but after local populations have internalised the new influences and made them their own. Studies have shown that inter-Asian media culture consumption has sparked mutual understanding and self-reflexivity about people's own society and culture on a larger scale that has never been observed before.<sup>26</sup> The sociologist Roland Robertson calls this simultaneity of traditionalism and modernity 'glocalisation'.<sup>27</sup> In McDonald's outlets throughout the Philippines, the most popular menu item is not the Big Mac but the Chicken McDo, a piece (or two) of fried chicken, that is always accompanied with gravy and a cup of rice.

Anthropologists do not conceive of 'culture' as fixed or static but dynamic and constantly in flux. In other words, it is not something that you can 'lose' like a set of car keys. To be sure, after almost four centuries of colonialism, Filipinos have a long history of actively and creatively incorporating outside influences and making them their own. If you ask a Filipino to name the types of things that are 'uniquely

Pinoy,' the most common responses will invariably include popular dishes such as adobo (marinated chicken or pork), lechon (whole roasted pig), and menudo (stew with pork, liver, and assorted vegetables), Catholicism (the Philippines is the third largest Catholic country in the world after only Brazil and Mexico), and the jeepney, which was named after the General Purpose (or 'GP') military jeeps used by the Americans during World War II. Not coincidentally, all of these were appropriated from their former Spanish and American colonisers. Seen in this light, South Korean media and non-media exports may simply constitute the most recent iteration of an ongoing process of cultural domestication. To be sure, that which was modern and strange yesterday becomes modern but familiar today and 'authentically traditional (or Filipino)' tomorrow.

## Acknowledgements

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## Notes

1. 'Despacito' by Luis Fonsi featuring Daddy Yankee and Wiz Khalifa's 'See You Again' have since usurped 'Gangnam Style' as the most-viewed videos on YouTube.
2. Euny Hong, *The Birth of Korean Cool: How One Nation is Conquering the World through Pop Culture* (New York: Picador, 2014).
3. Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).
4. Koichi Iwabuchi, 'Pop-Culture Diplomacy in Japan: Soft Power, Nation Branding and The Question of International Cultural Exchange.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21 (2015): 419–432, p. 420.
5. Zoe Chase, 'Gangnam Style: Three Reasons K-Pop is Taking Over The World.' *NPR*. October 12 (2012).
6. In "Soft' Nationalism and Narcissism: Japanese Popular Culture Goes Global' (2002), Koichi Iwabuchi argues that Japan's cultural exports to East and Southeast Asia is underpinned by its historically constituted desire for 'Asia' and its lingering asymmetrical power relations with other Asian countries.
7. The Fulbright Specialist Program funded my first visit in 2013. I returned to DLSU in the summer of 2014 as part of the university's Visiting Scholar Program.
8. Nobody older than 40 admitted to being a fan of the Korean Wave, and men generally had very little to say on the subject.

9. According to Jin, the most significant yet least discussed factor in the development of Korean popular culture is the shifting role of the Korean government (2014).
10. Dal Yong Jin, 'Cultural Politics in Korean's Contemporary Films Under Neoliberal Globalization.' *Media, Culture & Society* 28 (2006): 5–23, p. 19.
11. Hee-Eun Lee, Seeking the 'others' within us: Discourses of Korean-ness in Korean Popular music. In *medi@sia: Global Media/tion In and Out of Context*. T.J.M. Holden and Timothy J. Scrase, eds (2006): 132.
12. All respondents have been given pseudonyms in order to protect their anonymity.
13. Dal Yong Jin, 'The Power of the Nation-State Amid Neo-liberal Reform: Shifting Cultural Politics in the New Korean Wave.' *Pacific Affairs* 87 (2014): 71–92, p. 79.
14. Tarra Quismundo, 'Koreans Keen on Investing in PH, Says Diplomat.' *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 2013.
15. Jose Edgardo Abaya Gomez, 'The Korean Diaspora in Philippine Cities—Amalgamation or Invasion?,' *Transcultural Cities* February 11–13 (2011): 49–59.
16. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
17. Hee-Eun Lee, Seeking the 'others' within us: Discourses of Korean-ness in Korean Popular music. In *medi@sia: Global Media/tion In and Out of Context*. T.J.M. Holden and Timothy J. Scrase, eds (2006): 128–145.
18. Doobo Shim, 'Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia.' *Media Culture & Society*, 28 (2006): 25–44, p. 38.
19. Dal Yong Jin, 'Reinterpretation of Cultural Imperialism: Emerging Domestic Market vs Continuing US Dominance.' *Media, Culture & Society* 29 (2007): 753–771, p. 754.
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21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Mark James Russell, *Pop Goes Korea: Behind The Revolution in Movies, Music, and Interet Culture* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2008).
24. Hee-Eun Lee, Seeking the 'others' within us: Discourses of Korean-ness in Korean Popular music. In *medi@sia: Global Media/tion In and Out of Context*. T.J.M. Holden and Timothy J. Scrase, eds (2006): 128–145.
25. Ibid.
26. Koichi Iwabuchi, 'Globalization, East Asian Media Cultures and Their Publics.' *Asian Journal of Communication* 20 (2010): 197–212, p. 201.
27. Roland Robertson, 'Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity,' In *Global Modernities*. Mike Featherstone et al, eds., 25–44 (London: Sage Publications, 1995).

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