From Tradition to Brand:

The Making of 'Global' Korean Culture in Millennial South Korea

Jenny Wang Medina

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2015

© 2015

Jenny Wang Medina

All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

From Tradition to Brand:
The Making of 'Global' Korean Culture in Millennial South Korea

Jenny Wang Medina

"From Tradition to Brand" examines the construction of a 'global' Korean culture in the late 20th and early 21st centuries through the imbrication of cultural production and information technologies. "Global Korea" seeks to transcend the geographic boundaries of the Republic of Korea while simultaneously re-inscribing the limits of ethnonational identity by confusing the temporal distinctions of tradition and ethnic belonging to the geopolitical construct of "Korea."

Globalization was introduced in Korea as a nationalist project that continued on the developmental trajectory that had been pursued by the preceding authoritarian regimes, but the movements of South Korean citizens, diaspora Koreans, and non-ethnic-Korean immigrants in and out of the country has created a transnational community of shared social and cultural practices that now constitute the global image of Korean culture. National culture had been a major site of conflict between authoritarian regimes, opposition groups, and the specter of North Korea over the representation of a unified culture and ethnic heritage. However, civil society and economic successes in the 1990s brought about a crisis of identification, while migration flows began to threaten the exclusive correspondence between citizenship and ethnic identity.

Studies of contemporary Korea have recognized the nationalist appropriation of globalization, but I argue that the parallel development of national culture and information technology in South Korea has resulted in a deracinated signifier of "Koreanness" that can be performed through the consumption and practice of mediated "Korean" content. Through a study of cultural policies; international literary events; and literature, film, and popular culture texts, I trace the vicissitudes of intervention and opposition by state, institutional, and individual actors involved in the production and transmission of Korean culture.

I begin with the imbrication of national culture and information technology in Chapter 1, from the establishment of the Ministry of Culture and Information in the 1960s, to the application of the country's well-developed research and technology sectors to the newly defined "cultural industries" in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In Chapter 2, I analyze the proceedings of international literary events held in Seoul from 2003-2011 that protested the instrumentalization of culture while decrying the persistence of a hierarchy of cultural distinction in "World Literature." These chapters draw out the productive tension between the state's conception of culture as content or commodity to be regulated, and the international artistic establishment's view of culture as a "field of struggle." In the following chapters I chart the intermedial discourse of identity and belonging to communities of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, national origin, and class through cultural texts from the early 2000s.

In Chapters 3, 4, and 5, I analyze newly canonized literature and films about migrant laborers to South Korea (Ch. 3); popular TV dramas about Korean cuisine and the culinary industry (Ch. 4), and "historical" narratives that challenge generic boundaries through time travel, hybrid sonic registers, and alternate histories (Ch. 5). South Korea becomes the signifier of an ideal "Korean" space in these texts. It is at once a de-territorialized multi-ethnic space of excessive consumption; an idealistically cosmopolitan, yet ethnically homogeneous space of economic and class mobility; and a socially progressive atemporal space of pre- and post-modern aesthetes.

"From Tradition to Brand" builds on critical discourses of multiculturalism, globalization, visual media, genre, narrative, and transnational cultural studies to conclude that South Korean global culture performs a temporal double-bind that erases its present-tense cultural identity in favor of a recuperative past in the utopian future.

Table of Contents

Illustrations iv

Acknowledgments vii

Introduction 1

Faux amies?: *Segyehwa* and the Cultures of Globalization 1

Segyehwa and "Korea for the World" 3

Chapter Abstracts 6

One. 12
The Culture of Development and the Development of Culture

Globalization vs. *Segyehwa* 15

"The First Opening" and Culture in the Colonial Period 18

Cultural Policy and the Codification of Culture in the Republic of Korea (1948–1991) 21

Global Culture and Trade in the Neoliberal Global Order 23

Culture Under Authoritarian Rule (1961–1979) 28

Regimenting the National Body under Chun Doo-hwan (1980-1987) 31

Culture Becomes Content: 1988-2012 35

Segyehwa Policy 39

Dynamic, Sparkling, and Imagined: From National Culture To National Brand 42

Segyehwa and the World of Koreans 44

Two. 47
Literary Engagements: the Making of Korean Literature as a Global Cultural Product

From Korean Literature to K-Literature 49

Promoting South Korean Literature: State Support 53

World Literature: Longing and Belonging 58

Movements for Literary Translation Around the World 63

Cultural Currency: the KLTI International Workshops 65

Liberal Exchange: Private Sponsorship of Korean Literature 68

Civilizational/Cultural Difference at the Daesan Seoul International Forums 69

Pluribus E Unum: One Korean Literature for Multiple Koreas 73

Other "Korean" Literatures 79

Measured Success: Shin Kyung-sook's *Please Look After Mom* and "Kimchi-scented Kleenex" 83

Illustrating "Universal" Appeal 89

Three. **100**

The "Sympathetic Foreigner" and Representations of the Multiethnic Imaginary in Literature And Film

Tamunhwajuŭi and Difference in South Korea 106

Mobility and Minority Cultures 113

Shades of Koreanness 115

"Other" Koreans and the Problem of Multiple Cultures 120

Korea as Moral Vortex and the Extension of the Minjung Subject 121

"Elephant" and Minjung Subjectivity 127

Labor and Ethnonational Identity in Literature 129

Writing in the Age of Multiculturalism 131

Collective Exceptionalism in the *If You Were Me Film* Series 132

Sympathy for Ms. Migrant: the Chandra Story 139

Coming Up for Air: Escapism and Liminal Lives in "Muhammad, the Hermit King" 145

The Migrant Can Speak (Korean) 152

Neo-realism and Techno-fantasies of Sympathy 157

From Ethical to Consumer Cosmopolitanism 163

Four. 165

Consumption, Class, And Cultural Belonging In Culinary Dramas

Culinary Drama as Genre 167

Cosmopolitan Consumption 172

Diversity and Hierarchies of the "Foreign" 173

Culinary Pedagogy and Class Striving in *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* 174

Cosmopolitan Coding and Oral/Visual Entextualization 176

Gender, Consumption, and Young Labour in *Coffee Prince* 182

Homogeneous Visual Landscapes in K-drama 185

Aestheticized Korean Labor in the "Age of Culture" 187

Gender, Technology, and the Creation of Korean *Gastronomie*: *Dae Jang Geum* 194

Global *Hansik*, "Ethnic Food," and Reconciliation 199

Discovery of the Local: *Terroir*, *Pasta*, and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu* 204

Appellation of Origin in *Terroir* 206

Culture/Class Clashes Between Locals in *Pasta* 209

Mythologizing Local Culinary History in *Terroir* and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu* 212

Having Transnational Culture and Eating it Too 221

Conclusion. 226

Future Shock: Popular Historical Fictions and the Erasure of Difference

Bibliography 237

Illustrations

Fig. 2.1 International and domestic publications of Korean literature in English by decade (54) 54

Fig. 2.2 *Ŏmmarŭl put'akhae*, 1st Korean edition cover illustration 90

Fig. 2.3 Dali, SalvadoreDawn, Noon, Sunset, and Twilight (1979) 91

Fig. 2.4 Millet, Jean-François. *L'Angélus* 91

Fig. 2.5 *Please Look After Mom*, US (and French) 1st edition cover illustration 92

Fig. 2.6 *Please Look After Mother*, UK 1st edition cover illustration 92

Fig. 2.7 *Please Look After Mom*, 2nd U.S. edition cover illustration 93

Fig. 2.8 *Please Look After Mom*, large-print U.S. edition cover illustration 93

Fig. 2.9 *Qing zhaogu wo mama* (Please Look After Mama), Chinese edition cover illustration 94

Fig. 2.10 *Haha wo onegai* (Please Look After Mom), Japanese edition cover illustration 94

Fig. 2.11 *Por Favor Cuida de Mamá* (Please Look After Mom), Spanish edition cover illustration 95

Fig. 2.12 *Zaopiekuj się moją mamą* (Please Look After Mama), Polish edition cover illustration 95

Fig. 2.13 *Als Mutter Verschwand* (Please Look After Mother), German edition cover illustration 95

Fig. 2.14 *Pich'ŭi chekuk* (Empire of Lights), Korean edition cover illustration 96

Fig. 2.15 *Your Republic is Calling You* (Pich'ŭi chekuk), U.S. edition cover illustration 96

Fig. 3.1 "Disapproving restaurant owner and police officer," author's screenshot from "N.E.P.A.L." 140

Fig. 3.2 "Chandra unable to meet frustrated psychiatrist's gaze," author's screenshot from "N.E.P.A.L." 140

Fig. 3.3 "Nepali man greets Chandra in Korean (language and gesture), author's screenshot from "N.E.P.A.L." 141

Fig. 3.4 "Chandra and Korean sound crew in her village in Nepal as she approaches the camera," author's screenshot from "N.E.P.A.L." 143

Fig. 3.5 Park Chan-wook, dir. "Chandra close-up," author's screenshot from "N.E.P.A.L." 143

Fig. 3.6 "Composite of opening sequence: interviewer asks women from Nepali village,'Are you Chandra?,'" author's composite of screenshots from "N.E.P.A.L." 144

Fig. 3.7 "Composite of penultimate sequence: 'Are you Chandra?,'" author's composite of screenshots from "N.E.P.A.L." 144

Fig. 3.8 "Muhammad walks through a cloud of tear gas, passing Korean activists for migrant workers' rights," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 146

Fig. 3.9 "Factory floor manager scolds Muhammad as he emerges from a chemical tank. Sign to right of frame reads: 'Poisonous Gas: Use Protective Masks,'" author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 147

Fig. 3.10 "Patron at bathhouse sits in front of Muhammad and flips TV to Korean travel show visiting Thailand in search of the 'diving king,'" author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 148

Fig. 3.11 "Korean host respectfully greets Thai mother with prayer hands and bows, 'Sawatdee ka' (Thai greeting generally used by female speaker)," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 149

Fig. 3.12 "'Muhammat nambŏ wŏn!' (Muhammad number one!), no subtitles," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 149

Fig. 3.13 "Muhammad in a phone booth," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 152

Fig. 3.14 "Muhammad peers into the fish tank of a mobile seafood restaurant," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 152

Fig. 3.15 "Muhammad in the public bath," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 152

Fig. 3.16 "Muhammad enters factory in final scene of film," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 152

Fig. 3.17 " Subtitle for Thai reads: Uri adŭlŭn ilharŏ oekuk-e kassta [My son went to find work in a foreign country]," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 153

Fig. 3.18 "Caption reads: Sajinŭl ch'ajasssŭpnida!!! Yŏku Muhamatŭ ŭi sajin-i isssŭpnida... [We found his picture!!! Here is Muhammad's picture...]," author's screenshot from "Muhammad, Diving King" 153

Fig. 3.19 Duck boats at a reservoir in South Korea. 139

Fig. 4.1 Sam Soon asks Henry about Proust. Subtitles read: Nŏ 'irhŏpŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ'rago ani? [You know, A la Recherche du Temps Perdu?]. 165

Fig. 4.2 Sam Soon switches to English, with no subtitles: Looking for time. P'ŭrench'ŭ book. Uh... 165

Fig. 4.3 "*Oh,* Marcel *Frost!*" Subtitle reads: Marŭsel p'urŭsŭt'ŭ ŭi irhŏpŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ [Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time* 165

Fig. 4.4 No subtitles: Yes! Kŭkŏya, kŭkŏ [That's it! That one...] 165

Fig. 4.5 Korean dramas by recurring themes 2003–2011 168

Fig. 4.6 POV shot of Sam Soon recignizing Henry in the hotel lobby 176

Fig. 4.7 "Je ne parle pas l'anglais, y toi, tu ne parles pas le français. Alors, c'est pas du tout cuit..." with Korean subtitles 176

Fig. 4.8 Sam Soon (no subtitles): This is madeleine. 178

Fig. 4.9 Sam Soon: "My job is *pâtissier*." Subtitle reads: "Nan ppang mantŭnŭn saramiya (informal register) [I am a bread maker]." 178

Fig. 4.10 Henry: I've heard about it; I haven't read it yet. Subtitles read: "*Tŭrŏpon chŏkŭn issnŭnte ilkŏpon chŏkŭn ŏpsŏ* [I've heard about, but I haven't read it]." 180

Fig. 4.11 Sam Soon: Ŭng, chŏnyŏ muŏrako hanŭnji morŭkessŏ [Yeah, I have no idea what you're saying]." 180

Fig. 4.12 Montage of visual cues in *Coffee Prince* 187

Fig. 4.13 Eun-chan drowning in her "childish" work: plush dolls, baskets of chestnuts, ginger, and garlic to peel 190

Fig. 4.14 Han-kyŏl and his intended profession: toys 191

Fig. 4.15 Jang Geum's diagnosis: preeclampsia, with Korean gloss (*Chakan: imsinchungdokchŭng*) for the viewer 196

Fig. 4.16 Traditional wine at the Lee family home (*Terroir,* ep. 1) 208

Fig. 4.17 Wine research facility at the Lee family farm (*Terroir,* ep. 16) 208

Fig. 4.18 "Team Italy" and "Team Korea" face off in La Sfera's kitchen in *Pasta* 210

Fig. 4.19 *Sobija Chebo* (Consumer News) article with Empress Myeongseong (left), Château Margaux label (right) 215

Fig. 5.1 Bae Yong-joon in *Winter Sonata* used as cover illustration for academic text, *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing the Korean Wave*. Eds. Chua Beng Huat and Koichi Iwabuchi. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008. TransAsia: Screen Cultures 226

Fig. 5.2 Film poster for *Untold Scandal*, Bae Yong-joon at top right. 226

Fig. 5.3 Kwanghwamun Plaza, Seoul, April 18, 2015. Image from Chosun.com 236

Fig. 5.4 Kwanghwamun Plaza, Seoul, April 18, 2015. Image from Chosun.com 236

Acknowledgments

Finally, a chance to officially express my gratitude for the support and encouragement of so many people near and far who were a part of the long journey to completing this dissertation. It has been an unusually long and circuitous route that was complicated and immensely enriched by the appearance of my daughters, Maya and Jia. First, I would like to thank my family: Ky Yeh Wang, Robert Wang, Kang Shin-kyoo, Michael Wang, David (Doobu) Wang, and the extended Wang clan. No one was more surprised than they when I announced that I would be pursuing a doctorate in Korean literature after many years of experimentation with various means of remaining buried in the pages of the books I never wanted to put down, even at the risk of injury. I would especially like to thank my mother, who gave me my first vivid imaginings of the complexity involved in encounters with world literature when she fondly reminisced about her reading experiences as a young girl, lounging on the *maru* of my *halmoni*'s house with a stack of books and a plate of snacks. That idyllic image has stayed with me throughout my education, and continues to inspire my work in transcultural encounters.

It goes without saying that I owed an enormous debt of gratitude to my committee members. Charles Armstrong, Tomi Suzuki, Hikari Hori, and my old friend Sunchul Kim, who returned to Columbia as a professor to serve on my committee. Despite my pleas that he not ask his most oft-repeated comment to me, "great ideas, but SO WHAT?!" at the defense, he and the other committee members posed the question through incredibly rich and thoughtful analyses that will continue to provide stimuli in my research. I would like to give very special thanks to my advisor, Ted Hughes, who was always supportive of what seemed like an untenable project from its inception. His advice and the many hours he gave to thought-provoking discussions on my project encouraged me to explore many avenues of thought that I might not have considered.

To the motley crew of friends and compatriots in the M.A. Program at Columbia from 2001–2004, thank you for the stimulating, yet dimly remembered talks that contributed to the early stages of my graduate studies, especially Anne Ishii, Andy Rodekohr, Nancy Lin, Eleanor Hyun, and Cheehyung Kim. Bruce Fulton was the first to encourage me to translate Korean literature, for which I am grateful. Other friends from Columbia and elsewhere challenged and amused me throughout my first extended stay in Korea in 2003: Linda Kwon, Charles Kim, and Sunchul Kim, all of whom introduced me to so much below the surface of my knowledge of the place that helped shape this project.

During the Ph.D. program, the cohort of talented young scholars who challenged my ideas and commiserated with me throughout the dissertation writing process include Miryong Shim, Buyun Chen, and Sixiang Wang. Sunyoung Park was ever the supportive *sŏnbae* throughout. My field reserach in Seoul was enriched by conversations about translation with Sora Kim-Russell and Ji-young Shin, popular and contemporary Korean culture with Stephen Epstein, and artistic explorations with Hijoo Son and Max Kuo. Binna and Sangjune Lee became the extended family and support for the entire Wang Medina family in Korea. During the final stretch to completing the dissertation, Shinhee Han, Alyssa Park, and Olga Fedorenko provided much needed encouragement. Yumi Kim was the most attentive reader and writing partner who provided excellent comments and accountability to the final writing process.

I would also like to thank Ms. Hee-sook Shin, Korean librarian at the C.V. Starr East Asian Library at Columbia, and the Korean language instructors at Columbia and UC Berkeley, without whom my work in Korean would not have been possible.

This dissertation was completed with the support of grants and fellowships from: FLAS, the Weatherhead Institute, the Korea Foundation, the International Communication Foundation, the Fulbright Korean-American Educational Mission, and the Social Science Research Council. The staff and administration at the Korean Literature Translation Institute and the Daesan Foundation kindly

gave me access to their archives in Seoul. I was also fortunate to have several sponsors while in Seoul during my field research: Kwon Young-min at Seoul National University, Shin Hyung-ki at Yonsei University, and Jie-hyun Lim and the many excellent scholars at the Research Institute of Comparative Humanities at Hanyang University.

Finally, I must express long overdue thanks to my husband, Matt Medina, who left a promising position in New York to live and work in Korea for two years in order to keep our young family together during our daughters' formative years. His encouragement came in many forms, including suggesting I abandon the project for the sake of everyone's sanity, but he has never once wavered in his concern for my happiness. Thanks, Matty.

For Mom, Maya, Jia, and Matt

Introduction

Faux amies?: *Segyehwa* and the Cultures of Globalization

"*Ni hao*!" "*Konnichiwa*…" "*Anyŏnghaseyo*…?" When I began research for this project in 2006, the common catcalls directed at Asian women in most major metropolitan areas in the U.S. would have proceeded from "*Konnichiwa*" to "Hey baby" without a Korean intervention. In 2013, my surprise at hearing would-be lotharios include Korean in their basic litany of racially based pitch of woo stopped me long enough to ask where the person had learned the phrase. What had Korea (and Koreans worldwide) accomplished in the past decade to warrant inclusion in such a casual interaction between strangers on a busy city street? At the time, I turned to my companion and remarked that Korea "had really made it"[1] — South Korea's concerted effort to "globalize" Korean culture beginning with President Kim Young-Sam's *segyehwa* (globalization) policy in the 1990s had come to fruition. The encounter also highlights the positive and negative consequences of South Korea's dissemination of Korean culture worldwide. At least in New York City, where Korean flavors were the biggest culinary trend, and every man, woman, and child littered the streets with discarded individual packets of *kim* (Korean toasted laver).

During my field research in South Korea from 2009-2012, the global imaginary in the capital of Seoul changed dramatically as well. The influx of a large multi-ethnic workforce over the previous two decades, economic growth, and eased restrictions on international travel for Korean citizens and co-ethnics, the parameters of Korean culture had expanded to become more inclusive. Conceptions of

[1] This sentiment was a common one in the Korean media in the early 2000s when Korean popular culture began to gain popularity in Asia, and was touted as a great national victory. Cf. Cho Hae-Joang. "Positioning the Korean Wave in the Nexus Between Globalization and Localization - Reading the "Korean Wave" As a Sign of Global Shift." *Korea Journal* 45.4 (2005): 153–56.

home had changed, as could be seen in the explosion of foreign food fads, fashion, and globe-trotting images of comfort with other international cities like New York and Paris popping up even in large-scale construction projects like the Brown Stone Apartments or La Meilleure that borrowed on the caché of New York or France to appeal to the savvy Korean consumer. It goes without saying that the traffic in global imagery has become commonplace in the post-Cold War period as transnational labor and migration flows have moved cultures and bodies all over the world, but in South Korea, this transformation was deliberately cultivated even as it exceeded the attempts to control it.

This dissertation uncovers the complex interactions between states, non-governmental cultural institutions, and cultural producers in the (self-) conscious re-construction of South Korean culture in the early 2000s. As in many other national contexts, the changing perception of "Korean culture" has not only been effected from within. The historical and contemporary movements of bodies and images that identified themselves as part of local culture and the international perceptions of these groups have resulted in a network of cultures claiming to represent Korean culture. Global Korean culture is also complicated by the competing claims to "Korea" made by the two articulated nation-states of the Republic of Korea (South Korea), and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). I focus on the production and re-definition of culture in South Korea through twenty years of a dedicated national policy to globalize the economy, culture, and by necessary extension, its people.[2] I examine how national culture — as a collective identity, a set of practices, and a porously bounded conception of belonging — has been used as an organizing principle for the expansion and dissemination of a contesting (and contested) national image employed in the service of neoliberal commerce that is also a locus of affective identification for a number of collective communities on the Korean peninsula and around the world.

[2] I deliberately avoid using the term "citizen" here as I include in this study residents of South Korea and self-identified Koreans who do not have Korean citizenship.

I ground this study in the policies, institutions, and texts that claim to represent and define Korean culture, paying close attention to the comparative impulse that drives the notion of "Global Korea". Globality in South Korea is tied to development, cultural parity, new modes of inclusion and exclusion, perceived cultural temporality, and the movement of capital and technology in the construction of culture. In this sense, the idea of global culture has become a technology capable of subverting national time. What follows is a multi-sited approach to "locating culture"[3] through the interstices of domestic state policy, institutional development, and cultural production. By tracing the dialogic engagement of constructed culture amongst a variety of audiences, I show how technology and culture were entwined to transmit a matrix of Korean culture into the world that would draw in affective communities from multiple geographic and affective sites of identification to further the national developmental project.

Segyehwa and "Korea for the World"

In 1994, South Korean President Kim Young-sam put forward his proposal for *segyehwa* (世界化), a national globalization drive "with Korean characteristics." *Segyehwa* was a far-reaching plan to transform the "business as usual" corporate cronyism and oligarchy in Korean politics and industry and promote Korea's position in the world as it emerged from the shadow of a century of colonial domination, civil war, and authoritarian rule. In his speeches and addresses to foreign dignitaries and to the South Korean people, Kim relied heavily on the symbolic power of his position as the first civilian democratically elected president of the Republic of Korea (1992-1997), and a humanistic idea of liberalism to reconfigure Korea's visible presence in the world. Although the popular perception of

[3] Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

Kim's efforts is that they fell short of the mark, the rhetorical impact of *segyehwa* resonated through the successive presidential administrations into the 2000s as both an object of desire, and as a rebuke. It reflects the nation's anxiety to define its place within the post-Cold War world order while actually remaining engaged in that system through national division.

Segyehwa policy marked a shift in economic policies towards greater liberalization of trade, decreased protectionism, and, most importantly, expansion into the cultural industries. Making culture the target of economic policies was predicated on a conception of culture that emerged from the Uruguay Round trade talks (1986-94) that led to the creation of the WTO in 1995. South Korea's participation in the Uruguay Rounds reflected a new interest in intellectual property and technology including computer software, video games, and branded characters (like Japan's Hello Kitty) that were folded into previous definitions of culture as tradition. Ironically, these new "cultural industries" received greater economic protection under the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) definition of "intangible cultural qualities from a specific nation"[4] and shifted the conception of national culture from static preservation under the developmental state to dynamic creation in the global marketplace.

In the 1980s, Kim's predecessor Chun Doo Hwan (1980–1987) packaged Korean culture for international consumption as a closely regimented patriarchal society with a long cultural heritage in advance of the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics. International viewers were shown the achievements of

---

[4] The move from GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, 1947) to the WTO (World Trade Organization, 1995) followed the Uruguay Round Trade Talks from 1986-1994. Where GATT generally dealt with trade in goods, the WTO would also include trade in services and intellectual property. Led by France, the push to define and protect cultural industries seemed almost singularly aimed at the U.S. entertainment market, especially in regards to film and television. The idea of protected cultural industries proposes a break between the abstract content of intellectual property and material objects (video tapes, DVDs, CDs, etc.) as conveyances for the content contained within (the film, text, image). The next step was to tie the intangible data product to the even more abstract designation of culture. This definition of culture as tangible products that store information as cultural content ties digitized data to the ephemeral definition of national culture, which might be described as an agreed upon common set of oral, and aesthetic commonalities and continuities. Corral, Milagros del, and Unesco. *Culture, Trade and Globalization : Questions and Answers*. [Paris]: UNESCO Pub., 2000, pp. 25-29.

South Korean development mixed with selections of traditional dance, music, and costume that projected an image of political and cultural cohesion during a period of major social unrest. Following the 1987 People's Uprising and democratization, however, the new leaders were eager to shed the image of the previous authoritarian regimes and cultivated a tie between technology and culture that enabled a new essentialization of Korean culture. Once associated with orientalized images of tradition, patriarchy, and political isolation as "The Hermit Kingdom" and the Korean War (1950-53), Korean culture was newly conceived as a forward-looking and forward-thinking culture of innovation that reconfigured its traditional image in a (hyper-) modern technological context. The inherent contradictions of technologized tradition did not produce a readily identifiable image, however, which *segyehwa* tried to resolve.[5]

During the late 1990s and early 2000s, the Korean government extended its mandate from industrial production to cultural production and called upon the creative community to remake the image of the country in pursuit of greater economic and cultural capital. The goal was to create a recognizable national image for easy consumption, which has been pursued through aggressive marketing of Korean film, television, literature, food, fashion, cars, consumer electronics, and household appliances. In contrast to the light-industrial and industrial exports of earlier decades when a "Made in Korea" garment or car might have been perceived as an inferior alternative to a similar Japanese product, the new national image was intended to establish Korea as a "first-rate" (or First World) nation out of the shadow of its developmental past.

While economic liberalization was occurring at the higher echelons of the economy, the pre-existing ties between cultural producers and the labor establishment entailed that any drastic changes

---

[5] On building the Korean brand image and overcoming former images of Korea as "Hermit Kingdom" and "Land of the Morning Calm," c.f. Lee, Katherine In-Young. "Dynamic Korea: Amplifying Sonic Registers in a Nation-Branding Campaign." The Journal of Korean Studies 20.1 (Spring 2015) (2015): 113-148.

to how Korean culture would be defined would also be closely tied to movements in industry, which was making serious advances in the technology sector. After the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, the South Korean government and technology giants like Samsung were interested in diversifying in the direction of cultural goods and services that, under the terms of the Uruguay Rounds and the WTO, were fast-growing and semi-protected industries that "convey and construct cultural values, produce and reproduce cultural identity and contribute to social cohesion; at the same time they constitute a key free factor of production in the new knowledge economy."[6] South Korea's move into the global knowledge economy, based as it was in agreement with other state entities concerned with protecting their cultural industries in the name of "cultural diversity" against the perceived onslaught of American hegemony, was from its inception based on a contradictory understanding of culture as both malleable commodified content and a protected space of neoliberal exception.[7] The goal of this study is to understand the implications of these contradictory impulses towards the collective identification implied by "culture" on a society in the midst of a radical transformation in its ethnic, cultural, and political identity.

Chapter Abstracts

In the following chapters, I outline international and domestic policies related to the definition of culture and connect the political and economic bases for the use of culture to their implementation by cultural organizations, cultural producers, and in representative texts in literature, film, and television to tease out the transactional nature of constructing culture in South Korea. By tracing the discourse of globalization as a touch-point for development, comparative nationalism, and ethnic and cultural

---

[6] Corral and UNESCO, p. 9.

[7] Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

identification, I complicate existing studies of globalization that have focused on either systemic macro-perspectives or local opposition. Where many studies focus on the binary opposition of the global and the local in certain types of geographic spaces such as the global city or in underdeveloped areas, my inclusion of state and institutional policies, transnational academic discourse, and cultural texts from high and low culture shows the permutations of national, global, cultural, and technological participation that ultimately questions the subject of universalism at the center of globalization discourse.

Chapter 1 traces the historical background of cultural policy in Korea from early engagements with international trade in the late 19th century through Japanese colonial period and the changing approaches to culture in the Republic of Korea (1947-present). I situate the late 20th century notion of *segyehwa* as "globalization with Korean characteristics" within the history of Korea's engagement with international trade and geopolitical power — from the nineteenth-century view of the Korean peninsula as a "Hermit Kingdom," to the "Global Korea Brand" of early 21st century South Korea. This history reveals how the changing definitions of culture was closely tied to the perceived need for a cohesive modern national identity that conformed to the parameters of the nation-state as a bounded entity that was considered a prerequisite for participation in international commerce and politics. I pay particular attention to the legal and bureaucratic definitions of culture put forth by the Korean government, UNESCO, the GATT Conventions, and the WTO as the site of a dialogic understanding of culture that strongly influenced the promotion and production of Korean culture as a locus of identification for a fluid group of communities claiming Korean representation.

Chapter 2 examines the approach to globalizing Korean literature through the government-sponsored Korean Literature Translation Institute (KLTI) and the privately funded Daesan Foundation. I analyze the proceedings of international conferences and workshops hosted by these organizations from 2000–2011 that sought to establish Korean literature as a "World Literature." The institutionalization of Korean literature into domestic and foreign literary canons through funded

translations and discussions between leading literary figures from Korea and from the rest of the world reflects the strong desire for mutual understanding between leading cultural figures. Despite the mutual interest, however, these discussions reveal conflicting expectations for the role of local literatures and cultures in the global age that remained dependent on a developmental model of national culture. The presentations and discussions between publishers, authors, literary critics, and academics at the trade oriented workshops hosted by the KLTI and literary forums hosted by the Daesan Foundation reveal the tautological contradiction underlying the notion of a global culture that preserves local particularity. From 2000 to 2011, these intermittent conversations grappled with the changing role of literature as a cultural product that was assumed to have representative status for increasingly fluid collective identities as the result of economic migration, war, and political and social exclusion. The comparison between the proceedings of the KLTI and the Daesan Foundation in Chapter 2 reveals the mechanisms that prioritized literature as a desirable marker of cultural capital and the adaptation of newly available commercial technologies to achieve that goal. In this chapter, the varying approaches to the idea of an inclusive "World Literature" as a goal and an apparatus of inclusion/exclusion becomes a metonym for cultural diversity and globalization that mirrors the national/international definitions of culture treated in Chapter 1 and leads to the representation of collective subjectivities and contested communal identities discussed in Chapter 3.

In **Chapter 3**, I move to film and literary texts depicting what I call the "sympathetic foreigner," a figure that appeared in high and popular culture in the early 2000s in South Korea. The sympathetic foreigner — most often portrayed as a non-white migrant worker or co-ethnic economic migrant to South Korea — troubles the developmental goal of globalization by highlighting its problematic other in multiculturalism (*tamunhwajuŭi*), understood in Korea as a threat to cosanguinous ethnic homogeneity. In light of the marked increase in the population of resident "foreigners" in the country that coincided with the perceived success of economic development, South Korea was forced to confront the economic and racial bias of its national narrative in a manner

that had not been adequately addressed since the economically driven transnational movement of bodies during the colonial period (1910–1945).

As the category of "foreignness" was challenged by long-term migrant labor, marriage migration, and the so-called "return migration" of ethnic Koreans from North Korea, China, the United States, and other economically hierarchicalized sites of the diaspora, these works emphasized an inclusive universalist humanism as the basis for new formulations of trans-ethnic and trans-class identifications with Korean culture. I examine short stories and films featuring foreign laborers in Korea in the early 2000s that were published as productive contributions to collected works, thereby linking the collective forms of the short story collection and the omnibus film to the metaphorical and formal registers of inclusion and separation depicted in the texts themselves. The literary works I analyze by Kim Chae-yŏng ("Elephant") and Park Min-gyu ("Say Ah, Pelican") were both written by winners of prestigious Korean literary prizes whose authors were targeted for early translation by the KLTI's New Fiction from Korea series, a project intended to present a selection of contemporary Korean literature with broad international appeal that might spur interest from international publishers in translated works of Korean fiction. The *If You Were Me* omnibus film series (2003-present) featured short films by internationally recognized Korean film auteurs (with latter installments featuring up and coming young directors) and was sponsored by the National Human Rights Commission (est. 2001), which situates these texts within the sphere of state interventions into cultural export discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, and to the exploration of cultural developmentalism and self-reflexive nation building articulated there. I connect this idea of cultural development to the perception of cosmopolitanism as an ethical imperative in opposition to the popular understanding of cosmopolitanism through international consumption.

Chapter 4 turns to the culinary drama genre that became popular in the 2000s as a site of displacement for cosmopolitan ethics into the realm of cosmopolitan and transnational consumption. I analyze popular serial dramas from 2003–2012 depicting educated consumption of both foreign and

local cuisine as a marker of individual and national cultural distinction. Food and high cuisine became a popular site of conspicuous consumption, both of actual foodstuffs and of media, in programs such as *Dae Jang Geum* (Jewel in the Palace, 2003), *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* (Nae irŭmŭn kim samsun, 2005), *Coffee Prince* (K'ŏp'i p'ŭrinsŭ ŭi il-ho chŏm, 2007), *Terroir* (Tterua, 2008–9), *Pasta* (P'asŭt'a, 2010), and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu* (Chaepp'ang wang kim t'ak-ku, 2010) in the 2000s. Closer readings of representative scenes from these dramas show how popular media was used to add value to Korean food as cuisine by providing it with popular histories in *Dae Jang Geum, Terroir,* and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu*, while also embodied foreign cuisines in the South Korean present through internationally trained chefs (individuals) in *My Name is Kim Sam Soon, Coffee Prince,* and *Pasta*. These complementary depictions of the past and present culinary sphere in Korea were also supported by institutional and state initiatives to globalize Korean cuisine that extended to direct financial support for exporting programs, governmental prizes, and outreach initiatives in other countries with (independently developed) interests in Korean cuisine, such as the U.S. The interaction between local culinary programs, televised tourism, and transnational productions with sites in the Korean diaspora also reflects the mediated interpellation of cultural, class-based, and ethnic identities explored in Chapters 2 and 3.

The epilogue follows Chapter 4's discussion of popular television dramas and the concern with co-terminous time to bring the narrative of South Korea's global trajectory into the new millennium. At the end of the first decade of the 21st century, Korean cultural production returned once again to a preoccupation with the past that combined the cynicism of the late 20th century with the triumphalism of the 1990s and 2000s. I discuss the emerging "anxiety of the present" expressed in films and dramas of the 2010s that compress the myriad assumptions and abstracted images of Korean culture that were developed and tested through the process of creating "Global Korea." The growing popularity of historical dramas that imagined a greater role for Korea in the past and time travel narratives that placed Korean historical figures in the present and vice versa exposes

uncertainties about how contemporary South Koreans and the "other Koreans" who had been mobilized over the course of the project of globalization would actually fit into "Global Korea." The fantastic imagination of the past and future portrayed in these and other cultural works provide a stark contrast to the increasingly conservative political and economic atmosphere of neo-liberal South Korea. Government and corporate malfeasance and cronyism leading to catastrophic events like the sinking of the *Sewŏl* ferry in 2014 shocked the South Korean populace, casting a shadow of uncertainty about the "sparkling" "dynamism" of the "Miracle on the Han," and turning the suggestion that Koreans and the world "Imagine Your Korea" into a much darker proposition.[8]

[8] See Chapter One for a discussion of the Global Korea Brand slogans "Korea, Sparkling," "Dynamic Korea," and "Imagine Your Korea" used by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism during the 2000s.

One.
The Culture of Development and the Development of Culture

This chapter provides the historical framework of the "globalization" Korean culture in the late 20th century and early 21st century through government interventions in legislation, funding for the arts, official statements regarding national culture, and the commercial and scholarly responses to this turning point in the conception of Korean culture. I provide an overview of cultural policies and directives in South Korea over the course of the 20th century and their impact on the changing notion of "culture" in late modern South Korean history. I chart the transformation of the interactions between cultural producers and institutional forces in the late 20th century that reflected South Korea's transitional political position within the putative global order. As the country moved away from the protectionist economic development of successive authoritarian regimes toward a civilian democratically elected government and a more liberal free market economy, restrictions were lifted on travel, migration, and cultural imports. This allowed for an exchange of bodies, ideas, and cultural products that had not been seen since the period under Japanese colonial rule that preceded the founding of the Republic of Korea in 1947. As such, the evolution of state policies toward culture and their interaction with international trade and cultural organizations over the 20th century are integral to understanding the conception of 21st century global culture in South Korea.

Because any study of this sort is prone to a forced periodization that would seem to ignore the complex history leading up to the period studied in the remainder of the dissertation, or to naturalize the period as a teleological break, I will preface my discussion by acknowledging that there is no exact point at which Korea's engagement with globalization as *segyehwa* begins or ends. The term itself is a neologism that must acknowledge that many of the policies and cultural projects discussed have long histories in the modernization of Korea during the 20th century. They are extensions of an ongoing preoccupation with the definition of modern Korean culture, especially in lieu of its engagement with

"the world" writ large. I choose to begin with 1994 and the Kim Young Sam administration for the bulk of this study because it is the moment of the official coinage of *segyehwa* policy, rather than any presumed initial moment of Korean engagement with the concept of globalization.

Likewise, it goes without saying that these rather grandiose terms "globalization," "culture," and "national culture" must not be used uncritically. Rather, this chapter considers how these terms have been understood and instrumentalized at different points in South Korean history, and what kind of agency was achieved through their utilization. I have embarked on this intermedial project because South Korea in the early twenty-first century is a site where the grounds for cultural identification in relation to a "national culture" shifted rapidly and conscientiously, with great comparative anxiety over the parameters of what constituted both "nation" and "culture."[9] We can question the distinction between comparative and self-reflexive identifications, but insofar as it is a fruitful metric, this moment in the drive towards globalizing Korean culture encapsulates the tensions involved in (re-) defining culture under the overlapping shadows of national division, post-coloniality, the neo-colonial relationship with the U.S., emerging sub-imperial relations with new economic partners, and contentious domestic politics. In short, South Korea's self-conscious concern with defining the terms of its so-called globalization is not only a forward-looking projection of Korean cultural, political, and economic identity, but also a very deliberate reconfiguration of its past and present. This is expressed most succinctly through the discursive terms applied to its international engagement from cultural preservation, to globalization, dynamism, national branding, and multiculturalism.

Many of the current studies dealing with contemporary Korean culture have focused on a single medium such as film, literature, television, or performance; others focus on one social or

---

[9] Anderson, Benedict. "Nationalism, Identity, and the World-in-Motion: On the Logics of Seriality." *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. 117–133; Cheah, Pheng. "Given Culture: Rethinking Cosmopolitical Freedom in Transnationalism." *Boundary 2* 24.2 (1997): 157–197.

political aspect of culture such as *hallyu*, or the Korean Wave, that generally draw distinctions between the high and low of "culture" and "cultural industries,"[10] but I examine how different media were promoted and demoted as the "defining" aspects of Korean culture at the turn of the century through political intervention, internal debate among cultural producers, and global market forces at the most basic level of relative success and reception of Korean culture by foreign audiences. These changes occurred during a period when Korean society was making a deliberate shift from a close focus on economic development towards a concern with (re-) defining Korean culture as part of a stated "cultural turn" (*munhwahwa*, or "culturalization").[11] Therefore, the comparative definitions of culture are important to this study: inter-nationally/geopolitically, for example, beginning with South Korea's first "coming out party" with the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the election of the first civilian president, to the second global introduction through the World Cup in 2002, to the advent of *hallyu*; and internally in terms of reassessing the culture after a long push for modernization.

Due to the broad range of this subject, this study may seem somewhat eclectic. Recent works on 20th and 21st century Korean culture can be divided into three categories: 1) Case studies of the development of targeted cultural media in the post-authoritarian era,[12] 2) Studies of intermediality in

---

[10] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984; Jameson, Fredric. "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." *Social Text* 15 (1986) ; Adorno, Theodor W., and J M Bernstein. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture Routledge Classics*. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

[11] Kihl, Young Whan. *Transforming Korean Politics: Democracy, Reform, and Culture*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2005; Song, Jesook. *New Millennium South Korea*. London: Routledge, 2010.

[12] C.f. Choi, Jinhee. *The South Korean Film Renaissance: Local Hitmakers, Global Provocateurs*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2010; Shin, Chi-Yun, and Julian Stringer. *New Korean Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005; *Being Political Popular: South Korean Art at the Intersection of Popular Culture and Democracy, 1980-2010*. Seoul; Seattle: Hyunsil Pub. ; Distributed by University of Washington Press, 2012; Joo, Rachael Miyung. *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012; *Media Consumption and Everyday Life in Asia*. Ed. Youna Kim. New York: Routledge, 2008; Fedorenko, Olga. *Tending to the Flower of Capitalism: Consuming, Producing and Censoring Advertising in South Korea of the '00s*. Ph.D. Dissertation. 2012; Howard, Keith. *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*. Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2006; Hesselink, Nathan. *SamulNori: Contemporary Korean Drumming and the Rebirth of Itinerant Performance Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Korean cultural production,[13] and 3) socio-political/economic studies of the period.[14] I build on these studies by examining the instrumentalization of culture and cultural products and combine this with careful analyses of the cultural texts at the center of these machinations. By doing so, I reveal the obstinance and plasticity of the notion of "national culture" in the 21st century.

Globalization vs. *Segyehwa*

For the purposes of this study, I begin with a broad definition of globalization as a term describing an understanding of the world that focuses on the interaction of many far-flung localities through the movement of bodies, capital, products, and ideas.[15] At a more cultural level, globalization describes an understanding of the world with a much wider conception of the scope of one's personal reach,[16] in which personal movement and interactions, often through technological mediation, have a greater physical reach than one's actual physical locality.[17]

---

[13] Lee, Jin-kyung. *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010; Jeong, Kelly Y. *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema: Modernity Arrives Again*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011; Hughes, Theodore Q. *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea: Freedom's Frontier*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012; Jung, Sun. *Korean Masculinities and Transcultural Consumption: Yonsama, Rain, Oldboy, K-Pop Idols*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011; Kim, Kyung Hyun, and Youngmin Choe. *The Korean Popular Culture Reader*. N.p.: n.p., 2014.

[14] Kim, Samuel S. *Korea's Globalization Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Abelmann, Nancy. *The Melodrama of Mobility: Women, Talk, and Class in Contemporary South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003; Yi, Tong-yon. *Munhwa Chabon Ui Sidae: Han'guk Munhwa Chabon Ui Hyongsong Wolli*. [Seoul]: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 2010; Kim, Eleana Jean. *Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptees and the Politics of Belonging*. Durham [NC]; London: Duke University Press, 2010; Song, Jesook. *New Millennium South Korea*. London: Routledge, 2010; Nelson, Laura C. *Measured Excess: Status, Gender, and Consumer Nationalism in South Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000; Moon, Seungsook. *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea: Politics, History, and Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005; Armstrong, Charles K. *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy, and the State*. Ed. Charles K Armstrong. London; New York: Routledge, 2002.

[15] Sassen, Saskia. *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: New Press, 1998.

[16] Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization Public Worlds, V. 1*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

[17] Giddens, Anthony. *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

As Samuel Kim notes, Kim Young-sam's use of the Korean term *segyehwa* as a stand-alone concept rather than a translation of "globalization" was a statement that "*segyehwa* was meant to describe Korea's unique concept, encompassing political, economic, social, and cultural enhancement to reach the level of advanced nations in the world."[18] Others cite globalization as a system of flexibilization, where previous categories of identification are utilized or circumvented by individuals as tools in the search for more capital.[19] These distinctions are important to consider in terms of the question of agency at the individual and institutional level, and is particularly important to this study of the participation in the stated globalization drive as a national goal.

Underlying the geopolitical and global cultural ambitions of South Korea is an earnest desire for recognition, which I borrow from Lisa Rofel's discussion of desire as a cultural practice in the PRC's LGBT community; that is, the internalization of a communal (and circumspect nationalist) ambition "in which both the government and its citizens reconfigure their relationship to a postsocialist world."[20] Rofel's theorization of the emergence of the LGBT community in what she calls post-socialist China discusses these new articulations of sexual desire in terms of an emergent identity at the intersection of nationalism, neoliberalism, globalization, and cosmopolitanism. Loaded terms all, to be sure, but they often appear as a family of terms — often at odds, but ultimately mutually dependent on each other. Of course, South Korea's situation is not directly proportional to "post-socialist" China, but the understanding of an individual's desire (whether sexual, racial, or commercial) as related to their socio-cultural identity can certainly be seen in post-developmental or post-authoritarian South Korea. In considering South Korea in the late 1990s and early 2000s, different aspects of desire have been

---

[18] Kim, S. p. 3.

[19] Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

[20] Rofel, Lisa. Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture. N.p.: Duke University Press, 2007. Print. *Perverse Modernities*, ed. Judith Halberstam and Lisa Lowe, p. 3.

studied in relation to consumption, and particularly gendered consumption (Nelson, Abelmann), which lends itself nicely to a parallel understanding of how easily affective identity seeps into these seemingly systematic and abstract concepts. The seemingly superficial neologism like *nae sŭt'ail* ("my style"), for example, has come to refer to a much more intangible personal identification, one that emerges through appearances, sexual and gender orientation, and consumer habits, but that ultimately reflects a strong desire for inclusion at the individual, communal, subculture, cultural, and political level that ultimately rebounds on the notion of belonging as exclusivity rather than inclusivity, as discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

While most of the previous studies of late 20th to early 21st century South Korean identity have been conducted ethnographically, I begin with the desire for international and internal recognition at the institutional level of government and cultural organizations, then move in subsequent chapters to the expressions of this desire in films, literature, and television dramas of the early 2000s. This may seem to suggest a determinative connection between the institutions and cultural products (particularly in terms of following the flow of capital through funding for the arts and market research), but I hope, rather, to demystify the relationship between the arts and their institutional supporters in a period when that relationship has become much less antagonistic than in previous periods of modern Korean history. My focus on institutional participation in culture through the establishment of government funds and cultural agencies will touch on economic policies insofar as they relate to funding for cultural activities, but the focus of this chapter is the institutional configuration of culture as an important policy objective and the transformation of the conception of Korean culture as a "target of opportunity"[21] as it has been discussed through these governmental and privately funded organizations.

---

[21] Chow, Rey. *The Age of the World Target: Self-referentiality in War, Theory, and Comparative Work*. Durham: Duke

"The First Opening" and Culture in the Colonial Period

Because this dissertation deals specifically with South Korean approaches to cultural policy and the definition of culture, I will not dwell on the period prior to liberation and the founding of the South Korean state, but any understanding of modern Korean cultural history should be foregrounded with the contentious history of the so-called "opening" of Korea at the turn of the 20th century ("the first opening," as Kim Young-sam called it in 1994), the subsequent colonization of the peninsula by Japan for most of the first half of the twentieth century (1910–1945), and the extremely important condition of division following liberation and the Korean War. Generally speaking, the major distinction made about modern Korean culture is a sense of a rupture or break from traditional or pre-modern culture that was debated at the turn of the century as Chosŏn faced the threat of encroachment by the Western powers and Japan. Of this early period of Chosŏn's entrance into the international legal community,[22] Key-Hiuk Kim writes:

> Rigid conformity to Neo-Confucianism, reinforced by ignorance about the outside world, had bred in Korea, as it had in China and Japan, a militant form of cultural chauvinism, which in turn intensified Korea's traditional exclusionism. The tendency was more pronounced in Korea because Korean isolation had been far more rigid and effective that that of either China or Japan. The relative lack of sustained Western interest in Korea made it possible for the peninsular kingdom to maintain its traditional isolation in this period. But most Koreans believed that their superior "moral virtue" enabled them to withstand Western pressure.[23]

University Press, 2006; Weber, Samuel. *Targets of Opportunity: On the Militarization of Thinking*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2005

[22] Larsen, Kirk W. *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Choson Korea, 1850-1910*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008.

[23] Kim, Key-Hiuk. *The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order: Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860-1882*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980, p. 63.

Questions about the essentialism inherent in an assessment like "traditional exclusionism" aside, Kim and others after him have pointed to Chosŏn's policy of isolation and the peripheral, but ultimately insistent foreign interest in Korea that led to the "forced" opening of the kingdom and eventual annexation by Japan in 1905. As we shall see below, this uncertainty regarding Korea's position in the international community and the lingering image of Korea as a "Hermit Kingdom" or the orientalized "Land of Morning Calm"[24] would continue to resonate and become a rhetorical touch-point for the political administrations of both Korean states in the post-liberation period. This was particularly true for the Kim Young-sam administration, which explicitly made the connection between the need to globalize at the turn of the twenty-first century in order to avoid the mistakes of the turn of the twentieth century, the most catastrophic of which, of course, was the loss of national autonomy.

The past twenty years have been a particularly productive period for English-language research on the colonial period in Korea including studies on the mediation of Korean modernity;[25] the emergence of mass culture,[26] race and gender politics;[27] and with a broader understanding of the development of modern Korean literature.[28] This brief catalogue of the rich and productive studies on

---

[24] For the persistence and continued use of these 19th century monikers for Chosŏn Korea well into the 21st century, see Lee, Katherine In-Young. "Dynamic Korea: Amplifying Sonic Registers in a Nation-Branding Campaign." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 20.1 (Spring 2015) (2015): 113-148.

[25] Shin, Gi-Wook, and Michael E. Robinson. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1999.

[26] Cf. Kim, Jina E. "Intermedial Aesthetics: Still Images, Moving Words, and Written Sounds in Early Twentieth-Century Korean Cinematic Novels (Yeonghwa Soseol)." *THE REVIEW OF KOREAN STUDIES* 16.2 (2013): 45-79; Oh, Se-Mi. "Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul, 1915-1937." *Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul, 1915-1937*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2008; Yecies, Brian, and Shim. "Lost Memories of Korean Cinema: Film Policies During Japanese Colonial Rule, 1919-1937." *Asian Cinema* 14.2 (Fall/Winter, 2003) (2003).

[27] Yoo, Theodore Jun. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945 Asia Pacific Modern, 3*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008; Henry, Todd A. "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919." *Journal of Asian Studies* 64.3 (August, 2005): 639–675; Choi, Hyaeweol. *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea New Women, Old Ways: Seoul-California Series in Korean Studies, Volume 1.* (2009).

[28] Poole, Janet. *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014; Park, Sunyoung. "The Colonial Origin of Korean Realism and Its Contemporary Manifestation." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 14.1 (April, 2006): 165–192; Suh, Serk-Bae. *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism,*

this period is only a very small portion of the body of knowledge that continues to shed new light on early modern Korea. It should go without saying at this point that the arts in Korea at the time were heavily influenced by trends in the Japanese metropole, and artists in Korea and all over the Japanese Empire were engaged with the literature and arts of the West as well, in contradistinction to the perception of Korean isolationism and the post-war erasure of much of the cultures of the early 20th century in the South Korean and North Korean cultural canons. The recovery of critical studies of the colonial period and its cultural production is extremely important to the study of early 21st century South Korean cultural production for several reasons, not the least of which is that the bulk of these studies began in the post-democratization period. At that time, the conservative ideological hold on historical and cultural studies began to loosen, allowing more space for narratives that contested the state-censored narratives of Korean culture, tradition, and history under the repressive National Security Law.[29] The history of authoritarian rule in South Korea heavily informs the links between culture and information that I discuss as a characteristic of the late 20th and early 21st century, which can be seen in the genealogy of the Ministry of Culture in the ROK.

---

and Colonialism in Korea and Japan From the 1910s to the 1960s. 2013; Kwon, Nayoung Aimee. "Translated Encounters and Empire : Colonial Korea and the Literature of Exile." *Translated Encounters and Empire: Colonial Korea and the Literature of Exile*. Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2007.

[29] The National Security Law (NSL) was promulgated in 1948 by the Syngman Rhee regime and provides the government with extremely broad license to prosecute anything deemed to be "enemy-benefiting activities with knowledge of endangering national existence and security and the liberal democratic basic order." Under the notorious Article 7, the government is able to punish "praising, encouraging, or aligning with an anti-state organization or benefitting in any other method an ASO," "concoction, distribution, or distortion of false facts apt to confused social order," and the "production, import, duplication, transportation, circulation, sale or acquisition of materials, including documents and pictures, with the purpose of violating Articles 7(1), 8(3), or 7(4)," Article 7 ROK National Security Law, cited in Cho, Kuk. "Tension Between the National Security Law and Constitutionalism in South Korea: Security for What." *Boston University International Law Journal* 15 (1997): 125, 139–140.

The vague and wide-ranging list of offenses against the state under the NSL was justified in the early decades of the ROK as a protection against the infiltration of communist ideology and North Korean infiltration, but was used by successive administrations to squash dissent, particularly from the left.

Cultural Policy and the Codification of Culture in the Republic of Korea (1948–1991)

The establishment of separate Korean states following liberation in 1945 immediately situated the ROK (South Korea) and the DPRK (Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, or North Korea) in defensive (and offensive) postures against each other, and in their respective affiliations with the oppositional forces of the Cold War global order. The wartime mobilization of Korea under the Japanese Colonial Government General had set up information and broadcasting networks to facilitate mobilization of the populace, and many of these were adopted by the newly formed Republic of Korea. While literature from the liberation period such as Yi T'aejun's "Before and After Liberation" (1946) reflected intellectuals' engagement with politics and the foundation of a modern Korean nation-state, the South Korean government under Syngman Rhee focused on adapting existing infrastructures to its needs. Culture was not particularly high on the government agenda at this time. Shortly after the founding of the Republic of Korea in September 1948, the Bureau of Public Information (*kongpoch'ŏ*, 公報處, the precursor to Korean Central Intelligence Agency, or KCIA established under Park Chung-hee in 1960) was established (November 1948), including the Presidential Secretariat (*pisŏsil*), the Office of Public Affairs (*kongpokuk*), Office of the Press (*ch'ulp'ankuk*), The Bureau of Census (*t'ongkyekuk*) and broadcast radio and television (*pangsongkuk*), which maintained a distinctly militarized and unidirectional (state to the people) orientation towards information. This approach to information gathering and transmission was also utilized by the military dictator Park Chung-hee in the 1960s to incorporate culture as information and an organizing principle of developmental society. In 1956, the Bureau of Public Information was reconstituted as the Information Bureau of the Presidential Advisory Committee, indicating even closer control over the transmission of information by the President. The Rhee administration also enacted the Preservation Act for Culture in 1952, modeled after the Japanese Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (1950, with early iterations beginning in the Meiji period), which "stipulated that its aim was to contribute to the development of

the national culture by guaranteeing the freedom of artistic activity and improving the status of artists,"[30] immediately establishing the mission of the new Ministry of Culture in a way that recognized the two attitudes towards Korean culture that would characterize cultural policy for the next 40 years. The first, from the title of the act, assumed a defensive posture vis á vis Korean culture and the citizenry insofar as the government had to legislate for intelligence gathering and the preservation of a culture that was, ostensibly, in jeopardy of disappearing. This logic of preservation is characteristic of other national laws for the protection of cultural heritage following the UNESCO (est. 1945) 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which stated that, "Damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world."[31] The Convention is noted for its progressive inclusion of cultural property of all the world's people as part of a single world cultural heritage, which reveals an implicit hierarchicalization of cultural value depending on developmental status.

The second assessment of culture implied by the Preservation Act for Culture was one of lack: Korean culture was not yet fully formed, and was in need of development into a national culture. This concern over the preservation and development of national culture was very much in line with UNESCO definitions of culture discussed below (the UNESCO Korea mission was established in 1945, and South Korea became a UNESCO member nation in 1950), and should be read as a post-colonial

---

[30] Ministry of Culture and Information, 1979, citied in Im.

[31] Gibbon, Kate Fitz. *Who Owns the Past?: Cultural Policy, Cultural Property, and the Law.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005. Gibbon charts the development of international laws protecting cultural property from the earlier assumption of a conqueror's "spoils of war" to the legal codification of protections for noncombatants and nonmilitary targets in war in the late 19th century. From Abraham Lincoln's Lieber Code (1863), to the Declaration of Brussels of 1874, the 1907 Hague Convention Respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land, and the Roerich Pact (Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments) signed by 18 nations in 1935, international legal protections for institutions of religion, education, arts and science, and historic monuments evolved and grew alongside the destructive and far-reaching capacities of international warfare in the 19th and early 20th century. That UNESCO's mission expanded in later years to include the promotion of creating art and cultural property is indicative of the global shift towards commercial art and contemporaneity.

gesture as well as a first step in the war of legitimacy over Korean culture in relation to the competing claim by the DPRK.

Global Culture and Trade in the Neoliberal Global Order

In order to properly situate ROK cultural policy and *segyehwa*, we must also understand the influence of post-WWII and Cold War international approaches to culture through the voluntary association with UNESCO and its interactions with international trade agreements. Far from an isolationist or "hermit-like" stance, the preservationist approach to culture since the founding of the ROK was tied to international conceptions of national development and must be understood within the context of post-WWII re-definitions of culture and cultural diversity in relation to international trade. These were major points of contention between the WTO and UNESCO that nearly stalled the Uruguay Round of Talks in 1994[32] and were important aspects of the post-WWII GATT conventions established in 1947. World trade regulations and the targeting of cultural industries for "knowledge economies" distinguishes different levels of compliance according to developmental status, directly linking cultural protectionism to the economic ability to withstand cultural assimilation and standardization through the production of one's own products. This indicates a central role of culture in shaping economic desire. UNESCO's definition of cultural production and the description of the "cultural exception" to free trade strongly supported by France and Canada argues that:

> If subject only to commercial considerations, many local cultural industries would be quickly replaced by those with greater financial muscle due to their multinational presence and monopoly position. Negotiators felt mechanisms were needed to maintain and develop a viable degree of domestic production to reflect local cultural forms of expression and avoid the standardization of tastes and behaviour. After heated debates, these

[32] Voon, Tania. "Unesco and the WTO: A Clash of Cultures?" *The international and comparative law quarterly The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 55.3 (2006): 635–651.

> concerns were addressed in the Uruguay Round's concluding negotiations, which did not insist on applying all the GATT rules to film and audiovisual goods and services. Since then, this tacit understanding has been known as the 'cultural exception'. As a doctrine (it does not have any legal status, nor does it exist as such in any agreement or treaty), the 'cultural exception' is based on the principle that culture is not like any other merchandise because it goes beyond the commercial: cultural goods and services convey ideas, values and ways of life, which reflect the plural identities of a country and the creative diversity of its citizens.[33]

This argument for the necessary particularity of the cultural industries as expressions of the "plural identities of a country and the creative diversity of its citizens" depends on a conception of cultural identity bounded by the nation state and mediated within an international organization tasked with regulating trade between these national entities. But the suggestion that culture "goes beyond the commercial" is applied most strenuously for cultures without the "greater financial muscle" to withstand liberal trade in cultural production, i.e., developing countries. This implies that in order to be robust and self-sufficient, a local culture must be developed "enough" financially, that is, as a product that is identifiable and desirable for its local consumers.[34] In justifying the struggle between the "traditional big producers of cultural goods" to control the global market, South Korea and other proponents of the cultural exception forecast the cultural doom of developing countries "lacking the required cultural industries' infrastructure to channel and distribute their vibrant creativity":

> At stake is their identity, the conservation and renewal of their symbolic references, the cultural offerings at the disposal of citizens, and what is more, the social cohesion of these societies in the medium term. If, in the name of short-term interests they give up their right to produce and disseminate their own cultural contents, they will not only be undermining their national economic interests, (e.g. losses in terms of foreign currency and potential skilled workers, as well as limiting the potential exports' income), but they

---

[33] del Corral, Milagros, and UNESCO. *Culture, Trade and Globalization: Questions and Answers*. Paris: UNESCO Pub., 2000. 36.

[34] For post-WWII histories of the advance of American culture in Europe, see De Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-century Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005; and Ross, Kristin. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995.

> would also impoverish humanity as a whole by reducing and limiting the cultural offerings available.[35]

In the name of humanity, the proponents of the cultural exception called upon UNESCO's mission to protect cultural diversity in the developing world. But the underlying expectation was that once developed, these cultures should be able compete in the world market of cultures. The fundamental basis of this conception of culture remains within the sphere of international trade between localities that have achieved recognizable status as a developed nation, trading state, and commodifiable culture, all conditions that South Korea had fulfilled by the establishment of the WTO, with the exception of its culture.

By 2005, UNESCO had adopted the "Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions," which defined cultural content as, "the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities," (UNESCO convention) after a series of advisory group meetings concerning the need for cultural diversity. 148 of the 156 countries voting voted in favor of the convention, with Israel and the U.S. opposing, and Australia, Honduras, Liberia, and Nigeria abstaining. Audiovisual products were a particular sticking point at the trade talks,[36] which may be related to the separation of culture/cultural content/cultural industries for the purpose of trade. The UNESCO definition, however, is so vague as to be able to encompass almost any artistic expression.

The concern over differing approaches to (protectionist) cultural policy and the definition of cultural objects as stipulated by the UNESCO cultural diversity statement is essentially concern over trade agreements and treaties. The two organizations agree to operate at counter-purposes, where UNESCO attempts to ratify conventions safe-guarding the intangible or uncommodifiable value of

---

[35] *Ibid.,* 49.

[36] del Corral, Milagros, and UNESCO.

certain materials by proposing to "safeguard" the "cultural content" of developing nations that, 'may take all appropriate measure to protect and preserve cultural expressions... in a manner consistent with the provisions of this Convention.'[37] Legal scholar Tania Voon argues that the UNESCO Convention, "could conflict with most-favoured nation ('MFN') obligations under the WTO agreements, which essentially require WTO Members not to accord goods or services from any other country advantage that is not accorded to all WTO Members,"[38] and goes on to suggest that difficulties in the drafting and adoption of the convention may have arisen due to difficulties in communication between representatives of national Ministries of Trade and Ministries of Cultures, the two government agencies that would send representatives to the WTO and UNESCO, respectively:

> It seems that, generally speaking, WTO Members agree that the UNESCO Convention and the WTO should be 'mutually supportive'. However, Members have expressed quite different opinions regarding the relationship between trade and culture, and the application of WTO disciplines to cultural products, in connection with the UNESCO Convention.[39]

In terms of global trade and culture we can see the return of the ethnographic study through a rediscovery of the local in relation to the global, or as the counter-hegemonic impulse to globalization.[40] In order to understand the implications and disjunctures in the making of "global" South Korean culture, we must examine this multifocal approach to globalization as a cultural and economic quandary in the post-Cold War world order. In the initial space following the "fall" of the ideological division of the world, globalization implied a return to particularity, and with it, these informational structures that were established to contain particularity within a spectrum of culture as

---

[37] As cited in Voon.

[38] Voon, 6.

[39] *Ibid.*, 8.

[40] Mazzarella.

objects of exchange. But this does not imply that the category of the local is monolithic or impregnable, which provides a point of entry to think about the relevance of the ethno-national subject of Korean culture as it (now) exists in multiple political and geographic spaces. When the local is disseminated across the world by means of the media, products, and migrating bodies, the site of the local implies a different spatial distinction that exceeds the nation-state. At the same time, however, when this diffused locality is understood through mediation, it also runs afoul of the restrictions placed upon by the restrictions of local telecommunications networks: restricted access to websites, media content, etc.

UNESCO's attitude toward cultures in need of protection was somewhat paternalistic and favored developing nations whose cultures were jeopardized by modernization, whereas the WTO/GATT's reading of cultures in need of protection were concerned with market protections (US, French, Korean film industries) for contemporary cultural industries.[41] This defensive (or protectionist) approach to culture and culture as tradition in the UNESCO convention in 2005 and its preceding recommendations and annexes to the international trade talks cited above were also reflected in the cultural policy of the Republic of Korea from the founding of the state into the 1980s, and amply so in the reliance on UNESCO support to preserve and demarcate Korea's cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. South Korea's change in tenor towards the cultural industries (cultural goods and services, including audiovisual products) in the 1990s is therefore a clear indicator of the country's intention to shed its developmental past and engage Korean culture at the level of the "big producers of cultural goods," one of very few cases in which this move has been successful. The question of how this change has been perceived, digested, reproduced, and contested in the cultural sphere remains to be answered.

---

[41] Voon, 8.

Culture Under Authoritarian Rule (1961–1979)

In June 1961, shortly after the coup that installed Park Chung-hee's military junta in power, the new military regime established the Ministry of Public Information (*kongpopu* 公報部) and the Office of Cultural Heritage (*munhwache pohopŏp* 文化財保護法). This was followed by the first Korean Motion Picture Law and the Cultural Property Act of 1962. These policies were enacted under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction (*kukka chaekŏn ch'oeko hoeŭi*), aligning the modern art form of film (and its broadcast and commercial functions) with targets of protection in the Cultural Property Act. The Ministry of Public Information was appended in July 1968 under Park's Third Republic of Korea to become the Ministry of Culture and Public Information (*munhwa kongpopu*), which, under the Yushin Constitution established in 1972 that installed Park as president for life (which ended with his assassination in 1979), oversaw the administration of the Korea Foundation for Culture and Arts (*hankukmunhwa yesul chinhŭngwŏn*, or *munyechinhŭngwŏn*, est. 1973), the first government bureau officially related to the external promotion of Korean culture. The Park regime also created the Korea Motion Picture Promotion, the same year (the precursor to the contemporary Korean Film Council, or KOFIC), and passed the Culture and Arts Promotion Act. This was the period of the adoption of Korean culture in the service of Park's developmental project. In 1979, the Ministry of Culture and Public Information began to distribute funding to domestic arts organizations after a period of focusing largely on scholars of English language texts on the peninsula, an indication of the regime's pension for information gathering.[42] What is most interesting (and similar to other post-colonial contexts) about this period of cultural policy is the mobilization of

[42] Korean Literature Translation Institute. *Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon 10-yonsa = Korea Literature Translation Institute 10 Years: Segye Wa Hamkke Hanun Han'guk Munhak*. Soul: Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon, 2011. 25.

traditional culture in the service of a developmental program of modernization, where past and future were combined to erase the difficulties of the present and the recent past.

During the 1970s, "the prerequisite for the creation of a new national culture was the rediscovery, reassessment, development and preservation of tradition in the culture and the arts.... this cultural policy objective was in all probability used to legitimize the political system and to mobilize people into the process of industrialization led by state [sic]."[43] Be that as it may, the Park Chung-hee regime did implement a number of cultural policies, beginning with the Office of Cultural Heritage and the legislation of the First Korean Motion Picture Law, which encouraged the Korean film industry to "contribute to the promotion of national art by producing high quality movies," albeit under the new censorship body established in 1960 and the regime's close control over cultural production.[44] While Park's "first five-year master plan for cultural development" (1973) claimed "excellence and access" as its primary goals, "a major priority objective of this plan was to establish a new cultural identity by highlighting a specific cultural tradition," where 70% of the total funds to the cultural sector went into "folk arts and traditional culture" during the 1974-1978 period targeted by the plan.[45] The focus on preserving traditional culture in this period has been critiqued as a strategic interpellation by the authoritarian regime whose "prerequisites for the creation of a *new national culture* was the *re*discovery, *re*assessment, development and preservation of tradition in the culture and the arts" [my emphases].[46] This was intended to encourage participation in the national economic developmental project and re-deploy "traditional" notions of patriarchal Korean society to

---

[43] Im, Hak-sun (Yim Haksoon). *The Emergence and Change of Cultural Policy in South Korea*. Seoul: JinHan Book, 2003, 43.

[44] Park, Seung Hyun. "Film Censorship and Political Legitimation in South Korea, 1987-1992." *Cinema Journal* 42.1 (2002): 122–123.

[45] Figures from the Ministry of Culture and Information, 1973 and 1979, cited in Yim, Haksoon (Im Hak-sun). "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8.1 (2002): 40–41.

[46] Im, 42.

ensure a populace that would remain obedient to the paternalistic state, all the while within the bounds of the internationally acknowledged approach to cultures in developing nations in the "free" world as defined by UNESCO and the GATT agreements.[47]

Park's 1972 "Declaration for the Revival of Culture and Arts" proffered the idea borrowed from Japan that "a nation's fortune would be determined by its cultural power." The declaration to "return" to culture suggests the country's, and perhaps more importantly, the regime's achievement of stability after the turmoil of the liberation period and the Korean War where the "state-sponsored rediscovery of 'tradition' began with a *negation of Korea's colonial experience*," that sought to give the government authority to "manage people's spiritual education and to lead the South Korean nation toward the 'correct' ideology" [my emphasis].[48] Sang-mi Park points out that the investment in cultural production and consumption was closely tied to the regime's plan for rapid economic development as the KCAF sponsored cultural events that "created crucial venues where state propaganda could be delivered to the people"[49] — hence, the administrative unit the Ministry of Culture and Public Information (*munhwa kongpopu*). Here, the discursive relation between culture and information in the administrative unit corresponded to Park Chung-hee's idea of a holistic national family under his patriarchal leadership, and can be seen carrying over into the new triangulations of information, culture, and technology put into service in the late 1990s and 2000s as discussed above. As such, the extension of the tradition culled by the modern paternalist state into the

---

[47] Kim, Seung-Kyung. *Class Struggle or Family Struggle?: The Lives of Women Factory Workers in South Korea*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

[48] See Park, Sang Mi. "The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965-Present." *Journal of Korean Studies* 15.1 (2010): 67–93, citations from 78, 77, respectively. Park writes convincingly of the contradictions involved in the Park Chung-hee regime's cultural policy as a framework borrowed from Japan that simultaneously attempted to deny Korea's colonial past as it created an idea of "tradition" that was inclusive and interpellated the populace.

[49] *Ibid.,* 80.

cultural industries and cultural content in the 21st century has much deeper roots in the authoritarian and colonial pasts than might be initially suggested by the seeming move to trade-based definitions of culture in the 1990s.

Regimenting the National Body under Chun Doo-hwan (1980-1987)

Park's successor Chun Doo-hwan regime also realized the efficacy of using cultural policy as a means of distracting the public from an illegitimate seizure of power and repressive rule. Chun increased control over the media but eased restrictions on popular culture and imported foreign cultural products; he also increased funding for sports, ostensibly in preparation for participation in international sporting events, but also in the service of promoting group discipline, as (he also) learned from the Japanese:

> …while the fascist nature of group discipline was criticized in postwar Japan, the South Korean state began to employ these techniques in preparation for international sporting events. Using the Japanese-coined term 'cultural citizens,' South Korean leaders initiated a nationwide campaign to transform Koreans into good munhwa simin (cultural citizens), representatives of the nation who would greet foreigners visiting the Republic of Korea. In preparation for the games, educational programs increased. Korean history took a more significant place in the school curriculum. Ordinary people took classes in Korean history and Korean traditional arts through newly established institutions in the 1980s, including the Independence Hall of Korea, the Seoul Arts Center, and the National Museum of Contemporary Art.[50]

Chun used sports as both discipline and distraction in what anthropologist Rachel Joo calls a "sports republic," a kind of "culture industry" that utilized media and the consumption of sports to divert the public's emotional energy "from anger about the conditions of inequality and corrupt military

[50] *Ibid.*, 83–85.

authority toward frenzy over televised sporting competitions…,"[51] indicating an extension of Park's past-future use of culture as an erasure of the present and creation of a collective identity towards the mobilization of bodies and the further development of national culture and identity in the present.

The global media attention proved helpful to both the regime and political dissidents in the opposition *minjung* movement, however, and was instrumental in pushing Chun to agree to democratic elections in 1987 in response to concerns from the International Olympic Committee about moving the games from Seoul due to the political unrest exhibited during the massive popular demonstrations in June 1987.[52] As noted above, after being established as a separate governmental entity in 1982, the Ministry of Sports came to include youth programs, and ultimately came under the purview of the Ministry of Culture along with tourism and information, which brought together a broad array of these designated cultural industries together under the same umbrella of the "Korean Brand" under Kim Dae Jung (1997–2002), Roh Moo Hyun (2002–2007), and Lee Myung-bak (2007–2012).

It is important to parse this new definition as a significant shift in the temporality of the conception of culture in Korea in the 1990s and early 2000s. What does it mean that culture, which was perceived as a tradition requiring preservation by previous administrations, was once again deliberately shifted towards a present and future-oriented definition? The importance of culture as tradition for a divided country should not be underestimated (as during the Park presidency),[53] nor should the desire to forget the colonial origins of the first phase of modernity and the neocolonial present that provide the foundation for Korea's cultural and economic modernity. In the competition

---

[51] Joo, Rachael Miyung. *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. 46.

[52] *Ibid.,* 50.

[53] Yim, Haksoon. "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8.1 (2002): 37–48.

with North Korea for cultural and political legitimacy, South Korea's understanding of the shared history, cuisine, and aesthetics, of the Chosŏn period and the colonial past necessitated careful delineation. Insisting on a past-oriented understanding of culture as tradition also had the added benefit of binding the people of the country together under an assumed cultural and ethnic homogeneity, and was used effectively by the state through its efforts to designate cultural heritage sites. This homogenized and sanitized vision of Korea's past was used by the dissenting opposition to the Park, Chun, and Roh Tae-woo presidencies, during which the nativist *minjung* people's movement revived traditional performing arts such as *madanggŭk* (open air theater), *pungmulnori* (traditional Korean percussion), *t'alch'um* (mask dances), and celebrated the "people's" traditional arts in the movement to solidify a common pan-class identification[54] In the 80s, the Chun Doo-hwan regime's emphasis on sports as a public diversion began to move the conception of culture into the present and onto Korean bodies with the establishment of the Ministry of Sports in 1982 and leading up to the 1988 Seoul Olympics, widely touted as one in a series of South Korea's great "coming out" parties (the others being the 1987 Asian Games, the 2002 World Cup, and the G20 Summit in 2010). Chun Doo-hwan's focus on the rigorously trained body is detailed in Seungsook Moon's concept of "militarized modernity"[55] that was further developed under Chun's successor Roh Tae-woo, as the Ministry of Sports became the Ministry of Sports and Youth in 1991, and finally entered the purview of commercial popular culture under Kim Young-sam's consolidation of sports, youth, and culture into the Ministry of Culture and Sports in 1993 (*munhwa ch'eyukpu* 文化體育部).

---

[54] Cf. Lee, Namhee. *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007; Ryu, Youngju. *The Neighbor and Politics of Literature in 1970's South Korea: Yi Mungu, Hwang Sogyong, Cho Sehui*. 2006; Wells, Kenneth M., and International Conference on the Korean Minjung Movement. "Contemporary Korean Literature: From Victimization to Minjung Nationalism." *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995; Kim, Changnam. "Hankuk ŭi sahoe pyŏntong kwa taechung munhwa."

[55] Moon, Seungsook,. *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea: Politics, History, and Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

As discussed in the introduction, the emergence of the culture industries as a target for government-sponsored economic growth began in the 1990s, although the term "culture industry" (*munhwa sanŏp*) first appeared in cultural policy dictates during the Chun Doo-hwan regime. The parameters of the cultural industries were borrowed from the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), a failed project started by UNESCO to address what were deemed unfair representations of the developing world in the late 1970s and 1980s. During the GATT trade talks, the Uruguay Rounds in 1992-94, and the early WTO discussions in the 1990s to which the Kim Young-sam administration were party, European states continued to draw on the NWICO ideas of culture, "arguing that culture constituted a unique (and uniquely vulnerable) kind of resource that needed to be protected from the predations of the market."[56] This understanding of culture as a protected industry, especially in relation to intellectual property and digital content coincided with South Korea's inclusion in the Uruguay Rounds and the country's transition to a contributing, rather than recipient nation in the OECD during the Kim Young Sam administration, the conceptual shift at the crux of the ambivalence inherent to *segyehwa*. Kim Dae Jung's administration continued with this ambivalent redefinition of culture in its cultural policy as an industry "in association with the technological and transnational imagination," but made the further move of tying cultural content to information by emphasizing the development of digital content such as video games and animation that were tied to the growing informatics industries.[57]

---

[56] Mazzarella, William. "Culture, Globalization, Mediation." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 345–367, 350.

[57] Kim Dae Jung.

Culture Becomes Content: 1988-2012

This brief sketch of state nomenclature illustrates how, at the administrative level, the rhetoric surrounding culture was moving from an essentialist inclusive ethno-national approach used insularly in the service of a developmental/authoritarian state towards a more fluid, commodified, and objectified notion of culture as "content" that moved more freely through, and as global capital. This is played out nominally in the movement of culture and information in and out of different areas of government, where what began as "information" (*kongpo*, 公報) and "preservation of culture" under Rhee, became "culture and information" (*munhwa kongpo*, 文化公報, public notification) under Park, to the separation of "culture and sports" (*munhwa ch'eyuk* 汶化體育) and "information and communication" into discreet units (Roh and Kim Young-sam) during the move into the IT age and global competition. Metaphorically, this entails a separation of the people (culture) and the body (sports) from the products of information and communication. In 1989 the Roh Tae-woo administration split the Ministry of Culture and Information (*munhwa kongpopu*) into the Ministry of Culture (*munhwapu*) and the Ministry of Information (*kongpoch'ŏ* 公報處), suggesting that the symbiosis of dominant national culture and the institutions of public information were no longer commensurate in the information age. Culture then became an object of technological development when, in 1990, the Ministry of Communication published the "Comprehensive Measures for the Information Society," followed by the Five Year Informatization Program in 1991. In the post-1997 Financial Crisis period of cultural industries, the Kim Dae Jung and Roh Moo Hyun administrations adopted the commodification of culture and space as culture and tourism (*munhwa kwankwangpu*, 文化觀光部), and finally moved on to the Cultural Content Agency (*munhwa kont'ench'ŭ chinhŭngwŏn*) and the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (*munhwa ch'eyuk kwangkwangpu*) at the end of the first decade of the 2000s. These recent uses of the adopted English neologism "content" (*k'ont'ench'ŭ*) in relation to cultural production, national bodies in sports, and now, the movement of

foreign bodies through Korean space with the addition of tourism expands the inclusive target of cultural content in the 2000s.

To get a brief sense of how (and whether) these titular movements were perceived by Korean citizens, the Kim Young-sam administration conducted a survey titled "The State of Regional Information Culture and a Study of its Acceptance" in 1992, asking people which government ministry was responsible for knowledge about information culture, and whether it should be renamed. More than two-thirds of the respondents favored the name Ministry of Information and Communications (*chŏngpo t'ongsinpu* 情報通信部) over the Ministry of Communications (*t'ongsinpu* 通信部)[58] and by 1994, the Ministry of Communications had become the Ministry of Information and Communication. Larson explains the state concern over apt nomenclature as:

> …partly a linguistic issue relating to the Korean language words for 'telecommunications' versus 'information', with the latter implying computers and the former referring to electronic transmission of messages, as discussed earlier. However, it is also very much a political question, having to do with the efficiency of public administration and the overall efficiency of South Korea's effort to inculcate information culture among its citizens.[59]

The linguistic issue of "telecommunications" versus "information" is, I think, misapplied here. What is important to note linguistically is that the nature of "information" had undergone an actual lexical transformation in Korean since the Roh Tae-woo administration that is not reflected in the English language translations of the various departments and agencies. Where Roh's Ministry of Information (*kongpoch'ŏ* 公報處) maintained the "public communications" aspect of security-based information as intelligence used by his military predecessors, the succeeding civilian administrations moved towards information as *chŏngpo* (情報), or "a collection of knowledge" that moves from the

---

[58] Larson, James F. *The Telecommunications Revolution in Korea*. Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

[59] Larson, 221.

undifferentiated public of *kong* (公) to the subjective and affective individuation of *chŏng* (情).[60] Combined with *t'ongsin* (通信, 'communication'), this switch would seem to entail a move away from the uni-directional information of *kongpo* to a more interactive and inclusive sense "information communication" (*chŏngpo t'ongsin*). These moves also chart a disassociation with the (national) body (as in the physical movement of bodies entailed in playing sports and travel) in the terminology, where culture was at certain points associated with the physical, and at other moments as abstract content or information, as in digital and cultural content, which was included in the *chŏngpo t'ongsinpu* until the creation of separate agencies for the promotion of cultural content (*munhwa k'ont'ench'ŭ*), knowledge economy (*chisikkyŏngchepu* 知識經濟部) and the Broadcast Communications Commission (*t'ongsin wuiwŏnhoe* 通信委員會) in 2008.

What does this mean for a modern culture that has been conceived so closely in terms of the ethnicized body and blood ties, now that so much of the ethnic population physically occupies so many different administrative/national spaces, and the growing foreign resident population is loudly making claims on cultural belonging, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4? And how can this be tied to a more abstract conception of culture as an expression of national identity that can be divided into discrete industries that produce content that can be exported, sold, and bound by legal and contractual parameters such as copyright? Sociologist Yim Haksoon sees this as a move whereby:

> In general, the evolution of laws relating to the cultural sector expanded the scope of government subsidy for the arts form high culture to popular culture and from artistic excellence to the cultural life of the people.

[60] The development of an information society in South Korea, was also proposed as an age of greater transparency of information. In August 1993, Kim Young Sam announced a presidential decree making it mandatory to use real names in all financial transactions, which was carried over to the telecommunications sector and internet usage with the real-name registration system for internet usage introduced in 2007 as a measure to counteract cyber-bullying and vigilantism, but was repealed in 2011, by which time it had come to be seen as a discriminatory policy to non-citizen residents of South Korea, who were unable to register without resident registration numbers.(cited in ars technica: http://arstechnica.com/tech-policy/2011/08/what-south-korea-can-teach-us-about-online-anonymity/).

> Moreover, the contents of these laws have been revised with a view to deregulation and encouragement, rather than control.[61]

And in the promotion of cultural industries as a means of economic recovery after the 1997 financial crisis:

> Firstly, it can be said that the first priority is to promote the economic potential of cultural industries and to improve the international competitiveness of domestic cultural industries. Such procedures recognize that cultural industries will act as a key industry in the knowledge based information society of the 21st century. In particular, the government of Kim Dae Jung intended to create employment by funding the cultural industries for the purpose of aiding recovery from the serious economic crisis. As regards the cultural industry, the government has used new forms of intervention such as investment and loan finance, in addition to traditional forms of subsidy and grant-aid. In addition, the government has gradually sought to encourage the cultural industries by deregulation and tax expenditure.[62]

Therefore, the national body as content has become globalized within the realm of domestic disciplinary regimes and international definitions of culture and trade regulations.

The genealogy of bureaucratic re-shuffling and realignments within the Ministries of Information, Communication, Public Information, and Media underscores how sports, youth culture, tourism, popular culture, and technology were imbricated in the production of a national culture under the aegises of authoritarian surveillance, militarized division, globalization, and the protection of domestic industries in the late 20th and early 21st century. Where the inclusion of tourism to the culture ministry in the mid-1990s explicitly internalizes an objectification of national culture from the outside in, and the hope of attracting foreign investment and visitors, the alternating focus on sports and information orients national culture toward youth and digital production.

---

[61] Im, 3.

[62] *Ibid.,* 4.

The "traditional" products, practitioners, and aspects of Korean culture remain as the objects of a future-oriented research and development strategy for global consumption and cultural legitimacy. This seems to overturn the linear conception of culture and cultural heritage, so that K-pop artists perform side by side with traditional *muyŏng* dancers and contemporary artists like Paik Nam Jun are exhibited side by side with great 18th century Chosŏn painter Shin Yun-bok. It might seem that this temporal compression has more to do with exporting commercially viable cultural products, as Cho-Han Haejoang suggests,[63] but while that is likely what interests the government and industry, the effects of this commercially selective representation of national culture cannot help but have an effect on local production and reception within the *segyehwa* mindset.

Segyehwa Policy

In contrast to many descriptions of globalization as a process that followed naturally in the wake of neoliberal de-regulation, *segyehwa* was a government initiated program that targeted the cultural fields as a metric of success, rather than the inevitable beneficiaries (or victim, depending on your perspective). Studies of *segyehwa* policy have by and large committed the policy itself to failure, but recognize the intractability of the term in contemporary South Korean cultural and political discourse. What kind of historical and rhetorical baggage does *segyehwa* carry into its later iterations as it is alternately vilified and praised in association with, and against the deregulation of the flow of cultural products and cultural exchange through the movement of bodies and ideas?

Prior to his presentation of the *segyehwa* policy, Kim Young-sam's speeches proclaimed a vision for "New Korea's" place in the world that "places emphasis on such universal values as democracy, liberty, welfare and human rights. It is an active diplomacy based upon moralism. Korea is broadening

[63] Cho, Hae-Joang.

its vision toward the world and the future."[64] He announced after the Uruguay Round in 1993 that, "The only choice for our people is to open our doors and march out into the world, rather than to shut our doors and try to defend ourselves in isolation. The only way for the nation to prosper is through openness and reform."[65] We can read these disparate comments, made nine months apart in the same calendar year, as indicators of the contradictory pulls of globalization that were presented as a (uncontested) moral universalism that was critiqued by intellectuals as neoliberal economics. On the one hand, the idealism and enthusiasm of the first democratic civilian president in the country's history to solidify a newly developed and prosperous nation's place in the post-Cold War world order; on the other, the clear fatigue of an administration dealing with domestic resistance to international trade de-regulation and international economic pressures to conform to the same. The second citation, from an address to the nation, indicates the lingering defensive aspect of the *segyehwa* policy that exposes the (continuation of the) national imperative underlying the optimism of the earlier statement and is further emphasized in the president's New Year's Day speech in 1994:

> ...the world in now plunging into an era of unbounded competition. Globalization and internationalization are no longer idealistic slogans; they have now become pressing tasks for the nation. In the past, we have tended to be like the proverbial frog in a well. We must now widen our field of vision to see the entire world in a proper perspective.
>
> Only those countries that thrive in the increasingly fierce international competition will be key players in world affairs. As for those countries which fail in the race, even their survival will be at stake. The foremost task on the New Year is to cope with this rough new current of world history.[66]

---

[64] Kim, Young Sam. Speech at the Leaders' Forum of the 26th PCEB International General Meeting, 1993/05/24, in *Korea's Quest for Reform & Globalization: Selected Speeches of President Kim Young Sam*. Korea: Presidential Secretariat, the Republic of Korea, 1995. 39.

[65] *Ibid.,* "Address on the Uruguay Round, 1993/12/09," 109.

[66] *Ibid.*, 126.

Kim underscores the basic antagonism of globalization: his open call to the nation to globalize is simultaneously a call for greater localization under threat of eradication in the face of international competition. He also invokes at several different moments the failure of the country to internationalize at the turn of the twentieth century as motivation for the nation to rally around the cause of globalization: "A century ago, we failed to internationalize on our own initiative and were thus forced by others to open up our country. This was why Korea remained backward, soon to be reduced to a colony of a foreign power" (Press Conference to Mark the President's First Anniversary in Office, 1994). And finally in an address on the "Specific Steps to Promote Globalization," he outlines the need for good education, legal and economic reforms, globalization-oriented politics and news media, national and local participation in the globalization drive, environmental stewardship, and concludes with the importance of culture:

> Finally, our culture and our ways of thought and behavior must also be made fitting for globalization. We must rediscover the intrinsic richness of our traditional culture and blend it with global culture. We must march out into the world with an open mind and have both pride in our own culture and respect for that of others.[67]

While the Kim Young-sam administrations globalization of Korean culture picked up the thread of cultural education about traditional culture, it was also the beginning of a desire to "meet global standards of excellence in all areas," including contemporary culture. This new engagement or "opening," however, maintains the argument for a bounded conception of the South Korean ethno-nation that was mobilized so effectively by the Park regime, and less so by the Chun regime. What emerges from the disjuncture of *segyehwa* and globalization here is the suggestion of an unbounded Korean culture that, in its call for communication with subjective knowledge as information, allows for

---

[67] *Ibid.,* 272.

the proliferation of individual and collective identities, but, as Kim emphasized, with Korean characteristics. In Chapters 3 and 4, we will see how these Korean characteristics were winnowed and shaped into the "Global Korea Brand," which ultimately weakened the significatory power of national culture for South Korean citizens at the same time that it encouraged the intense affective identification associated with pop culture fandom.

Dynamic, Sparkling, and Imagined: From National Culture To National Brand

In The Era of Cultural Capital, Yi Tong-yon describes the neoliberalization of Korean culture as a feudalization of the culture industry through Korean blockbuster films, the pop idol system, and the sports industry. He focuses his attention on the Lee Myung Bak administration and the emergence of the "New Right" (*nyu rait'ŭ*), who he sees as having given themselves the mandate to "correct" favoritism towards leftist cultural producers in the interest of a pro-North Korea (read: unification) agenda.[68] This was accomplished through the corporatization of cultural industries and cultural content, but Yi sees a possible outlet in indie (independent) culture. What concerns me about Yi's argument is the use of content (*kontench'ŭ*) as an assumed category of culture or cultural production. This seems to encompass broadcast media (television, radio), film, games, and new media (which is unspecified, but seems to refer to webtoons, internet novels, forums, and the like), but does not specifically refer to this term as a historically contingent category of analysis with an entrenched history in the international trade agreements (GATT, WTO) and international cultural designations (UNESCO) mentioned above. While this could be understood as part and parcel of the onslaught of neoliberalism, it does not interrogate the origins of the term and its use in cultural, political, and economic discourse in Korea.

---

[68] Yi, Tong-yon. *Munhwa Chabon ŭi Sidae: Han'guk Munhwa Chabon ŭi Hyŏngsŏng Wŏlli*. Seoul: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 2010.

More concretely, the Kim administration's *segyehwa* policy was part of a push towards economic liberalization that was continued, for the most part, by the following administrations. The importance placed on defining national identity and national culture in the discourse surrounding globalization points to the underlying structure of international relations based on a constructed image that is more explicitly addressed by the current government's switch towards focusing on "national brand," a corporate term for image, rather than national identity. How much significance can we place on this change of the idea of national identity as part of a marketing strategy? Is it merely a discursive shift, or does it indicate something larger about the nature of the "nation" in what some have called a post-national age?

In early 2009, the Lee Myung-bak administration launched the Presidential Council on Nation Branding (PCNB, *Kukka buraendŭ wiwŏnhoe*) and laid out a ten-point plan to raise Korea's nation brand ranking with the goal of, in the words of Council Chairperson Euh Yoon-dae, "…mak[ing] Korea a globally respected and beloved country." The rhetoric of nation branding introduces the discourse of marketing to the debates over South Korea's national identity. The PCNB's stated goals, however, are very similar to Kim's plan for *segyehwa* in the early 1990s, with the initiative placed directly under the office of the president.

The development of Korea's "brand image" from the Kim Young-sam period to Lee Myung Bak expresses the growing cynicism towards authenticity and the essentialist notion of national identity that had been challenged by the changes wrought on Korean society brought about by twenty years of globalization policies: a much more ethnically diverse population, rapid technological development, and consumer culture, which was promoted successively as "Dynamic Korea," "Korea Sparkling," "Global Korea Brand," and "Imagine Your Korea."[69] The more specific objectives of

[69] For a detailed analysis of the emergence of the Korea brand from Kim Dae Jung to Lee Myung Bak, see Lee, "Dynamic Korea," 118–121.

developing volunteer programs abroad, promoting Korean culture through the "Korean Wave" (*hallyu*), increasing external humanitarian aid, working towards better treatment of "foreigners and multi-cultural families," and helping Koreans become "global citizens" that the PCNB announced as part of the plan to raise South Korea's national brand ranking from 33rd out of 50 on the Anholt-Roper Brands Index to 15th emphasizes the changes cited above, and somewhat cynically recognizes these humanitarian criteria for recognition as a "first class nation," to go back to Kim Young-sam's remarks. In particular, the reference to "foreigners and multi-cultural families" touches on many of the most important issues facing Korean society in the early 2000s discussed in Chapter 3 and 4. It also returns to the shifting parameters of belonging and inclusion utilized to encourage participation in the South Korean economy and the globalization campaigns from different sites of the Korean diaspora and new identifications with "Koreanness" formed through interaction with domestically and internationally produced Korean media and the daily lives of residents within the country.

Segyehwa and the World of Koreans

In the introduction to her work on the 2003 World Cup and transnational sport as part of South Korea's *segyehwa* drive in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Rachel Joo discusses the importance of emphasizing national identity in order for the state to maintain control over the major social and demographic changes taking place as the country globalized. She interestingly notes that:

> A central aspect of *segyehwa* policies included the attempt to highlight the significance of Korean ethnic identity across national boundaries by promoting the notion of a global Korean diaspora. The mass-mediated image of the Korean athlete operated within the context of nationalist appeals to travelers, students, workers, residents, and citizens who reside outside of South Korean territorial borders and are known as overseas Koreans.[70]

[70] Joo, Rachael M. *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. 7.

Joo points to the central contradiction of the globalization campaigns: that they are inherently very national, that is to say, local, but her inculcation of the administration's outreach to the diaspora community adds an interesting dimension to this seeming contradiction. Korean national identity, as has been much discussed, is tied to the racialized blood-nation logic in a way that transcends its geographic borders. This transnational inclusivity, however, has been limited to diaspora Koreans in higher-income "developed" nations like the U.S. and Japan, while ethnic Koreans from China or Russia, for example, have experienced more restrictions on their "Koreanness" by way of limited access to residency visas in South Korea, investment opportunities, and educational and governmental outreach. Joo's study is site specific to the relationship between Korea and the Korean-American community in Los Angeles, which is certainly one of the most important sites where overseas Korean identities are formulated and sent back to Korea through the physical movement of bodies, goods, and perhaps most importantly media. But in actual numbers, the largest population of "overseas Koreans" are Chinese nationals. In this sense, it is worth questioning how the discourse of "global Koreanness" in academic and popular discourse had been dominated by the Korean-American relationship. In a time when *chosŏnjok*, or ethnic Koreans from China constitute the largest number of "foreigners" residing in Korea, and when the political and economic relationship between Korea and China is constantly growing closer together, the question of the relative lack of cultural and political representation of this largest group of the non-citizens residing in Korea requires further investigation.

While there have been significant developments in the re-conceptualization of the Korean diaspora in the past decade (especially in relation to possible visa categories for "Overseas Koreans"),[71]

---

[71] Park, Jung-Sun, and Paul Y Chang. "Contention in the Construction of a Global Korean Community: The Case of the Overseas Korean Act." *Journal of Korean Studies Journal of Korean Studies* 10.1 (2005): 1–27.

where the terms to refer to ethnic Koreans born or residing abroad have shifted from terms relating to movement or blood (*kyop'o* and *tongp'o*) to a more neutral term meaning "related to Korea" (*hankyein*). I began to see this term used in favor of *kyop'o* or *tongp'o* in major news sources (*Chosun Ilbo, Hankyoreh, Donga Ilbo*) around 2010, but anecdotally, I found that the term had gone relatively unnoticed.[72] Nevertheless, the alternate appeals and denials of Korean belonging to non-nationals since *segyehwa* have had very interesting effects in the realm of cultural production, where the desire for global inclusion at the national and individual levels has shown a great deal of ambivalence and mutual (mis-) identification.

In the following chapter, I look at the institutional efforts to globalize Korean literature as a recognizable "World Literature." By examining the discourse surrounding transnational culture and globalization that dominated intellectual work in the early 2000s, I trace the multidirectional flows of literary and academic approaches to globalization and their relationship to the development of "Global Korea." The brief sketch of cultural policy in South Korea and its responses to the changes in local society in this chapter troubles the idea of isolationism and the exclusivity of Korean tradition by revealing the fluidity of the mobilization of culture by different groups and its complex engagements with international conventions on culture, technological development, and the collectively individuated populations of the so-called "age of globalization."

[72] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed analysis of the classifications of co-ethnic diaspora Koreans.

Two.

Literary Engagements: the Making of Korean Literature as a Global Cultural Product

> *"The national perception that we have embraced globalization by promoting art and literature is woefully insufficient. What would it mean for our literature to be globalized? Globalizing our literature, and by extension, Korean culture by writing for all the people of the world, and making the whole world the prize for the competition—it would mean that our culture has advanced in the world. It would mean that we are putting our roots down in humanity and the world."*
>
> —KLTI government accreditation application, 2004/08/02

This impassioned rhetoric advocating for the Korean Literature Translation Institute (KLTI, now called LTI Korea) came ten years after President Kim Young-Sam's 1994 *segyehwa* (globalization) policy discussed in the previous chapter, which was meant to transform South Korea into a "first-rate nation." In the intervening decade, a considerable amount of capital and resources were invested in the promotion and development of culture and the arts as symbols of the newly developed democratic Korea. Although the economic policies of the period eventually led the country to the IMF Financial Crisis in 1997, the rhetoric of *segyehwa*, deliberately used in Korean to indicate a "globalization with Korean characteristics" fully took root in the cultural sphere as an indication of Korea's advancement even though economic globalization in the form of trade liberalization (albeit unevenly contested) remained unpopular.[73]

By the time the KLTI was officially made a government agency in 2005, the Korean Wave (*hallyu*) had already gone through two cycles of ebb and flow, disseminating Korean pop music, dramas, and films across East and Southeast Asia.[74] The initial state investment in "the export of

---

[73] Song, Jesook. *New Millennium South Korea*. London: Routledge, 2010.

[74] The first "wave" is generally recognized as the growing popularity of Korean pop groups in China and other parts of Asia beginning in the mid-late 1990s. Korean media was less expensive to import than Japanese media, the major producer of popular entertainment in the region, and was able to gain a foothold through subsidized discounts and broadcast fees. During the second wave in the early 2000s, Korean dramas began to overtake Japanese dramas in popularity, and began to

Korean popular culture (and television dramas and pop acts in particular) was not driven by the government's drive to promote a certain image of Korea, but rather grew out of the necessity to explore new export markets in the wake of the Asian financial crisis after 1997."[75] As the government supported the development of creative industries through favorable tax breaks and grants which allowed the production companies to price their products very competitively compared to Japanese television dramas in markets like Taiwan and Singapore, the key concern for policy makers in the late 1990s and early 2000s was, as Cho Han notes, "to transform the Korean Wave into a sustainable source of income" that came to be seen as "a way to engage with younger overseas audiences."[76] In this case, the trajectory of Korean popular culture is the exact inverse of the translation and export of Korean literature, which was intended to engage with overseas audiences as a "world literature" and representative of Korean culture, but has only lately begun to be thought of and marketed as a potential economic export. While *hallyu's* success inspired national pride in a populace wary after the sudden economic downturn in 1997, these new "culture industries" were also the subject of

---

spread in popularity across Latin America (where the format and content was already familiar through *telenovelas*) and the Middle East, where what has been identified as the Confucian family values and relatively chaste love stories offered an alternative to Hollywood entertainment. For responses to *hallyu* across East and Southeast Asia, particularly in Hong Kong, China, and Japan, see Chua, Beng Huat. *East Asian Pop Culture : Analysing the Korean Wave*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008; Elfving-Hwang, Joanna. "South Korean Cultural Diplomacy and Brokering 'K-Culture'Outside Asia." *Korean Histories* 4.1 (2013): 14–26.

For Korean responses to this phenomenon, see Hae-Joang, Cho. "Reading the "Korean Wave" As a Sign of Global Shift." *Korea journal* 45.4 (2005): 147-182; Baik, Wondam. *Tong Asiaŭi munhwa sŏnt'aek hallyu.* Seoul: Sedo, 2005; Yim, Haksoon. "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8.1 (2002): 37–48; Elfving Hwang.

[75] Cho Han, cited in Elfving-Hwang, 15. See also Yim Hak-soon: "Firstly, it can be said that the first priority is to promote the economic potential of cultural industries and to improve the international competitiveness of domestic cultural industries. Such procedures recognize that cultural industries will act as a key industry in the knowledge based information society of the 21st century. In particular, the government of Kim Dae Jung intended to create employment by funding the cultural industries for the purpose of aiding recovery from the serious economic crisis. As regards the cultural industry, the government has used new forms of intervention such as investment and loan finance, in addition to traditional forms of subsidy and grant-aid. In addition, the government has gradually sought to encourage the cultural industries by deregulation and tax expenditure," in "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea." International Journal of Cultural Policy 8.1 (2002): 62.

[76] Cho, 160–161.

government policies that sought to redefine and manage culture as content, or what has become known as the neologism *munhwa kont'ench'ŭ*.

From Korean Literature to K-Literature

For literature, the explicit association of cultural production with technology and globalization demanded the commodification and export of a medium that had been one of the most influential and contentious domestic cultural forces in Korean society in the 20th century, which became a desire to append literary production to the advances of digital and popular media. The importance of literature in Korean culture in the 20th century should not be underestimated in a study of 21st century cultural production. The use of the Korean language and the native script *hangŭl* were polarizing issues on the path to sketching out modern Korean nationalism for both Korean states. From the transition to modern Western and Japanese-influenced literature from classical *hanmun* writing using Chinese characters, to anti-colonial nationalist patriotism during the first half of the century, and to the competing legitimacies in North and South Korea following the war, the language has been idealized, and its highest practitioners (literary writers, poets, and scholars) tended to have more political, cultural, and social visibility than artists in other media.

Three main organizations have been closely involved in the effort to globalize Korean literature: the state-funded KLTI (est. 2001), the privately funded Daesan Foundation (est. 1993), and the privately funded International Communication Foundation (ICF, est. 1982). Beginning with the ICF in 1982, these organizations have provided financial support for translators, authors, and publishers; sponsored writing and translation prizes; developed educational programs for translators and students; and hosted readings and international events aimed at fostering literary exchange between the Korean literary sphere and its targeted object of "World Literature." The largest of these events, the Daesan Foundation's Seoul International Forum for Literature brought an impressive array of authors,

scholars, literary critics, and publishing professionals to Seoul to discuss "conflicts of planetary purview in the contradictions of poverty and affluence, nation-state and transnationality, local autonomies and global hegemony, industrial civilization and nature, and many other products and counter-products of the globalizing world civilization," an extremely ambitious agenda. Shortly after the first Seoul Forum in 2001, the newly established KLTI inaugurated its program of collaborative events and workshops that focused more closely on the mechanics of getting more Korean literature in translation published outside of the country.

At the same time, however, the Korean literary world was debating the "crisis of literature," seen by many as the loss of political grounding in the post-democratization period.[77] The same literary establishment was nevertheless called upon to become involved in the cause of globalizing Korean literature as a "cultural product" through these organizations, but also, as noted above, to encourage global readership amongst Koreans as a way of becoming part of that world. In this sense, Korean literature experienced an unrequited globalization, with foreign novels in translation occupying the majority of booksellers' bestseller list, and the explicit inferences in local literature to other world-renowned writers. Former dissident writers — like Hwang Sŏk-yŏng, who was imprisoned by the Park regime for his political activism and his writing; Yi Munyŏl, whose allegories of the abuses of power and ideology in the 1970s and 1980s characterize Korean realist fiction in the late 20th century; and the poets Ko Un and Kim Chi-ha, whose poems were calls to arms for the student and labor movements that led to the June 1987 Uprising and eventual democratization — many of whom were the first of the *hangŭl* generation (the first generation of modern Korean authors who wrote exclusively in the native script as opposed to their predecessors who were, by and large, educated in Japan and who

---

[77] Hwang, Jong-yon. "After the Apocalypse of Literature: A Critique of Karatani Kojin's Thesis of the End of Modern Literature." *Korea journal* 47.1 (2007): 102; Hwang, Jong-yon. *Piruhan kŏt ŭi k`anibal Munhak Tongne P`yongnonjip*. Sŏul-si: Munhak Tongne, 2001; Kim Pyŏng-ik. *Kŭraedo munhak i issoya hal iyu: Kim Pyŏng-ik pip'yŏngjip*. Sŏul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 2005.

wrote in both languages) were called into the service of the new liberal governments as symbols of political legitimacy and of the overcoming of the contentious past, which, as a newly developed democratic country had become a badge of pride.[78] This gesture symbolically periodized South Korea's developmental period as past, while incorporating the history of protest culture into the contemporary national narrative as an admirable cultural characteristic. Due to the pre-existing historical tie between politics and culture that, in the Korean tradition, extends into the literati culture of the Chosŏn period,[79] the political was shifted further into the realm of culture, thereby facilitating the next move into neoliberal governance and commercialization.[80]

In the practice of literature, this would have profound effects on the domestic publishing industry through corporate and state intervention in the attempt to export Korean literature as a desirable cultural product rich in cultural capital.[81] The authors and works translated into languages with wide readership outside Asia were to become the representatives of Korean 'high culture,' and the (extra-) national canon that was developed through the 1990s and 2000s — the most productive period of external translation of Korean literature — has been a collaboration of the state, corporate interests, and the literary establishment that once strongly opposed them. What is the significance of

---

[78] Bhabha, Homi. "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation." *Nation and Narration,* Homi Bhabha, ed. New York: Routledge, 1990. 291–322; Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Vol. 11. Princeton: Princeton University Press Princeton, 1993.

[79] See Jahyun Kim Haboush, ed. *Epistolary Korea: Letters from the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392-1910* (CUP, 2009)

[80] This has recently become a polarizing issue in South Korean politics, as political candidates from the left and right attempt to pay their respects at sites of Korean history, which now include memorials honoring the students who died in the 1960 Student Uprising, the 1980 Kwangju Rebellion, and the Workers' movements in the 1970s and 80s, for example, and casting them as martyrs of the state. The appropriation of the memory of struggle has been used problematically by those who would likely have perpetrated the same violence, as well as their successors and new generations of dissidents. Recent work on the state valorization of contentious past/history points out that the canonization/recognition of the "martyrs" of the democratic struggle consumes the significance of their opposition/dissent by appropriating and reifying their struggle in the service of maintaining the very state they opposed. Cf. Namhee Lee, Ryu Youngnan. Ryu Youngnan also recently discussed the poet Kim Chi-ha's "defection" and the betrayal felt by former student activists when he came out in support of Park Chung-hee's daughter, Park Kuen-hye's presidential campaign.

[81] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

this collusion for Korean intellectual history? How have these three players tried to define Korean culture through translated literary texts, and what does this tell us about how Korea perceives its own position in the world?

This chapter examines the proceedings of The International Workshop for the Translation and Publication of Korean Literature (held annually by the government agency KLTI, 2002-present), and the privately funded Daesan Foundation Seoul International Forum for Literature (held in 2000, 2005, and 2011). Where the bureaucratic approach to "world literature" taken by the KLTI instrumentalized literature and culture as extensions of the nation-state while simultaneously questioning the linkage between the two by relying on foreign practitioners and experts (and also by appealing to co-ethnic foreign nationals) to turn Korean literature into a product for global consumption. By contrast, the evolving discourses of *segyehwa* and globalization at the Daesan Forums were discussed more critically in relation to canonization, cultural difference, intermediality, and ideology.[82]

The distinctions between *segyehwa* and globalization show the interaction of two mutually ill-defined entities — global Korean literature and World Literature — as a failure of globalization as a meaningful explanation for cultural interaction despite a prevailing desire among the participants for a common definition of a universal ideal and purpose for literature and cultural production. I follow this discursive analysis with a case study of the most successful (in terms of sales, awards, and international exposure) Korean novel in translation, Shin Kyung-sook's *Please Look After Mom*, which was the first Korean novel in translation to win the Man Asia Literary Prize and to appear on the *New York Times* Bestseller list. In this section, I analyze interviews with the author, translators, the promotional engagements, book reviews, and graphic images used for the covers of the various foreign editions

[82] As in the previous chapter, I keep *segyehwa* and globalization as discrete terms in order to highlight the insistence on the particularity of Korean globalization (*segyehwa*) expressed by many of the local participants at the forums in contrast to the foreign participants' conceptions of globalization.

and discuss the marketing of Shin's book and fellow Korean author Kim Young-ha's *Your Republic is Calling Me* in relation to the already-established market of Asian-American and Korean-American literature. Reading across these texts, I examine the discrepancies and/or similarities in the projected visual representation of Korean culture through the imagery chosen to sell what is essentially a family bildungsroman that mirrors the development of the country from the (already past) rural agrarian society idealized in 60s and 70s literature as at the pastoral "tradition," to the hyper-modernity of Seoul in 2008. In short, I judge this book by its covers to assess the cultural assumptions that precede the transnational relationship that is a novel in translation. The successful and extremely focused promotion of Shin's novel illustrates the anxiety over collective identity that began to resurface in the late 2000s, but also encapsulates the contradictory approaches to Korean literature as a participant in world literature by both the Korean literary sphere and representatives of "World Literature" as they worked together over the course of the decade-long international engagement with Korean culture that comprises the KLTI workshops and the Daesan Foundation Forums. I extend this analysis to the evolution of Korea's literary "brand image" through translation, and multiple representative "Korean" literatures from North Korea and sites in the Korean diaspora that have been appended to South Korea's promotional efforts by the international media.

Promoting South Korean Literature: State Support

Prior to the investment in literature and literary translation in the late 1990s and 2000s, literature was also called into service during the Park Chung-hee regime, when the Ministry of Culture and Public Information established the *New Village Literature Collection* (*saemaŭl mun'gojip*) competition, which expressed the participants' "willing acceptance of New Village movement spirit in their novels,

children's stories, poems, and theater scripts."[83] Translation, whether inbound or outbound, was not made a priority in this period of cultural "revival" as the administration also "censored movies and the media and prohibited 'foreign-originating' (*oerae*) forces such as 'vulgar commercialism.'"[84] Many translations of Korean literature prior to 1980, for example, were published domestically for use by scholars of foreign literature and visiting exchange students in Korea, rather than for commercial or academic use abroad (see fig. 2.1).[85]

Fig. 2.1 **International and domestic publications of Korean literature in English by decade**[86]

Years	Int'l Publications	Domestic Publications	Both
1910–1919	2		
1920–1929	2		
1930–1939	2		
1940–1949	2		
1950–1959	4	4	
1960–1969	6	14	
1970–1979	13	47	
1980–1989	48	52	23
1990–1999	71	43	7
2000–2004	21	23	10

Of these, most were published by, or with the support of the UNESCO[87] with the disclaimer that:

> The majority of them has [sic] been published in the framework of The UNESCO Catalogue of Representative Works, a direct subsidy programme launched in 1948 by UNESCO in order to encourage translation, publication and the distribution of texts significant from the literary and cultural point of view, in spite of being little known beyond national boundaries or beyond

[83] Park Sang-mi, 82.

[84] *Ibid.*, 77.

[85] Korean Literature Translation Institute (KLTI). *Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon 10-yonsa* = Korea Literature Translation Institute 10 Years: Segye wa hamkke Hanŭn Han'guk Munhak. **Sŏul**: Han'guk Munhak Pŏnyŏkwŏn, 2011.

[86] Cited in Report by the European Cultural Information Center College (Yurŏp Munhwa Chŏngbo Sent'ŏ taehakkyo), 2004.

[87] As discussed in Chapter 1 and 2, the UNESCO cultural mission is based on a complex structure that established an ideal of western universalism and the types of culture associated with it. That said, the majority of works of Korean literature in translation from the 1970s and 1980s would not exist without this international body.

> the frame of their linguistic origin. Supplying direct financial help is not possible anymore, but the Collection remains a reference for publishers looking for opportunities for new editions of reference works.[88]

In this respect, the aim of the Park regime's policy to erase the colonial period from cultural and collective memory coincided with the mission of the UNESCO Catalogue of Representative Works. The lack of administrative control over the determination of the nation's externally represented canon of works in translation, which was very dependent on scholars of Korean literature based for the most part outside the country, exposes the contingent nature of even a tightly controlled national culture when it exceeds national boundaries, as well as the external dependencies in the political, economic, and cultural realms even during this period of extreme closure and inward focus. The list of "texts significant form the literary and cultural point of view" until 1990 heavily favored anthologies of classical poetry, and epic poetry or tales that could be easily compared to similar texts in the Western European and the growing Japanese and Chinese classical literary canons. Based on this "representative" collection of pre-modern literature, one might be tempted to think that South Korea did not produce any worthwhile prose literature until the 1980s.

The Chun Doo-hwan regime eased restrictions on the publication of foreign translations in 1980, enabling a wider variety of literature to enter the country, but the export of Korean literature in translation experienced its must productive period in the 1990s.[89] Many of these translations were completed with support from the UNESCO Korean Commission and the newly established Korea Foundation (1991) that, "aim[ed] to enhance the image of Korea in the world and also to promote academic and cultural exchange programs. It is an independent organization affiliated with the

---

[88] Historical Collection: UNESCO Culture Sector. www.unesco.org. Web. 17 Apr. 2014. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/lit/rep/index.php?lng=en_GB&work_titre=&work_type%5B%5D=0&work_auteur=&work_langue%5B%5D=223&work_zone%5B%5D=0&trans_titre=&trans_langue%5B%5D=0&trans_traducteur=&trans_coordination=&trans_editeur=&trans_annee=&trans_annee_apres=&trans_annee_avant=&send=Search>.

[89] There were 71 international publications of Korean literature in English in the 1990s.

Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs."[90] The Korea Foundation provided a great deal of support for Korean Studies programs overseas, especially in major universities in the USA, and the attention to producing more literary texts in translation must also be understood in the context of the growth of Korean studies, where instructors needed primary texts in English in order to teach courses on Korean culture and history. To this effect, most of the Korean literature in translation published between 1980-2000 were published by academic and specialty presses with support from UNESCO or the Korea Foundation, rather than with large commercial publishing houses.

The shift in cultural policy in the 90s has been described as a move from policy "very much focused on building confidence and supporting nationalism domestically," to "considerations of 'soft power' and how South Korea increasingly posits itself as a developed, post-industrial middle power with an important role to play on the global stage both as an economic and a cultural power."[91] One of the post-*hallyu* tactics of the LTI Korea has been to extend financial and institutional support to commercial presses interested in publishing Korean literature in translation, following Yim's observation that:

> In general, the evolution of laws relating to the cultural sector expanded the scope of government subsidy for the arts form high culture to popular

---

[90] "Mission Statement," Korea Foundation website, http://en.kf.or.kr/?menuno=518, accessed 03/2014 (English site amended 07/2014 to read: "The mission of the Korea Foundation is to promote better understanding of Korea within the international community and to increase friendship and goodwill between Korea and the rest of the world through various exchange programs," from Article 1 of the Korea Foundation Act, 1991.12.14. The Korean text reads: "대한민국과 외국간의 각종 교류사업을 통해 국제사회에서 한국에 대한 올바른 인식과 이해를 도모하고 국제적 우호친선을 증진 (한국국제교류재단법 제 1 조).

[91] Elfving-Hwang, Jo. "South Korean Cultural Diplomacy and brokering 'K-Culture' Outside Asia," *Korean Histories,* 4.1, 2013. 15.

"Within the government's rhetoric this cultural soft power is presented not only in terms of being able to 'shape the preferences of others,' but also in terms of positioning South Korea as a nation that has an important contribution to make to the global community of nations. As a nation that has successfully modernized despite historical tragedies (national division, civil war), South Korea now actively posits itself as a success story and a model that developing nations can emulate. In addition to this, the government has also sought to enhance South Korea's image as a reliable and developed business partner and to create an image of a dynamic and developed country with which advanced countries can aspire to do business."

> culture and from artistic excellence to the cultural life of the people. Moreover, the contents of these laws have been revised with a view to deregulation and encouragement, rather than control.[92]

Yim's optimistic opinion of government liberalization notwithstanding, the Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung administrations did encourage the development of domestic popular culture, but it is worth noting that literature no longer fell under the purview of the "cultural life of the people" in the post-democratization period. Film, television, and music production received financial and political support to develop local industries, including sponsorships for film festivals and international broadcast subsidies to help export Korean media products. Literature was also included in these plans, and under the Kim Young-sam administration's planned ten-year celebration of Korean arts and goals for the development of cultural industries as "representative industries for the 21st century," 100 trillion won (approx. 10 million USD) was earmarked for the Korean Literature Translation Fund in 1996, the designated, "Year of Literature."[93] The Fund officially became the KLTI in 2001, with the mission to: "Under the banner of globalizing Korean literature, […] canonize Korean literature with the goal of inclusion in mainstream world literature."[94]

This direct statement of the intention to create an outward flow of Korean literature tells us three things from the outset: 1) that the parameters of national literature were considered fluid enough to be shaped to fit into mainstream world literature; 2) that the government deemed Korean literature to be outside "mainstream world literature," and 3) that policy related to literature accepted the idea of a definitive "World Literature" to which it hoped to gain acceptance. The first point directly instrumentalizes literature and rather post-structurally acknowledges the constructed nature of a

---

[92] Yim, 31.

[93] Other culture years included the "Year of Fine Arts," "Year of Film," "Year of Dance," and so forth.

[94] KLTI, *10 Years of the KLTI*.

representative national literary canon. "…[I]nclusion in mainstream world literature," the stated goal of canonized Korean literature begs the obvious question: what is world literature and how was it conceived as a determinative category of cultural legitimacy in Korea? In the next section, I outline some of the major debates surrounding the post-colonial legacies of the idea of World Literature and how that discourse contributed to the bifurcated idea of globalized Korean culture within *segyehwa*.

In the introduction to the volume published in 2011 by the KLTI chronicling its ten-year history suggests that, "the contemporary world has begun to operate according to the mechanism of multiculturalism. The translation institute came into being in accordance with the demands of this period during which the desire to make mutual communication and understanding of true meaning possible through the independent introduction of our culture to others."[95] Simply put, the aim of the translation institute as it was perceived after ten years of operation was to maintain control over the articulation of the "true meaning" of "our culture" to "others" through the translation of Korean literature. At the same time, "it's because the authors who create literary and artistic works no longer make only domestic people their target audiences, but take "people of the whole world" as their target audience. Their creations may have come to satisfy the demands of cosmopolitan people/world citizens naturally, but through the promotion of this kind of creative art we contribute to the creation of a Culture State (*munhwa kukka*)."[96]

World Literature: Longing and Belonging

> Faced with an antimony that is unique to their situation (and appears only to them), they have to make an unavoidably painful choice: either to affirm

[95] *Ibid.,* 24.

[96] *Ibid.*, 25.

> their difference and so condemn themselves to the difficult and uncertain fate of national writers (whether their appeal is regional, popular, or other) writing in "small" literary languages that are hardly, or not at all, recognized in the international literary world; or to betray their heritage and, denying their difference, assimilate the values of one of the great literary centers.[97]

In "The Importance of Being Universal," a subsection of her influential 1999 text *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova discusses literary prize culture as a form of what she calls "literary consecration," and cites Korea's quest for the Nobel Prize in Literature:

> The importance of the prize in helping to accumulate a national stock of literary capital is now so great that South Korea has mounted a campaign on behalf of its writers. The country's press speaks of "the obsession with the Nobel," and in the largest bookstore in Seoul one sees authors advertised as "the future Korean Nobel Prize winner." There is even talk of creating a review exclusively devoted to pursuit of the prize.[98]

The act of literary consecration can be achieved through international literary prizes, translation, or universalization, whereby the "great consecrating nations [England, France, the US] reduce foreign works of literature to their own categories of perception, which they mistake for universal norms, while neglecting all the elements of historical, cultural, political, and especially literary context that make it possible to properly and fully appreciate such works."[99] In her critique of the as yet imperial relationships played out in what she calls the "World Republic of Letters," Casanova relies on this religious term "consecration," which signals her own (perhaps ironic) belief in the ideal of literature, even as she points out the deep structural inequities at the heart of the mechanism of recognizing literature. She never questions the value of the consecrated works, only suggesting that consecration must be bestowed upon a work or author. We will return to Casanova later, as she brought her

---

[97] Casanova, Pascale. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004, 180.

[98] *Ibid.,* 147.

[99] *Ibid.,* 154.

opinions about the pursuit of the Nobel Prize to Korea as an invited speaker at the first Seoul International Forum. But suffice it to say that even as it is being deconstructed, the ideal of world literature remains a goal for literary types all over the world separate from commercial value or success.

In the age of global mass culture flows, literature has held fast to the distinctions between high and low cultures in a way that maintains ethnic particularities regardless of, or perhaps wholly determined by location and language of transmission. National governments take this up as a way of encouraging ethnonational identification even as it is contested by the producers themselves, as in the case of Korean-American authors who are praised for their "authentic" representations of Korean culture by the English-language literary establishment, but who have historically been denied authenticity of representation by the Korean literary world.[100] Regardless of its utility, there remains a fundamental desire to communicate through literary texts something specific about a particular area or community. It happens that in the case of contemporary literature, this is achieved through either translated national literatures or their diasporic proxies, as opposed to the now deconstructed former colonial gaze. While Casanova says that what makes "world literature" is a universalized commercially viable formula that de-differentiates literatures and imposes a universality to which all aspirants should conform.

Casanova's conclusion: "I hope that my reading…may serve as an instrument for struggling against the presumptions, the arrogance, and the fiats of critics in the center, who ignore the basic fact of the inequality of access to literary existence. There is a kind of universality that escapes the centers: the universal domination of writers that, though historically it has taken different forms, has

---

[100] Cf. Elaine Kim's presentation at the 2000 Daesan Seoul International Forum. Kim, Elaine. "Blackness and American Identity in Korean American Literature." *Writing Across Boundaries: Literature in the Multicultural World*. Ed. U-ch'ang Kim. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2002. 291–310.

nonetheless managed to produce the same effects everywhere in the world over the last four hundred years."[101]

While Casanova's text caused a stir and attacks against the sustained primacy of "center" languages and literature, many other noted critics in comparative literature and area studies have attempted to critique the hierarchical structure of national literatures and have suggested alternatives to the concept of the "world" that Goethe first proposed as *Weltliteratur* (world literature). From Goethe's *Weltlitteratur*, which coincided with capitalist exchange of the Weltmarkt (world market) and a "universal world market of exchange," to Franco Moretti's more recent move towards a "world literature" through a proposed "distant reading" that relies on secondary analysis of local literatures,[102] the question of what World Literature is, and how it might be practiced is based on power relations that Moretti describes as a wave versus trees theory. Where one suggests a geographical proximity that moves progressively to overcome an area, the other suggests an origin point from which smaller, more discrete units are able to branch out while still being part of the same organism. What this means for national literature is a constant struggle for articulation against a point of origin that, in Moretti's conception, is predicated on the form of narrative fiction in Europe. This returns to Casanova's "benediction" of literariness from France and the rest of the "center" nations. Gayatri Spivak has suggested "planetarity"[103] as a means of avoiding both the world and the globe, while most recently, Emily Apter has attempted to radicalize the physical spaces of overdetermined meaning and over translation: border points.[104]

---

[101] Casanova.

[102] Moretti, Franco. ""Conjectures on World Literature"." *Debating World Literature*. Ed. Christopher Prendergast. London; New York: Verso, 2004. 148–162.

[103] Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Death of a Discipline*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

[104] Apter, Emily S. *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books, 2013.

The limitation of these arguments are, of course, that they originate from the same center they critique and only converse with those from the periphery who have, in Casanova's terms, been consecrated by humanitarian benevolence, curiosity, or economic success. The discussions that took place in Korea between invited "center" experts and local (periphery) scholars reveal the desire for meaningful discussion with a literary periphery nation on the one hand, and a desire for literary consecration by the periphery that is couched in a mutual admiration that ultimately seem to fall short of actual dialogue: sympathy, but not empathy. It would be easy to say that the incommensurability of the two positions is the fault of inadequate or insufficient translation or interpretation, but as Lydia Liu writes,

> Meanings, therefore, are not so much "transformed" when concepts pass from the guest language to the host language as invented within the local environment of the latter. In that sense, translation is no longer a neutral event untouched by the contending interests of political and ideological struggles. Instead, it becomes the very site of such struggles where the guest language is forced to encounter the host language, where the irreducible differences between them are fought out, authorities invoked or challenged, ambiguities dissolved or created, and so forth, until new words and meanings emerge in the host language itself.[105]

The productive tension that emerges from these discussions is the next phase of Liu's formulation, where the guest's already deconstructed concept of World Literature encounters its received, deconstructed, and reformulated other. While it is understandable that these transactions would occur, these forums and workshops depict a space of direct re-engagement that, while trying to deny the existing power relations, only further support them.

---

[105] Liu, Lydia He. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity--China, 1900-1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. 26.

Movements for Literary Translation Around the World

Korea has not been the only country with a "minority literature" to invest in the promotion of its literature abroad. Literature institutes promoting outward-bound translation (from the local language into foreign languages) have been established in many minority language countries in recent years. Following projects for cultural exchange between European Union countries and new trade regulations concerning intellectual property and the "content industries," many Central East and Eastern European countries including Poland (est. 2003), Switzerland (est. 2009), have developed literature institutes that focus on the promotion, translation, and distribution of national literatures in foreign reading markets.[106] That these moves are happening as the publishing industry worldwide bemoans decreases in readership and book sales begs the question: why now? That is, why, as literary fiction becomes an increasingly rarefied and devalued commodity, are countries fighting to enter already crowded foreign literary markets?

By contrast, organizations in majority, or "center language" countries like the Arts Council England, provide support for inbound translation (foreign to local) in order to "…develop and invest in artistic and cultural experiences that enrich people's lives in England."[107] In England's case, inbound translation is recognized as unmarketable enough to require sponsorship, and the support is given in the interest of providing the local population access to foreign literature. The problem of English language readers' disinclination for literature in translation has been well documented, inspiring blogs

---

[106] A partial list of National literature/culture institutes represented at the most recent Frankfurt Book Fair included (in chronological order of establishment: the Finish Literature Exchange (FILI, est. 1977), Norwegian Literature Abroad (NORLA, est. 1978), the Foundation for the Production and Translation of Dutch Literature (est. 1991), the National Book Center of Greece (EKEBI, est. 1994), the Flemish Literature Fund (est. 2000), lovak Literature Information Center (SLOLIA (est. 2000), Bulgaria's Next Page Foundation (est. 2001)The Estonian Literature Centre (ELIC, est. 2001), the Latvian Literature Center (est. 2002), the Polish Book Institute (est. 2003), the Translation and Publication Grant Programme of Turkey (TEDA, est. 2005), Books from Lithuania (est. 2008), Switzerland's Moving Words Program (est. 2009), Russia's Institute for Literary Translation (Institut Perervoda, est. 2011), the Icelandic Literature Center (est. 2013).

[107] "Who We Are," homepage of the Arts Council England. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/who-we-are/

like threepercent.com, named after the percentage of publications in English that have been translated from another language.[108]

In Spain, the Spanish Centre for Literary Translations[109] provides space, funding, and events for "literary translators from any country that has as a starting or finishing languages: Spanish, Catalan, Basque and Galician," through the support of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Education, the Foreign Ministry and the European Commission, and the European Council. Recent publications have discussed the failure of French literature in the Anglophone market, citing the intellectual richness of French literary and philosophical history as a barrier to popular acceptance with UK and American readers. These examples of the concern over transnational literary exchange from both center languages and the so-called periphery express the continued importance of literature as a form of cultural capital that remains strongly national at the same time that it emphasizes the plurality of cultures within one state (i.e. Spanish multilingualism), and a renewed recognition of the cultural legacies of imperialism in the face of anglophone cultural domination (such as Francophone and Hispanophone literatures). The desire for cultural distinction through language and literature is further supported by national and language-based culture institutes like the Goethe Institute (Germany), the Cervantes Institute (Spain), the Confucius Institute (China), the Alliance Française (France), the Japan Foundation, and the Korea Foundation, which provide financial and institutional support for language and cultural education, and scholarly research on these area studies.

The mission of the Cervantes Institute (est. 1991) is particularly interesting as "an institution that was founded by the Spanish government in 1991 to promote the Spanish language and Spanish *and Hispanic-American culture* [my emphasis]" for their embrace of transnational Spanish-speaking

---

[108] It should be noted that the "3 per cent" refers to *all* translated publications in English, including non-fiction and non-literary works.

[109] Casa del Traductor. http://www.grinzane.net/P_Traductor_ENG.html

cultures in its promotion of Spanish-language literatures and cultures.[110] Whether this is a self-serving interest rather than a genuine belief in the existence of a shared pan-hispanic culture can be debated in light of the international success of Latin American literature.[111] Given that the majority of these authors have been praised for strongly political writing dealing with the liberation struggles in Latin America and their trans-hispanic identification with a specifically Latin American culture, it does seem remarkable that the contemporary promotion of Spanish language literature has chosen to elide the centuries of imperial history and the emphasis of Latin American writers on indigenous cultures in favor of linguistic hegemony since the 1990s, when the definitions and trade regulations regarding cultural industries were redefined. On the other hand, the slippage into market-based valuations of literature reflects the ambivalence and anxiety over high culture having to recognize itself as a commercial venture, where pointing to its capital value cheapens that value.

Cultural Currency: the KLTI International Workshops

At the beginning of the Korea/Japan World Cup in 2002, the KLTI held its 1st International Workshop. Park Huan-Dok, the president of the KLTI told participants that: "For sports, […] the obstacle of language is not a huge roadblock. However, meeting through literature, the linguistic art that is the essence of culture, is not that simple. Unfortunately, up until now, the one-sided encounters we have had can not really be called 'encounters.' A true encounter must go both ways."[112] As Park points out, the translingual encounter is an unequal power relation that minority languages have been trying to

---

[110] From the "Presentation" page of the New York Instituto Cervantes: http://nyork.cervantes.es/en/about_us_spanish.htm <accessed 7/15/2014>.

[111] I refer here to the so-called "Latin Boom" in the 1960s and the six Nobel Prizes in Literature won by authors from Spanish-speaking Latin American countries: Gabriela Mistral and Pablo Neruda (Chile), Miguel Angel Asturias (Guatemala), Mario Vargas Llosa (Peru), Octavio Paz (Mexico), and Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia).

[112] KLTI Proceedings from the 1st International workshop: Translation & Publication of Korean Literature, 2002/06/8.

level through capital investment in recent years. What remains striking about this approach is how frankly it embraced the mechanism of corporatization that had permeated all aspects of Korean society and culture in the 90s and 2000s, hearkening back to the top-down controlled approach to economic development that proved successful during the country's industrial development. The succession of KLTI presidents tasked with globalizing Korean literature proceeded similarly, as can be seen in the later workshops.

The International Workshops for the Translation and Publication of Korean Literature brought together representatives from similar organizations promoting literature, foreign publishing houses, translators, authors, and academics to discuss concrete strategies to stimulate interest in Korean literature abroad. The most constant theme was naturally how to make Korean literature known to the world, but this need was approached from multiple directions. The first workshop included translators to English, French, German, Spanish, and "Asian languages," establishing the desirable target languages as the so-called "center-languages" with the largest readerships and historical domination over the designation of "world literature," with a separate grouping of Asian languages that suggests a continued civilizational divide in the institute's perception of World Literature that were echoed at the Daesan forums, albeit much more critically. The themes in the first five years of the KLTI workshop focused on gathering information about issues of production and dissemination and were not open to the public: "Publishing Korean Literature Abroad and Copyrights" (2003), "What is a faithful translation in literary translation?" (2004), "Assessment in Translation and Interpretation" (2005) — this workshop was hosted jointly with the Graduate School of Translation and Interpretation at Ewha University, signaling the institutionalization of translation and interpretation as a service profession in Korea during this time[113] — and "Assessing Translation from the Perspective of Publishers" (2006). In 2007,

[113] I return to the rise of service professions in Chapter 4 as a newly defined tier of labor for the ethnic Korean industrial working class replaced by migrant labor, the subject of Chapter 3.

the focus shifted towards an overview of different areas of Korea-related publishing: the state of the Korean publishing industry, translations in academic publishing, publishing the Korean Classics, and included, for the first time, a Korean literary agency.[114]

2008 moved on to a more theoretical issue: "Difference & Equivalence: Culture in Translation," which divided the discussion into sessions dealing with "The West" and "The East," followed by language-specific sessions for the major target languages of English, French, German, Japanese, Chinese, and Vietnamese. The strategies seem to diverge here as the "cultural difference" defined in the previous year became an organizing principle for the workshop with simultaneous (and therefore exclusive) sessions for "Western languages" and "Eastern languages." In 2009 and 2010, the target shifted towards genre, focusing on children's literature and theatre, respectively, the first in preparation for the Bologna International Children's Book Fair, and the latter in response to the growth of joint international theatre productions in Korea. The following year's workshop, reacting quickly to the widespread adoption of smartphones and tablets, took on "Translation and Publication of Korean Literature in the Digital Era." Finally, and somewhat presciently, came the theme "K-culture and Korean Literature in the Globalizing World" in 2012, just one month before the rapper Psy's "Gangnam Style" went viral and 'K-culture' became an internationally recognizable designation.

The evolution of themes in this one area of the KLTI's programming, shows a fairly nimble institution responding to changes in the global publishing industry in what has been widely recognized as a time of crisis for literature and publishing worldwide. While I only discuss events held locally in Seoul, these workshops should also be understood as part of a diverse set of programs that also sponsored events in other countries, participated in international publishing industry events, and trained new translators. And yet, a presentation at the 2012 workshop titled "How Should Korean

---

[114] Literary agencies and American-style hands-on editorial engagement were not part of the commercial and literary publishing industry in South Korea prior to the 2000s.

Literature Connect?" suggests that a question from a discussant at the 2003 workshop nearly ten years earlier, "Is Korean Literature Being Properly Introduced to the World?" remained, but with a telling change in tone. Where the lack of a targeted referential object to "connect to" in 2012 can be an example of the conflicted ambivalence of globalization, the prescriptive, and outwardly uni-directional critique implied by "Is Korean Literature Being Properly Introduced to the World?" demonstrates the objectification of the world performed by *segyehwa*.

Liberal Exchange: Private Sponsorship of Korean Literature

The KLTI's mission to globalize national literature was preceded by two non-profit cultural foundations: the Daesan Foundation, established in 1992 by Shin Yong-ho, the founder of Kyobo Life Insurance and Kyobo Books, and the International Communication Foundation (ICF), established in 1982 by Young-bin Min, the chairman of YBM Education. Given that the former organization is connected to one of the largest bookstore chains in Korea and the latter with one of the biggest English-language training academies in the country, I cannot say that they are completely disinterested parties, but both foundations' missions to globalize Korean literature express faith in the value of literary exchange for cultural development.

The Daesan Foundation's Seoul International Forum for Literature (SIFL) was held in 2000, 2005, and 2011, although the 2000 event was originally scheduled for 1999, but was postponed due to the uncertainty following the IMF crisis. Each forum was held over three days in Seoul, and was composed of themed panels pairing Korean authors and scholars with foreign presenters. The participants included six winners of the Nobel Prize in Literature (four of whom were invited prior to winning the prize) along with celebrated authors and scholars from around the world. The themes of the forums began with "Writing Across Boundaries" in 2000, "Writing for Peace," in 2005, and "The Globalizing World and the Human Community" in 2011. These forums comprise over 130

presentations and roundtable discussions. In the following section, I will touch on the most salient issues that reappeared over the decade of events, paying special attention to speakers who were involved in more than one of the forums.

Civilizational/Cultural Difference at the Daesan Seoul International Forums

Like the KLTI Workshops, the 2000 forum, "Writing Across Boundaries," was concerned with identifying and overcoming the boundaries between cultures, media, and historical periods. The general consensus towards neoliberal globalization, the bogeyman term at the turn of the millennium, was solidly pessimistic, as expressed by Pierre Bourdieu in his presentation at the forum, "Culture is in danger":

> The prophets of the new neo-liberal gospel profess in the field of culture, as elsewhere, that the logic of the market can only be beneficial. …they argue, for example, that technological developments and economic innovations that exploit them can not increase the quantity and quality of the cultural goods offered… the new communication groups, books, movies, game shows, are globally and indistinctly subsumed under the name information and taken as any other commodity, that is to say, it is treated as any other product and is thus subject to the law of profit.[115]

Bourdieu's concern over the reduction of culture to information, which was clearly delineated in the bureaucratic organization discussed in Chapter 1, was echoed by poet Hwang Jie-Woo, who expressed his distrust of the nationalist rhetoric used by the Korean government that makes popular culture "…a mechanism of cultural economy in the master plan of the people's government replacing the military regime — a plan for a knowledge-based society. It is frightening."

---

[115] Bourdieu, Pierre. "La culture est en danger." *Writing Across Boundaries: Literature in the Multicultural World*. Kim U-chang, ed. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2002, 178.

Another recurring theme was the conflation of globalization with "world literature" as a critique of civilizational difference. Pascale Casanova echoed her sentiments from The World Republic of Letters when she offered her critique of "young" nations seeking literary consecration through the Nobel Prize as "a clear paradox, that to try to win the Nobel Prize to assert one's literary universality is a strange and unexpected way to validate literary nationalism."[116] Casanova's observation points to the hypocrisy of world literature, which Kim U-ch'ang also discussed as something that "…often means Western literature or a literary field that can be ordered into a perspective from the Western point of view, and even those in the non-Western part of the world must aspire to appropriate this shaping force to shape their work."[117] Wole Soyinka called it "a canon of exclusion, directed not at innovation, not at ideological armatures and stylistic developments, but — at other cultures."[118] Soyinka argued for the universality of literature, which Kim Seong-kon (Vice Chair of the Forums and KLTI president from 2012-present, reappointed in 2015) took further, asking: "Does Korean literature have to be expurgated and sanitized, giving up its integrity as a Korean literary work in order to become a commodity in the Western market? … There must also be equal and mutual recognition between the East and the West."[119] Kim bemoaned the persistence of this civilizational divide, but suggesting a mutual recognition of difference as a way of subverting the negative aspects of economic globalization as well as *segyehwa*.

Also at the 2000 forum, novelist Yi Mun-yŏl remarked that "the future of Korea's narrative fiction may appear old-fashioned to more advanced nations, but it seems destined to remain firmly

---

[116] Casanova, Pascale. "Le prix Nobel: une consécration littéraire mondiale." *Writing Across Boundaries*. 233.

[117] Kim U-ch'ang. "The Global Market and Literature in the Non-Western World." *Writing Across Boundaries*. 207.

[118] Soyinka, Wole. "Canons to the West, Canons to the East." *Writing Across Boundaries*. 17.

[119] Kim Seong-kon. "Writing in the Multicultural Age: Towards a Reconciliation of the East and the West." *Writing Across Boundaries*. 517.

attached to realism [my emphasis],"[120] expressing his ambivalence about Korea's position vis-à-vis other literatures as well as the perception of Korea as "old-fashioned" in compared to "more advanced nations," a clear expression of the uncertainty of the inclusive and defensive posture of *segyehwa* logic. Yi spoke again at the 2011 forum ("The Globalizing World and the Human Community") and this time, his reflections had turned toward the personal, explaining his engagements with ideology through the loss of and search for his father, who had left South Korea and gone to the North Korea, indelibly marking his family, who he'd left behind, as possible traitors to the South Korean regimes. "Under a barrage of historical nihilism," he says, "I finally found the path of anti-ideology. … For me, literature was a value system that attached fundamental significance to my existence, as [a] system of analysis that enabled me to objectively observe reality…." Here, he stops short of bringing up the discussion of realism, referring only to "my own ideology" that had, in the ten years since his last discussion at the forum, "wrestled with the leviathan… [that had] joined forces with … unlikable ideologies."[121] Yi's presentations moved from the specificity of the Korean literary sphere in 2000 to reflections on an individuated experience with competing totalities in 2011.

This move was characteristic of most of the participants at the 2011 forum. Many of the Korean authors expressed fatigue with the demands of a global Korean literature like Lee Seung-u, who said, "When we claim that writers should create works intended for international readers, we objectify both the world in which we ourselves are included and those international readers. In this way, we alienate ourselves from the world."[122] Although his remarks are critical, his insistence on breaking away from the *segyehwa* idea of the world as object is key. While South Korea's inclusion in the world of

---

[120] Yi Mun-yol. "From Realism to Mimesis: Writing in a Time of Transition." *Writing Across Boundaries*. 411.

[121] Yi Mun-yol. "Literature as Ideology: My Literature and Ideologies." *The Globalizing World and the Human Community.* Kim, ed. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2012. 241–244.

[122] Lee Seung-u. "Must We Always Aim for A Worldwide Audience?" *The Globalizing World*. 211.

fragmented societies, the threat of the excluded other Korea(s) had come, by this time, to contaminate the image of Korea in the world. Kim Seong-kon refers to this in his 2011 presentation, "Images of Koreans in the Western Media," which portray Koreans as terrorists, spies, ruthless killers, or unstable immigrant shopkeepers; essentially North Koreans or Korean-Americans. He rightly points out this conflation of a variegated ethnic identity from different nations, and suggests invoking the worldwide Korean community to repair this broken image.[123] I would instead, however, turn to Masao Miyoshi's remarks in 2000: "We must keep reminding ourselves that the "global" economy is not global at all, but an exclusionist economy. We must recover the sense of true totality that includes everyone in the world."[124] Miyoshi returned in 2005 ("Writing for Peace") and named this totality with a particular force born of his frustration with the Iraq War and the widening gap between the rich and poor, which was echoed by many of the participants at the 2005 forum. He called it environmental totality, an inclusive totality consisting of a multitude of difference.

Many of the participants in 2011 expressed dismay at what they saw as resigned acceptance to the class polarization and commodification of culture accomplished by neoliberal globalization, but felt themselves besieged by the demands of the publishing market that had progressed in the economically exclusionary way predicted by the most pessimistic commenters in 2000 and 2005. The organizing committee's choice of theme in 2011, "The Globalizing World and the Human Community" does, however, point up the possible intervention that had been called for through the dire predictions in 2000, and the indignation in 2005, post-9/11, and during the Iraq War: that is, the return to the physical world and individual communication, whether virtually through a variety of media,

---

[123] Kim Seong-kon. "Images of Koreans in the Western Media." *The Globalizing World*. Kim, ed.113–114. Kim, who is a professor of English literature, has expressed particular interest in welcoming Korean American writers into the purview of "Korean literature" during his tenure as president of the KLTI.

[124] Miyoshi, Masao. "A Turn to the Planet: Literature, Diversity, and Totality." *Writing Across Boundaries*. Kim, ed. 536.

through a re-engagement with local environments, and most of all, through an optimistic reappraisal of inclusivity that recognizes difference not as particularity, but as a universal condition.

Pluribus E Unum: One Korean Literature for Multiple Koreas

The great irony of the efforts to make Korean literature a World Literature is that the works of realist fiction that were initially chosen for translation as the extra-national canon[125] in the 1980s and 1990s are now the subject of greater interest, when at the time, their self-seriousness and difficult translations left the majority of them out of print and unread. It has taken the contrast of contemporary, depoliticized Korea to make Korean realist fiction interesting to the global/Euro-American audience, perhaps as a point of critique for the standardizing and detrimental effects of neoliberal global capital on the culture of a rapidly developed nation. Division compounds the tendency for comparative associations of South Korean culture, where the perceived inscrutability of the North Korean regime and the international media's obsessive interest in it has also made South Korean cultural production a convenient proxy for understanding both states. This sort of comparative reduction essentializes Korean culture as a unified whole, which, as studies of diaspora culture have shown, has been a productive, if not misleading assumption (Elaine Kim, Palumbo-Liu). At the same time, however, the DPRK and the ROK make competing claims to reified Korean cultural authenticity in attempts to claim their (a-) historical legitimacy.

---

[125] I have called this the "extra-national canon" because the authors and works chosen to be "representative" may or may not coincide with those works that make up the domestic canon of literature that is taught to Korean students at the primary and secondary levels. In part due to the involvement of foreign scholars and interactions with the domestic literary sphere, the extra-national cultural canon is capable of transcending domestic politics over educational texts and self-identification. On the other hand, it is that much more susceptible to choices by a small group of people to determine what is or is not representative of national culture. Prize culture, international scholarly exchange, and political expediency is extremely closely tied to the promotion of culture, as we can see in Shirane and Suzuki, eds. *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000.

In 2014, Korea was selected as the "market focus" country at the London Book Fair, and the British press was characteristically blunt when admitting their lack of knowledge about Korea and their greater interest in North Korea. *The Guardian's* advance write-up of the event spells out the terms of Korea's involvement:

> After two years of political hot potatoes — first China and then Turkey — this year's "market focus" country presents a different challenge to the London Book Fair, which runs this week: who wants to read books from Korea? The choice of name could be dismissed as opportunistically misleading: Korea is two countries, but the 10 writers who will be at the book fair are all from the south [sic].
>
> We're desperate to hear the inside story of North Korea because it is the stuff of nightmares, locked in unending cold war, complete with nuclear bombs aimed at unknown targets. We have no access to the first-hand stories of its citizens, so we rely on western writers, whether of novels,… or of journalism.
>
> While the north [sic] appears to be tale [sic] of economic and social catastrophe, South Korea is one of the great success stories of the second half of the 20th century — yet its literature remains tantalisingly remote. It is home to the poet Ko Un, tipped as a frontrunner for the Nobel prize, but nearly all its high-profile authors are based in the west.[126]

Of LTI Korea's (KLTI) task to bring Korean literature to the world, she adds that, "it has a big job on its hands — one that involves not merely promoting and translating books but mediating one culture to another in such a way that the narratives we want to read are not simply journalistic horror stories, but the nuanced, culturally specific fictions that can illuminate the soul of a fascinating, complex, geopolitically critical, country [my emphasis]."

I cite this brief blog post at length because of its distillation of the contradictory expectations of Korean literature as a potential World Literature: Korean literature, as presented by South Korean writers, must satisfy the "desperat[ion to read the] inside story of North Korea," which must be the

---

[126] Armistead, Claire. "Ten Korean Writers on a Country Sawn in Half." *The Guardian*, Books. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/apr/07/inside-story-korea-london-book-fair.

"stuff of nightmares"; it must explain its own nationally-specific economic success in a relatable way that overcomes the "rituals that… separate them from the rest of us [my emphasis]"; and present "a tradition of family duty deemed so alien to western readers that it is said to have been substantially adapted in translation [my emphasis]." At the same time, South Korean literature must prove itself a better representative of Korean culture than the "western" writers who write about North Korea and the "high-profile" "South Korean authors who are based in the West." The South Korean authors to which the article refers are three English language authors who were born in South Korea but emigrated early in life: economist Ha-Joon Chang; and novelists Chang-rae Lee and Krys Lee, the former a well-established (Korean) American novelist, and the latter an emerging Korean American author who has lived primarily in Seoul since her early 30s, but writes exclusively in English and publishes through an American agent and publisher.[127] What emerges from the expectations English had for the South Korean delegation at the London International Book Fair is a Korean literature that incorporates multiple national, historical, and cultural identities and denies the historical specificity of each group.

For the most part, however, the South Korean delegation to the London Book Fair was willing to wear these multiple hats. Yi Mun-yŏl, for example, said in an interview that, "There was almost zero literary output coming from North Korea, and that in the case of the few non-fiction books that make their way to South Korea, even though the language is the same, we can't identify with them. The forms and mechanisms are completely unfamiliar. We feel like we're reading South Korean books from

---

[127] Krys Lee also works as an editor and translator for the KLTI, and has been included in several KLTI delegations to international literary events following the publication of her highly acclaimed short story collection *Drifting House*. In private conversation, she has intimated that she considers herself a Korean author despite writing exclusively in English. Her case is very interesting as a Korean-born American immigrant who returned to Korea as an adult and splits her time between countries. Although she has been "consecrated" by the international literary establishment as a Korean American author, she has often insisted in interviews that she does not identify herself solely in that way. Like many Asian American authors, her work deals with identity and the immigrant experience, but she also writes quite a bit about the lives of Koreans in Korea and also draws from her long engagement with North Korean defector organizations.

50 years ago."[128] Here, Yi places himself at a temporal distance from his North Korean "compatriots," situating South Korea in a more advanced temporal location, echoing the ethnic hierarchalization of imperial subjects. Yi's personal attempt to include North Korean writers in exile in the South Korean literary community, he said, was not met with much enthusiasm from the South Korean reading public, due, he said, to "an ideological malaise. I believe it comes down to ideological differences. If there is a film that is critical about North Korean society people don't watch it, ironically if there is a blockbuster film about North Korea being a bad guy and the good guy is American, then people will go watch it."[129] Yi's frustration with the lack of interest in "real" North Korea is compounded by what Arif Dirlik calls the "ethnic complicity in cultural reification." Here, however, we have a South Korea writer working to give voice to North Korean authors in an act of ethnic complicity that attempts to reject one reification of Korean culture (the imaginary unified Korea) while validating a vision of South Korean culture as a "center" country.

Amongst the younger generation of writers, however, there were a few notable exceptions: upon returning from the London Book Fair, KLTI President Kim Seong-kon, expressed his pleasure at the comments of South Korean writers who, he thought, were now "free from political ideologies at last":

> Referring to his novel "The Republic is Calling You," [sic] Kim Young-ha pointed out that the book is not so much a spy novel as a story of relocation and living in a diaspora [my emphasis]. That is, it is an account of a man who came to South Korea involuntarily from the North due to the tragic division of the country. Kim said, 'This novel is, in fact, about the protagonist's spiritual exile.'[130]

---

[128] Snaije, Olivia. "Yi Mun-yol on Allegory and Naked North Korean Writing," *Publishing Perspectives*, 2014/04/10, http://publishingperspectives.com/2014/04/yi-mun-yol-on-allegory-and-naked-north-korean-writing/ <<date accessed: 2014/04/10>>

[129] *Ibid.*

[130] Kim Seong-kon, "Returning from the London Book Fair," The Korea Herald, 2014/04/15. http://khnews.kheraldm.com/view.php?ud=20140415001460&md=20140416003141_BH <<date accessed: 2014/04/15>>

Both Kim Young-ha the author and Kim Seong-kon the English literature professor and literary critic make a sweeping gesture toward the plight of displaced Koreans from North Korea who become part of the history of Korean out-migration, but in the same move, articulates the existence of a Korean diaspora within Korea and a sense of national identity that conflates ethnicity and race with exclusion from the communities in the "new" space. Theodore Hughes has discussed the de-linking of bodies and space in *Your Republic is Calling You*, Hwang Sŏk-kyŏng's *The Guest* and *Princess Bari*, and the film *Double Agent* as a phenomenon in which:

> …the rearticulation of the minjung subject must take place outside of South Korea's borders. As in a number of "labor novels" of the 1980s, the intellectual overcomes alienation/bourgeois positionality by becoming worker, but now, in the early 2000s, the move is projected outward [my emphasis], to the space of a transnational working-class culture.[131]

This extra-territorial formulation of the *minjung* subject, however, may also be read dialectically as an anxiety over the threat to the involuntary transformation and refraction of the *minjung* subject within Korea due to transnational migration into the territorial space of South Korea in the same period. Because an inward projection of the *minjung* subject would not reflect the agency of a South Korean *minjung* subject reconciling with, and displaying its ability to add itself to a transnational working-class, but rather, would have to accept a fundamental change to the *minjung* subject that incorporates and thereby alters its holistic constitution with the inclusion of a plurality of possible subjectivities.

> In other interviews, Kim Young-ha discusses how he talked to North Korean defectors, watched films about the country and read books and articles. But he deliberately missed one important step — a real visit. Not that there wasn't a chance. He was invited to visit North Korea as a member of a writers'

[131] Hughes, Theodore, ""North Koreans" and Other Virtual Subjects: Kim Yeong-ha, Hwang Seok-yeong, and National Division in the Age of Posthumanism." *The Review of Korean Studies* 11.1 (March, 2000): 99–117.

> delegation in 2005, but he dropped out at the last minute, *thinking a real experience may distort his creative reconstruction* [my emphasis].[132]

Kim Young-ha's remarks confirm Hughes's hypothesis of the desire for the virtual space of North Korea as a means of recuperating South Korea's own past, but when read in conjunction with his comment about the novel as a "story of relocation and living in a diaspora," he also alludes to something very telling about South Korean ethnic identity and belonging that maintains the link to a territorial origin in the form of exclusion. Therefore, while imaginary Koreans can be representative of *minjung* subjectivity and be incorporated into a transnational working class or cosmopolitan subjectivity outside of Korea, the reverse move cannot be accomplished in these particular texts, a subject I return to at greater length in Chapters 3 and 4.[133]

Unlike many writers from the *hangŭl* generation (writers active in the 1970s and 1980s), Kim Young-ha and his cohort of authors who debuted in the late 1990s and early 2000s take a less nationalistic and more pragmatic view on national literature, ethnicity, and representation. In Kim's opinion, the South and North evolved along different paths especially in the 1990s after the Asian financial crisis that steered South Korea further toward a US-style market economy while poverty and isolation deepened in the North. South Korea now "may be closer to France or Singapore" than its northern neighbor, as the protagonist of *Your Republic is Calling You* reflects in the novel: "Sixty years after the division, there's a great difference between here and there," Kim said. "They passed the time with their own system, so did we. The view that the two are one nation, I think, only causes misunderstandings."[134]

---

[132] Kim Seong-kon, "Returning from the London Book Fair."

[133] I will return to other ways of approaching the association of class and *minjung* subjectivity in Chapter 3, where I compare literary and filmic attempts to include diaspora and non-ethnic Korean residents' narratives in a South Korean subjectivity.

[134] "Kim Young-ha writes of elusive freedom in Korean urban life," http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/n_interview/2010/05/31/76/4801000000AEN20100531005200315F.HTML

Like Yi Mun-yŏl, Kim Young-ha suggests that the difference between the passages of time in North and South Korea culminated in tangible cultural difference. By contrast, however, Kim and his cohort are much more willing to accept Korean-American authors as part of a coterminous global literary and cultural sphere, which was not the case only a decade previously.

Other "Korean" Literatures

At the first Daesan Foundation Seoul International Forum for Literature in 2000, Asian-American Studies professor Elaine Kim related an encounter with South Korean *minjung* artists at a Korean and Korean American art show at the Queens Museum of Art in 1993 who were dismissive of what they called Korean American artists' tendency to focus on race and radicalization as "belly-button gazing" that ignored "'important global questions' such as labor exploitation under neocolonialism" in favor of individualistic identity issues, presumably in contrast to their own political work.[135] As in Dirlik's assertion of ethnic complicity in cultural reification, however, "Historically, Asian Americans have been seen as metonyms for Asia and forcibly distanced from U.S. national culture, which defines the citizenry — that is, who can be American — as well as which histories and experienced [sic] can be remembered and which are to be forgotten,"[136] For Kim, cultural reification is forced upon Asian American writers regardless of their agency or compliance, but as we see in her anecdote, this representation was rejected by cosmopolitan Korean artists at the time. Kim Seong-kon, the president of LTI Korea (2012-2015) agreed with this assessment that while they may be called Korean-American writers, they are technically American writers:

---

[135] Kim, Elaine. "Blackness and American Identity in Korean American Literature." *Writing Across Boundaries*. 291.

[136] Kim, Elaine, 299.

> These authors who write in English are not Korean writers, and therefore, you could say that they have nothing to do with Korean literature. However, if we were to include their literature in a broad definition of Korean literature, I think that it would not only expand the area and scope of Korean literature, it would also be a great help to the globalization (*segyehwa*) of Korean literature. This is because they consistently make Korea the subject of their writing, and America insists on calling them Korean American writers."[137]

Kim Seong-kon suggests here that South Korea take advantage of this forced metonymic representation to advance the cause of "authentic" Korean literature in the same passage that he cites the Korean American authors' resistance to the instrumentalization of their writing:

For example, writers like Cathy Song and Walter Lew who participated at the Daegu World Authors Forum in 2002 responded to a reporter's question about whether they thought that the fact that they were Korean helped their writing by saying that, "'Actually, we work to transcend the categorization of Korean descent [in our writing].'" Kim continues:

> They [Korean American writers] want to escape the limitation of Korean descent and be recognized as American writers, but Koreans only emphasize their roots as Koreans, and Americans keep classifying them as Korean writers. The fact is, writers of European descent are just called American writers, and Americans only assign the appellation of Arab-, Asian-, or Korean- writers when they are non-white minorities.[138]

In this way, the coming of age of the second generation Korean-Americans from the first large-scale emigration in the 1960s and the craze in Korea for foreign education starting in the early 2000s, the presence of Korean bodies in other countries and their participation in local cultural production creates a condition of familiarity that paves the way for the introduction of the literature of "origin" in

---

[137] Kim, Seong-kon. *Literature in the Global Age: Korean Literature in the World (*Kŭlloběl sidae ŭi Munhak: Segye sok ŭi hanguk munhak : Kim Sŏng-gŏn P'yŏngnonjip, 글로블 시대의 문학: 세계속의 한국 문학). Sŏul: Minumsa, 2006, 186. Korean text reads: "이들은 기본적으로 한국계 미국 작가 (Korean-American writers)라고 불리지만, 더 엄밀히 분류하자면 미국 작가들이다. 영어로 작품 활동을 하는 이들은 한국 작가가 아니며, 따라서 한국문학과 아무 상관이 없다고 말할 수 도 있다. 그럼에도 이들의 문학을 넓은 의미에서 한국문학에 편입시킨다면, 한국문학의 영역과 지평이 크게 넓어질 뿐 아니라 한국문학의 세계화를 위해서도 큰 도움이 되리라고 생각한다. 왜냐하면 이들은 꾸준히 한국을 소재로 작품을 쓰고 있으며, 미국 역시 이들을 굳이 한국계미국 작가라고 부르고 있기 때문이다."

[138] Kim, Seong-kon, 187.

translation. South Korea's tactic for globalizing its literature performs a double inversion of the metonymic impulse of ethnic literature through which they reify an ahistorical Korean history that knowingly borrows the forced inclusion of Korean American narratives as representative of Korea, while only nominally accepting Korean American writers in order to re-assert South Korean national literature as a literature that is distinct from, but conveniently related to a majority language minority literature. This activates a racializing ethnographic gaze through which South Koreans view the Korean American experience as a common past for their own purposes. While this is easily accomplished in the compressed space of Book Fairs, Literary Forums, and industry expositions, South Korean literature and films depict very different affective interactions with the (ultimately) disparate groups of the Korean diaspora that is reflected in the variety of legal and nominal classifications of Koreans.[139]

It is telling that Korea is still referred to and introduced as a "land of contrasts" in the international media, a place of hypermodern daily life in computerized apartments, the highest-speed internet in the world, and constant streams of information being delivered to people everywhere on their ubiquitous smartphones as well as a nation with a "deeply engrained *traditional* culture [my emphasis]."[140] Korean industrial giants like Samsung and Hyundai have certainly had an effect on this shift, but the countermovement to "preserve" national identity through research into Korean food history, arts, and fashion, in order to create a coherent narrative of Korean culture also happens to coincide with commercial and political interests as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. This is not only for literature, but also for fashion, cosmetics, and aesthetics, for example.

---

[139] See Chapter 4 for more detailed analysis of the terms and classifications of co-ethnic non-national Koreans.

[140] Cf. Katherine Lee, "Dynamic Korea."

Seoul now has its own fashion week, showcasing designers, and reminding us of the past of the textile production in the country. South Korea also has a booming cosmetics industry that draws on the development of the chemical industry in the 1970s after the Yushin reforms at the same time that it capitalizes on regional stereotypes of the purity of and nature of the Korean peninsula (harkening back to the colonial period and the Japanese hierarchicalization of Asian groups. Korean "purity and innocence" (which Iwabuchi cites as one of the main attractions of Korean Wave dramas for Japanese female viewers)[141] allows for pseudo-scientific rationalization of traditional healing techniques at the same time that they are picked apart in labs and reproduced using modern technology as discussed in Chapter 4.

In the same way, the demands on Korean literature in the arena of "World Literature" are several, and often contradictory. Because access to North Korea is limited, South Korean literature is expected to speak for both countries; it should allude to pre-modern "traditional" culture, while also marveling at the technological advances achieved in the last 40 years; it should show women struggling against and attempting to overcome an oppressive patriarchy (which is inevitably included as criteria for any "foreign" or non-Western literature); and it should also be easily relatable to its closest neighbor countries (Japan, China, and more recently, Vietnam) while simultaneously explaining how it is different.

As Korean literature had a more limited coterie of Western academics dedicated to the translation of its "classics" (as Japanese literature had with Arthur Whaley, Donald Keene, and Edward Seidenstecker, for example), Korean literature would seem to have no history in the arena of world literature. The new translation foundations had, therefore, a nearly carte blanche mandate to create the English canon of classical literature with the world market in mind. This came from within rather

---

[141] Chua, Beng Huat, and Koichi Iwabuchi. *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing The Korean Wave.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008.

than through the intervention of a "consecrating" authority from one of the literary "center" cultures as private foundations and the state, with the aid of the literary sphere, invented its own path to consecration by bringing those international literary authorities as well as representatives from the world market of literature to Korea in order to push Korean literature into world literature. After fifteen years of intense effort, it seems that they may have achieved their purpose.

Measured Success: Shin Kyung-sook's *Please Look After Mom* and "Kimchi-scented Kleenex"

To bring this discussion of the universal and cultural difference to the global promotion of Korean literature in translation, I turn to Shin Kyung-sook's novel *Please Look After Mom*, the first novel translated from Korean into English to ever make it onto the New York Times' bestseller list.[142] Shin was the first Korean author to win the Man Asia Literary Prize, and is considered one of Korea's best great hopes for the Nobel Prize in Literature. Although this was the world's first real introduction to her work, she has been one of the most well respected writers of literary fiction in Korea since the 1990s.

Along with Shin, there were several female writers who became very important in the 1990s. Their work focused more on the psychology of individuals living within society, what has been called an "inward turn," or a focus on interiority, rather than the broader social commentaries of the 70s and 80s explicitly calling for political change in a realist vein. This is not to say that these works were not engaged with social issues, however. Shin and her closest contemporaries like Kong Ji-young and

[142] Richard Kim's *The Martyred*, an English language novel about the Korean War, was the first novel written by a Korean to make it to the list in 1964, but since that novel was originally written in English, whether or not it qualifies as a "Korean" novel is open for debate.

Ch'oe Yun dealt in their early work with young female factory workers, student activists, and others who they felt did not have a voice in society.

Shin's 2007 novel explores this from a multi-vocal narrative of a family dealing with the disappearance of their elderly matriarch. Shin shows us the drastic changes in Korean society through the family members' relations to the mother. The children, for example, all have increasingly lax attitudes towards caring for their elders, and their own children (especially the eldest son Hyŏng-ch'ŏl's daughter) is a perfect example of the modern city girl whose educational success is the sole focus of her nuclear family, as when her mother complains to her husband, Hyŏng-ch'ŏl, that she doesn't have time to look for her mother-in-law because she needs to make sure her daughter has enough food to keep studying.

In the novel, all of the adult children are now living in Seoul and its immediate environs along with roughly half of the South Korean population, and no longer have much connection to their rural upbringing. Shin mentions this in a throwaway line about how people used to feel guilty about not performing the ancestral rites in their hometowns, but now they're able to hop on a plane and go on vacation during major traditional family holidays like *Chusŏk*, the Harvest Moon Festival. The impulse is to see this change as sudden, or as only affecting the current generation. But the depiction of the elderly father, who seems at first like a stereotypical patriarch who expects his wife to do everything, reveals his past attempts to contest his traditional role in the family. Despite his children's perception of a distant and typically authoritative Korean patriarch, his personal history of rebellion against the expectations placed on him as the eldest son in his family emerge through his first-person narrations and the adult children's recollections of his emotional remove from the family. The mother, by no fault of her own, becomes the symbol of what even the father thinks is an outdated traditional family, and sadly his experiments with freedom and individualism are at her expense. Like the children, the father also longed to leave his small village and the responsibility of his family's rural home. As a younger

man, he had ridden a motorcycle and kept a mistress, hoping to explore the country as an individuated modern man.

This admission in Shin's novel is often glossed over when reading about the decline of the traditional family; the sense that this change in social mores is mostly with the current generation. But as we can see here, this kind of internal debate with modernity, and the compromises with what can be considered "traditional" as a core cultural value, or what can be considered "traditional" as outdated or simply rural was not limited to the current generation. It has been a central theme of modern Korean literature since at least the late 19th century, or for the last three or four generations. This internal conflict is expressed variously by different age groups, however, except that mom, or the mother, is the common repository for all that is supposed to remain static. That she becomes lost, a wandering spirit, is a very telling commentary on the dislocation of tradition, and the inability to really pin down what it ever was in the first place.

Shin also uses language very effectively to depict the relationships between the family members and the matriarch, which emphasizes one of the difficulties of translating from Korean to English. Many sections of the novel are told in the second person, which immediately made me turn to the Korean text to compare the forms of second person address between husband and wife, mother and daughter, and mother and son and their counterparts in the English text. The personal pronoun "you" would rarely be used between spouses and its usage is determined hierarchically according to age and social relationship, so it would be unusual to see it in regular use except between very close friends of the same age, by people older people talking to much younger people, or condescendingly towards someone lower in economic or class status. The social hierarchy of Confucian values is grammatically embedded in the language, so works written in Korean automatically identify the relative age and power relations of their characters (or the subversion of that relationship), rather than using non-grammatical cues of tone or behavior, as in English.

While these form of address are changing, it would still be unusual in the 21st century for a married couple to refer to each other using the most informal "you" (*nŏ*). In the Korean text, the sections addressed to the daughter Chi-hon use the familiar "you," while the sections addressed to the father are addressed to a more formal second person "*tangsin*," which is used between older couples to mean something like "dear," or "honey." Alternately, "*tangsin*" is used as a polite 'you' roughly analogous to the French *vous* or the Spanish *usted*. These grammatical cues identify the speaking "I" in the Korean text as the mother herself rather than an abstract mother or narrator, but English language readers often asked the author in interviews about the identity of the first person narrator, pointing up the difficulties of translating the assumed inferences within a text that a native speaker of the language might unconsciously comprehend.

In *Please Look After Mom,* Chi-hŏn's (the "Shin Kyung-sook" character, the daughter who is an author) chapters are also informally addressed to you, but the sense of distance that makes the "you" seem not like someone who's being spoken to, but someone who's merely being narrated is well retained in the English translation. In those sections, "you" can be exchanged for "I" or "she" fairly seamlessly, suggesting that the mother is claiming narrative authority over the text (over her author daughter). In one example mom's narrating voice says, "Leaving Hyong-chol's house, you take the subway home but get off at Seoul Station, which is where Mom vanished. So many people go by, brushing your shoulders, as you make your way to the spot where Mom was last seen."
Chi-young Kim, who translated the book into English, described her experience with this situation in an interview:

> For *Please Look After Mom*, the fact that the Korean original doesn't always name the characters threw me for a loop. As you know, in Korean it's easy to figure out who's speaking, what the relationship is between the people speaking, or what the mood or tone of voice is, even without much description. I had to be very conscious of how someone with no knowledge

> of Korean would understand the dialogue, as well as the underlying sentiments and unspoken feelings.[143]

Read in the third person, that passage would convey the same amount of distance from the character: "Leaving Hyong-chol's house, she takes the subway home but gets off at Seoul Station, which is where Mom vanished. So many people go by, brushing her shoulders, as she makes her way to the spot where Mom was last seen." The third person reference to "Mom" would also be an indicator of the speaker in Korean, where parents often refer to themselves in the third person when speaking to their children. This is not unique to Korean, of course, as anyone around children would hear this in other languages as well, but unlike in English, for example, this practice continues into adulthood in Korea.

The "you" in the mother's chapters changes significantly when she addresses her younger daughter, with whom she seems to have a closer and more demonstrative relationship. Not only is this daughter the only child mom's spirit goes to visit, but the level of intimacy in the speech is very apparent in the Korean. The narrative voice dispenses with formal verb endings and speaks in the most informal and intimate register (*panmal*), as if to her closest friend or very close female relative. A mother would almost never speak to her son in this way, for example. Where the narrative voice refers to itself in the third person (Mom) in dialogue with her eldest son and older daughter Chi-hŏn: "You told Mom... something or other," her mode of address to the younger daughter finally includes the mother as "I": "My dear daughter, you're listening to all three children at once.... You even slam down the phone. That's what your sister does to you and to me,"[144] speaking to Mom's special affinity with her only child who is also a mother. This extension to all mother and daughter readers of the book was often cited as the most compelling aspect of the novel (and the most likely reason for its being picked

---

[143] "Interview: Translator Chi-Young Kim (Part 1 of 2)," Chi-young Kim and Jaewon Chung of subjectobjectverb.com, http://subjectobjectverb.com/2011/04/08/interview-with-translator-chi-young-kim-part-i-of-ii/

[144] Shin Kyung-sook, *Please Look After Mom*, tr. Chi-Young Kim. New York: Vintage Contemporary Classics, 2011. 110.

for Oprah Winfrey's book club), the representation of the universal humanism of the mother-daughter bond from which Shin, represented in the novel as the childless daughter, interestingly (and characteristically) removes herself.

In sections addressed to the father, the sense of formal distance is heightened, where "you" (*tangsin* in Korean) is paired with the third-person self-identification "your wife" (*anae*). The narrator tells the father that, "you even stopped thinking of your wife as your wife when she became Hyong-chol's mother." Here, the necessary inclusion of the third person pronoun "she" in English, obscures the first-person iteration of this reprimand, but her repeated use of "your wife" rather than "mom" reclaims one of her former identities as a woman, rather than just a mother.

Shin explained the stylistic choice of a multivocal narrative and the use of a second-person to an interviewer as something she was told, rather than asked to do:

> Q: I was confused by the second person "you" when I first [read the novel].
>
> A: Mom's isn't a simple life that can be told through just one person's perspective. That's why the novel needed multiple points of view. After mom gets lost, calling the daughter "you," the son "he," and the husband the more formal "you" (or "dear"), traces the kind of relationship each of them had with the mother. And then mom finally appears as the first person "I." I chose that perspective for Mom because she was never able to be an "I" while she was living her life as "Mom," and I wanted to give her that time to be an "I" again in the novel. The informal "you" was also something I used to create some distance between the real me who was writing the novel [and the writer character in the novel]. But as I kept writing "you are," "you are," that space materialized and I became an observer. But for the reader, that "you" conversely turns the reader into an "I," and making the boundary between the novel and reality disappear, and, it seems, making it so the reader reads the novel as their own story. And that seems to make people empathize with it more readily.[145]

In the latter part of her response, we're told that the "you" isn't limited to the characters; it incorporates herself as the writer, and as the reader. The interviewer's approach to the question, which was originally in Korean, suggests that the interviewer was jolted by the "you," as though it was almost

---

[145] Chung, Jaewon. "Interview with Shin Kyung-sook," *subjectobjectverb.com*

rude to address the reader in that way. Shin's response, too, is enigmatic, hinting at what she considers the depth of the novel. Elsewhere, Shin also stated that one of her main goals was to give 'mom' a voice and show the universal centrality of mothers. Her critique of symbolic motherhood is plain, however, which provides a space to interpret to the book's international success and how it was meant to be received by readers from other cultures.

The danger of a novel like *Please Look After Mom* that presents, as well as critiques, the essentialization of a distinctly Korean motherhood, is when it becomes a representative or instructive text for readers outside of the domestic audience. As a detailed analysis of family relations, it depicts a number of assumptions about patriarchy, women's roles, and the effects of high-speed development on the country, but where the author's stance towards these issues is fairly ambivalent until the hyperbolically sentimental conclusion, the lasting impression (and the marketing campaign) is of a sentimental family romance along the lines of Chinese-American novelist Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*. As mentioned above, the novel was the biggest international commercial success of any Korean novel before or since. It has been translated into 22 languages, won numerous literary awards, and was chosen for Oprah Winfrey's then-coveted book club list. As far as the U.S. market is concerned, the last may have been the biggest measure of the novel's success before the Man Asia Literary Prize. But the novel was also hugely popular in Korea, selling over two million copies in a country with a population of 45 million and was even made into a musical theater production, which suggests a nearly universal desire to read stories like this, but in this case, the literary value of the novel seems to have been overshadowed by its commercial appeal.

Illustrating "Universal" Appeal

In this section, I analyze a number of the book covers of the international editions of *Please Look After Mom* and what they tell us about this representative (and universal) work of fiction is re-presented to a foreign audience. As a commercially successful work of literature in translation, it is important to understand this novel as a cultural product, one of the Korean literary establishment and its globalizing mission's first major successes after years of promotional efforts. It is also important to note that the publication, translation, and promotion of the novel was subsidized by institutional support. The cover of the original Korean edition (fig. 2.2) featured a cropped frame of Salvador Dali's *Dawn, Noon, Sunset and Twilight* (fig. 2.3), itself a study of Jean-François Millet's 1859 painting *L'Angélus* (fig. 2.4).

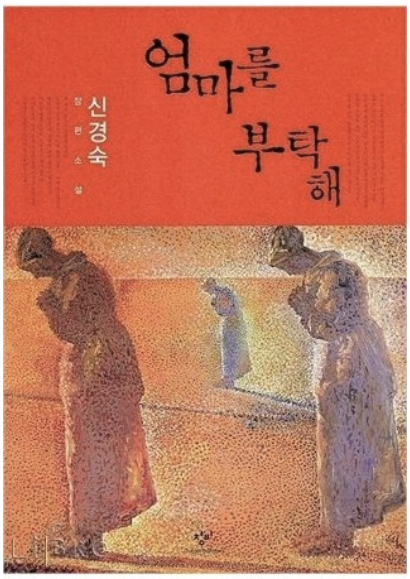

Fig. 2.2 *Ŏmmarŭl put'akhae*, 1st Korean edition cover illustration

Fig. 2.3 Salvador Dalí, *Dawn, Noon, Sunset, and Twilight* (1979)

Fig. 2.3 Jean-François MIllet, *L'Angélus* (1859)

The choice of an intertextual surrealist image that references an older image of an agrarian couple in France at prayer in the 1800s that excises the husband from the picture in order to repeatedly foreground the figure of the woman seems quite deliberate.[146] This is not to suggest that every Korean reader would know the Dali image or its place in art history, but the painting is clearly a Western painting from the realm of high art, and speaks to a kind of cosmopolitan sensibility that universalizes the story of the rural woman, giving the novel a kind of caché and/or signaling that it is a work of serious literary fiction.

The cover art of the Korean edition (fig. 2.2) reflects the aspirations of the characters in the novel as well, who take great pains in the novel to emphasize their success and maintain their elevated class status. Although they come from a poor rural family, all of the children have migrated to

[146] Dali encountered Millet's then-popular painting as a child, and it became what he called a "motif obsessive" in his work, which he wrote about in *The Tragic Myth of the Angelus of Millet* (June 1932) and painted repeatedly in works such as *The Architectonic Angelus of Millet* (1933), *Gala and the Angelus of Millet Preceding the Imminent Arrival of the Conical Anamorphoses* (1933), *Atavism at Twilight* (1933), and *The Angelus of Gala* (1935). Dali interpreted the painting, which depicts a peasant couple at prayer (the Angelus prayer) in the field at the end of a day of work, in a number of different ways. He saw it as an expression of great anguish over the death of a child that he imagined to be in a coffin between the couple (the presence of a child's coffin in the painting was later confirmed by x-ray. It was painted over for commercial purposes); as unresolved mourning; as repressed sexual desire; and as female sexual aggression and violence when he began to see the woman as a praying mantis, a creature whose females devour their mates.

the city, are fairly educated, with one of them having spent time abroad living in the US, and another an internationally acclaimed author.

Fig. 2.5 US (and French) 1st edition cover illustration

Fig. 2.4 UK 1st edition cover illustration

The cover of the first US Edition (fig 2.5) shows an ambiguously urban background with a young Korean woman, her face partially obscured, and her hand raised in a protective gesture, which is very similar to the oft-used trope of a partially covered Asian woman's face used for Asian and Asian-American literature.[147] By contrast, the UK edition (fig 2.6) features a more orientalized scheme with the brush-stroke font and lattice border foregrounding the sillhouettes of mother and small child as they approach the shadowy city from an indistinctly "Asian" background.

[147] The tendency to use a seemingly closed set of pointedly orientalized images for books by Asian American and Asian writers in translation has been lampooned by several literary and social critique blogs and was compared to the overwhelming use of a single acacia tree at sunset on book covers relating to, or written by African authors. This sparked a meme of image matrices of orientalized book covers from X region in 2014. Cf. James Morrison, "How to Make a Chinese or Japanese Book Cover," on *Sociological Images*, 2010/01/25 (http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2010/01/25/how-to-make-a-chinese-or-japanese-book-cover/); and Elliot Ross, "The Dangers of a Single Book Cover: the Acacia Tree Meme and 'African Literature,'" on *Africa is a Country*, 2014/05/07 (http://africasacountry.com/the-dangers-of-a-single-book-cover-the-acacia-tree-meme-and-african-literature/?_ga=1.262976972.1398618940.1398979030)

This first pairing shows clearly the difference between the marketing approaches to the same translation of the novel. The US Edition features an actual person, a face that would be familiar enough in most American cities due to the sizable populations of Asian Americans, and one that would most likely be easy to personally identify with somehow. She seems fairly approachable, modern, and indistinctly Asian. You can't really tell from this cover if it's a translation or an Asian-American author except for the line "International Best Seller" at the top. This may have something to do with Americans' aversion to reading translated literature. Only 3% of literature published in the US in translated, to be exact, but this is certainly not the case in Korea, where translations of foreign language works dominate the bestseller lists.

The UK edition's cover is a straightforward declaration of the text's foreignness. The image makes reference to a different kind of cultural knowledge and references a generic "Asianness" that British readers would be familiar with, while indicating the tension between tradition and modernity in the silhouette of the mother leading her child away from the Asian border towards the shadowy city. Note, also, that the UK title forgoes "Mom" from the original English translation to "Mother" in order to neutralize the Americanism "Mom."

Fig. 2.7 US 2nd Edition, 2013

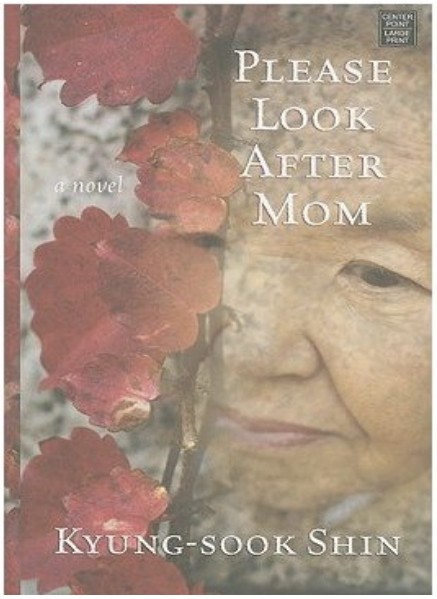

Fig. 2.5 US large-print edition, 2011

The 2nd edition of the book (fig. 2.7) uses the same cover for both the US and UK editions, and is strikingly similar to the book cover and promotional poster for Memoirs of a Geisha featuring Chinese actress Zhang Zhiyi or any number of partially obscured (or veiled) Asian woman faces in the English language book market. On the right is the large print English edition (fig. 2.8) that was most likely distributed to public libraries, which features for the first time, a representational image of an elderly Asian woman, the narrative voice and subject of the novel. If we can assume an elderly readership for the large print edition, the near-actual representation of the narrative for the first time on this cover is notable for both its alignment with the title character (the "universal" mother), and its variation from portraying a young Asian woman as the primary marketing tactic of the novel.

The expectations for prospective readers are even more varied for the other international editions of Shin's novel.

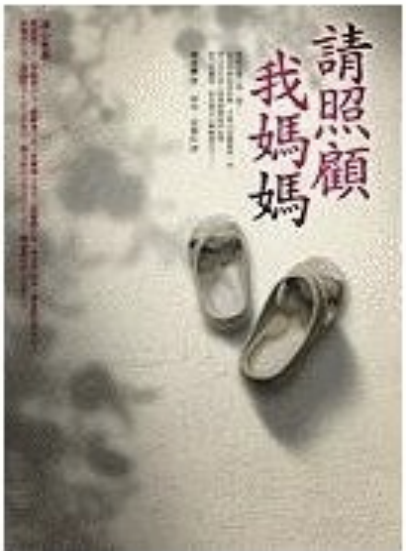

Fig. 2.9 *Qing zhaogu wo mama* (Please Look After Mama), Chinese edition cover illustration

Fig. 2.6 *Haha wo onegai* (Please Look Ater Mom), Japanese edition cover illustration

The Chinese cover (fig. 2.9) features the plastic slippers that Mom wears in the novel. These slippers, ubiquitous in Asia and especially worn by older women as they work around the house or for use in the bathroom provide a common regional signifier that can be used to show the loss of the mother or

older woman through the unoccupied slippers to a Chinese reading audience. The Japanese edition (fig. 2.10), on the other hand is more neutral: the flowers allude to a feminine story, and the inclusion of the title in *hangŭl* alongside the Japanese and the *hanja* characters for author's name with in both *hangŭl* and kana note the Korean and foreign origins of the book. In both of these examples, however, there is no explicit visual identification with race or ethnicity through the images.

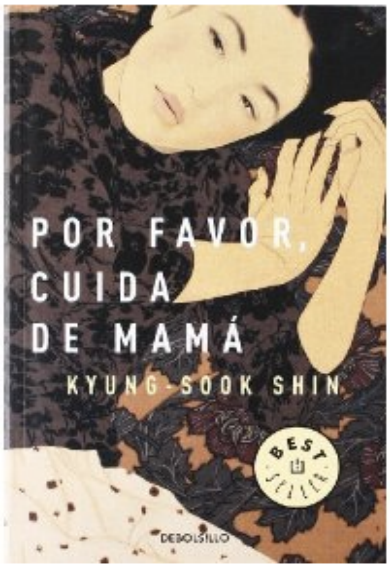

Fig. 2.11 Spanish edition cover illustration

Fig. 2.12 Polish edition cover illustration

Fig. 2.7 German edition cover illustration

The European covers shown above display a broader range of imagery centered on a female figure. The illustration on the Spanish cover (fig. 2.11) depicts an Asian woman with very few telling visual cues, where the Polish edition (fig. 2.12) hints at something quite sinister with the disembodied black hands wrapped around the woman's neck and covering her face, but the German cover (fig. 2.13) (another country with a recognizable Korean population) features a very hip-looking young Asian woman. Many of the images in this collection have little to nothing to do with the actual narrative as described above. Instead, they express a great deal about the assumptions about contemporary Korea to different collective readerships, perhaps based on the level of familiarity (or lack of it) with the culture, stereotypes, and the erasure or emphasis on cultural referents that might be helpful to getting a prospective reader to pick it up. As an unverifiable case in point, one reviewer on the user-generated

book review website Goodreads.com wrote that he had picked up the book because of the cover even though he "didn't usually go for Asian literature," but as the reviewer did not indicate which edition he purchased, we can only wonder which of these images might have lured him in.

The type of fetishized cultural imaging is also at play for works that do not prominently feature women, as it was for Kim Young-ha's *Your Republic is Calling You* (2010), discussed above.

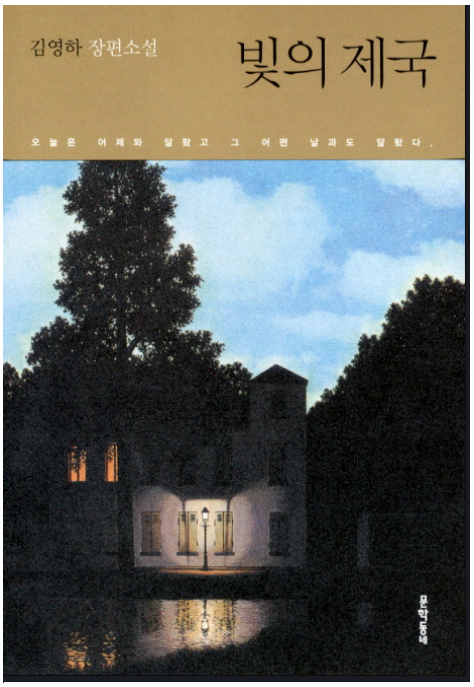

Fig. 2.14 *Pich'ŭi cheguk* (Empire of Lights), Korean cover illustration

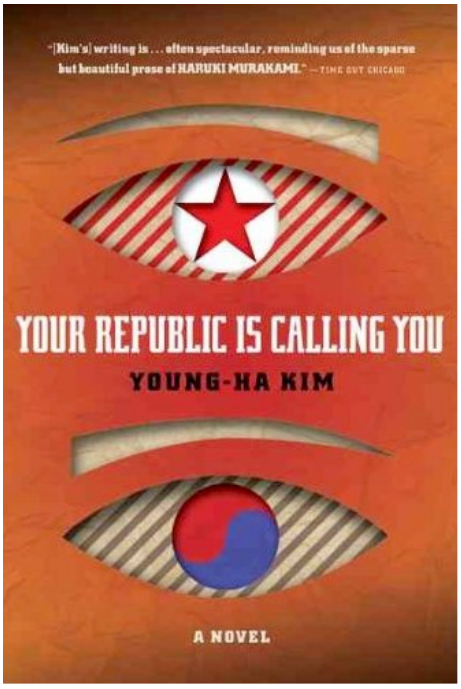

Fig. 2.8 *Your Republic is Calling You* (Pich'ŭi cheguk), US edition cover illustration

The image on the Korean edition (fig. 2.14) is René Magritte's *L'empire des lumières* (1953-4), which is recalled by the narrator at the climax of the novel and serves as the title of the novel in Korean *Pich'ŭi chekuk* (Empire of LIghts). Again, the marketing image for the Korean publication gestures towards an engagement with global arts and is devoid of any explicit reference to its locale, where the English language edition (fig. 2.15) resembles a Fox News infographic. The stylized imagery of the English edition emphasizes the North/South conflict at the center of the "Asian" eye (almond-shaped without an epicanthic fold), complete with a desirable pull quote on the cover from internationally acclaimed

Japanese author Haruki Murakami, arguably the benchmark referent for any Asian male writer in the 2000s. These images illustrate the expectations with which an audience is assumed to approach a "foreign" text, and especially a translation literary work, where the distilling of the work into a single image must either emphasize its difference or neutralize it through familiar cultural comparisons.

When Please Look After Mom was reviewed on NPR's *Fresh Air with Terry Gross*, the in-house reviewer, Maureen Corrigan, commented that the novel called for a box of "Kimchi-scented Kleenex," causing a minor stir on the Asian American blogosphere and demands for a public apology for the casual racism of the epithet, but it's equally interesting for her immediate conflation of this work of translated fiction from a different country as ethnic literature. The review, titled "'Please Look After Mom': A Guilt Trip to the Big City"[148] begins: "*Mama Mia*! Who knew that Koreans outstrip Italians and Jews when it comes to mother guilt!" a pithy line that manages to reduce Koreans, Italians, and Jews to a single ethnic stereotype of overbearing mothers in one fell swoop, most likely informed by the reviewer's familiarity with media stereotypes of Italian-American and Jewish-American families. The review is worth citing at length for how stridently Corrigan stakes out her civilizational difference from the text as a world-weary individualist cosmopolitan American reader:

> But the weird fascination of Please Look After Mom is its message — completely alien to our own therapeutic culture [my emphasis] — that if one's mother is miserable, it is indeed, the fault of her husband and ungrateful children. As an American reader — indoctrinated in resolute messages about "boundaries" and "taking responsibility" — I kept waiting for irony; a comic twist in the plot; a reprieve for the breast-beating children. It wasn't until the end of the novel, when Shin rolled out the Mother of all maternal suffering images — Michaelangelo's Pieta — that I understood I was stranded in a Korean soap opera decked out as serious literary fiction.[149]

---

[148] Corrigan, Maureen. "'Please Look After Mom': A Guilt Trip to the Big City," aired on *Fresh Air with Terry Gross*, 2011/04/05. http://www.npr.org/2011/04/05/135120998/please-look-after-mom-a-guilt-trip-to-the-big-city

[149] *Ibid.*

She moves into her positionality as a (white) liberal feminist American of a certain generation exhorting her sisters to rise above cheap sentimentality:

> If there's a literary genre in Korean that translates into "manipulative sob sister melodrama," Please Look After Mom is surely its reigning queen. I'm mystified as to why this guilt-laden morality tale has become such a sensation in Korea and why a literary house like Knopf would embrace it. (Although, as women are the biggest audience for literary fiction, Please Look After Mom must be anticipated to be a book club hit in this country.) But, why wallow in cross-cultural self-pity, ladies?
>
> Having just read Patti Smith's award-winning memoir, Just Kids, for the second time, I'd urge you to pick her empowering female adventure tale about getting lost in the city instead. Smith will get your book club on its feet and pumping its collective fists in the air, rather than knocking back the wine and reaching for the cheap consolations of kimchee-scented Kleenex fiction.[150]

This was not, however, the only review in a major news source that was less than enthused about the melodramatic aspects of the novel. Janet Maslin of *The New York Times* had similar reservations about the "mother guilt" and described the book as "browbeating" in its "Dickensian extremes" and "guilt-trips," with Shin "inton[ing] from atop her very high horse," concluding that:

> So part of this book's popularity in Korea stemmed from its cautionary powers. But how well will it work elsewhere? Ms. Shin has anticipated that problem by ending the book with a not-to-be-believed scene set in Rome, where Mom is compared to the most sacred of maternal figures. And let's not underestimate how viscerally the sanctity of motherhood can be exploited as a narrative device. By the end of the book Ms. Shin has been canny enough to make even Mom feel pangs of tearful love for her own Mom. And she has turned the book's title, which initially sounded like an order, into something much more powerful: a prayer.[151]

---

[150] *Ibid.*

[151] Maslin, Janet. "A Mother's Devotion, a Family's Tearful Regrets," *New York Times: Books of the Times*, 2011/03/30. (www.nytimes.com/2011/03/31/books/kyung-sook-shins-please-look-after-mom-review.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=look after mother&st=cse)

Maslin also questions the viability for an international audience of what she saw as a florid melodrama, but where she critiques the novel in itself as a literary work, Corrigan turned to American ethnic and gendered stereotypes to lambast this work as representative of a particular genre of American fiction. In that sense, we might see the publication and marketing of Shin's novel as an even greater success for its promoters because it could not be easily distinguished as a foreign narrative apart from its setting. Although she refers to the translation, the novel's success in Korea, Korean soap operas, and kimchi, her use of the latter two examples belie a level of familiarity with Korean (American) culture that informs her critique. If less than 3% of publications in English are translations, it is likely that the "book club hit[s]" read by these "ladies" would, in fact, be English language titles of the "manipulative sob-sister melodrama" variety, again recalling Chinese American author Amy Tan's success in the world of American book clubs. It seems that for Corrigan, *Please Look After Mom* was foiled by the joint interventions of the American publisher and the Korean literary institution to promote an easily accessible, emotive, and commercially viable cultural product as the world's most visible introduction to Korean literature from Korea in the 21st century, doubly emphasizing the multiple sites of cultural recognition with which the globalization of Korea has had to contend. In the next chapter, I turn to the inverse of the center/periphery cultural hierarchy of *segyehwa* and concerns over ethnicity and multiculturalism in relation to the exponential growth of non-white foreign industrial laborers, or migrant workers (*iju nodongja*), in South Korea in the late 1990s and 2000s.

Three.

The "Sympathetic Foreigner" and Representations of the Multiethnic Imaginary in Literature And Film

On August 24th, it was announced that the number of foreigners residing in the country (kukne ch'eryu oegukin) has exceeded one million. This number includes more than 220,000 illegal sojourners (pulpŏp ch'eryuja). This is the dawn of a genuinely multi-racial multicultural era.

The Ministry of Justice and the Korea Immigration Service have announced that "the 1,000,254 domestic resident foreigners constitute 2% of the registered population of the country (49,130,000).

– *Donga Ilbo*, August 25, 2007[152]

In 2007, the South Korean news media reported the advent of the "Era of a Million Foreigners" following the announcement that there were now more than one million non-South Korean citizens residing in the country. This figure marked a 158% increase over the past decade (1997-2007) and a 2000% increase over the number of foreign residents counted in 1990.[153] The announcement ignited debates over the direction of multiculturalism (*tamunhwajuŭi*) and the perceived threat to the historically constructed understanding of Korea as an ethnically homogeneous nation. The positive

---

[152] Chŏn, Chisŏng and Ch'oi Wuyŏl. "Era of a Million Foreigners… Constituting 2% of the Domestic Population, [woegukin 100manmyŏng shidae… kuknae inku ŭi 2% ch'aji]," Donga.com. 25 August 2007. Date accessed 11 April 2009. <http://news.donga.com/3/all/20070825/8482195/1>.

"국내 체류 외국인이 24 일 사상 처음 100 만 명을 돌파한 것으로 나타났다. 이 중 불법 체류자는 22 만 명이 넘는 것으로 집계됐다. 본격적인 다인종 다문화 시대가 개막한 것이다.

법무부 출입국·외국인정책본부는 이날 "국내 체류 외국인이 국내 주민등록 인구(4913 만여 명)의 2%인 100 만 254 명으로 공식집계됐다"고 밝혔다." It is interesting to note, however, that in the same publication two years later, the same publication cited the Ministry of Public Administration and Security that, "The number of foreigners based in Korea has exceeded one million for the first time…" on August 5, 2009.

A foreign resident is defined as, "any non-citizen residing in Korea for 91 days or longer. There are a number of minor exceptions to this rule, including any member of diplomatic delegation or consular corps, members of international organizations, and Canadian citizens residing in Korea [sic] up to six months. The number of short-term (91 days to one year) foreign residents has likely remained fairly constant, so the recent and dramatic increase in the overall foreign resident populations is overwhelmingly based on individuals staying in South Korea for longer periods of time," cited from Ministry of Justice in Timothy Lim, "Rethinking Belongingness in Korea: Transnational Migration, 'Migrant Marriages' and the Politics of Multiculturalism." *Pacific Affairs* 83, no. 1 (2010): 51-52.

[153] Han, Geon-soo. "Multicultural Korea: Celebration or Challenge of Multiethnic Shift in Contemporary Korea?" *Korea Journal* 47.4 (2007): 32-63. www.ekoreajournal.net. <http://www.ekoreajournal.net/issue/view_pop.htm?Idx=3450>. [First accessed 9 Dec. 2013]; Lim, 51.

tone of the "dawn of a genuinely multi-racial multicultural era" reinforced the unquestioned ethnic homogeneity of Korean society by marking the transformative moment as an event for the national community, but also cast a negative light on the foreign population by associating them in the next sentence with hundreds of thousands of "illegal sojourners" with the suggestion that many of these people were outside the bounds of legitimate (legal) Korean society. The furor over the issue of foreign residents (*oegukin*) and the debates about a "multicultural era" in the first decade of the 2000s that followed reflect a deep ambivalence about the possibility of inclusion in Korean society and the benefits of becoming a "global" nation. This chapter explores the reverberations of this ambivalence in the cultural industries, the targeted site of globalization described in Chapters 2 and 3.

The timing of the announcement just after Liberation Day (August 15) and shortly before the *Chusŏk* Harvest Moon Festival[154] was also important to the efforts to recognize multiculturalism as a necessary dimension of the country's international image, much like the national branding campaign and the export of cultural products. *Chusŏk* television programming in 2007 paid special attention to multicultural families in order to "cast off the practice of presenting *Chuseok* as a 'single nation festival,'" and made it possible for "people of diverse races and countries to play the role of leading figures in soap operas, talk shows, and documentaries."[155] Critics of the quick adoption of the goal of a "healthy multicultural society"[156] by the media, civil society, and the government saw this as nothing more than shallow and ineffective rhetoric that "consist[ed] of little more than the *Chuseok* articles

---

[154] *Chusŏk* is a major national holiday during which traditional culture and family values are usually emphasized on special programs and features in the media in mid- to late September.

[155] Song, Hye-jin. "Ijen natseolji aneun 2%" (The Two-Percent, No Longer Unfamiliar). *Chosun Ilbo*, September 28th, 2007, cited in Han, 34.

[156] Choe Se-na. "Chuseok-eneun oegugin myoneuri suda" (Chatting with Foreign Daughters-in-Law on Chuseok). Sports Chosun. September 14, 2007, cited in Han, 34.

and special features…" that "are not used as analytical concepts reflecting the reality of Korean society, but merely as rhetorical concepts or political slogans for future visions of Korea."[157] It is striking that both the response and critique of multiculturalism in Korea was so dependent on cultural representation as a primary marker of effective engagement with the confirmed foreign population. This can be seen in the integral role of the Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and Sports in multicultural policies and promotion since 2006.[158] The deferral of multiculturalism to the realm of cultural representation and the language of international human rights indicates the contradictory nature of the "cultural turn" discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 that gave media and the arts the task of shaping the reality of an "actually existing multiculturalism." Like the "globalization with Korean characteristics" of *segyehwa*, the ethical imperative of liberal humanist values in the treatment of migrant workers became another marker of national cultural development as defined by the international community.

---

[157] Han, 36. Han also provides a brief history of Korean engagement in international migration that imparts a curious teleology of international migration tied to national development. He writes that, "in the wave of globalization, Korea was reincorporated into international migration networks," and calls the "first coupling with international migration" in 1902 a "late joining of this massive wave of international migration." Han's temporal conception of international migration in the 20th century therefore relies on the comparative and developmental model of international engagement that places Korea "behind" other countries.

[158] Euyryung Jun discusses the Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and Sports's promotion of multicultural society through festivals, events, and funding for NGOs serving the migrant populations after the initial period of nearly sole engagement by civil society NGOs in her dissertation. As an anthropologist who conducted ethnographic research while working at various civil society groups that provided aid to migrant workers and marriage migrants, she writes, "I would like to highlight how much the language of 'culture' seized both the state government and civil society organizations. It not only offered a space for the two to work together—albeit not seamlessly—but also facilitated the process in which questions of inequality became reduced to so-called 'cultural difference' and the attitudinal problems involving it." Jun sees the "project of engendering multicultural sensitivity" in Korean citizens as a self-disciplinary project that uses the Other to impart a sense of moral satisfaction for the Korean self. The pedagogic function of *munhwa chehŏm* (cultural experience), she writes, can easily blur "the boundary between the 'education' of difference and the 'consumption' of difference." This gesture towards the blurred lines between difference as something to be learned and as something to be consumed is not explored fully in Jun's text, but I pick up the thread of this argument as an increasing application of consumption as the most affective means of overcoming difference.

Jun, EuyRyung. *Virtuous Citizens and Sentimental Society Ethics and Politics in Neoliberal South Korea*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011, 118.

In works about foreign migrant laborers by newly canonized authors Kim Chae-yŏng and Park Min-gyu, and by Korean directors invited by the National Human Rights Commission to participate in the omnibus film series *If You Were Me* (2003–2013), the figure of the "sympathetic foreigner" emerges as both negative and positive symbol of the continuing developmental trajectory of the nation. At the same time, the sympathetic foreigner was subsumed under the rhetoric of international human rights to diffuse minority subjectivity from a single category of racially marked foreign others to include Korean minority groups of class, age, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and place of origin.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the artistic responsibility and international engagement discussed at events like the Seoul International Forum became increasingly important as *segyehwa* economic and cultural policies resulted in increased population diversity and a concern over the ethical demands of a modern civil society, namely human rights for minority groups. The approaches to *tamunhwajuŭi* in literature and film and the contexts of their production as representative Korean texts through translation and screenings at international film festivals highlights the dialectical reproduction of multicultural discourse not as a result of, but as a perceived requirement of a cosmopolitan, yet persistently national civil society.[159] Multiculturalism in texts from this period also show an emerging strain of neo-realism that, while critical in content, is imbricated with institutional and state narratives of multiculturalism through funding, translation, canonization, and promotion. I

---

[159] Cosmopolitanism is understood here as the philosophical ideal of the "world citizen" that subscribes to "an intellectual ethic, a universal humanism that transcends regional particularism." The tautological "globalization with Korean characteristics" at the foundation of *segyehwa* shows the contradictory strands of globalization discourse in Korea, where state and civil society groups simultaneously utilize aspects of neoliberal economic globalization and the ethics of cosmopolitan cultural globalization interchangeably in ways that have not fully reconciled the imbrication of the nation and the state, or the nation from the individual of the developmental period. Pheng Cheah. *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* (Kindle Location 254). Kindle Edition.

examine the figure of the "sympathetic foreigner" in Kim Chae-yŏng's short story "Elephant" ("*Kokkiri*," 2004), Pak Min-kyu's "Say Ah, Pelican" ("*A haseyo, p'elik'an*," 2003), and in short films depicting migrant laborers from the *If You Were Me* omnibus film series produced by the National Human Rights Commission of Korea (2003–2013). The development of the sympathetic foreigner in film and literature shows the cultural establishment's pointed engagement with the foreign population in South Korea as a problem of mono-cultural identification in need of progressive development and reinforcement. The formal aspects of these texts as components of a larger collected form (the short story collection and the omnibus film) entails a dialogic reading within the collections themselves, and in relation to the history of engagement in modern Korean literature discussed in Chapter 2.[160]

Multiculturalism (*tamunhwajuŭi*) in Korea must be understood in relation to the diffusion of the ethno-national subject in contemporary literature and media. In Kim Ch'ae-young's short story collection Elephant (*Kokkiri*, 2005), for example, a community of disadvantaged foreign residents is formalistically incorporated into the tradition of minjung literature. This proactive inclusion of non-ethnic Korean subjects into an established Korean *literary* form critiques the discourse of 'multiculturalism' as a negative symptom of neoliberal globalization by tying it to Korea's recent history of repression that encourages sympathetic identification with migrant laborers' struggles as developmental subjects.[161]

---

[160] Bakhtin, M M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Volume 1 of University of Texas Press Slavic Series. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010.

[161] Theodore Hughes has discussed the assertion of an ethnonational developmental subject by the Park Chung-hee regime in the 1960s and 70s that located the "not-yet-developed" Korean subject within the logic of the Cold War World Order of informatics and serialization, which was contested and critiqued in the literature and film of the period as a statist

On the other hand, multiculturalism was used as a marker of cosmopolitanism in which Koreans were expected to become "ethical citizens" of the global community.[162] This instrumental approach to countering racial prejudice and xenophobia by interpellating the national subject carries into the depictions of migrant workers in the If You Were Me films as well. These films incorporate narratives about migrant laborers into a broader discourse of human rights issues in Korea that promote the inclusion of foreigners in Korean society, but also reinforce their exclusion by identifying their experiences as a developmental defect. The lack of a cohesive theme apart from the general rubric of "human rights issues in Korea" in the omnibus films, however, further compartmentalizes each issue within its own situational narrative. Given the diverse range of directors and their autonomy in choosing subjects and styles, the project's eponymous mission of reconfiguring perspectives on these issues (the "*sisŏn*," or "perspective" *of 6-kae ŭi sisŏn* (6 Perspectives*), 5-kae ŭi sisŏn* (5 perspectives), *3-bŏn-jjae sisŏn* (3rd Perspective), *Sisŏn 1318* (Perspectives: 1318, referring to teenagers aged 13-18), *Sisŏn nŏmŏ* (Overcoming Perspectives)) becomes the effort to "understand all social movements as equivalent struggles for cultural recognition or the affirmation of a collective identity."[163]

The international recognition of Korean directors in the early 2000s was integral to the production and circulation of these films, which places multiculturalism as a human rights issue into the sphere of the instrumentalization of popular culture. Borrowing from the success of the Korean

---

[162] Muehlebach, Andrea Karin. *The Moral Neoliberal Welfare And Citizenship In Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

[163] Cheah, location 774.

film industry and the Korean Wave in the 2000s also opens a discussion about the different forms of cultural capital Korea gained over the past two decades. I am especially interested in how these texts parallel a multiculturalism/globalization discursive divide that I extend to food culture and specialization in the culinary service industry in Chapter 4.

In the final section, I analyze the avowedly apolitical interaction between Korean characters and migrant laborers in Pak Min-kyu's short story "Say Ah, Pelican." Park critiques the privileges accorded to different populations and their movements in and out of the country, but also depicts the systematic displacement and technologized anxieties of post-modern consumer culture with a sense of detachment that denies nationalist exceptionalism. Rather, he brings out the widespread social unease with the frantic pace of consumption of products and human labor that impelled the movement of bodies in the early 21st century, while still questioning the salience of national and ethnic identification. These short stories and the If You Were Me films tease out the dimensions of Korean multiculturalism through a mix of genre, layers of mediation, and humor that hone in on the reciprocal movements in and out of the country that characterize the increasingly fluid population of ethnic and non-ethnic residents alike.

Tamunhwajuŭi and Difference in South Korea

Tamunhwajuŭi introduced a hierarchy of race and ethnicity to a conception of Korean identity that had been consolidated as a victimized post-colonial and divided ethnonational subject throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. The term itself began to appear in the media and scholarly journals in the mid-1990s in reference to social issues in North America, Australia, and Germany. These reflections on racial discrimination in developed countries with large minority populations and ethnic

Korean immigrant communities were "letters home" that gave "Korean" perspectives on life abroad. Some even conjectured about the potential need for multicultural policies in Korea following unification.[164] In the 1990s, Edward Said's *Orientalism* and post-colonial theory prompted scholarly and media interest in race and multiculturalism in Europe and North America that were contrasted to the local belief in *tanilminjok* (homogeneous ethno-nation) in Korea. At this time, multiculturalism was considered a "foreign" problem discussed as a pedagogical tool needed for Korean students and employees to engage in the global economy.[165] In this sense, it was perceived as the interaction of a unified Korean culture operating within a system of world cultures — an extension of the comparative *segyehwa* globalization campaign that continued to imagine an indivisible unit of nation/culture. In the early 2000s, however, *tamunhwa* became a subject of domestic concern, as the Industrial Trainee Program (established in 1994) continued to bring migrant laborers into South Korea and marriages between Korean men and foreign women became a statistically noticeable trend. The Industrial Trainee Program brought thousands of working class foreigners to the country for terminal short-term labor exchange programs. Initially, these foreign workers stayed within factory grounds and company dormitories in "industrial zones" near Seoul, but away from the general public.[166] By 2007, however,

---

[164] The few references to multiculturalism from the 1960s to the 1990s in the Korean news media most often referred to the homonym *tamunhwa* (茶文化, tea culture). *Tamunhwa* (多文化, multiculturalism) appeared infrequently in the news media in the 1980s, most often in the context of the multiculturalism of the Asia Pacific region. During this period, the multiculturalism was conceived as a multinational multiculturalism more akin to civilizational discourses of East/West. Cf. Yun Sang-ch'ŏl, "Leading Countries in the 'Age of Asia' ["'Asiasidae' ŭi chudokuk"]," *Kyŏnhyang Sinmun*, 24 Sep. 1986.

In the 1990s, opinion pieces from ethnic Koreans living abroad began to appear in newspapers, still emphasizing *damunhwa* as an external or transnational issue: Cf. Pae Chŏl (Korean office worker in Australia). "My Thoughts on Australia and Australians: The Pinnacle of Australia's Chronic Problem of Discrimination Towards People of Color ["Naeka pon osŭtŭreillia-osŭtŭreilliain (5): yusaekinjong ch'apyŏl kochilpyŏng 'kokae'"]." *Hankyoreh*, 27 Mar. 1997; Ch'oe Yŏngsuk (op. ed. contributor, Nurse in Germany). "My Thoughts on Germany and Germans: If I Take Care of Myself, We Can Live Together in Harmony ["Naeka pon tokil-tokilin (34): Naekŏt chik'imyŏn ŏullyŏ sanŭn chohwa"]." *Hankyoreh*, 02 Feb. 1997.

[165] In the mid to late 1990s, however, multiculturalism became an educational issue as calls for educational reform looked to North America and Europe for new pedagogical models to teach children to be citizens of the world. This was extended as well to training for employees of Korean companies seeking to expand into global markets.

[166] Yoo, Kil-Sang. *Foreign Workers in the Republic of Korea, November 2005*. Seoul, South Korea, November, 2005. http://www.jil.go.jp/foreign/countryreport/2005_1107/korea_e.pdf. Web. 15 Jan. 2013.

most "3D labor" positions (difficult, dirty, dangerous) in small to mid-size industrial factories were filled by short-term migrant laborers from China, South and Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Russia, because it had become difficult to find Korean workers willing to fill these jobs. As the number of foreign migrants grew, so did their visible presence in Korean society and the media, leading to xenophobic reports of violent incidents involving foreign laborers similar to highly publicized violent incidents involving American soldiers on Korean soil.

The term foreigner (*oegukin*), most commonly used to refer to white professionals and American G.I.s in the country, now included a rather sizable group of migrant industrial workers and migrant brides (*kyŏlhon iju yŏsŏng*), or *iju yŏsŏng* (migrant female). These newcomers were not welcomed into Korean society. In the second half of the 20th century, marriages between Korean citizens and non-Koreans were called "international marriages" (*kukje kyŏlhon*), and the children of these unions were "mixed-blood children" (*honhyŏl-a*). The early literature on migrants in the 2000s, however, referred to them as "outsiders" (*ibangin*). Migrant labor advocacy groups and NGOs that worked with migrant brides and their new families were among the first to adopt *tamunhwa* as a collective term to refer these dissimilar foreign residents, but in 2006 "the *tamunhwa* industry exploded, [and] the state poured money into the civil and academic sectors, producing a new public space for discussions of multiculturalism."[167] The literature and film discussed in this chapter precede the state's adoption of the term, however, indicating that the limits of a bounded conception of national belonging were already being contested by social advocacy groups and in cultural production.[168] By the time these works were introduced in 2003, the influx of migrant labor and

---

[167] Jun, *Virtuous Citizens*, 113. Jun also notes that *tamunhwa* "has been always used as the adjective to refer to a particular group of the population, e.g., *tamunhwa gajok* or *tamunhwa gajeong* ('multicultural family') or *tamunhwa adong* ('multiculutral children'). …it becomes necessary to recognize that the state multicultural programs emerged out of its rather consistent efforts to deal with and intervene in the emergent problem of international marriage and in the massive emergence of a racially and ethnically mixed population."

[168] Anderson, Benedict. "Nationalism, Identity, and the World-in-Motion: On the Logics of Seriality." *Cosmopolitics: Thinking*

marriage migrants was reaching the 10-year mark, and the visible changes in the diversity of the population were clearly visible. Jeong Jae-eun's 2001 film *Take Care of My Cat* (Koyangirŭl put'akhae), for example, was one of the earlier film productions to include migrant laborers as background extras to situate the working class backgrounds of the (Korean) central characters. While other films like *In Search of Ronny* (Ronirŭl ch'ajasŏ, 2008), *Bandhobi* (2009), and *Banga*? *Banga*! (2010) focussed on migrant laborers and their lives in Korea, *Take Care of My Cat* is a rare text that included foreign laborers not as exceptional subjects, but as part of the background (that is, unexceptional) in the community depicted in the film. While these new groups all fall under the legal distinction "foreigner" (*oegukin*, defined as "any person holding foreign citizenship"),[169] there is a common distinction between oegukin as white European or American foreigners or as a general category of non-ethnic Koreans. "Foreign Migrant workers" (*iju nodongja* or *oegukin nodongja*) and "foreign brides" (usually discussed as *tamunhwa kajok*, or "multicultural families"), where the latter two groups are combined under the rubric of multiculturalism, and the former is a sign of Korea's globalization.

Tamunhwa as a discourse came to be divided into two broad categories: first, as a social problem targeting specific segments of the migrant population, and second, as a virtue of the projected image of Korean society as a developed nation. The texts I analyze in this chapter conflate these two trajectories by incorporating multiethnic bodies into their narratives, an artistic mission that was contradicted by the popular television dramas of the same period discussed in the following chapter. The dramas focus instead on other socially and economically marginalized groups within the

---

and Feeling Beyond the Nation. Ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. 117-133. Anderson's extension of his seminal work on nationalism in *Imagined Communities* distinguishes between "unbounded" and "bounded" formulations of communal identification with those produced by external factors such as increased transnational mobility and closer diasporic interactions enabled by new forms of media in the 20th and 21st centuries (unbounded), and institutional communal identities such as mutual belonging to nation, religion, or ethnic identity (bounded).

[169] Cited in Lee, Yoonkyung. "Migration, Migrants, and Contested Ethno-nationalism in Korea." *Critical Asian Studies* 41.3 (September, 2009): 367.

ethnic Korean populace, reaffirming the ethnically homogeneous image of Korean society while introducing new social categories of minority difference such as homosexuality. The depictions of migrant labor, on the other hand, reveal the racialized local inverse of *segyehwa* discourse that had encouraged specialization, difference, and affective minority identifications within the population, but ultimately reaffirmed the privilege of the ethnonational subject in a hierarchical plurality of cultures that differed markedly from cultural pluralism.[170]

Korean approaches to multiculturalism and the "sympathetic foreigner" can be understood in relation to Derrida's "On Cosmopolitanism," which points to the essential contradiction of hospitality toward foreign refugees in a country (or more specifically, a cosmopolitan city). The reception entailed by hospitality permanently marks the foreigner as an Other in one's own space who must accept the condition of being received in order to be included. Reception is contingent on the economic needs of

---

[170] In her study of labor and ethnicity in South Korea, Jin-kyung Lee charts the shift from a mono-ethnic to a multiethnic society through the movement of people in search of economic opportunities, through military deployment, sex work, or industrial labor. Lee defines two racially and economically distinct categories of "foreigners" in South Korea: the "foreigner" (*oegugin),* to refer to white white-collar foreign nationals residing in Korea; and "foreign workers" (*oegugin nodongja*), which refers to nonwhite migrant workers. This schema constitute a hierarchicalized schema of racial identity tied to class, labor, and freedom of mobility that draws from Aiwha Ong's notion of mobility and "flexible citizenship."

This conception of the racial distinction between different ethnic groups in Korea is based on a historical trajectory in which South Korea deals with the legacy of its neocolonial relationship with the U.S. and its emerging role as a 'subimperial immigrant nation' (214). The alignment of migrant laborers (*iju nodongja*) with local labor activism and Korean laborers (*nodongja*) therefore positions the migrant laborer in relation to the realist national subject consolidated during the period of development and democratization in the 1960s through the 1980s through the *minjung* (people's) movement. This has important cultural implications for the migrant laborer in narrative as *minjung* subjectivity utilized Korean folk art and music to assert its legitimacy as an authentic Korean subject. The intersections of the state, labor activism, and migrant labor activists, then, produce "overlapping and yet divergent contexts of South Korea both as an immigrant nation-state in the making, and as a globalized transnation."

While this can be seen in the narratives of migrant laborers in literature and film, a hierarchy of cultures that privileges Korean ethnicity is still prevalent, where "…the exclusionary form of Koreanness is not transcended but rather reformulated as a dominant ethnicity and culture, one that is subimperialist and subuniversalist, in relation to other Asian ethnicities and cultures that become minoritized, racialized, and suborientalized. South Korea has clearly made a transition from a mono-ethnic nation divided by class, to a multiethnic nation whose class stratifications are determined by, and intersect with, racial hierarchy. However, both the South Korean state and mainstream South Korean society's simultaneous disavowal of this historical shift renders the racialized migrant labor force and the issues of race and multiethnicity clandestine."

Lee, Jin-kyung. *Service Economies.* 210, 214.

the receiving society, a point that many critics of South Korean multicultural policy have noted and has been the case in South Korea since the 1990s. Moreover, the broad division of in-migration into "migrant workers" and "migrant brides" situates foreign migrant inflows in terms of class (economic necessity), gender, temporality (migrant as temporary vs. permanent immigrants), and race, which are all entangled under the overarching rubric of international human rights as a domestic developmental goal.[171] Both groups of migrants are overwhelmingly composed of a single gender (male workers and female marriage migrants), but are both understand as economically motivated newcomers. Despite the presumed difference between migrant laborers as transitory and migrant brides as permanent immigrants, the appellation remains the same: *iju* (migrant). The perception of the foreigner in Korea therefore shifted from a small population of predominantly white (and particularly English speaking) professionals, language instructors, and the US Military prior to the 2000s to a much larger group of racialized economic migrants.[172]

---

[171] On multiculturalism as an extension of the national developmental project, see Jun, EuyRyung, *Virtuous Citizens.*

[172] The five largest nationality groups of foreign residents in Korea as of statistics published in 2007 are China, the United States, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Thailand, which make up 70% of the total number. Statistics are as follows:
Long term residents: migrant workers (404,051; 56%), marriage-based migrants (104,749; 14%), foreign students (47, 479; 7%).
Registered migrant workers: unskilled workers (236,262; 88.5%), professionals (24,036; 10.2%), sports and entertainment (3,183).
National origin of unskilled workers: China (80,629; 38.6%), Vietnam (24,922; 12%), Philippines (23,394; 11.2%), Indonesia (17,886; 8.6%).
National origin of professional workers: United States (6,604; 27.5%), Canada (5,163; 21.5%), United Kingdom (1,602; 6.7%), and Japan (1,226; 5.1%).
National origin of sports and entertainment workers: Philippines (1,866; 58.6%), China (281; 8.8%), Russia (7.6%), and Ukraine (106; 3.3%).
Estimates of unregistered foreign residents: 225, 273 total, with the following nations of origin: China (101,984; 45%, including 37,573 *chosŏnjok*), the Philippines (14,749; 7%), Vietnam (14,333; 6%), Thailand (13,978; 6%), Mongolia (13,354,; 6%), and Bangladesh.
National origin of marriage-based migrants: Chinese (51,982; 59.6%, including *chosŏnjok*), Vietnamese (14,892; 17.1%), Filipina (4,041; 4.6%), Mongolia, Thailand, Uzbekistan, Russia, Cambodia, and others.
Figures cited from 2006-2007 Ministry of Justice Statistics in Han, Geon-soo. "Multicultural Korea," 38–40.

EuyRyoung Jun traces the discursive history of *tamunhwa* through the contesting, but equally instrumental uses of multiculturalism to elicit sympathy from ethnic Koreans by state and civil society groups in the early 2000s. She identifies the state's interest in multicultural families (*tamunhwa kajŏng*) as a facet of the concern over falling birthrates that eventually narrows the definition of "multiculturalism" to refer to mixed marriages and their offspring. This argument can be extended to the synecdochical relationship between the developmental state and the nuclear family in the second half of the 20th century, when women were called to serve as agents of the cultural preservation and newly defined "traditional" social values described in Chapter 2. The elision of migrant labor from later uses of *tamunhwa* therefore moves the discussion to the private realm of domestic life and out of the economic and public work places where migrant laborers are found.

In *Service Economies*, Jinkyoung Lee emphasizes that motivations for these different migrant groups are similar in their economic motivation, but Jun points to their separation in state-led outreach programs that identify migrant/foreign worker (*ijunodongja*/*oegukin nodongja*) as outsiders (*ibangin*), and migrant brides as multicultural families/children (*tamunhwa kajŏng*/t*amunhwa ai*). However, Lee and Jun both see this identification of economic migrants in 21st century South Korea as a denial of the coevalness of the other. Their studies critique the discourse of multiculturalism in relation to human rights discourse and class discrimination as a status marker of national development that has shifted from purely economic production to what Jun calls "the moral development of virtuous citizens," the projection of national prestige and cultural capital.[173] For my part, I would also call attention to the other categories of non-Korean citizens I cite above: *oegukin* (usually white, and unmodified by class as in *oegukin nodongja* (foreign laborer)) and the different categories of diaspora Koreans, which have been historically privileged categories. These groups have

[173] Jun, *Virtuous Citizens*.

also undergone significant changes during the 2000s as class disparities within the groups — foreign professionals, US Soldiers, and short-term contracted English instructors, for the former, and ethnic Koreans from the US, Japan, China, Russia, and North Koreas on the other — become ever more apparent.

Mobility and Minority Cultures

While 1,000,000 is certainly a large number of people, the enormity of this figure seemed more significant in the media as a percentage of the total population — 2%. Although it is a small percentage of the total national population, the 2% figure was repeated in the media with as much emphasis as the million foreigners. The fact that foreigners now constituted an integer seemed as significant as the actual number of bodies in the country as a recognizable minority population that threatened the totality of the homogeneous Korean population in what Arjun Appadurai calls "the anxiety of incompleteness."[174] What these numbers do not reveal, however, are the somewhat ambiguous distinctions between the constituent foreign nationalities that made up the million: 44% of the resident foreigners in 2007 were Chinese citizens, and approximately 60% of these Chinese nationals were of *chosŏnjok*, or ethnic Koreans from China.

---

[174] Arjun Appadurai, *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). 8. In this brief volume, Appadurai discusses the power of minority groups to excite both positive liberal dissent and fear amongst majorities that do not like to view themselves as divisible, particularly in a nationalist context. His illustration of the conception of minority/majority difference as cellular/vertebrate structures points to the fear of minorities as nodes of diffused identities that pose a threat to centralized, 'vertebrate" structures like national governments. This work is regarded as an addendum to Appadurai's seminal work on globalization, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, which many critics saw as overly optimistic about the conditions of global cultural exchange.

In this period, Korea also experienced an explosion of movement of its own citizens: transnational education became the norm for the wealthy elite and upper middle classes, with students as young as primary school age traveling abroad to increase their academic competitiveness and chances for success in the recovering Korean economy. This resulted in fractured families with fathers often left behind to earn money while mothers took their children abroad (the so-called "wild goose" fathers), and in fractured identities for the young people with Korean citizenship who had spent most of their youth outside of the country.

Further complicating the Korean/non-Korean distinction in the resident population, ethnic Koreans from other countries including North Korean refugees (*set'ŏmin*, 'person in a new land,' or previously, *t'alpukja* 脫北者, 'escapee from the North'), Russian Koreans (*koryo-saram*) and the ethnic Koreans from China (*chosŏnjok* 朝鮮族) were treated similarly, if slightly better than non-Korean economic migrants. By contrast, co-ethnic foreign citizens from wealthier nations like Japan (*chae-il kyop'o* 在日僑胞) and the U.S. (*chae-mi kyop'o* 在美僑胞) were granted extra privileges and special visa categories in order to promote foreign investment.[175]

---

[175] The term *kyop'o* is used interchangeably for ethnic Koreans permanently living in Japan or the United States, with the "resident servant" (*t'ŏpusari*, 더부살이) reading of "*kyo*" (僑), suggesting a pejorative post-colonial association with Korean nationals residing in these countries. The dictionary definition of *kyop'o*, "a compatriot living in a foreign country [*waeguke salgo issnŭn tongp'o*]," contains a circular reference to *tongp'o ("*compatriot, siblings within a family"), another component of frequently used term for diaspora Koreans in developed nations such as *haewoe tongp'o (*海外憧胞), *chaewoe tongp'o (*在外同胞). It is interesting to note that while the term for Japanese and American co-ethnics references a blood relation in *p'o* (胞) and geographic reference to residence in their respective countries, the terms for Russian Koreans and Chinese Koreans refer to the former Koryo and Chosŏn dynasties, suggesting a connection in a much more distant past. The use of *saram* (person) and (族) also distinguishes these groups from the consanguineous *kyop'o* (僑胞) and *tongp'o* (同胞)

More recently, the use of *hanin* (韓人) seems to have become the more "neutral" suffix for diaspora Koreans, referring to *miju hanin* (Korean American) and *ipyang hanin* (adopted Koreans), for example, that de-emphasizes the (ethnic) blood relation of *tongp'o* and *kyop'o* in favor of a more specifically national association with the *han* of South Korea (*Taehanminguk* 大韓民國).

In the case of the marriage migrants, concerns over cultural integration are compounded by the fruits of these unions, the "mixed-race" (*honhyŏl*) or "multicultural" (*tamunhwa*) children. The use of the term "mixed-race" for these children, too, is somewhat circumspect, as many of the migrant marriages in Korea over the past two decades have been between male Korean citizens and *chosŏnjok* women. Thus, as the non-ethnic Korean population proliferated and variegated, so too did the resident population of who self-identified ethnically and culturally with "Koreanness."

Shades of Koreanness

While borrowing from discourses of multiculturalism in other areas of the world, cultural assimilation and cultural relativism were framed as indicators of the country's developmental status, or of the strength of the culturally and ethnically homogeneous national identity. Therefore, while these foreign residents were expected to assimilate to Korean culture as much as possible, they could never expect to become Korean,[176] and the recognition of foreign cultures in Korean geographic space remained outside national culture, except as markers of cosmopolitan consumption (see Chapter 4). The contradiction of expected assimilation without full acceptance is reflected in the cultural sphere in the years leading up to the "Era of Multiculturalism," particularly in the marked difference in representations of the working class subject that was an integral figure in the arts in the 20th century. For the most part, cultural critics and "high culture" expressions in literature and film responded to the new social reality of ethnic/cultural heterogeneity with an inclusivity that placed "foreigners' issues"

---

[176] There were a few exceptions to this for international celebrities of Korean descent such as the Korean-born bi-racial American football player Heinz Ward, who became a celebrity in Korea in 2006 after winning the MVP award in the Super Bowl. Ward, who had his name tattooed in *hangŭl* on his arm ("하인즈") was held up as an example of a filial son to his Korean mother and "mother country" (*moguk*), in a virtually unprecedented gesture of public approval towards a person of "mixed blood" (*honhyŏl*), long the objects of intense discrimination in Korean society. C.f. Lim, 51.

within the spectrum of other social ills plaguing Korean society: hyper-consumption, unhealthy body images, ageism, gender imbalance, and widening economic disparity. Popular culture representations, on the other hand, either completely erased racial difference and focused on a new segment of the Korean working class in the service industries or focused on human- interest stories about multicultural families that amounted to little more than paternalistic portrayals of the foreign population as they navigated Korean daily life (Chapter 4).

In contrast to the discourse of globalization that sought a constellation of Korean culture that incorporated the diaspora, the experiences of its transnational citizens, and the cosmopolitan identity of a highly-educated post-developmental society (Chapters 1 and 2), the discourse of multiculturalism in early 2000s cultural production reaffirms a linear teleology of cultural national identity through racialized representations of the working class that either incorporated "foreigners" into established literary tropes of national subjectivity or elided their growing presence as the laboring class of Korean society. These cultural responses to the first period of significant economic in-migration to Korea unrelated to war or colonization highlight the conundrum of multiculturalism's underlying presumption of universal humanism as an indicator of national developmental status in a region where racial politics had not been seriously addressed as a domestic issue since the colonial period.

Differential treatment towards foreigners (*oegukin*) in Korea was not historically framed within the discourse of racism (*injongjuŭii*), but rather in terms of national identity. Where formulations of race and multiculturalism in the United States and Europe are heavily informed by the historical contingencies of slavery and imperialism and are overwhelmingly defined by a black/white or secular/religious binary that ignores class, the historical power balance between South Korea and the countries of origin of the migrant workers is ill-defined, with the exception of Vietnam, due to the Korea's involvement in the Vietnam War as a mercenary fighting force for the US; and China, with

which Korea has had a very long and well-documented relationship.[177] Here, the conception of multiculturalism within an Asia-Pacific regional imaginary couples the developmental hierarchy of sub-imperialism with a tenuous assumption of Pan-Asian identity that recalls Korea's role in the Japanese Empire. The South Korean model of multiculturalism draws from all of these different models, claiming pluralism by promoting awareness of different cultures at festivals and public performances, but also encouraging performative ethnic identifications that mark this difference (in clothing, food, music) as defining, and hence exclusionary, other.[178] This denial of inclusion into everyday Korean life by insisting on and emphasizing difference ignores the hybrid lifestyles or practices of the marked "foreign" population[179] while appropriating the performative markers of cultural capital through "proper" consumption of international cuisine and luxury brands as signs of ethnic Korean citizens' cosmopolitan identities (Chapter 4).

The uproar caused by the announcement of over a million so-called "foreigners" on Korean soil was firmly couched within a sense of the forced necessity (or threat) of multiculturalism, while continued discussions about Korea's globalization seemed to refer solely to the projection of Korean culture and products to the first world. Multiculturalism, as I have described it here, indicates the

---

[177] Lee, *Service Economies*.

[178] Tariq Modood's treatment of the new multicultural politics of Britain can be very instructive in this regard insofar as he points out the limitations of British and French multicultural policies in not recognizing religious identification, specifically Asian Muslims (Asian here referring mostly to Pakistanis and Afghanis), as a protected racial/ethnic group, and for relying on a notion of liberalism based in a universal humanism that privileges the Western liberal individual as the only "correct" universalism and rejects any difference, respectively. Modood's intervention into the discourse of racism and multiculturalism occurs at the level of *culture*, where bodily practices at both the individual and community level are more determinative than physical, visual, or linguistic difference, which has been one of the most instrumental tools of racism, cultural or otherwise. "These debates are more consistent with the notions of group recognition and of publicity that currently inform much multiculturalist thinking. By suggesting that if a religious denomination is not established then it effectively is a matter of private religious observance and conscience and has no place among public, political identities, multicultural disestablishmentarians are applying different standards of publicity to religion than they apply to ethnic and other identities." Modood, Tariq. *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity, and Muslims in Britain*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. 168–169.

[179] John Rex: "race is no longer necessarily associated with the boy, but with a set of practices and positive group identification." - cited in Modood.

presence of non-white, working class "migrants" in Korea, while globalization and usually refers to the advancement of ethnic Korean society into a more worldly and cosmopolitan society. This is not limited, however, to a designation between people and products. Media reports concerning "foreigners" from the professional class and educators, for example, are seen as indicators of Korea's cosmopolitan global society.[180] This division creates a false dichotomy that maintains mutually exclusive "us" and "them" categories in discussions of what are actually contingent issues.

While globalization and multiculturalism seem to naturally follow each other, the media coverage of the terms in Korea divides the mutually constitutive issues into positive and negative sides of the globalization debates, such that only one side can be viewed at a time. Hand wringing over spurious IQ gaps between children of multicultural families and "Korean" children[181] and the need for a more concentrated effort to promote Korea's brand[182] both reflect negatively on Korea's international image when it was re-classified as a developed rather than developing nation.[183] The former is an example of the alarmist media coverage that makes dubious eugenicist claims about the

---

[180] A brief survey of news coverage of the term "multiculturalism" showed this distinction. For example hankooki.com, one of the country's largest newspapers, turns up this assessment: "Actually, 'multiculturalism' isn't something that can be easily adapted to an ethnically homogenous, or homogenous culture like Korea. Nevertheless, when I see the million plus foreigners who have come here for various reasons like marriage, labor, or immigration, when I see them coexisting with us, it seems somewhat easier to digest the shock."["사실 '다문화'는 한국처럼 단일민족 혹은 단일문화에 익숙한 사회에서는 쉽게 적응할 수 있는 것이 아니다. 그럼에도 결혼과 노동, 이주 등 다양한 이유로 100 만이 넘는 외국인들이 공존하고 있는 걸 보면 비교적 그 충격을 잘 소화하고 있는 것처럼 보인다,"] in "What's needed in Korea in the Multicultural Era [다문화시대 한국에 필요한 것은]." hankooki.com Chukanhankuk Magazine, 2009/11/04

[181] "Multicultural Kids Hit a Language Wall," *JoongAng Daily*, March 05, 2010. The article concludes that delays in language development due to bilingualism in the homes of children with a foreign mother and Korean father is reflected in lower IQ scores, and can also become a social problem because the author says that children will be ostracized by their classmates for their poor academic performance.

[182] The Presidential Council on Nation Branding, initiated in early 2009 by the Lee Myung-bak administration is a telling neoliberal development in the Korean government's efforts to define national identity. This re-articulation of culture as a national "brand" is discussed in more detail in chapter 1 and 2 of this dissertation.

[183] Although the OECD does not have a specific set of criteria for determining "developed" or "developing" status, in November 2009, South Korea became the first OECD development assistance recipient country to become a donor country, a fact that was widely publicized by the Korean media. This in turn prompted skepticism about the Korean government's motives for providing aid; it was seen as a public relations move, rather than a moral act. See, for example, "Korea poised to join committee of donor nations." *JoongAng Daily*, November 24, 2009; "Development Aid Shouldn't Be Promotional." *The Korea Times*, November 29, 2009.

intellectual inferiority of children from multicultural families, and the latter is seen as a hyper-conscious attempt to consciously manipulate the international perceptions of Korea. What concerns me more, however, is the division in the discourse surrounding what are essentially the same issues: how to re-conceptualize cultural and economic diversity within Korea's population and the tactics used by different sectors of Korean society to represent this shift.

This chapter also problematizes the term "multiculturalism" (*tamunhwajuŭi*) as it has been used in the media and in scholarly writing as an imported concept that describes the neo-liberal[184] global condition in which the Korean state finds itself, on the one hand, and as a racial categorization that is one site among many newly formulated minority identities within Korean society. The alignment of *tamunhwajuŭi* with certain groups of non-ethnic Korean residents (the migrant workers/brides), expresses the social anxiety over acknowledging an immigrant rather than migrant population (although illegal foreign laborers rarely become naturalized unless they marry a Korean citizen). The politics of their representation in fictional texts gestures toward a neo-realist impulse that was thought to have been lost from Korean literature. Neo-realism here is the use of genre and technology as a necessary condition of representational engagement that recognizes the refractive mediations that constitute inclusive affective communities in contemporary South Korea.

The contradictory uses of multiculturalism as both inclusive and exclusionary reflects confusion in the association of belonging with ethnicity and class in the period of the "cultural turn" that extended from labor to social categories by drawing on studies of migration and affective ethnic identification. Several recent studies have examined Korea's transnational interactions and minority subjectivities both domestically and internationally through: sex work (Moon, Cheng), transnational adoption (Eleana Kim), diaspora (Helene Lee, Hijoo Son), and sports (Rachel Joo). These works broaden

---

[184] On neo-liberalism in South Korea, c.f. Je-sook Song, Olga Fedorenko, David Harvey.

the scope of Korean perspectives outside the hegemonic conception of ethnonational identity as diffused into a variety of minority subjectivities associated with geographic mobility, class, race, and consumption.

"Other" Koreans and the Problem of Multiple Cultures

As noted above, Chinese-born ethnic Koreans, or *chosŏnjok* Koreans constitute the largest group of undocumented and documented foreign laborers, as well as the majority of marriage migrants. They are eligible for preferential visas, but there have been more restrictions placed on their residency than Korean-Americans and Japanese-born Korean citizens. The policies pertaining to the rights and visa status of non-citizen ethnic Korean residents has changed a great deal since the early 2000s, with re-classifications in the Overseas Korean Act redefining the Korean diaspora in conjunction with economic policies designed to encourage investment from wealthier groups in the diaspora (the approx. 2 million Korean Americans), and labor (Chinese Koreans, or *chosŏnjok*). The changing legal definitions of "overseas Korean" is historically and geographically contingent on several axis points including national division and dual state formation, emigration, international adoption, and the racial and ethnic politics attendant to those issues.[185] This additional dimension of ethnic dis-identification in Korean multiculturalism has been approached with a certain unease in the literature and films discussed below, where the automatic assumption of ethnic compatriotism is contested by the emerging associations between class and economic mobility.

---

[185] For an overview of the Overseas Korean Act, see Park and Chang, "Contention in the Construction of a Global Korean Community," on belonging and international adoption, see Eleana Kim, *Adopted Territory* and Hubinette, "Korean Adoption History"; on Korean migrants to China and their descendants, see Hyun Ok Park, "Repetition, Comparability and the Indeterminate Nation," in *boundary 2.*

Korea as Moral Vortex and the Extension of the Minjung Subject

Kim Chae-yŏng's "Elephant," the eponymous story that opens her first collection of short stories depicts the grim realities of everyday life in a migrant community on the outskirts of Seoul and sheds light on the exceptions to the prosperity of post-developmental Korea.[186] The factory workers, sex workers, and "multicultural families" living in a makeshift boarding house that was once a pig shed contests the perception of migrants as an undifferentiated mass of labor through a portrayal of their everyday lives in a struggling working class Korean neighborhood like any other. Kim provides an empathetic entry point to the migrant community through 12-year old Akkas, a boy old enough to articulate his frustrations, but tempered by his innocent desires for acceptance and simple material goods.[187] On the other hand, with a *chosŏnjok* mother, Akkas is ethnically Korean, and the problem of his inclusion as a foreigner is mitigated (albeit not recognized by anyone but himself and his father) through his blood tie to the Korean population. Even as an ethnic Korean, Akkas is triply dispossessed — the son of a Nepali migrant laborer and a *chosŏnjok* woman, he cannot claim citizenship to the place of his birth (Korea), his father's homeland (Nepal), or his mother's place of birth (China). As he explains, "…I have a place of birth, but I have no homeland. Father couldn't file a marriage declaration because there wasn't a Nepalese embassy in Korea. That means I have neither a birth certificate nor a

---

[186] Although the OECD does not have a specific set of criteria for determining "developed" or "developing" status, in November 2009, South Korea became the first OECD development assistance recipient country to become a donor country, a fact that was widely publicized by the Korean media. This in turn prompted skepticism about the Korean government's motives for providing aid; it was seen as a public relations move, rather than a moral act. See, for example, "Korea poised to join committee of donor nations," in *JoongAng Daily*, November 24, 2009; "Development Aid Shouldn't Be Promotional," in *The Korea Times*, November 29, 2009.

[187] Many other works dealing with migrants have also made use of the adolescent perspective, including the two animated installments of the *If You Were Me* series (*Pyŏl pyŏl iyagi* 1-2) and Kim Ryŏ-ryŏng's *Wandŭki* (Changbi Publisher's first YA novel, published in 2008 and later made into the film *Punch!* [*Wandŭki*] in 2011, featuring as Wandŭki's flilpina mother, Jasmine Lee, the first non-ethnic Korean and naturalized citizen elected to Korea's National Assembly).

nationality."[188] He is literally undocumented, even existing only occasionally "as an auditor at school," and as such, represents a 'bare life' existing outside the political jurisdiction of the nation state that has become the only politically salient marker of individual humanity.[189] As a half-"Korean" half-Nepali child, he is also the site of several contesting/contested identities: the Chinese-born ethnic Koreans who, as cited above, comprise the largest percentage of "foreigners" in the country, racially marked non-ethnic Korean migrant laborers, and the stigmatized group of bi-racial individuals. Through Akkas, Kim reconfigures the ethnonational minjung subject of 20th century realist literature into a multicultural subject by recasting the labor problem as a human rights issue while still underpinning the (Korean) reader's identification with a Korean subject.[190]

In "Elephant," Akkas's ethnic tie to Korea has been cut off when his mother — who, he enviously remarks, "knew many complex phrases beyond the basic 'Stop hitting me,' 'Don't swear at me,' and 'Pay me.' Mother could say 'favorable consideration,' 'disregard,' 'emergency room,' 'damage compensation,' plus expressions like 'You double-crosser!'"[191] — abandons the family, and he has already been racially marked by his dark skin and placed outside the Korean population and into the "*oe*" (外 foreign, or outside) of *oegukin* (foreigner). For his community, "*oe*" does not only exclude, but

---

[188] Kim Jae Young (Kim Chae-yŏng), tr. Nicholas Yohan Duvernay and Lee Moon-ok. "Elephant." *New Writing from Korea*. 189.

[189] Agamben, Giorgio. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

[190] Theodore Hughes has discussed this turn as the "postdevelopmental condition," in which writers and critics question the totalizing narratives of both the anti-authoritarian and statist-developmentalist narratives that characterized Korean literature for much of the twentieth century. Hughes sees this condition as the basis for a new conceptualization of North Korea and posits the "North Korean" as a deterritorializing abstract "other" that enables the rearticulation of the *minjung* subject of the 1980s outside the peninsular borders and outwards into a transnational working-class culture. Hughes, Theodore. "'North Korean' and Other Virtual Subjects: Kim Yeong-ha, Hwang Seok-yeong, and National Division in the Age of Posthumanism," *The Review of Korean Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 2008): 99–117.

[191] Kim Jae Young, 185.

actively consumes foreigners, as he learns from the Myanmarese *ajassis* (mister, or unrelated 'uncle') at the boarding house, who teach him the Burmese cognate *ò* ([well], 'whirlpool') for "*oe*". Here, "foreign workers in Korea have all fallen into the '*oe*,'"[192] or the vortex of the outsider.

Many of these migrants have lost their productive capacity due to illness or as the result of industrial accidents. They have resigned themselves to semi-permanent undocumented status, either because their transgressions against their "native" cultures prohibit a conscientious return home, as in the case of the Muslim worker whose consumption of pork and alcohol make him feel too guilty to return home; or more commonly, because they simply lack the economic means to leave. In this Korea, the land is literally fertilized by the sacrificed body parts of foreign laborers who have lost appendages in industrial accidents that Akkas buries under a persimmon tree in the courtyard of the boarding house.[193] While this group forms a community, however, its individual members prey upon each other through theft and mutual suspicion as much as they are consumed by the host society.

That is not to say that ethnic Koreans are immune to commodification in the story either. The Korean owner of the local supermarket sells her hand in marriage to a foreign worker for a monthly fee, thereby commodifying her political legitimacy and also inverting the more common economic transaction of marriage between Korean men and migrant brides. The supermarket is also the site of the commodification of what might otherwise be thought to be intangible values, showing that

---

[192] Kim Chae-yŏng. *Kokkiri*. Sŏul: Silch'ŏn Munhaksa, 2005, 12.

[193] Workers' missing appendages became a powerful image used in literature, art, and music during the labor movements leading up to democratization in the late 1980s, most notably in Pak Nohae's poem "Grave of the Hand" (1980). The imagery has since been revived by migrant labor activists, and the title of Pak's poem was used as the inspiration for a song of the same name in 2005 by a protest rock group composed of workers in Korea from Indonesia, Nepal, Myanmar, and Korea called Stop Crackdown.

culture is also nothing more than an amalgamation of consumable objects: phone cards symbolizing a temporally monetized tie to one's homeland and family, and foreign cigarettes and foods, the portable and consumable remnants of culture. Arrayed alongside a variety of merchandise, connections to "home" are sold in small portions (temporal increments, bags of spices) that regulate the migrants' relations to their homes by dividing them into discrete portions.

Akkas's othering is contrasted to Kun, a young Nepali man who comes to the narrator's father for help after escaping from an industrial trainee program. Light-skinned Kun dyes his hair blonde to be able to pass as an American or European foreigner, pointing out that Koreans do not have an aversion to foreigners in general:

> Now Koon wears Levi's and a Nike jacket. They're counterfeits he picked up cheap at the Dongdaemun Market, but they look like they could be the real thing…. A while back, after he'd been to Myeong-dong, one of the most fashionable streets in Seoul, he pursed his lips and said, "So you think that Koreans are all one ethnic group [*danilminjok*], so they don't like foreigners? You say that's why they're unkind to migrant workers? What a bunch of rubbish. You haven't seen the way they act in front of Americans. They're practically falling all over themselves to be kind. You could look like an American, too, if you face were a little whiter…[194]

The history of anti-Americanism in Korea notwithstanding, Kun receives better treatment as an American than he would as a migrant laborer until he loses his fingers in an industrial accident. At this point, his body is marked as a laboring body, and no amount of conspicuous consumption (of name-brand clothing, dying his hair, etc.) can cover the missing digits that brand him as an industrial-sector foreign worker. Kun's ability to "pass" as white through his choice of clothing, hair color, and style, and the assumption that whiteness can be performed through strategic consumption is reversed here

[194] Kim Jae Young, 189.

when the site of his racial identification is returned to his body in his lost fingers. As an incomplete foreign body, Kun's racial identification is now confined to his class and he is permanently marked as "migrant," or temporary and unwanted.

This education in multicultural (il-) logic through Kun and the "multicultural" community in Ansan imbricates class and race in a manner that extends racial hierarchy to consumer objects and styles: after his encounter with Kun, Akkas also tries to whiten his face with bleach, commenting that he "wasn't trying to become as white as an American – I only wanted to be as white as, or as yellow as, a Korean".[195] This invocation of physiological identifications of racial color, however, speaks to the influence of American racial and multicultural discourse in Korea. "Koreanness" on the other hand, is marked in the story by practices of consumption: Akkas's father admonishes him to eat his morning roti with his hands, for example, rather than chopsticks, and his landscape is a catalogue of brand names, storefronts, and products: Victoria Hotel Nightclub, Jinseong Painting, Hwajin Sponges, Borneo, Livart, Daejin Beds, Special Sale on Imported Furniture, Mirae Supermarket, Qoo soft drinks, Nuk baby lotion. The signs and labels of his Korean life are contrasted throughout the story to the idyllic images of Nepal his father hangs on their wall:

> Golden sunlight strikes the calendar photo of the Himalayas on the opposite wall and dances about. The clear and bright sunshine, the green teak forest, snow-capped Annapurna, calmly rippling Pewa Lake, the children sucking sugar cane, laughing… Every single year my father buys that same calendar. Can he really believe that those pictures will bring me happiness as they do for him? The afternoon sun glinting on snowy Himalayas reminds me of a molar crowned with gold. Or a vanilla ice cream cone about to melt in the heat.[196]

---

[195] *Ibid.*

[196] *Ibid.*, 183–184.

But for Korean-born Akkas, these images have no personal referents outside his own knowledge of a gold-capped tooth or an ice cream cone. For him, the scenes from Nepal have as much (or much less) affective resonance as the facades of the factories and stores he passes where the adult migrant laborers in his neighborhood toil unseen in back rooms.

The variegated categories of foreignness indicated by Kun's experience of passing as a "desirable" foreigner are compounded in the story when Akkas is invited by a classmate's mother to their home who insists on inviting the "foreign" student over to practice speaking English. "'Hello, nice to *mitsu*.' I couldn't take my eyes off that strange looking face of hers, a combination of a mouth smiling so broadly that her gums showed and cold, beady eyes. I hesitated for a moment before greeting her in Korean. She frowned. 'Don't you speak good English? I thought you could when I heard you're a foreign kid (*oeguk ai*).' She instructed me to speak only English or I wouldn't get any spicy rice cakes and spaghetti."[197] The mother's angry surprise when she realizes Akkas is not the "right" kind of foreigner emphasizes the rapidly codifying distinction between *oegukin* (foreigner) and *oegukin*/*yiju nodongja* (migrant worker). While both can be used to refer to the foreign workers that populate the industrial sector, the association with movement motivated by economic interest (migrants) has conflated associations of race and economic status.

---

[197] *Ibid.,* 207.

"Elephant" and Minjung Subjectivity

Kim's text was critically well received as "issue-based" literature and was targeted for early translation by the KLTI for its first published collection of stories, *New Writing from Korea*, but it has not been particularly popular with Korean readers outside of pedagogical use.[198] It has, however, been read as the prescriptive basis for an approach to Korea's multicultural problem:

> The sympathetic attitude towards migrant laborers has as its goal to either educate or assimilate them, while at the same time fixing them as a separate group. In that respect, Kim Chae-yŏng's "Elephant," which makes us rethink the humanity of so-called "migrants" is enough to grab our attention. It is influenced by social consciousness and a critique of the social system rather than by collective subjectivity, and it deals with the interior transformation of a migrant from the perspective of an individual confronting that social system. As such, it has the possibility to convert the external research on migration to internal research focusing on the humanity of the individual migrant laborer. Therefore, this author proposes that we approach migrant discourse from a humanistic perspective through "Elephant" and that we should find a plan for, and solution to, the issues arising from migration.[199]

Song Hyŏn-ho's reading of the story here calls for a "humanistic approach" to migrant discourse that moves beyond education and assimilation of migrant laborers even as it maintains the ambiguous distinction of "migrant" and "migrant laborer" to refer to the characters in "Elephant." Recall that the narrator of the story is not, in fact, a migrant as he was born in Korea, nor is the young boy a laborer. Putting this oversight aside, the appeal to a humanistic approach to migrant discourse marks a shift in the perception of literary realism from its earlier nationalist iterations in Korean literary history and supports the formal literary intervention of expanding *minjung* subjectivity to a human rights subject

---

[198] *New Writing from Korea*.

[199] Song, Hyŏn-Ho. "<Kokkiri>e nat'anan iju tamronŭi inmulhakchŏk yŏngu,"A Humanistic Approach of Migrant Discourse on 'Elephant'"." *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏngu* 42, no. 0 (2009): 229–252.

through the mimesis of narrative fiction. Hyun's praise of the "critique of the social system" as opposed to a "collective subject" in "Elephant" suggests that the unified concept of ethnic Korean identity associated with *minjung* heads towards a de-ethnicized human subject located within the sphere of universal human rights, an approach that is characteristic of the leftist activism associated with migrant labor rights in the early 2000s. In this sense, writing the sympathetic foreign laborer is also a reflection of Korea's participation in global modernity as defined by the treatment of a newly visible immigrant population within its borders that necessitated a redefinition of the "foreigner" and a rethinking of the geographic and ethnic boundaries of Korean culture. This concern with human rights, in turn, became part of the national globalization project as a reflection of South Korea's cosmopolitan ethic.

Although literary critics in the early 2000s were concerned with a perceived shift away from the tradition of realism in contemporary Korean literature towards a "post-historical and post-realist imagining of de-nationality,"[200] Kim presents a reconfiguration of the political in Korean literature that imagines the privileged ethnonational subject of suffering as a hybrid racialized other. This new subject is also victimized, but he reflects the literally changing face of a society that was built upon the narrative of ethnonational homogeneity in the post-war period. Through the collection of migrants in Akkas's neighborhood — Marina, the Russian prostitute, the *ajussis* from Myanmar, Vijay, an Indian man who has come to work in Korea to earn money for his sickly son's operation, Ali, the Pakistani boy who steals Vijay's life savings, and many more — Kim depicts these dispossessed migrants in

---

[200] Lee Kwang Ho. "Cultural Hybridity in Contemporary Korean Literature." *Korea Journal*, Spring 2007.

contemporary South Korea as an exceptionally diverse community that she links to other social "minorities" in the following stories that include both ethnic Koreans and resident foreigners alike. Kim's collection of short stories that reflects various levels of social exclusion in *Elephant* recalls the linked short story (*yŏnjak sosŏl*) form of Cho Se-hui's *The Dwarf* (Nanjangi ka ssaollin chakŭnkong, 1978) and Yi Mun-gu's *Our Neighborhood* (Uri tongne) and *Kwanch'on Essays* (Kwanch'ŏn sup'il, 1972–1976), for example, thereby inserting the multi-ethnic subjects of "Elephant" into the canonical narrative of repression and victimization that had become one of the dominant paradigms of Korean literature and art over the course of the twentieth century. Much like the films discussed later in this chapter, the incorporation of *tamunhwajuŭi* through the sympathetic foreigner into a larger collection of social issues-as-human rights — class, ageism, disability, gender, and educational pressure, for example — places the issue at the forefront of the perceived social agenda while simultaneously maintaining the discriminated groups as discrete categories of difference through individually focused narratives.

Labor and Ethnonational Identity in Literature

Representations of the 'working class' in Korean literature in the twenty-first century has moved away from the ethnicized Korean body toiling in rural space or in industrial zones for the sake of the nation that solidified in the 1970s and 1980s to a spectrum of "Korean" subjectivity that can be racially, but not necessarily culturally (or linguistically) inclusive. This is especially significant in the history of modern Korean literature and art, for which labor and labor activism played important roles in defining a national subjectivity. Beginning with the introduction of industrialized labor under Japanese colonial

rule, and arguably extending even further back to the peasant uprisings of the late nineteenth century that have been considered a nascent nationalist, anti-imperialist movement,[201] the privileged subject of Korean literature has been an oppressed (post-) colonial subject struggling for autonomy. The Korean Artists Proletarian Federation (KAPF) formed in 1925, for example, espoused an anti-imperialist class liberation, but tied this to a distinctly Korean body that was situated in opposition to the new imperial model of the Japanese as well as what was depicted as the corrupt pre-modern feudalism of the Chinese world system. Much of the modern literary canon spanning the twentieth century depicts a history of struggle to overcome Japanese imperial aggression, civil war, national division, authoritarian rule, and American military and commercial neo-imperialism in the Cold War context. Following democratization in the late 1980s, however, the character of the arts took a decidedly inward turn, away from realism to the psychological turmoil of life in post-developmental civil society and a more figurative approach to the historical trauma of the 20th century. Arts and literature in this first period of civil society explored new and more varied Korean subjectivities that had been subsumed under the rubric of the *minjung* who were conceived as the proper subject of the nation (*minjok*) and national literature (*minjok munhak*).[202]

The move away from the *minjung* subject in the 1990s and 2000s should not be seen as a radical break from a concern with ethnonational subjectivity, however, but rather an attempt to diffuse the collective subject that had been so important to the political movements of the

---

[201] Lee, Namhee. *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

[202] Paik, Nak-chung. "The Idea of a Korean National Literature Then and Now." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 1, 3, 553–580.

democratization period. The individuation of subjectivity in 1990s literature, particularly in literature written by women such as Shin Kyung-sook and Ch'oe Yun, explores the psychological aftermath of collective action while sustaining a wary, or even critical position towards the effects of contemporary consumer neoliberal culture on the individual psyche.[203] In the early 2000s, the loss of social resonance was conceived as a "crisis of literature," citing the artistic movement towards play, technology, and abstraction in this period. The initial concern over the lack of seriousness of "new literature" in the early 2000s, however, was followed by a resurgence in mass demonstrations, both political and social: the 2003 World Cup, candlelight vigils for the two middle school-aged girls killed by American GIs, and protests against the KORUS Free Trade Agreement were moments in a renewal of mass demonstrations organized through new and conventional media channels.

Writing in the Age of Multiculturalism

Kim Seong-kon (KLTI president) has since suggested a model for literature in the multicultural age (*tamunhwa sidae*) that follows a world systems theory of Korea's multiculturalism in the vein of Pascale Casanova's *World Republic of Letters*.[204] He describes the multicultural age as an inevitable situation in which Korean literature and society finds itself, thanks to the interest from the West, and particularly the US, in minority literatures (what he describes as "literature of the oppressed" or "literature of those they have oppressed"), suggesting that the fascination with minority literatures is a fetishization of

---

[203] C.f. Armstrong, Charles, ed. *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy and the State*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

[204] C.f. Wallerstein, Immanuel. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

difference that was previously ignored or actively repressed. He argues that the "Western" predilection for minority, or multicultural literature effects international readership and the global canon (*segye chuchŏn*), and Korean literature has no choice but to respond and follow along, lest it become a forgotten or isolated literature. The literature of this period should reflect the incorporation of new subjectivities and interactive engagement. Kim's prescriptive approach to cultural production is indicative of the changing relationship between civil society, the state, cultural institutions, and the autonomy of artistic production in Chapter 3 as they grapple with the ineluctable fragmentation of national subjectivity.

Collective Exceptionalism in the If You Were Me Film Series

The unequal treatment of foreigners based on class and race depicted in "Elephant" seriously questioned the rhetoric both heralding and bemoaning multiculturalism in Korea. As the majority of the foreign population in Korea shifted from the small number of predominantly white language instructors and professionals (discounting the US military, which accounted for 12% of the foreign population in Korea in August 2007) to migrant laborers and marriage migrants, institutionally sanctioned cultural production was tasked with codifying the shift in the country's developmental trajectory towards (multi-) cultural liberalism. The discourse of human rights and cultural sensitivity came to dominate any discussion of the migrant labor issue in the government and among cultural critics. And while there are certainly human rights issues to be discussed in the treatment of foreign workers, concerns began to arise that the discourse, rather than the actual people, had become the focus of the debate, where the physical reality of the migrant labor's body in Korea became reified in

the work of cultural production.[205] As Han Geon Soo writes in his critique of the early 2000s discourse on multiculturalism in Korea, "…the current multicultural phenomena and discussion happening in Korea take very little note of the issues of hegemony and hierarchy of intercultural exchanges, as well as the practices and reproduction of cultural agencies."[206]

Han refers to the discrepancy between cultural commentary on multiculturalism including efforts by both the government and by activist groups to promote programs and events 'celebrating' diversity, and the reality of migrant residents, whose experiences and culture, they argued, were not being accurately reflected in the static ethnographic images of participating foreign cultures highlighted in these events. Rather, what critics hoped for was recognition of hybrid interactions that are necessarily shaped by their interaction with daily life and mediated life.[207] As these communities grew and continued to diversify, a need developed to recognize these people as contributing members of Korean society, whether vilified or begrudgingly acknowledged for their work. This was complicated, however, by the concurrent extra-territorial and transnational navigations of Korean identity. The integration of migrant experiences of life within Korea adds multiple layers to articulations of local culture and identity that are explored in the *If You Were Me* omnibus film series. This series, begun in 2003, and with roughly biennial productions to 2013,[208] underscores the

---

[205] See Han, 2007: "…the current multicultural phenomena and discussion happening in Korea take very little note of the issues of hegemony and hierarchy of intercultural exchanges, as well as the practices and reproduction of cultural agencies."

[206] Han, 44.

[207] c.f. the recent NYT article about Jasmine Lee's experiences in Korea. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/30/world/asia/demographic-shifts-redefine-society-in-south-korea.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0

[208] The first *If You Were Me* (yŏsŏt kae-ŭi sisŏn) premiered in November 2003, followed by: *If You Were Me: Animavision* (pyŏlpyŏl iyaki) in September 2005; *If You Were Me 2* (tasŏt kaeŭi sisŏn) in January 2006; *If You were Me 3* (saepŏn jjae sisŏn) in November 2006; *If You Were Me, Animavision 2: Six Colors of the Rainbow* (pyŏlpyŏl iyaki 2: yŏsŏt pich'kkal mujikae) in April 2008; *If You Were Me 4* (sisŏn 1318) in June, 2009; *If You Were Me 5* (sisŏn nŏmŏ) in April 2011; and the most recent, *If*

evolving, yet curiously stagnant attempts to call attention to social issues including migrant labor and provide prismatic snapshots of the development of human rights discourse in post-developmental Korea for consumption by international and domestic audiences. In contrast to the literary texts discussed above, however, the political and social critique in these films are more directly engaged with cultural commodification, government interventions in social and artistic production, and aim for a direct dialogue with an international audience through screenings and submissions to local and international film festivals, which may help to explain the need for repeated iterations of the same themes as the series and related cultural programs expanded.[209] Moreover, the paratexts of film production entail a different space for cultural critique than the one historically occupied by literature. The discourse created by these cultural products in comparison to the neo-realist literary texts discussed in this chapter in terms of their form, reception, and dissemination is necessarily integrated and productive. At the same time, it is important to note, however, that most of the films dealing with the issue of multiculturalism and migrant labor in Korea have been made by Koreans themselves. By contrast, films produced for the Migrant Worker Film Festival (started in 2006, and continued under the changed name Migrant World Film Festival since 2011) may be the only exception, and most of these have not seen commercial release.[210]

You Were Me 6 (ŏttŏn sisŏn) in October 2013. See appendix for list of films, subjects, and directors. It is interesting to note that the second and third films were released in the same year (2006) cited by scholars as the year *damunhwa* discourse became a major issue for the government and civil society.

[209] For more on cinephilia and the explosion of film festivals in South Korea as a new public sphere of collective identity articulation and difference, see Soyoung Kim, "'Cine-mania' or Cinephilia: Film Festivals and the Identity Question," in *New Korean Cinema* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 79–93.

[210] The Migrant Worker Film Festival is one of the few venues where the migrant workers in Korea have been able to showcase their own work. The other main channel being Migrant Worker TV, an online news program that broadcasts local and international news in up to 15 different languages since its inception in 2005. The problem of self-representation for the non-ethnic Koreans may have been assuaged to some extent by the election to parliament in 2012 of Jasmine Lee, the first naturalized, non-ethnic Korean MP, but culturally, self-representation is extremely limited. This is even more true due to restrictions on uploading content to internet sites in Korea due to the real-name system, which until 2013 required a government-issued identification number in order to access social media sites. On the Migrant World Film Festival and its main sponsor, Migrant World TV (née Migrant Worker TV), see Robert Prey, "Different Takes: Migrant World Television and Multiculturalism in South Korea," *Global Media Journal — Canadian Edition*, v. 4, no. 1, 109–125. For a discussion of

The National Human Rights Commission of (South) Korea enlisted six of the most celebrated contemporary Korean directors to create an omnibus film comprising six short films, each covering a different human rights issue in South Korea of the director's choosing.[211] Each of the live action installments of the series (and the two animated versions) includes at least one short film about migrant workers in Korea.[212] These films all premiered at film festivals within Korea (the Jeonju International Film Festival for the first four volumes, and the Seoul Independent Film Festival for the 2010-11 installment), but also had domestic commercial releases.[213] The production and distribution of these films brings up a host of complex issues, not the least of which are the involvement of a government organization in funding and commissioning the series, the promotion of the films on the international film festival circuit, and the form of the omnibus film, which in its collective aspect, can

---

[211] The directors were given the broad task of making a short about a human rights issue of their choice within South Korea. Following the critical success of the first installment, *If You Were Me* (Yeoseot gae ui siseon) two more live action versions appeared in 2005 and 2006, as well as two animated collections, released as *If You Were Me: Anima Vision* 1 & 2 (Byeol-byeol yi-ya-gi), in 2005 and 2008, respectively. The penultimate edition of the live action version was premiered as the closing film of the Jeonju International Film Festival in 2010. While the films are conceived as omnibus films, or as several short works comprising one whole film, I have chosen to focus closely only on two segments from the first and third installment of the series. The problems inherent to the omnibus film as a form, especially in the context of social issues, has been discussed specifically in relation to the *If You Were Me* series as having the adverse effect of trivializing their subject matter by assuming equivalence under the rubric of "human rights" by David Diffrient in the article, "If You Were Me: Human rights discourses and transnational crossings in South Korean omnibus films*," in* Transnational Cinemas 3: 107–128. Of the omnibus film, he writes that, "…owing to its heterogeneous array of thematic material and to its fragmented form, [it] is well suited to address some of the social ills still plaguing various parts of the world, while structurally highlighting the economic chasms or material obstacles that continue to separate people despite their best efforts to generate consensus across national borders" (108).

[212] Park Chan-wook's "Never Ending Peace And Love (N.E.P.A.L.)" (Mitgona, malgona, chandura ui kyongu, 2003); Kim Dong-won's "Jongno, Winter" (Sanjangnim nappayo, 01/2006); Jeong Yun-cheol's "Muhammad the Hermit King" (Chamsu wang, 11/2006); Kim Tae-young's "Girl on the Run" (Tallinun Ch'aŭn, 2009); Boo Ji-young's "Nima" (Nima, 2010), and Yoon Sung-hyun's "Banana Shake" (Banana swuiku, 2010) in *If You Were Me* volumes 1-5, respectively.

[213] *If You Were Me* (Yosot gae ui sison) was released November 14, 2003 on 17 screens in Seoul, with 17,389 admissions; *If You Were Me 2* (Tasot gae ui sison) was released January 13, 2006 on four screens nationwide, with 12,621 admissions (9,987 in Seoul); and *If You Were Me 3* (Sebon tchae ui sison) was released November 23, 2006 on four screens nationwide, with 3,811 admissions (2,428 in Seoul). Information cited from KOFIC box office information system and distributor estimates on Koreanfilm.org <http://www.koreanfilm.org>

be seen as either conflating or trivializing some issues through the relational presentation of the short story collection and omnibus film. Through an analysis of a selection of the short films that deal with the issue of migrant workers's rights in the series — Park Chan-wook's contribution to the first installment, "Never Ending Peace and Love (N.EP.A.L.)" ("Mitgŏna malgŏna, ch'andŭra ŭi kyŏngu") Chung Yoon-chul's "Muhammad, the Diving King" ("Chamsu wang, Muhamet") from the third installment, and "Nima" and "Banana Shake" from the 2010 film — we can question the involvement of the National Human Rights Commission in mediating critical discourse on multiculturalism and minority representation in these films. What does the production of this series and its presentation at international film festivals contribute to South Korean discourses on human rights, and what does this self-critiquing gesture tell us about the way Korean cultural producers view their own (post) modernity?

Human Rights Films as Translingual Practice

The National Human Rights Commission of Korea (*Kukka inkwŏn wiwŏnhoe*) was founded in 2001 by the Kim Dae-jung administration as a commitment to, "…the fulfillment of human rights in a broader sense, including dignity, value and freedom of every human being, as signified in international human rights conventions and treaties to which Korea is a signatory."[214] In this excerpt from the Commission's mission statement, human rights are defined in terms of a textual contract with an international community that has had to agree upon its parameters. The potential for a problematic reading of this definition gestures towards the arbitrary nature of human rights as "signified" in

[214] National Human Rights Commission of Korea — Introduction. 2007. National Human Rights Commission of Korea. Retrieved May 15, 2008. <http://www.humanrights.go.kr/english/about_nhrck/introduction_01.jsp>

"conventions and treaties," perhaps unwittingly dispensing with any ideal notions of self-evident human rights. The Commission was founded in the same year as the Ministry of Gender Equality, and was "set up by the Government to investigate the arrests and deaths of prodemocracy activists under previous military-backed governments…."[215] As the Kim Dae-jung administration made efforts to address lingering rights violations, the perceived need for separate agencies dealing with human rights, gender, and historical reconciliation suggests a prioritization of issues based on economic and political expediency. This is born out in the *If You Were Me* series, all of which include at least one piece dealing with discrimination against women, and the pressure placed on children, whereas the unfair treatment of non-ethnic Korean "foreigners" has been alternately included and excluded, especially in the more recent installments.[216]

Despite the pro forma commercial releases, the National Human Rights Commission of Korea's commitment to the If You Were Me series has most likely been sustained on critical praise received from showings at international film festivals including the two major festivals in Korea (the Jeonju International Film Festival and the Pusan International Film Festival).[217] The films have been screened at festivals in New York, San Francisco, London, Washington DC, Singapore, and Melbourne, indicating the importance of international reception in shaping the discourse on human rights in Korean society presented by these directors, particularly in the case of the initial group of six, who were chosen for their commercial success and visibility in the international film community. The importance of film festivals to the reception of these films should not be underestimated as they are not particularly

---

[215] *Ibid.*

[216] This discussion of the *If You Were Me* film series does not extend to the larger mission of the National Human Rights Commission.

[217] *If You Were Me* (Yosot gae ui sison) was released November 14, 2003 on 17 screens in Seoul, with 17,389 admissions; *If You Were Me 2* (Tasot gae ui sison) was released January 13, 2006 on four screens nationwide, with 12,621 admissions (9,987 in Seoul); and *If You Were Me 3* (Sebon tchae ui sison) was released November 23, 2006 on four screens nationwide, with 3,811 admissions (2,428 in Seoul). Information cited from KOFIC box office information system and distributor estimates on Koreanfilm.org <http://www.koreanfilm.org>

commercial films, and serve a didactic and nationalist purpose connected to the liberal humanist mandate of local broadcasting, distinct from the purely commercial media of the US Culture industry.[218] Julian Stringer theorizes international film festivals as heterotopic spaces where "the routines and rhythms of 'normal' film consumption is [sic] reversed or intensified," a space where iterations of national identity simultaneously insist on cultural specificity and a broader universality of the narrative and language of medium of film.[219] In this space, "the emphasis, in a climate of festivity, is not solely on edification but also on the experience of the new and unexpected itself."[220] Stringer points up the exceptional space of the film festival, and the impulse to perform particularly national identities within this space.

By recruiting commercially and artistically successful directors for the inaugural film, the Commission sought to ensure its entry into multiple spaces of film consumption, while the later productions have acted as showcases for emerging young directors. However, it seems clear that the If You Were Me series is a noteworthy cooperation between the state and cultural producers to guide the discussion of human rights issues in the cultural sphere. Without overriding the directors' individual contributions, the emphasis on the form of the omnibus film works to level the severity of the issues treated in the individual short films and speaks to a collusive narrative and commercial response to internationally mediated human rights issues that have been marked as markers of cultural capital for a presumably developed society. The notably consistent objects of discriminatory treatment as human rights abuses from 2003 to 2013, however, suggests that while the level of interaction and awareness of the issues developed, they were not being adequately dealt with by the

---

[218] C.f. Kim, "'Cinemania' or Cinephelia"

[219] Stringer, Julian. *Regarding Film Festivals.* Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, United States – Indiana. Retrieved May 15, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT 3122742).

[220] Nichols, Bill. "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit," *Film Quarterly,* Vol. 47, No. 3, (Spring, 1994). 17.

mainstream media as quickly as the government and civil society organizations like the National Human Rights Commission would like. Over the course of a decade, the most noticeable change in the subject matter of the films was an increasing focus on discrimination faced by formerly "protected" groups within Korean society: the young, the old, and students, indicating a reevaluation of the initial critical impulse towards promoting a multicultural "society without color" in favor of a return to more assimilative approach that privileges "local" ethnic Korean identities.

The live action omnibus films in the *If You Were Me* series address discrimination towards women as objects of sexual abuse and chauvinism, mentally and physically disabled Koreans, sex offenders, teenagers, migrant workers of Korean and non-Korean ethnic backgrounds, and the elderly. Taken as single texts (as intended by the omnibus film form), they present a complex picture of Korean society that is at once futuristic and traditional, but the collection of these highly stylized films by a disparate group of internationally recognized film auteurs into a putatively cohesive, yet disconnected collection of short films colors their political value and ultimately appears to be an aesthetic exercise. A comparative view of the subjects and directors of the nine *If You Were Me* films shows a proliferation of minority subjectivities in the first three films and the two animated versions geared towards grade-school age children that eventually moves toward a closer focus on issues facing young ethnic Koreans dealing with the pressures of economic hardship, academic competition, and confusing interactions with the elderly and disabled.

Sympathy for Ms. Migrant: the Chandra Story

In Park Chan-wook's "Never Ending Peace and Love (N.E.P.A.L.)" ("Mitgŏna malgŏna, chandŭra ŭi kyŏngu") from the inaugural 2003 installment *If You Were Me* (Yŏsŏt kae ŭi sisŏn), the director recounts the astonishing true story of a Nepalese factory worker who loses her way in Ansan after leaving the factory grounds where she lived and worked. After she was picked up by police for not

being able to pay at a restaurant after losing her wallet, she was incorrectly identified as a Korean woman due to her incoherent mumbling in Nepali mixed with the few Korean words she had learned while working in a local factory, and was subsequently institutionalized as a mental patient for six years. Chandra Kumari Gurung returned to Nepal in 2000, but her story briefly galvanized a movement for greater awareness and treatment of the growing population of foreign workers in Korea. The film takes a faux-documentary approach shot alternately from Chandra's perspective and the perspective of a documentary filmmaker as interviewer, juxtaposing Chandra's experience with Korean authorities,

Fig. 3.1 Disapproving restaurant owner and police officer look down on Chandra

Fig. 3.2 Chandra unable to meet frustrated psychiatrist's gaze

doctors, and bureaucrats, and the Koreans' post-facto confessionals. The cinematography of the majority of the film uses blue-tinted black and white perspective shots that lend the film the sensationalist air of a television news magazine reenactment that is compounded by satirized interviews by the documentarian with Korean police officers, doctors, and the various administrators who dealt with Chandra's case (figs. 3.1 and 3.2).

The directorial gaze for this portion of the film seems most closely aligned with the Korean-speaking Nepali and Pakistani workers that were found to try to communicate with Chandra, who comment on the gross assumptions made by Korean people about the foreigners living amongst them. In an interview about the making of the film, Park remarked that: "this is a tragic story, but I tried to show a sort of humorous depiction of it… to see it too much as… or, please don't think that it's such a sad tale of human rights abuses and migrant laborers. Get rid of those preconceptions and try

to enjoy it as one person's interesting story…."[221] Park deals with the difficulty of treating the tragic story as a humorous, interesting tale through his idiosyncratic visual style that manages to impart a characteristically lurid blue tinge to the black and white portion of the film that resists a full emotional connection to the scenes even when shown from Chandra's fictional perspective.[222] The exaggerated gestures and speech of the characters infantilizes both speaker and addressee, but it is in the interviews with Korean-speaking South Asians that Park seems most able to express his ambivalence about Chandra's treatment. After a disastrous meeting with a Korean-speaking Pakistani man who is unable to communicate with Chandra in Nepali, but is brought in because, as he says, "Koreans think we are all the same," the hospital is able to find a Nepali compatriot to speak to Chandra and try to

Fig. 3.3 Nepali man greets Chandra in Korean (language and gesture)

rectify the situation (fig. 3.3).

---

[221] Interview with Park Chan-wook, director. "Never Ending Peace and Love (N.E.P.A.L.)" (Midgona, malgona, chandura ui kyongu) in *If You Were Me* (Yeoseot gae ui siseon). DVD. Dir. Park Chan-wook. National Human Rights Commission of Korea (Kukka inkwon wiwonhoe), 2003.

[222] Park's 2006 film *I'm a Cyborg, But That's Okay,* set in a psychiatric hospital, echoes several of the scenes from N.E.P.A.L., including the bluish chromatics and the juxtaposition of perspective shots of close encounters with mental patients and wide-frame shots of groups of bystanders in the ward dumbly observing as the protagonist is moved about by hospital orderlies.

When she is brought into the room, he bows and greets her in Korean, causing her to back away in fear and mistrust, objecting that he is not really Nepali, he is Korean, and that she is afraid and wants to return to her room. By this time, seven years into her institutionalization, Chandra speaks more Korean, but her speech is still mixed with fearful ramblings in Nepali. In interview, the man remarks, "In hindsight, I myself don't know why I greeted her in Korean," as he shakes his head apologetically and shrugs, suggesting, perhaps, that Chandra looked Korean enough that even he, a fellow compatriot, would automatically respond to her in Korean.

Variety described this film as "an ironic semi-docu [sic] about a Nepalese woman facing Korean xenophobia,"[223] and I would argue that what Park shows Chandra facing is not strictly xenophobia, but an almost willful ignorance of the presence of foreigners that rapidly transformed into an obsession with their manageable assimilation through *tamunhwa* discourse. Park's attitude towards his Korean subjects expresses as much, if not more, fear about the ignorance of his compatriots than it does the threat of foreign encroachment in society. While the director's comments may seem a bit callous initially, when taken with a rather large grain of salt and considered within the ultimate framing narrative of the film — a full color documentary depiction of a celebration in Chandra's village in Nepal to which she was able to return in 2000 — we can take this as a cautiously celebratory piece that restores Chandra to her "rightful" place in Nepal[224] that self-reflectively comments on one of the human rights abuses that prompted both the film and the institution that supported it.

Park makes this self-referential gesture at the end of the film as the camera pulls back from ethnographic close-up shots of the Nepalese villagers dancing in traditional dress and panning shots

---

[223] Elley, Derek. "Review: *If You Were Me* (Yeoseosgaeeui shiseon (South Korea))." *Variety.* 1 Dec. 2003. Retrieved 15 May 2008.

[224] This question of authenticity of place is itself a question here. The resolution of the short film denies the possibility of her return and emphasizes the restoration of the mobility of the migrant to her "home."

Fig. 3.4 Chandra and Korean sound crew in her village in Nepal as she approaches the camera

of the Himalayas to show Chandra walking towards the camera (fig. 3.4), flanked by a sound man and boom operator. In this scene, Chandra walks directly up to the camera and speaks into it for the first time, in Nepali. She is unable to sustain the gaze of the camera for very long, and looks away several

Fig. 3.5 Chandra close-up

times as she speaks softly and indistinctly in her native language, with no subtitles to make sense of her speech (fig. 3.5).

This final shot leaves the viewer with Chandra's smiling face, pleased about her return home, but also with a vague sense that perhaps she was not understood by the Korean authorities because of her peculiar manner of speech, contrasted in both the opening and the final scene to other women from her village who are asked, "Are you Chandra?" The selection of Nepali women of extremely diverse appearances also works to support the claims of Korean interviewees in the film who expressed confusion as to how to identify a Nepali person. In these comparative visions, the case of mistaken identity is presented in the initial sequence as a regrettable, but understandable mistake that the identical full-color documentary-style (rather than faux-documentary) interviews neither confirm nor

Fig. 3.6 Composite of opening sequence: interviewer asks women from Nepali village, "Are you Chandra?"

Fig. 3.7 Composite of penultimate sequence: interviewer asks same women in Nepali village, "Are you Chandra?" (Chandra at bottom right).

deny (fig. 3.6, 3.7). All of the women respond in Nepali to the question, asked in Korean by the interviewer, except for Chandra, the final interviewee (bottom right) who responds, "Nae" (Yes, in Korean). But the question hangs over the production: who can tell?

The fictionalization of Chandra's story perhaps inadvertently set the precedent for the other fictional and reality-based narratives of migrant workers in the *If You Were Me* series that use similar narrative conventions in the attempt to represent the migrant experience, especially in the critical use of framing devices that break through the fourth wall to enter other forms of media, which we see in the other short films dealing with migrant labor in the series, used to notable effect in "Muhammad, the Hermit King" (dir. Chung Yoon-chul) from *If You Were Me 3*, and "Nima," from *If You Were Me 5*.

Coming Up for Air: Escapism and Liminal Lives in "Muhammad, the Hermit King"

The treatment of the multicultural "problem" in the third film features an undocumented laborer from Thailand who works at a mid-size chemical factory under the constant threat of deportation in immigration raids ("crackdowns") in "Muhammad, the Hermit King" (Chamsu wang, muhamatŭ, lit. "Diving king, Muhammad"). Unlike Chandra, who was physically separated from Korean society even before she ventured off the factory grounds, Muhammad lives in an ordinary Korean neighborhood, signaling the changes and developments in the economic policies and bilateral agreements concerning foreign workers. The partial integration of these foreign bodies into everyday Korean life in 2005, versus 1994 when Chandra was first institutionalized, shows a much different relationship between migrant workers and the Korean communities in which they reside. The film also highlights the increasing problem of illegal workers who have either escaped or are avoiding the more limited worker trainee programs in the 2000s (like Kun in "Elephant").

The film opens with Muhammad speaking on the phone in Thai (without subtitles)[225] as he absentmindedly outlines a fish on the window of a phone booth, while protesters carrying signs advocating migrant workers' rights run past, fleeing tear gas bombs and the sound of police sirens. Muhammad watches impassively as ethnic Korean protestors ostensibly advocating for his rights run past (fig. 3.8), then puts his head down and walks home, unnoticed.

Fig. 3.8 Muhammad walks home through a cloud of tear gas, passing Korean activists for migrant workers' rights.

Muhammad passes a group of young Korean boys playing soccer in a back alleyway, and when their ball accidentally hits him on the head, he turns back to face them and one of the young boys calls out, "I am sorry. Give me ball, please," in English. The second boy asks politely in Korean, "*kong chuseyo*" ("please give me the ball"), and Muhammad smiles before impressing the boys with his ball control skills and playing with them until he spies two migrant workers being taken from a nearby apartment by immigrant police in handcuffs. His smile fades abruptly and he runs off, leaving behind his bag of purchases as the boys continue their game. The boys' uncertainty about how to address Muhammad recalls the classmate's mother in "Elephant," where their first response to the presence of a foreigner is

[225] The English subtitles for the film also translate Muhammad's speech, but the Korean version does not.

to address him in English, but when they switch to Korean they use polite language. This interaction reveals the boys' level of familiarity with foreign laborers in the community that incorporates Muhammad grammatically into the local social register by recognizing his age seniority, and socially when they engage him in their game.

At the chemical factory where he works, Muhammad is rebuked by the manager for not wearing a face mask (fig. 3.9), who tells him, "You no mask, you die!" in English and continues in informal Korean, "You probably don't wear masks in your country, but in a developed country like ours, you have to take safety precautions." The continued diglossic interactions emphasizes again in

Fig. 3.9 Factory floor manager scolds Muhammad as he emerges from a chemical tank. Sign to right of frame reads: "Poisonous Gas: Use Protective Masks."

linguistic terms the uncertainty with which ethnic Koreans approach non-white foreign laborers, switching alternately between the assumed lingua franca of English then reverting to registers of Korean language that reveal the speaker's perception of their social standing in relation to the foreigner, with the informal register used here to express the manager's superior standing and his perception of Muhammad's primitiveness. As Muhammad smiles and nods uncomprehendingly, the manager moves away to scold another employee and complain about the "childlike" workers and immigration officials that interfere with his production deadlines. Following an immigration raid that

shuts down production for the day, the manager suggests that Muhammad spend the rest of the day at a bath house to indulge his love of water and "scrub himself a couple shades whiter" so they won't be hounded by the immigration police.

At the bathhouse, Muhammad wistfully watches a program on the TV about dolphins before another patron sits down and changes the channel. As he showers, the camera follows another Korean patron back to the rest area, where the first patron flips through channels to land on a travel show (fig.

Fig. 3.10 Patron at bathhouse sits in front of Muhammad and flips TV to Korean travel show visiting Thailand in search of the "diving king."

3.10). The camera slowly zooms in on the television and breaches the screen, moving into the travel program, where the Korean host disembarks from a long-tail boat to ask locals where he might find the legendary "diving king," whom they've heard can stay underwater for hours on end without coming up for air. The show's crew (PDs) is directed to a small cluster of houses, where the host enters the home of an elderly woman sitting in preparation for the interview (fig. 3.11). Through an interpreter, they discuss the young man's amazing ability (fig. 3.12), but when they ask to meet him, they are informed that he has gone overseas to work. After the host makes a show of his poor luck (this despite the obviously planned interview with the mother), he asks to see a picture of the son, who, it is revealed, is Muhammad, who is working in Korea (fig. 3.16).

The host's typically exaggerated reactions as he interviews locals, and his obsequious respect for Muhammad's mother mirrors the incredulous attitude of the manager at Muhammad's workplace, highlighting the condescension towards migrant laborers in relation to South Korea's high level of

Fig. 3.11 Korean host respectfully greets Thai mother with prayer hands and bows, "*Sawatdee ka*" (Thai greeting generally used by female speaker)

Fig. 3.12 "*Muhammat nambŏ wŏn*!" (Muhammad number one!), no subtitles

development critiqued by the film. The camera then quickly jumps from Muhammad's mother's home back to the bath house, panning from the light coming in through a ventilation window, down through the grimy bath house to settle on a rear shot of Muhammad's head as he submerges himself in the water. In this trans-medial meta-narrative, director Chung Yoon-chul inserts a perspectival layer between the viewer and the TV program that disrupts the realist portrayal of Muhammad's life as a migrant laborer in Korea and links the consumption of labor to the passive consumption of foreign cultures through the travel program.

The situational irony of Muhammad's absence in the travel show is doubly compounded by the camera's return to his presence in Korea as a potential consumer/viewer of the program, and as a liminal presence as an undocumented laborer in Korea. And rather than stopping with this critique of the consumption of the exoticized local that constitutes the bread and butter of travel programs, the doubling of Muhammad as consumer and consumed shows that the demands of South Korean society

have, in fact, triply consumed him: first as an undocumented laborer with little control over his circumstances; second, in the voyeuristic portrayal of his country of origin as a "destination" for Korean viewers, and finally as a viewer within the daily life of Korean society, where his engagement with the television program inculcates the local regime of consumption in which he consumes the image of his home and his underwater "hermit kingdom".[226]

In the multiple ironic turns within the short film (the protestors in the opening scene, the situational irony of the travel program, his refusal to use a mask at work because of his ability to hold his breath for long periods), Muhammad is taken up in the symbiotic play of consumption where, "there is no longer any mirror or looking-glass in the modern order in which the human being would be confronted with his image for better or for worse; there is only the shop-window — the site of consumption, in which the individual no longer produces his own reflection, but is absorbed in the contemplation of multiple things/objects, is absorbed into the order of signifiers of social status, etc. He is not reflected in that order, but absorbed and abolished. The subject of consumption is the order of signs."[227] Extending Baudrillard's formulation to the consumption of the image, "Muhammad, the hermit king" performs a double inversion where the body returns to consume its own image, but the order of signifiers that this entails is critiqued in the erasure of Muhammad's identity as a physical presence in Korea. As an "invisible" or nameless worker, he enacts a ghostly form of consumption

---

[226] The English language title of the film, "Hermit King, Mohammad," alludes to Korea's long-established epithet as a "Hermit Kingdom," transferring the primitive connotations of incomplete engagement with world capital and development to Muhammad and his compatriots.

[227] Baudrillard, Jean. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*. Trans. Chris Turner. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2005.

whereby his presence in Korea enables him to consume his own culture on the condition of his absence. The irony, then, is that as a nameless and liminal entity as a mute subaltern, Muhammad has arrived at the place where he becomes complicit in the Korean consumption of his labor and his culture. The neo-realist gesture in "Muhammad, the Hermit King" then turns on his ability to transmute the mediated images of his preferred underwater kingdom to his reality as a migrant laborer. His underground/underwater existence as an illegal worker is sustained and metaphorically configured by his ability to remain underwater and reproduce his escapist underwater kingdom such that he remains in visual limbo within the confined spaces of life as an undocumented worker. This visual trope is repeated throughout the film, from the opening shot of Muhammad drawing a fish on the dirty glass wall of the phone booth (fig. 3.13), to his pleasure at watching the fish in an aquarium on the flatbed truck of a garishly lit-lit mobile seafood restaurant (fig. 3.14), then his encounter with the same truck the following morning, populated this time with only one dead fish, in the chemical tanks at his factory, in the public baths (fig. 3.15), and finally as he smilingly takes a few deep breaths before entering the steamy factory (sans mask) in the final shot of the film (fig. 3.16). When he submerges himself in the bath, he sees fish swimming in the murky bathwater in front of him and is transported into the coral reef, when the camera turns back to show him in the bath, surrounded by tropical fish. This fantastic realization of Muhammad's underwater kingdom then provides the referential framing

Fig. 3.13 Muhammad in a phone booth

Fig. 3.14 Muhammad peers into the fish tank of a mobile seafood restaurant

Fig. 3.15 Muhammad in the public bath

Fig. 3.16 Muhammad enters factory in final scene of film

for the previous scenes in the film that place him inside a murky bluish "aquarium" (the phone booth, his face framed by the fish tank, etc.) of mute economic and social confinement.

The Migrant Can Speak (Korean)

Where Chandra's experience in the late 1990s was explained in terms of Korean society's unfamiliarity with the "new" foreigners (as opposed to the US Military or foreign professionals) on their shores, "Muhammad, the Hermit King" juxtaposes the contradictory familiarity with the presence of migrant workers in Korea with their exoticized Otherness when depicted in their "native" environments. Both films "return" to the protagonists' homes from Korea in pointedly artificial ways: for Chandra through the comparison of the garish tabloid sensationalism of the reenactment of her experience versus the ethnographic style of the footage from her village, where she has been restored to full color. For

Muhammad (in late 2006), the fictional travel program that goes in search of his legend signals a self-conscious critique of the artificial knowledge and authenticity sought by voyeuristic televised tourism while simultaneously obviating the need for an active intervention on the part of the audience by virtue of spent affective identification.

Fig. 3.17 Subtitle for Thai reads: Uri adŭlŭn ilharŏ oekuk-e kassta [My son went to find work in a foreign country].

Fig. 3.18 Caption reads: Sajinŭl ch'ajasssŭpnida!!! Yŏku Muhamatŭ ŭi sajin-i isssŭpnida... [We found his picture!!! Here is Muhammad's picture...]

The travel program host's hyperbolic feigned sense of loss when he is unable to meet the famed Muhammad, and his overblown reverence for the mother left behind (fig. 3.17) brings the emotional transaction to fruition for the viewer, who is able to experience the loss of the diving king (fig. 3.18) from his home environment due to the exigencies of the global economy, but is still shielded from their complicity in Muhammad's second-class treatment in his unnamed host country (*oeguk*, 'foreign country').

The inversion of the foreign to refer to South Korea here is also noteworthy for its attempt to briefly align with Muhammad and his mother even with the interceding presence of the PD, before jumping back to the familiar reality of the public bathhouse in Korea. That this moment of the viewer's sympathetic identification with the "foreigner" is so abruptly cut off by the jump shot back to the

public bath, however, emphasizes the difficulty of sustaining the affective moment without the distance and narrative framing of mediation through the travel program, what Diffrient refers to as:

> …a politics of pity rather than compassion [that] threatens to increase rather than diminish the distance between subject and object, self and other, the protected and the vulnerable. That is, the textual proximity of stories in omnibus films, besides generating false equivalencies by linking discrete sites of suffering, is reliant upon a form of narrative 'wounding' in which the gaps between episodes might serve as metaphorical reminders of our spectatorial remove from that suffering.[228]

The formal constraints of the omnibus film or short story collection built in to the critique of South Korea's "multicultural problem" in the works discussed in this chapter, then, serves to pacify the viewer into settling back in their seats and continuing to view from a distance, which is then compounded by the repetition of themes throughout the series. This type of reading ultimately returns to Adorno's proposition that popular culture is merely a tool used to maintain hegemonic culture, as seen in the reliance on self-referential media and breaking through the fourth wall in all of the films dealing with migrant labor in the *If You Were Me* series.[229]

The use of images of "exotic" locales that become portals for the camera and film narrative to travel "back" to the migrants' homelands in "N.E.P.A.L." and "Muhammad" are repeated in the two migrant labor-related films in 2011's If You Were Me 5 (*sisŏn nŏmŏ*), "Nima" and "Banana Shake." The first deals with a Mongolian woman (the title character Nima) who works as a cleaning lady in an hourly-rate "love motel," and the second with a Filipino man (Alvin) working for a small moving company who is accused of stealing jewelry from a client. In these films, the most obvious change in

---

[228] Diffrient, 108–109.

[229] Adorno, Theodore. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. J.M. Bernstein, ed. New York: Routledge, 1991.

the intervening 5-7 years is in the interactions between the foreigners and their Korean co-workers. Where Chandra's garbled speech was taken as a sign of mental illness and Muhammad was effectively rendered mute by his fear of being discovered as an illegal worker, Nima and Alvin speak Korean very well and develop relationships with their Korean co-workers — a domestic abuse survivor (Chŏngŭn) for the former, and a working class Korean man (Bongju) for the latter. Bongju's and Alvin's relationship is such that he even addresses Alvin respectfully as "older brother (*hyŏng*)." Likewise, Nima and Chŏngŭn develop a familial bond as mothers working far from home to support their children when they encounter a hotel guest abusing his lover, and then again when they help a pregnant teenage girl give birth in the bathroom of one of the hotel rooms. The friendships between these foreign laborers and their Korean co-workers shows an enormous amount of progress from the films discussed above, in large part due to the linguistic assimilation of the foreigners.

In "Banana Shake," when a client accuses the movers of stealing jewelry, the other Korean workers and the clients immediately suspect Alvin, but Bongju staunchly defends his friend's record of hard work and naive innocence, only to have Alvin confess later that he did take the jewelry. In these narratives, *If You Were Me 5* highlights the ambiguous boundaries that have developed between class chauvinism and discrimination against foreigners in South Korea while maintaining a visual and affective distance from their subjects through the use of distant imagery. A strangely placed photograph of the Mongolian steppe in one of the hotel rooms enables the camera to follow Nima's gaze to move back to her homeland, where she imagines her daughter giving birth without her there to help, where Alvin and Bongju sit side by side in front of a wall-size ad for tourism to the Philippines. Where "Elephant's" Akkas was unable to transcend his emotional distance from the scenes of Nepal his

father hung on the walls of their room and can only relate those images to the shapes and sights of his experience in Ansan, the migrant laborers in the *If You Were Me* films are able to realize these different visual media as a virtual space to maintain their ethnic and national difference. Ultimately, the directorial gaze is unable to fully reconcile the presence of foreign bodies within their depictions of Korean space, even as they critique the discrimination against migrant workers. By insisting on the particularities of geography and identity through visuality, these films ultimately deny the inclusion of foreign bodies in the visual landscape of contemporary Korean society.

By comparison, the portrayal of ethnic Korean "others" in the series in films about North Korean defectors *(If You Were Me 2-6)*, *chosŏnjok* immigrants (*If You Were Me 2*), and Korean students who live and study abroad (*If You Were Me 4*) rely more heavily on the common ethnic identification that should overcome difference, but, as the films show, have not. While the sympathy for these "others" tries to recall an increasingly outdated similarity, it becomes clearer in the progression of themes in the films that the concern over multiculturalism as a human rights issue began to return to earlier co-ethnic identification and concerns over its fragmentation into class and age-based discrimination via the portrayal of hardships faced by young students, women, and the elderly in the most recent *If You Were Me 6 (*ŏttŏn sisŏn, or 'Which Perspective,' 2013).

While the decade of *If You Were Me* omnibus films moved haltingly towards this reframing of the neo-realist subjectivity that views 2010s Korean society as an economic dystopia, we can return to an earlier iteration of this critique of the commodification of the individual in Park Min-kyu's 2003 short story, "Say Ah, Pelican," included in his debut short story collection, *Castella*.

Neo-realism and Techno-fantasies of Sympathy

Park Min-kyu's writing often concerns the pitfalls of consumption and the strangeness of consumer society for a generation of former student activists, who now find themselves implicated in a neoliberal system of their own making. Many of his early stories begin with an alienated and isolated male protagonist concerned with his future and career prospects, as in "Castella" (Kasutella) "Raccoon World" (Komawŏ, kwayŏn nŏgŭriya), and "Korean Standard" (Korian sutaendŏjŭ)," but move into the realm of techno-fantasy through video games that come to life, haunted refrigerators, and alien invasion. His idiosyncratic style of incorporating pop culture and genre conventions into what are essentially post-modern bildungsroman modifies the formation of the individual in that narrative form through the hyperbolic realization of different forms of media that form the basis of identity for youth culture. Baseball fandom, ping-pong, and comic book culture become the real worlds of the protagonists in his novels, for example, which contextualizes youth in the 1980s in a transnational mediascape that is externalized as an extension of the self in neoliberal Korean society.

Park's flirtation with the surreal, and the sardonic tone of much of his work initially confounded critics who labeled him as part of a cohort of "young writers" dubbed the "zero gravity" generation of writers,[230] who were thought to have moved beyond the social and political engagement that was recognized as the defining feature of modern Korean literature. In contrast to the authors like Kim Chae-yŏng (discussed above), Park's cohort of writers who made their debuts in the early 2000s were described as having moved forward into a literary post-modernity that situated Korea in a transnational, global context. These writers of the "386 generation" (in their 30s, went to college in the 80s, born in the 60s, and now sometimes referred to as the "486 generation") were

[230] Lee Kwang Ho. "Cultural Hybridity in Contemporary Korean Literature," in *Korea Journal*, Spring 2007.

initially discussed in reference to a looming "crisis of literature"[231] and sparked heated debates over the place of Korean literature in the twenty-first century. Soon, however, this coterie of authors including Pak Min-kyu, Kim Young-ha, Kim Ae-ran, Kim Yŏn-su, Pyŏn Hye-yŏng, Kim Ae-ran, and Kim Jung-hyŏk came to dominate the short lists for major literary awards in Korea after 2004, were targeted for outbound translations sponsored by the KLTI and the Daesan Foundation, and were often chosen to represent Korean literature at domestic and international literary events. Their embrace following an initially negative reception by the *mundan* (literary sphere) can be seen in light of the concerted efforts to have Korean literature recognized as a "World Literature," as discussed in Chapter 2.

While it is certainly true that Park's work can be considered post-modern in Jameson's sense of the postmodern pastiche[232] that incorporates commercial culture in the "high culture" of literature, it is more questionable to say that this extends into the repudiation of depth that Jameson cites in postmodern cultural production. Park's writing engages a diachronic reading of Korean society that uses the experience of post-modernity and its mediated depths as a critique. The realization of technologized and mediated life in his work is not unlike other contemporary neo-realist movements in literature and film that incorporate the dystopian critique associated with science fiction, but dispense with the allegorical future time space in that genre. It remains to be seen whether this depiction becomes the modified past of simulacra.

In "Say 'Ah,' Pelican" (A haseyo, pellikan), however, Pak explores the immediate present of transnational commercial flows in and around Korea. The narrator, a junior college graduate with an associate's degree in tourism management, finds work at a run-down amusement park by a reservoir

---

[231] Cf. Hwang Jongyon, Kim Pyŏng-ik, et. al. in Chapter 3.

[232] Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious : Narrative As a Socially Symbolic Act.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981.

outside of Seoul that he describes as "30 kilometers from nowhere," manning the ticket booth and concessions while he studies for the civil service examination.[233] Following a renovation, the reservoir

Fig. 3.19 Duck boats at a reservoir in South Korea

becomes a transit hub for the International Citizen's Coalition of Duck Boats, a group of migrant laborers who, being barred from legal international travel, have taken to migrating in flocks of these novelty vehicles.

Park uses the mundane ubiquity of these boats in Korean leisure culture (they can be rented at nearly any leisure spot in Korea where there is a body of water and a kiosk) to depict the absurdity of economic migration. He extends the metaphor of the mechanized animal (a recurring trope that links all the stories in *Castella*) to his boss, a "wild goose father" (*kirŏki appa*) whose family is engaged in their own form of economic migration — albeit as bourgeois consumers, as his family lives in Los Angeles for the sake of his daughter's education while he stays behind in Korea to earn money.[234] The narrator's wry commentary on Korean consumption and leisure culture and his own role in the

---

[233] Civil Service sector employment became one of the most popular career choice for college graduates in South Korea in the 2000s, second only to entry-level positions in the major *chaeböl* conglomerates. The stability and security of civil service sector jobs in the fluctuating economic climate after the 1997 and 2008 financial crises made these jobs much more attractive to prospective employees, despite the relatively low salaries.

[234] "*Kirŏgi appa*" refers to fathers who live and work in Korea, while their wives and children live abroad (often in the U.S.) for the sake of the childrens' education.

transnational flow of illegal migrant labor points up the duality of Korea's position vis-à-vis migrant labor while it elides its own engagement in transnational migration. Although Korean migrants generally have the benefit of more capital, as indicated by the transformation of the boss's duck boat into the eponymous pelican, they are actually engaged in the same process of economic migration. The pelican, with its roomier storage capacity, becomes the Korean migrant's conveyance as they travel in search of more objects to consume.

As the narrator watches over people spending their leisure time at hourly intervals in rented duck boats, he ruminates on the nature of their lives expressed as "cheap" time:

> So after watching over the spectacle of the families and couples that come here to climb aboard a duck, I developed a strange sense of pity. It's, how can I explain it, it's like watching off-peak electricity flowing between cheap lives…. When I watched them, those couples passionately kissing and caressing each other, their feet still pedaling the boat, splish splosh, splish splosh, it was like, I don't know, I could practically see the off-peak currents flickering in their chests.[235]

"*Simya chŏngi*," literally "late night electricity," refers to the cheaper electricity rates at off-peak hours, reminding us that time, and especially leisure time, is money, or value.[236] Even as a purveyor of leisure time, the narrator does not assign it much value, and he remarks on the perfunctory and automatic nature of the romances that include a ride on one of his duck boats; the lovers are automatons that continue peddling the boat even as they embrace, hence, "going through the motions" of their affair.

---

[235] Pak, Min-kyu. "Say 'Ah,' Pelican [A haseyo, pellikan]," in *Castella* [kasutera]. Seoul: Munhak Tongne, 2005, p. 130-131.

[236] Baudrillard theorizes this concept of leisure in *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1998) as, "…not, therefore, so much a function of enjoyment of free time, satisfaction and functional repose. Its definition is that of an unproductive consumption of time. And so we come back to the 'wasting' of time we spoke of at the outset, though in this instance to show how consumed free time is in fact the time of a production. This time, which is economically unproductive, is the time of a production of value — distinctive value, status value, prestige value. Doing nothing (or doing nothing productive) is, in this regard, a specific activity…. In fact, time is not 'free' in leisure; it is expended, ad not as pure loss, because it is the moment, for the social individual, of a production of status."

Although the narrator is himself a functioning member of this culture of consumed leisure, his degree in tourism management is a comment on the presumed demands of a consumer society that has progressed so far that even the consumption of free time requires professional management. He has been turned down by seventy-three prospective employers, however, reflecting the economic downturn following the financial crisis of the late 1990s, which also claims the life of a middle-aged business man who commits suicide in one of the duck boats. In this setting of the depressed middle class, Pak introduces a flock of migrant laborers who represent an alternate dimension of the economy that, at that point in time, was still largely invisible to the general public.

The migrant laborers' reappropriation of the boats turns them from symbols of leisure to vehicles of continuous production. They use the boats to circumvent the political restrictions on their economically motivated movement, creating a new community of mobile labor that acts as a surrogate for the labor class that, at least in this story and this country, is no longer capable of fulfilling industrial positions. As service professionals and management struggle to maintain their class positions, the laborers find a way in to fill jobs that are left vacant by the Korean workforce. Although the narrator tells us that he served in the army engineering corps during his compulsory service and is therefore trained to do manual labor, he is still rejected for even those jobs. In this way, Park suggests that it is not just that the Korean work force is unwilling to take up these positions, but that Korean firms do not want to hire them when this alternate (and cheaper) workforce is available. Thus, the boats enable the workers to take advantage of this situation in a neoliberal exception, following Aiwha

Ong's formulation of a "neoliberal calculation[s that] identify optimizing spaces and populations in relation to global market opportunities."[237]

Park's depiction of the relatively free non-citizens in "Say Ah, Pelican" disrupts the purely sympathetic image of dispossessed migrant labor, and it is worth questioning the potential efficacy of such a representation. He draws a clear, and questionably hierarchical distinction between migrants (the Korean economic migrant and the "developing" economic migrant) that is manifested in the difference between the laborers' vessels and the *sajang's* (the boss). Where *Sajangnim* is able to innovate and modify his vessel in the form of a pelican in order to reaffirm his position as a middle class consumer on a global scale, the migrant workers are limited to passing through on their way to ever more work.

These are the limits of Park's depiction of the global flows of labor in Korea, which show the parallels between migrant labor and the "necessity" of Korean transnational migration for the reproduction of middle class status, but he stops short of drawing the lines together through closer personal interactions. The migrants never appear in broad daylight or move beyond the borderland of the port reservoir, and the narrator's interactions with them remain at the economic level, even as he begins to cater his stock to their needs: quick and easy meals, basic first aid supplies, etc. The narrator's cynical distance expresses the disillusionment of his generation, many of whom spent their formative years engaged in student protests during the democratization movement in the late 1980s fighting for

---

[237] Ong, Aiwha. "Neoliberalism as a Mobile Technology," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 2007), pp. 3-8. See also Ong, "Intoduction: Neoliberalism as exception, exception to neoliberalism" in *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

liberal freedoms that would be subverted into a neoliberal freedom of consumption in the 2000s. The voice Park offers for this generation is conscious of the contradictions of neoliberalism in Korea and finds resistance in the manipulation of a techno-mediated consciousness. His critique here ironically resists the expected sympathetic exchange between the migrant laborers and the presumed ethical obligation of the Korean narrator to oppose the economic system of forced migration and exploitative labor, and settles instead on the uneasy ambivalence of reluctant mutual economic dependence.

Park's work is one of the more progressive approaches to the multiethnic population, because he is able to draw the connection to reciprocal movements of South Korean citizens in the 21st century. His work comments on the displacement that characterizes the post-democratization period without necessarily privileging a certain space, yet providing South Korea as a geographic locus for his commentary on the displacement attendant to neoliberal economies.

From Ethical to Consumer Cosmopolitanism

This comparison of film and literary works depicting migrant labor and multiculturalism in South Korea in the first decade of the 2000s explores the various artistic, formal, and institutional approaches to the dawn of "a genuinely multicultural era" in South Korean society. Through the reappropriation of the ethnonational subject of 20th century realist literature, the discourse of international human rights, and economic liberalization, these works complicate the legacy of contentious democratization in 21st century South Korea. They contest the hegemonic view of Korean monoculture by showing multiple "Korean" subjectivities discussed here, but do so with the institutional benediction of literary prizes,

funded translations and government commissions. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this multicultural turn and cosmopolitan universal humanism was subverted in popular culture. In popular television dramas about culinary specialists, food was used as a locus of transcultural interaction that could be performed without the presence of non-Korean bodies.

The attempt to incorporate or deny the "foreigner" in these texts belies the exclusion that premises the categorization of the foreigner: that, to paraphrase Jie-hyun Lim, all nationalisms begin with definitions of the foreigner because they are easier to identify than the assumed shared characteristics of one's own nation.[238] What becomes especially clear in the erasure of 'foreigners' in the portrayal of the working class in Korean television dramas of the early 2000s is the desire, or the need to reproduce a shared national identity even as it has become fractured by income disparity and drastically different access to fluid national citizenship.

[238] Lim, Jie-Hyun. "Victimhood Nationalism and History Reconciliation in East Asia." History Compass. 8.1 (2010): 1-10

Four.

Consumption, Class, And Cultural Belonging In Culinary Dramas

Fig. 4.1 Sam Soon asks Henry about Proust. Subtitles read: *Nŏ 'irhŏpŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ'rago ani?* [You know, *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*?].

Fig. 4.2 Sam Soon switches to English, with no subtitles: Looking for time. P'ŭrench'ŭ book. Uh...

Sam Soon: Thank you! Um… *I madŭllen… ŭm*…[This madeleine… um…] Madeleine is… most famous cookie in France (subtitle: madŭllenŭn p'ŭrangsŭ-esŏ cheil yumyŏnghan kwachaya [A madeleine is the most famous cookie in France].)
Henry: Oh? (Encouragingly)
S: *Assi, nŭngryŏk issne yŏngŏka chom issne*…[Alright, I can do this! My English is pretty good… um…] You know, *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*?
H: (Henry looks confused, shakes his head and sighs)
S: *Molla* [You don't know]?
H: (Henry shakes his head)
S: *Ak, ike inggŭllishi… inggŭllishiro muŏrakohanyamyŏn… ŭm*… [Ah, in English… what is it in English is… um…] Looking for time. P'ŭrench'ŭ book. Uh… Marcel Proust.

Fig. 4.3 *Oh,* Marcel *Frost!*" Subtitle reads: Marŭsel p'urŭsŭt'ŭ ŭi irhŏpŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ [Marcel Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*

Fig. 4.4 No subtitles: Yes! Kŭkŏya, kŭkŏ... [That's it! That one...]

H: (Still confused) *Oh*, Marcel *Frost*! *In Search of Lost Time*. (Korean subtitle reads: *Marŭsel pŭrŭsŭtŭ ŭi irhŏpŏrin siganŭl ch'ajasŏ* [Marcel Proust's In Search of Lost Time]
S: Yes! *Kŭkŏya, kŭkŏ… kŭ irhŏpŏrin siganŭl ch'ajasŏ* [That's it, that's it… In search of that lost time…].
— Conversation between Henry and Sam-soon in *My Name is Kim Sam Soon*, Episode 7

In this scene of comical inversion in "Madeleine, in search of lost time" ("*Matŭllen, irhŏbŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ*"), episode 7 of the romantic comedy drama *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* (*My Lovely Samsoon, Nae Irŭmŭn Kim Samsun*, MBC, 2005), the heroine, Kim Sam Soon (Kim Sun-ah), explains the Proustian madeleine to her romantic rival's would-be suitor, a Korean-American doctor played by American actor Daniel Henney.[239] The comedy of errors in the scene crisscrosses through different assumptions of class, education, and mutual (mis) readings of socio-cultural expectations between a French-trained Korean *pâttissier* from a working-class Korean family and a well-educated Korean-American doctor. The linguistic play of Korean, Kon-glish, English, and French in this scene as Sam Soon and Henry attempt to communicate with each other utilizes speech, visual text (subtitles), and physical gestures (visual pantomime) to create a metanarrative of the shifting positions of privilege and cosmopolitan striving through the consumption of food and knowledge of international food culture.

Food-related media exploded in the first decade of the 21st century in South Korea in conjunction with a return to conspicuous consumption after the 1997 IMF Crisis. Reality programs and travel shows toured the world showing South Koreans all the delicious things the world had to offer. The promise that through these foods South Koreans could consume the entire world also indicated a symbolic shift in the perception of the foreign as a threat. Instead, the ability to consume globally inverted the power relationship of coloniality, where Korean consumers could now partake of other national cultures as coevals and, for the first time, as (sub-) imperialists.[240] At the same time, regional dishes were also featured prominently in the media and the viewing public was encouraged to

---

[239] For more on Asian-American entertainers "returning" to Asia to pursue their careers after failure in Hollywood, see Dana Ter, "Why Young Asian-Americans Are Fleeing Hollywood," <<http://mic.com/articles/76097/why-young-asian-americans-are-fleeing-hollywood>> (accessed January 16, 2015); Daniel Henney on being a "Korean actor," see <<http://travel.cnn.com/explorations/seoul-man-980485>> (accessed January 16, 2015).

[240] On "culinary tourism," c.f. Long, Lucy M. ed. *Culinary Tourism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003; Lisa M. Heldke. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003. On Korea as sub-empire, see Jinkyoung Lee, *Service Economies.*

visually identify and consume all parts of the country through their food. By 2012, it seemed there was hardly a restaurant in Seoul that hadn't been featured as a "*matjip*" (tasty restaurant) on television,[241] and hardly a domestic, regional, or foreign food fad that hadn't saturated every corner of the city. The fixation on food culture in popular culture reflected and constructed public sentiment towards the country's internal and external economic and political relationships through a medium intimately connected to daily life and the body. In short, the portrayal of food culture in 21st century media provides a meta-narrative of embodied transnational engagement that developed over the course of the decade from the pursuit of cultural capital through the depiction of a new professional class of experts on "center" cuisines on one hand, and elevating Korean cuisine from "ethnic food" to *gastronomie* through historical dramas on the other, to a period of adaptation and indigenization of international cuisine through the discovery of modern local methods, and finally to the embodiment of all three strands of culinary development into Korean bodies that represent both sides of the foreign/local divide. The full embodiment of international cuisine using almost exclusively Korean casts thus elides the growing population diversity discussed in Chapter 3 by deferring class and social difference to the hierarchy and possibilities of upward mobility in the culinary workplace.

Culinary Drama as Genre

TV dramas centered on cuisine utilize the broad reach and popularity of Korean dramas at home and abroad to expand the image of national culture and of South Korean citizens. The serial format of TV dramas creates affective communities that can be accessed through a variety of media outlets and temporalities: terrestrial television broadcasts (semi-weekly, at a fixed time), online video-on-demand

---

[241] On media, movement, and expectations of taste, see Parasecoli, Fabio. "Tourism and Taste: Exploring Identities." *Bite Me: Food in Popular Culture*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2008. 127–145.

services (user-determined access and binge-watching), fan-posted Youtube clips (user-generated and accessed shortened segments), as well as textually through forums and blogs that recap and catalogue episodes of popular dramas using image captures and added textual narration.[242] Along with these mediated after-lives, these shows drew on a wide-range of pre-existing texts from webtoon series, Korean *manhwa*, Japanese *manga*, internet novels, literature, film, and historical events, showing the transnational crossings of food-related media in the period. In historical and contemporary settings, food dramas constitute a genre of melodramatic narrative that creates alternate versions of local and international cultural history. From 2003–2012, 19 drama series focused on food and culinary specialists as major characters (figure 4.5). Other popular themes in the period included overseas/study abroad Koreans (19), time travel (4), medical dramas (13), music and music industry-related dramas (13, with most from 2010–11), sports dramas (8), and historical and mythic dramas (69).[243]

Fig. 4.5 Korean dramas by recurring themes 2003–2011	
Historical dramas	69
Food dramas	19
Overseas Koreans	19
Medical dramas	13
Music Industry dramas	13
Sports dramas	8
Time travel	4

[242] For a discussion of K-drama recaps as translated text, see Lee, Regina Yung. "As Seen on the Internet : The Recap As Translation in English-language K-drama Fandoms." *The Korean Popular Culture Reader*. Ed. Youngmin Choe and Kyung Hyun Kim. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014. 76-98.

[243] There is a fair amount of overlap between these categories, particularly for long-running (50 episodes or more) weekend or daily family dramas with large casts and multiple narrative arcs.

In this chapter, I discuss fictional TV dramas in South Korea that focus on food — where the hero or heroine is involved in the some aspect of the food service industry and the show devotes considerable attention to a particular consumable object (pastries, coffee, kimchi, etc.) as part of the narrative. These popular dramas construct and critique attitudes towards class polarization, gender hierarchies, cultural diversification, generational tension, and spatial politics in the early 2000s through everyday practices of consuming food and media.

Through an analysis of representative scenes and narrative arcs in prime time food dramas from 2000-2012 I examine how the mediated narratives of food represented and re-shaped social perceptions of Korean culture as an engaged global culture during this period.[244] Food as a genre was not limited to South Korea, of course. The rise of celebrity chefs, dedicated food channels, and high-drama cooking competition shows all over the world in the late 1990s and early 2000s like Iron Chef in Japan and the US, the Food Network in the US, and UKTV Food in Britain attest to an international media culture of food that encompasses issues of gender, ethnicity, class, and consumption.[245] Food-related media and knowledge of food cultures in Korea should be understood in the context of alimentary consumption as a psycho-sociological "situation" the "superficial inductivism"[246] of narrated national cuisines,[247] and "mediated identity".[248]

---

[244] The dramas discussed in this chapter were all major hits domestically and internationally that spurred increased tourism to Korea, various local remakes of the shows, greater interest in Korean cuisine, and product tie-ins. As noted, many of these dramas were based on popular novels (traditional and internet) and comics (Korean and Japanese), and are part of a much larger genre of food-related cultural production including cooking programs, food tourism programs, fictional films, novels, and serial graphic novels. Popular food-media from the period not discussed in this chapter include the films *Le Grand Chef* (Sikgaek, 2007), *Antique Bakery* (Ant'ikŭ, 2008), *Cafe Seoul* (K'ap'e Seoul, 2009), *The True-Taste Show* (T'ŭru matsyo, 2011), *Gabi* (K'abi, 2012); dramas *Delicious Proposal* (mat'issnŭn ch'ŏnghon, 2001), *I Really Really Like You* (Chinjja change chohahae, 2006), *Gourmet* (Sik Gaek, 2008), *Coffee House* (K'ŏp'i hausŭ, 2010), *Hot Coffee* (Kŭtnaechunŭn kŏp'i, 2010), *Cooking Up Romance* (Tolaon ttukbaegi, 2008), *Fermentation Family* (Palhyo kajok 2011), *Flower Boy Ramen Shop* (Kkotminam ramyŏn kake, 2011), *Immortal Classic* (Pulhu ŭi myŏngchak, 2012), *Feast of the Gods* (Sintŭl ŭi manch'an, 2012); and Jo Kyung-ran's novel *Tongue* (2009).

[245] Cf. Parasecoli, Fabio. *Bite Me*; Holden, Todd Joseph Miles. "The Overcooked and Underdone: Masculinities in Japanese Food Programming." *Food & Foodways* 13.1–2 (2005): 39–65.

[246] Barthes, Roland. "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption." *Food and culture: A reader 2* (1997):

The *hallyu* juggernauts *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* (Nae irŭmŭn Kim Samsun, MBC, 2005) and *Coffee Prince* (Kŏp'i p'ŭrinsŭ ŭi 1-hochŏm, MBC, 2008), presented culinary expertise and the service industry as alternate avenues for the "melodrama of mobility"[249] for working class heroines. A few years earlier, *Dae Jang Geum* (Jewel in the Palace, MBC, 2003) depicted a micro-history of cooks and physicians in the Chosŏn royal palace in the 15th and 16th centuries, elevating Korean food to an international cuisine with positivist roots at the level of French *gastronomie*. *Terroir*(Tterua, SBS, 2008) and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu* (Cheppangwang Kim Takku, KBS2, 2010) constructed modern histories of refinement in local and industrialized food crafts, and *Pasta* (Pasŭt'a, MBC, 2010-2011) pursued the growing tensions between democratic possibility and nepotism in an ethnically homogeneous South Korean society divided into the cosmopolitan elite and local strivers.

In contrast to the efforts in literature and film to broaden the racial, ethnic, and class distinctions of Korean subjectivity through linked stories and omnibus films about non-Korean migrant laborers (Chapter 3), these dramas construct a counter-narrative to the inclusive pretense of cultural globalization. They contest the moves suggestions of multicultural national identity by presenting a mediated "regime of inclusion"[250] through visual and affective consumption of international culinary

---

28-35.

[247] Appadurai, Arjun. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative studies in society and history* 30.01 (1988): 3–24.

[248] Morley, David, and Kevin Robins. *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

[249] Abelmann, Nancy. *The Melodrama of Mobility : Women, Talk, and Class in Contemporary South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

[250] I borrow this structure of knowledge and communal identification in relation to the consumption of food from Susan Dewey's discussion of thwarted mobility and exclusionary social consumption practices in Mumbai. Dewey argues that the desire for, access to, and ability to discern "authenticity" in foreign and regional foods produces a "regime of exclusion" that marks one's social status and creates class-based "private spaces" in the ostensibly "public" sphere of restaurants, nightclubs, and bars. Dewey, Susan. "'Teaching Modern India How to Eat': 'Authentic' Foodways and Regimes of Exclusion in Affluent Mumbai." In Ray, Krishnendu and Srinivas, Tulasi (eds.). *Curried Cultures : Globalization, Food, and South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

cultures. Because the distinction of culinary "know-how" is separated from the act of physical consumption in these texts, the economic inaccessibility of the high-end restaurants and products featured on the shows is treated very casually. Rather, it is the knowledge associated with those spaces (fancy restaurants) and products ("authentic" cuisine) that is the most important gain.

Culinary culture in this period highlights yet another facet of the post-modern cultural turn where literal consumption becomes a site for the discursive performance of class, education, and national identity. You are what you know (how) to (properly) eat. Fetishizing food became a performance of social and cultural awareness that permeated everyday life from the basic act of ingestion to household purchasing, media consumption, education, public health, social interaction, and political activity. This reflects the popular Korean nationalism Laura Nelson describes as the "perceived link between homogeneity and egalitarianism" that persisted from the developmental period.[251] The dramas served a pedagogic function, as knowledge of the content of culinary culture

---

[251] Nelson's discussion of the *kwasobi chubang* (preventing over-consumption) campaign historicizes consumer practice and discourses surrounding consumption in 1990s Korea that ties gender, nationalism, and consumption together in what she calls a "future time perspective" through which her female subjects are willing to defer their personal gratification and desires for the future of the nation. The urban-centered focus of Nelson's work describes a shift in the long-held perception of an agrarian-based national identity giving way to urban Seoul as the representative site of national identification that is portrayed in the media as a homogenous space of opportunity and progress. In post-developmental Korea, conspicuous consumption became an important means of collective identification. Nelson's discussion of the ways gender and class awareness were harnessed from from the 1960s to the 1980s in the kwasobi ch'ubang (prevent excessive consumption) campaign are instructive here. In order to curb excessive spending and encourage saving, the government warned against the dangers of excessive spending and turned consumption into an issue of national unity. Nelson charts the link between consumption at the individual level and national destiny in this period, noting that consumption in Korea was as much determined by the past and national history as it was with the present and the future of the nation. In this way, one person or family's consumer lifestyle was morally contingent on their consumer choices.

In this form of consumption, knowledge of the product becomes more important than the object itself. Or, rather, the experience of consumption is made pleasurable because of its significatory function, rather than the mere act of ingestion. Pleasure can be derived from this consumption whether or not the product tasted good, as long as the distinction of media or institutional approval has been established. This was especially true with internet reviews of restaurants, etc, and was not unlike food and travel writing found all over the world, where the repetition of articulation through various media creates the desire for the product. This should be separated from advertising, however, due to the assumption of external authority bestowed by the act of critique recognized in the communal space of online or television media (Fedorenko).

On moralism, media as institutional authority, and the humanistic approach to advertising in South Korea, see Fedorenko, Olga. "Tending to the "Flower of Capitalism:" Consuming, Producing and Censoring Advertising in South Korea of the '00s." Tending to the Flower of Capitalism: Consuming, Producing and Censoring Advertising in South Korea of the '00s. Ph.D. Dissertation. 2012.

obviated actual consumption as the affective experience could be felt through the visual and descriptive narratives of food presented in the texts. As a result, mediated representations of culinary culture in the media became a broad "regime of inclusion" unconstrained by physical space (knowing where to find the products) or the economic means (being able to afford it).

Cosmopolitan Consumption

Consumption as a marker of individual identity was markedly different in the 2000s than during the previous decades of state regulation of imports and "patriotic frugality."[252] Government campaigns against excessive consumption (*kwasobi chubang*) and restrictions against Western and Japanese imports for fear of cultural encroachment in the 1970s and 80s made the consumption of foreign foods a marker of irresponsibly conspicuous consumption. The character of consumer patriotism changed after the 1997 IMF Financial Crisis, when "domestic consumption began to be reconsidered by policymakers as the vanguard of the country's economic revitalization."[253] Foreign food trends became immensely popular, with Italian, French, Indian, Thai, and Vietnamese restaurants mushrooming across the country along with Starbucks-style coffee shops and wine bars.[254] These new patterns of consumption developed in tandem with the rapid development of broadband and mobile technologies that provided endless streams of content geared towards more (and better) products to consume. As an activity with total participation, food culture is an important site for the examination

---

[252] Laura Nelson.

[253] Cwiertka, Katarzyna J. "The Global Hansik Campaign and the Commodification of Korean Cuisine." *The Korean Popular Culture Reader*. Ed. Kyung Hyun Kim and Youngmin Choe. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014, 366.

[254] Bak, Sangmee. "Exoticizing the Familiar, Domesticating the Foreign: Ethnic Food Restaurants in Korea." *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 110–132; Sangmee Bak, "Negotiating National and Transnational Identities through Consumption Choices: Hamburgers, Espresso, and Mobile Technologies among Koreans," *Review of Korean Studies* 7, no. 2 (2004): 37–42.

of communal, individual, and national perceptions of culture. Fictional representations of food culture in popular media in this time also worked at multiple levels of affective identification and visual/literary modes of entextualization to continue and critique the ongoing *segyehwa* project in post-developmental Korea.

Diversity and Hierarchies of the "Foreign"

Just as the designation "foreigner" changed to include non-White foreigners (migrants/*ijumin*, *ibangin*) not necessarily from the West (foreigners/*oegukin*) as discussed in Chapter 3, so has the designation of "western food" (*yangsik*). In this case the former monolithic division of Korea/Asia and the "West" — where the US metonymically represented all "foreigners" as neo-colonizer and through the continued military presence on the peninsula — expanded and became linguistically codified by cuisine and economic status through the suffix -*sik* (food) and -*yori* (cooking or cuisine). This hierarchical designation is reproduced in the type of media in which different national cuisines appear, where the relational context of developmental parity or superiority is similar to the distinction between "ethnic food" and "international cuisine" in America. While regional groupings remain and even seem to have intensified, the "Rest" in comparison to the "East" has become much more specific. Where *yangsik* (洋食, "Western food") was a general designation for foreign food, more specific distinctions were made between Asian cuisines — *chungsik* (中食) for Chinese and *ilsik* (日食) for Japanese — but *yangsik* might refer to anything from pizza to escargot prior to the 2000s.

The nationalization of cuisine in common Korean usage expanded in the early 2000s, with subcategories of *yangsik* like *italia-yori* (Italian cuisine/cooking), *p'ŭrangsŭ-yori* (French cuisine/cooking), *miguk-ŭmsik* (American food), versus *wŏllam-guksu* (Vietnamese noodles)

emerged.[255] Initially, these categories were listed under the blanket heading *yangsik* on social media food sites such as Menupan and the now defunct Wingbus restaurant review site. Where Korean restaurants were classified by specific dishes like *samgyŏpsaljip* (barbecue pork belly joint) or *chuŏtangjip* (eel stew) with the suffix -*jip* (house), foreign foods beyond Japanese and Chinese were all grouped under the heading "Western," including the new categories for Vietnamese and Thai restaurants. Therefore, in the initial representation of global cuisines in social media and in popular linguistic usage, "foreign" remained monolithic as "Western," but a hierarchy of cultural proximity and distinction began to appear through media indexicalization of the suffixes -*yori*, -*sik*, and the native -*jip*. This was reinforced in the culinary drama genre, where expertise in producing and consuming international and rarified Korean cuisine symbolized new formulations of class and cosmopolitan identity for the individual and for the nation as a whole.

Culinary Pedagogy and Class Striving in My Name is Kim Sam Soon

The heroine of My Name is Kim Sam Soon is a 30-year old female baker (*pâtissier*) who is considered "chubby" and "aggressive" (by Korean standards). Sam Soon has trained as a pastry chef at the prestigious Cordon Bleu, and she returns to Korea to find work at an upscale *yangsik* restaurant Bon Appétit run by the son of a wealthy *chaebŏl* family, Jin-hŏn. Inevitably, the pair become romantically involved and hijinks ensue. Sam Soon runs into financial trouble when her widowed mother is at risk of losing their home, and she enters into a fake "contract" relationship with her employer in exchange

[255] The use of -*yori* ('cooking') for these foreign cuisines is also interesting in its emphasis on the production or process of making of the food (-*yori*), indicating a more comprehensive chain of signification associated with the objects of consumption that sees them as part of a process or system of knowledge. For the latter two, it is interesting to note that American food is modified by the "lower" category -*umsik* when distinguished from the general term *yangsik*, usually referring to American fast food like hamburgers and take-out pizza (as opposed to "gourmet" pizza in *italia-yori* restaurants). Vietnamese noodles (pho), which grew in popularity in the early 2000s after a Korean American entrepreneur brought the Vietnamese-American Pho Hoa to Seoul in 1998. c.f. <<http://www.phohoakorea.com/company/company3.asp>> accessed 16 February 2015.

for a sizable loan. The distinctive feature of this drama was its perceived realism and the comic portrayal of Sam Soon, depicted as a pudgy aging spinster whose frank attitude about her desires and appearance challenged existing social norms and standards of female beauty.[256] The show was an enormous success throughout Asia, airing in over 50 countries, with broadcasts followed by local remakes in the Philippines and Indonesia.

Sam Soon's foreign education is contrasted with her humble background as the daughter of cracker factory employee. Nevertheless, her skill and knowledge of French culture are consistently referenced as a justification for her transgressive female identity. Armed with her foreign education and supplemented with fetishized images of her work, Sam Soon represents the broadening possibilities "normal" women in Korea while also providing procedural knowledge of the proper consumption and appreciation of French pastries.

My Name is Kim Sam Soon taught its viewers culinary literacy by showing the process of creating and consuming French pastries as Sam Soon's development as an adult. From procuring ingredients to developing recipes, baking, decorating, and consuming the products in their proper settings, Sam Soon's expertise became a metaphor for her difficulty as an aging single woman in incompletely developed Seoul. Lengthy soliloquies about flavor profiles and methods of extracting certain emotive and nuanced qualities from the ingredients added complexity to the consumable products and linked culinary knowledge to the romantic and emancipatory narrative of Sam Soon's life. The link between knowledgable consumption and emotional development became a common trope in culinary dramas and produced audiences that could virtually perform as connoisseurs (in the literal sense of "knowing"), while eating their cake too.

---

[256] See Chŏng Yŏnghŭi, "Research on viewers' realistic sympathy and enjoyment of 'My Name is Kim Sam Soon'" in 韓國言論學報, 51 권 4 호 (2007 년 8 월) for a discussion of how the realism of the show was its greatest attraction for its core audience of 20-30-something female viewers.

Cosmopolitan Coding and Oral/Visual Entextualization

The scene from *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* at the beginning of this chapter shows the visual, textual, and narrative encoding of the themes discussed above. To review: Sam Soon encounters Henry in a hotel on Jeju Island where her *chaebŏl*-heir boss and love interest Jin-hŏn has taken her as a decoy girlfriend to present to his family. Good-natured Henry, who followed his crush (Jin-hŏn's first love Hŭi-jin) to Korea from their university in California, is waiting in the lobby while Hŭi-jin and Jin-hŏn have a lovers' quarrel in a different room (fig. 4.6).

> Sam Soon*: Hankukmal mothaeyo? Ai, chasik. Chom paewŏkachiko ochi, shi* [You don't speak Korean? Ah, you… you should've learned some before you came])… Uh, wat-chŭ your name?

Fig. 4.6 POV shot of Sam Soon recognizing Henry in the hotel lobby

Fig. 4.7 "Je ne parle pas l'anglais, y toi, tu ne parles pas le français. Alors, c'est pas du tout cuit...," with Korean subtitles

> Henry: I'm Henry Kim.
> S: Ah, *Helli*. My name is Sam Soo–… ah, Sophie.
> H: Sophie?
> S: (Nodding) Erm…can you speak French?
> H: No (smiles confidently).
> S: *Je m'appelle Sophie. Je ne parle pas l'anglais, y toi, tu ne parles pas le française. Alors, c'est pas du tout cuit* [My name is Sophie. I don't speak English, and you, you don't speak French. So this won't be a piece of cake (lit., this won't be fully baked/cooked)]… *Ha ha, morŭketchi* [Ha ha, you must have no idea what I'm saying]. Korean subtitles for the French read: *Nan yŏngŏrŭl mothako nŏn purŏ mothako pikinkŏne?* [I don't speak English and you don't speak French, so it's even.])"

Sam Soon returns to the hotel after being unceremoniously abandoned by Jin-hŏn on the side of the road and sees Henry reading Survival Korean as he waits. She approaches to ask if he knows of Jin-

hŏn's whereabouts. She initially responds to his inability to communicate in Korean by asking, "Why didn't you learn some Korean before you came here?" but immediately retracts her criticism and attempts to communicate in French, the only Western language she knows. This implicitly marks Henry as "Western" and "other," or as an undifferentiated "white foreigner." When he responds in the negative to her French query, "*Parlez-vous français*?" she introduces herself as "Sophie" and remarks in French (with Korean subtitles), "I don't speak English and you don't speak French. This won't be a piece of cake *['c'est pas du tout cuit*,' or literally, 'this isn't fully cooked']." Sam Soon's use of the French idiomatic expression, paired with the figurative textual interpretation in the Korean subtitles ("*Nan yŏngŏrŭl mothako nŏn purŏ mothako pikinkŏne*?" [I don't speak English and you don't speak French, so it's even]) is a double entendre that references her profession as a pastry chef for a French-speaking viewer ("this won't be a piece of cake/this isn't fully cooked"), but the (Korean-)American tourist Henry (and the non-French speaking Korean audience) can only look on in blithe bemusement. Henry is cheerfully indifferent to Sam Soon's French and waits patiently for her to continue in English. Her inability to speak English well is immediately recognizable to a Korean audience as less than fluent, a deficiency that is reinforced by the omission of Korean subtitles for her halting dialogue that the producers assume a Korean viewer would be able to understand.[257]

Henry's inability to communicate in Korean or French, and Sam Soon's acceptance — even expectation — of this lack from a white foreigner gives way to accommodation despite her admission

---

[257] For a discussion of the use of subtitles and onscreen text on Korean variety shows and dramas as a projection of institutional authority over television audiences, see Park, Joseph Sung-Yul. "Regimenting Languages on Korean Television: Subtitles and Institutional Authority." *Text & Talk* 29.5 (2009): 547–570. Park's comparison of the use of subtitles and textual commentary on scripted vs. unscripted as an institutional intervention that defines the parameters of the knowledge a viewer should presumable have in order to understand the context of a joke or show. This ranges from clarifying definitions of foreign or archaic terms, to playful interjections at humorous moments that emphasize a tongue-in-cheek transgression or misstep, thereby re-affirming social norms. His (coincidental) analysis of subtitles in the same scene from *My Name is Kim Sam Soon*, however, stays within the neocolonial "American/Western/Foreigner" paradigm, only discussing the regimentation of Sam Soon's use of "bad English" as a sympathetic gesture. My conclusion from this vignette is that Samsoon's non-American (French) cosmopolitanism is an early attempt to question American culture's hegemony over the west/foreign/global.

(in French) that she doesn't speak English. But Sam Soon's "inability" is immediately belied by her success in making herself understood in English (which all Korean students learn in school), and her dogged attempts result in a momentary triumph when she is rewarded with his smile of patronizing comprehension. Park describes this as "specific strategies of entextualization [that] obscure the fact that the distinction between 'real English' and 'bad English' is a situated act of regimentation, naturalizing the ideology of self-deprecation and immunizing it from contestation."[258] At the same time, Sam Soon's ability to speak French displays her cosmopolitan education while relegating her skills to her rival Hŭi-jin's perfect English (shown at other points in the drama). In short, Henry's inability to communicate with Sam Soon reflects negatively on her as a Korean subject, rather than on the mono-lingual American of Korean-descent visiting the country.

When the camera returns to Henry and Sam Soon after an interlude between Jin-hŏn and Hŭi-jin, a waitress is setting down a tray of tea and madeleines on the table between the two love-interests-in-waiting. Sam Soon holds up the madeleine ("most Famous French cookie") with a clear visual shot of the object and explains the proper method of its consumption, pantomiming the actions for Henry's sake as she lapses into Korean (for herself and the audience) while dipping the cookie into the tea and taking an exaggerated bite (fig. 4.8).

Fig. 4.8 No subtitles: "This is madeleine."

Fig. 4.9 "My job is *pâtissier*." Subtitle reads: "Nan ppang mantŭnŭn saramiya (informal register) [I am a bread maker]."

[258] Park, 566.

Sam Soon: Do you like madeleine? (Subtitle: *Matŭllen chohayo*? [You like madeleines?])
Henry: Madeleine?
S: This is madeleine.
H: Madeleine.
S: French cookie. Um… madeleine? This… your tea… *Yakkan… yorŭhke jjikŏpoa* [You kind of… dip it in a little like this]. *Jjikko, ang. Irŏkye mŏknŭn kŏt* [Dip it and chomp. That's how you eat it]…
H: Mmm… good.
S: My job is… pâtissier. (Subtitle: *Nanŭn ppang mandŭnŭn saramiya* [I'm a person who makes bread])
H: Paddisur.
S: *Ani* [No]… *p'at'ishyu* [pâtissier]. *Ah… Ike muŏnaechi* [What do they call it?] Bake-uh.
H: Baker!
S: Bake-urr…
H: You're a baker!
S: I am baker! *Gŭreit!* [Great!] *Mach'ŏ* [Right]…
H: I love bakers!

Sam Soon re-introduces herself to Henry by her profession, telling him, "My job is…*pâtissier*," which is explained to the audience with a literal explanation of the French term in Korean subtitles: "I am a person who makes bread" (fig. 4.9). Henry tries to repeat the French term ("*paddisur*"), which Sam Soon corrects (and reconfirms for the audience) with proper French pronunciation ("*pâtissier*"), then translates for him into English: "Bake-uh." Now it is Henry's turn to educate: he corrects her English pronunciation, exclaiming, "Baker!" She responds with an embarrassed expression and corrects herself exaggeratedly: "Bake-urrr…" This is followed by a brief moment of shared success in communication.

The exchange related above about Marcel Proust's In Search of Lost Time occurs here, with the actor Daniel Henney mistakenly identifying Marcel Proust (*Marŭsel P'ŭrustŭ*) as "Marcel *Frost*" — a

Fig. 4.10 "I've heard about it; I haven't read it yet." Subtitles read: "*Tŭrŏpon chŏkŭn issnŭnte ilkŏpon chŏkŭn ŏpsŏ* [I've heard about, but I haven't read it]."

Fig. 4.11 "Ŭng, chŏnyŏ muŏrako hanŭnji morŭkessŏ [Yeah, I have no idea what you're saying]."

mistake accepted by both Sam Soon and the producers of the show, who provide the Korean subtitles *"Marŭsel Pŭrustŭ ŭi irhŏbŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ* [Marcel Proust's In Search of Lost Time]" (fig. 4.10). He admits to having heard about the book, but not having read it yet. Sam Soon doesn't understand, but launches into an explanation of the significance of the madeleine in the novel and Proust's description of its physical form (fig. 4.11).

> S*: Ŭng. Chŏnhyŏ muŏrago hanŭnji morŭkessŏ. Amŭt'ŭn, kŏgi pomyŏn, i matŭlleni naokŏtŭn. Kŭnte kŏgisŏ kŭ chunginkongi i matŭllenŭl hongch'a e jjikŏ mŏkŭmyŏnsŏ kwakŏrŭl hoesangŭl hae. Kŭnte, kŭ chuinkongŭn i matŭllenŭl ŏttŏk'e p'yohyŏni toemyŏn, t'ongt'onghake saengkin kwallŭngchŏkiko, i p'ungsŏnghan churŭmi… a, ikŏ tto muŏrago kŭraeyachi. Ŭm… kŭrae ok'ei.*[259] [Okay. I have no idea what you're saying. Anyway, this madeleine is in that book. But there, the hero dips the madeleine in his tea and eating it makes him have a flashback. But how he describes the madeleine, he says it's plump and voluptuous, and these ample lines… oh, what are these called again*?] Ŭm…kŭre Okei* [Um, good, okay].
> S: Uh, he say-ed, this is… sexy cookie!
> H: S-s-sexy cookie?
> S: Uh huh, uh huh. *Ŏ, kŭ purŏ kangŭi sŏnsaeng karŭch'yŏchŏssnŭnde, i madŭllen malkoto k'osyong-irang pŭriosyu-irang i manhŭn p'ŭrangsŭ kwachadŭli naontago kŭraesŏ kŭ ch'aekŭl sassnŭnde, wa, kŭ ch'aekŭl ilkŭmyŏnsŏ ttak ŏryŏwŏsŏ myŏch'jangto mot ilkŏssŏ.*[260] [Um, I learned about it from my

---

[259] 응. 전혀 뭐라고 하는지 모르겠어. 아므튼, 거기 보면, 이 마들렌이 나오거든. 근데 거기서 그 중인공이 이 마들렌을 홍차에 찍어 먹으면서 과거를 회상을 해. 근데, 그 주인공은 이 마들렌을 어떻게 표현이 되면, 통통하게 생긴 관능적이고, 이 풍성한 주름이… 아, 이거 또 뭐라고 그래야지. 음… 그래오케이.

[260] 어, 그 불어 강의 선생 가르쳐졌는데, 이 마들렌 말고도 코숑이랑 브리오슈이랑 이 많은 프랑스 과자들이 나온다고

French teacher, and I went and bought the book because the teacher said that it wasn't just this madeleine, but also cochon and brioche and all sorts of French cookies were in the book, but wow, it was so hard that I could only get through a few pages of it]."

The use of subtitles and Sam Soon's extended explanation of the madeleine in Korean in this scene aligns the viewer with Henry and his privileged position as a well-educated American professional, which suspends the possibility of censure for the viewer's unfamiliarity with the pastry. The assumption being that if this handsome and well-educated westerner doesn't know, then why would the viewer? Therefore Sam Soon's explanation becomes a neutral pedagogic intervention for the audience. The producers assume the audience is not familiar with the French culinary and cultural references, but through the scene's intervention, they can now eat a madeleine with the proper affective knowledge and protocol. Sam Soon's poignant erudition tying the Proustian moment of recall to Jin-hŏn and Hŭi-jin's early adolescent love ultimately comes back to her own position as the butt of the joke, and the experiment in translingual consumption returns to poking fun at the ignorant chubby old maid. "Sexy cookie!" she exclaims as she admits (in Korean) that she never actually read the book either, but had been interested because "all sorts of French cookies were in the book."

Where Joseph Park's analysis of subtitles in the same scene from My Name is Kim Sam Soon cited above as "a situated act of regimentation" that "naturalizes the ideology of self-deprecation" in the binary "real English"/"bad English," I propose that Sam Soon's non-American (French) cosmopolitanism is an early attempt to contest the hegemony of American culture and the English language over the "West/foreign/global" in Korean popular media that became a common trope of the culinary drama genre. Her position as an upwardly mobile foreign-trained *pâtissier* introduces a more diversified cosmopolitan identity for Korean consumers and provides the audience with the context for her specialized profession and its mode of consumption. Moreover, this brief scene from a

---

그래서 그 책을 샀는데, 와, 그 책을 읽으면서 딱 너무 어려워서 몇장도 못 읽었어

popular romantic comedy melodrama highlights the expectations placed on a new class of service professionals whose expertise was in the process of being codified to fit the 'traditional' categories of successful educated professionals like lawyers, doctors, professors, and other white-collar professions in order to create a space for working class Koreans.

Gender, Consumption, and Young Labour in *Coffee Prince*

Depictions of the culinary workplace created a microcosm of hierarchical society with a clear line of mobility for the heroines/heroes of popular dramas. In the culinary world, the common "rags to riches" narrative has a visually coded linear trajectory from kitchen assistant to head chef/baker/sommelier in the form of the staffs' uniforms and accessories denoting rank (hats by shape and neckerchiefs by color). This strictly codified social microcosm provides dramatic tension and the possibility of subversion through personal relationships as well as a clear path for the hero/heroine's movement through the system. The culinary workplace shows the process of the subject's interpellation into a meritocratic (patriarchal) hierarchy under the overarching benevolence of South Korean corporatism represented by the ubiquitous prodigal *chaebŏl* heir at the helm. At the same time, the (*chaebŏl*-funded) professional kitchen is a space where assumed gender roles and authority can be contested within the pre-established parameters of the workplace.[261] Foreign and specialty restaurant culture's growth in the 2000s created a more gender-neutral workplace environment that could be contrasted to the rigidly patriarchal and chauvinistic world of white-collar office workers. They therefore allow for a discussion of labor and class mobility through non-traditional education that skirts the divisive issue of gender and age hierarchy in the workplace despite the romantic and familial plot lines central to

[261] Unlike French, Italian, Japanese, or Anglo-American high culinary traditions that are dominated by male chefs, Korean food had closer associations with the domestic and communal space of women's work, as in the use of the suffix *-jip* for local restaurants or the invocation of *ŏmma/halmŏni/imo ŭi son mat* (the taste of mom, grandma, or aunt's hands), but also as in the female court chefs in *Dae Jang Geum*.

the genre that often pit generations and genders against each other. For this, I turn to the hit drama *Coffee Prince*, which foregrounds problematic gender and sexual relations as its overarching dramatic theme, but also utilizes the culinary workplace as a potential site of egalitarian professional individuation regardless of age or sex.

The dramatic tension in *Coffee Prince* (2008) is predicated on the gendered workplace, where all the employees at the eponymous cafe must be male as its theme (all princes, no princesses). This winking gender inversion invites objectification of the young male employees by the mostly female clientele. Eun-chan, the tomboyish heroine of the show, pretends to be a boy in order to get hired, and when she and her boss Han-kyŏl begin to have feelings for each other, her most serious transgression is not only the (mistaken) possibility of a homosexual romance, but her betrayal of the familial homosocial space of the café. As opposed to the more established professionals in My Name is Kim Sam Soon, all of the employees at Coffee Prince (including the middle-aged barista) are depicted as immature naives playing at work, and the underlying narrative of adult formation is told through the couple finding their respective professions: Eun-chan as a foreign-trained barista, and Han-kyŏl as a responsible business manager (him). The parallels of adulthood and craft specialization in a fetishized service industry broadens the possibilities for Korean protagonists in these dramas to achieve cultural literacy and distinction. At the same time, fetishizing the knowledge of the consumable product places the new profession back in the standard educational model of diligent study, rote memorization, intense competition, and academic certification.

Several different impulses are at work here: recognition that international engagement through education about and consumption of foreign products required broad cultural literacy for all Koreans (long shots of coffee and its consumption), restoration of the traditional patriarchal order through multiple heteronormative romantic pairings, and the reconfiguration of working class youth as service industry specialists. In this way, culinary workplace dramas provide a palatable space where pressing

social issues like multiculturalism, labor/human rights, gender bias, the national economy, and class disparity can be addressed through the familiar activity of consumption. At the same time, they sustain the possibility (or dream) of social change and upward mobility through the microcosm of the workplace. If the portrayal of the sympathetic foreigner in literature and film in Chapter 3 was an attempt to de-center the ethnonational bias of South Korean postmodern subjectivity, culinary dramas suggested that these issues might be settled à table.

Culinary dramas continued grow as a popular sub-genre, and the country's foodscape flooded filled with specialty bakeries, cafés, and foreign restaurants. Hand-drip coffee houses featuring single-origin beans and on-site roasters became extremely popular, a sign of the aestheticization of the service industry and the fetishization of its consumables. In Coffee Prince, musical montages focus on the precision and skill involved in Eun-chan's work, spliced in with affective identification with her personal record of her work in diaries filled with recipes, tasting notes, optimal techniques, and endearing doodles. Eun-chan takes a typically academic approach to becoming a successful barista. She spends hours poring over books and magazines about coffee and becomes the designated disciple of Mr. Hong, the Italian-trained coffee expert at the cafe. Images of Eun-chan staying up all night studying and determinedly drinking cup after cup of coffee mythologizes her process of becoming an adult (and woman), in contrast to the assortment of odd jobs (milk delivery, dog walking, peeling chestnuts and garlic, sewing eyes on stuffed animals) she had worked previously as a young woman without a college education. As the de facto patriarch of her family as the eldest child of a widow, Eun-chan struggles to finance her younger sister's education, placing her in the history of young women from poor families who went to work in light industry factories during the developmental period for the sake of their siblings' educations.[262] But by becoming an educated

[262] On "factory girl" literature, see Barraclough, Ruth. *Factory Girl Literature: Sexuality, Violence, and Representation in*

professional barista, she finds an alternate path to the middle class, where she can be deemed an acceptable marriage partner for her *chaebŏl* love interest.

Homogeneous Visual Landscapes in K-drama

My Name is Kim Sam Soon and *Coffee Prince* were among the first international blockbusters of the second resurgence of *Hallyu* (the first being in the late 1990s with the first big Korean drama hit in China in 1997 and the rise of Korean pop bands in China and Taiwan). During this period, Korean pop music, television dramas, and popular films, which had not enjoyed much of an international audience in the past, began to enjoy major successes in international markets with the help of targeted broadcasting practices and strategic marketing campaigns[263]. Korea's elevated international cultural profile during this period highlights the country's ambivalent position vis-a-vis trade with developing economies and "first world" trading partners along the lines of the "multicultural"/"global" binary introduced above. Where Korean auteur films were bestowed with acceptance in the international film community at marquee film festivals, K-pop and K-dramas exported aspirational affluence to China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and other countries constituting the majority of Korea's immigrant population. As such, the erasure of non-Korean bodies from this genre that was widely distributed as a romanticized picture of contemporary Korean society is troubling.

Industrializing Korea. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012; Shin, Kyung-sook. *The Girl Who Wrote Loneliness* (Oettanbang). New York: Pegasus Books, 2015 (forthcoming); and Kim Won, "Between Autonomy and Productivity: the Everyday Lives of Korean Women Workers During the Park Chung-hee Era." *Mass Dictatorship in Everyday Life: Collusion and Evasion*. Alf Lüdtke, ed. London: Palgrave, 2015 (forthcoming).

[263] For discussions of the Korean Wave within the Northeast Asian Region, see Chua, Beng Huat, and Koichi Iwabuchi (eds). *East Asian Pop Culture*; for a review of national discussions see Cho Hae-Joang. "Positioning the Korean Wave in the Nexus Between Globalization and Localization"; in terms of global culture, international sport, and the World Cup, see Joo, Rachael Miyung. *Transnational Sport*.

The images of a new working class in culinary workplace dramas like *My Name is Kim Sam Soon* and *Coffee Prince* resituates the ethnonational subject in the (cultural) service industries, and erases non-citizen industrial labor and ethnic diversification from the visual media landscape. While this shift initially seemed like another re-articulation of the *minjung* subject of earlier periods of Korean cultural history, the erasure of non-Korean citizens reveals the limits of this "regime of inclusion" and exposes the divisions of national globalization. Media portrayals of a more worldly and ethnically diverse Korean society again winnows the cultural aftereffects of the previous decades of international engagement into "multiculturalism" (*tamunhwa*) and "globalization" (*segyehwa*), where the former is excluded from popular fictional narratives like these dramas, and the latter is still associated with collective Korean engagements with international cultures as indivisible units. This helps to explain the studied avoidance of non-Korean and non-Anglo/European bodies in popular melodramas unless specifically dealing with the "issue" of multiculturalism in special public service broadcasts, sentimental reality programs, or comedy chat shows.[264] Non-white foreigners are almost entirely absent from scripted television dramas, and Anglo-European foreigners appear as visual markers of global finance. While many dramas have episode arcs that take place abroad, there is very little interaction between the Korean characters and the "locals" beyond brief business exchanges and threatening encounters with local ruffians, with perhaps one or two representative "native informants" thrown in for "local color." Although travel and education abroad remained a symbol of middle and upper class affluence and success, collecting experiences and credentials without individuated engagement was sufficient in the early period of globalization.

---

[264] On the representation of multi-ethnic South Korea on television, see Epstein, Stephen. "The Bride (s) From Hanoi: South Korean Popular Culture, Vietnam and 'Asia' in the New Millennium." *Citizenship Studies* 12.1 (2008): 9-25.

Eun-chan and Han-kyŏl's progressions from childish occasional worker and playboy (literally — his dream is to become a toy designer in the US) to service professionals reflects the futurist-influenced move towards a "cultural economy" of knowledge production discussed in Chapters 1 and 2.[265] While their work is by no means independent of capitalist production and consumption — quite the

"Latte Art" "Hand Drip" (Pour-over)

Single origin coffee beans World map made of coffee beans

Fig. 4.12 Montage of visual cues in *Coffee Prince*

[265] Futurists Alvin and Heidi Toffler theorized the move of post-industrialist societies towards service based, rather than manufacturing economies, where the majority of the working class becomes wage laborers in service industries rather than working in industrial factories and citizens would live in an "information society" of knowledge production and information processing. The Toffler's Future Shock and The Third Wave were hugely influential to South Korean politicians and academics alike, and served as advisors to the Korean government. For a discussion of how the objectification of creativity in cultural policy geared towards advancing cultural industries hampers young people's economic possibilities by fetishizing individual creativity and removing social support, see Kim Yeran. "1990-nyŏndae ihu hankuksahoeŭi munhwasaengsan kongkankwa silch'ŏn-e kwanhan yŏngu," in Sŏngkokŏnronmunhwachaetan, ŏnronkwa sahoe, vol. 15, no. 1 2007.2, pp. 2-40.

opposite, of course — the aestheticization of coffee and the culinary fields elevates even low-wage service work like this into the realm of the culture industries, and away from the image of the industrial working class of the developmental period. This became a way of including working class South Korean citizens in the low-wage service sectors in the new cultural economy of the 21st century. As with the pedagogic textual encoding in *My Name is Kim Sam Soon, Coffee Prince* uses video montage and playful onscreen text to teach viewers to recognize the artistry and knowledge involved in the proper consumption of coffee (fig. 4.12).

In Coffee Prince, however, the explanatory visual cues are provided only in English — including the national origins of the beans — that assumes a certain literacy of the viewing demographic that does not warrant transliteration in Korean script. The drama, meant to appeal to a younger audience, embellishes the playful atmosphere of the workplace with cute gestures like the teddy bear latte art and games between the employees that emphasizes the setting as a youthful workplace.[266]

[266] Ashley Carruthers discusses kawaii (cute) and "Cute Logic" in Japan as a practice of consuming other cultures that disguises the "real" people and places associated with the tourist location or product to enable guilt-free consumption. She argues that it is a form of cultural engagement that displaces (in this case) Vietnamese subjects and their "threat" to ethnic homogeneity in Japan to consumable objects and destinations that signify knowledgable interaction with an abstract "authentic" Vietnamese culture. We can see this in in the appreciation of foreign foods and goods in these dramas as well, where interactions with a foreign location is reduced to limited market spaces and mostly mute linguistic interactions that make local inhabitants into either villains or unintelligible "local flavor."

Carruthers, Ashley. "Cute Logics of the Multicultural and the Consumption of the Vietnamese Exotic in Japan." positions: east asia cultures critique, 12.2 (2004): 401-429.

In the early 2000s low-skilled wage labor in large and medium-sized factories was outsourced to foreign laborers and ad hoc wage labor became increasingly common for young working class Koreans.[267] The expression that a person could "at least peel garlic" when desperate for work became a common refrain that elderly denizens in popular media would say to praise the grit of young people of the 880,000 won generation working multiple service sector jobs in a Korean economy with low job security and fierce competition (fig. 4.13).[268] The new working class heroes and heroines were part-

---

[267] As discussed in Chapter 3, a large portion of low-wage industrial labor in South Korea was passed on to non-ethnic Korean labor, either through the influx of migrant labor to the country, or in factories and plants established abroad. As a result, South Korean labor, which had developed a strong ethnic identity closely tied to the national democratization movement (*minjung*), has become much more ethnically diverse. Labor, however, was a central theme in cultural representation from the 1960s to the 1990s that combined with student/intellectual activism to define *minjung* (mass) and *minjok* (national) identity through a shared folk tradition, and the erosion of the bond between labor and national subjectivity was the site of another crisis of ethno-national identification. Cf. Kim, Alice Soojin. "Left Out: People's Solidarity for Social Progress and the Evolution of Minjung After Authoritarianism," in South Korean Social Movements: from Democracy to Civil Society. New York: Routledge, 2011.

[268] In 2007, economist Suk-hoon Woo coined the term "880,000-won generation" (approx. $650USD) to refer to South Koreans in their 20s in the first decade of the 2000s who entered a difficult employment market with little job security and few social protections. This affected college-educated and working-class job seekers alike, who had to resort to irregular contract positions and various low-wage part-time jobs, and only worsened after the 2008-2009 worldwide banking crisis.

The problem persists in the 2010s, exacerbating inter-generational tension as the younger generations feel resentment toward their elders for the inability to deliver on the promise of economic security after years of intense competition and sacrifice in the educational system. In early 2015, for example, the part-time job portal albamon.com released a series of ads featuring K-pop star Hyeri of Girls' Day that mimicked public service announcements informing low-wage hourly employees of their rights to the new minimum wage (5,580 won) and mandatory overtime pay. The slogan of the campaign, "*alba ka kapida*" ("part-timers have the power/part-timers come first") tries to empower *albasaeng* by inverting the hierarchical social dynamic of *kapŭl* (갑을, 甲乙), and encouraging them to quit and find new work if their bosses do not comply. This caused an uproar among the independent small business owners who rely on these low-wage part time employees, who claimed they were being unfairly represented.

The Cooperative of Internet Contents Provider in Korea (Hanguk Intŏnet kont'ench'ŭ sŏbisŭ hyøptongjohap (kont'ench'ŭ chohap)) issued a statement on February 4, 2015 that the ad "could lead to conflicts and misunderstanding between part-time employees and employers," and demanded that Albamon pull the ads and issue an apology to the offended small business owners ("PC Bang and convenience store owners in an uproar over 'Albamon' ads… why?" Hankyoreh online, 2014.02.04. <<http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/economy/economy_general/676811.html>> [accessed 2015/02/20].

The issue has prompted debate for advocates on both sides that the Joongang Ilbo (one of the largest Korean news agencies) described as "Part-time workers vs. independent business owners' 'battle between the have-nots'…only the ad company remains" ("*Alba* vs. *chayŏngŏpja* '*ŭl* (乙)*kkiri ssaum'*… kwangkochuman namnŭn jangsa"). Source: Joongang Ilbo online edition, 2015.02.14, <<http://joongang.joins.com/article/016/17167016.html?ctg=1200>> [accessed 2015/02/20].

Cf. U, Sok-hun, and Kwon-il Pak. 88-manwŏn Sedae : Chŏlmang Ŭi Sidae E Ssŭnŭn Hŭimang Ŭi Kyŏngjehak (88 만원 세대: 절망의 시대에 쓰는 희망의 경제학). Soul-si: Rediang Midio, 2007; Qiu, Jack Linchuan, and Yeran Kim. "Global Financial Crisis| Recession and Progression? Notes on Media, Labor, and Youth From East Asia." International Journal of Communication 4 (2011): 20.

time employees in convenient stores, restaurants, cafes, and delivery services — *albasaeng* (from the German "*arbeit*" for work, and "*saeng*" from "*haksaeng*," or "student") — who would be paired with

Fig. 4.13 Eun-chan drowning in her "childish" work: plush dolls, baskets of chestnuts, ginger, and garlic to peel

the spoiled offspring of the *chaebŏl* elite. In culinary dramas, the embodied encounter of class polarity in the workplace was shown as an encouraging exchange of knowledge between these groups that mutually reaffirmed their gendered national identification through an eventual romance.

As Eun-chan learns how to be a professional and a woman, Han-kyŏl returns to the family corporation after his extended play abroad (fig. 4.14), presumably to expand the Coffee Prince chain (the Korean title, "First shop of the coffee prince" indicates the intent to expand the brand to other locations). His questionable sexuality is also restored along with Eun-chan's femininity. Here, the generic function of the romantic comedy all but necessitates the restoration of social harmony while providing entertainment and relief for its viewers.

Cf. Albamon.com ads: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8lYXfG9HOmc>>

Fig. 4.14 Han-kyŏl and his intended profession: toys.

Many TV dramas in the early 2000s featured protagonists with tenuous work lives in the service sector. They addressed the problem of "unemployed" youth in South Korea by showing that the previous generation's definition of employment as long-term service to one company had become too narrow, and that larger swaths of working and middle class young people were struggling to reap any benefits of the "miracle on the Han." And while the belief in traditional education as a route for advancement persisted, the prohibitive costs of educational success through expensive cram schools or a foreign education made it an increasingly unattainable option for the working class, and a cause for constant concern for the middle classes. The depiction of service industries in dramas, however, put forth an alternate narrative of professional success while providing viewers with the knowledge to continue consuming, conspicuously. Food service, health and wellness, design, tourism, hospitality, personal care, and a broad range of services were at least nominally elevated to the status of "profession" with an attendant recognition of vocational training and certification as academic credentials.[269]

---

[269] C.f. for figures and uses of "specialized job" dramas (chŏnmunjik tŭrama) in the 2000s, Lee, Won. ""Specialized Job Drama's Traits and Aspects of Development in 2000's" [2000 년대 전문직 드라마의 특징과 발전 양상]." *The Journal of the Korea Contents Association* 12.11 (November 28, 2012): 68-75.

While I focus on the culinary industry in this chapter, I also witnessed this occurring in many other industries during my

The turn from play to specialization in *Coffee Prince* is also intimately tied to the accommodation of new sexual and gendered identities in Korean youth culture, where the farcical approach to homosexuality and gender roles in Coffee Prince entangles the transgressive potential of the subject matter with class in a somewhat novel gesture. In episode 7, Eun-chan — still seen as a boy by Han-kyŏl although several other characters have learned her secret — vents her frustrations at Han-kyŏl after he chastises her for not taking a finicky customer's demands with more grace:

> Eun-chan: "That's easy for you to say. You haven't had to deal with it… It's hard taking an impossible customer's order, it's hard delivering milk, it's hard delivering food, and it's hard sewing eyes on dolls too!"
>
> Han-kyŏl: "Why are you bringing that up?"
>
> Eun-chan: "When did I ever say you could tell other people everything about me? Why would you tell them without asking me, why?!"
>
> Han-kyŏl: "What about you? Bad habit? However dumb you are, how can you not tell the difference between what you should and shouldn't say? And then you say I'm acting conceited about a cafe my grandmother set up for me?"
>
> Eun-chan: "Who was the one who said I act so pitiful and cute? That's humiliating, you know! You ask why I do what I do? Because I have to earn a living! How dirty, despicable."
>
> Han-kyŏl: "Despicable? Dirty? Who is? I am? To you?!"
>
> Eun-chan: "I'm talking about how I make a living!"

---

intermittent stays in Korea from 2003-2012, particularly in the rapidly growing areas of fitness and personal care, which were increasingly perceived as necessary extensions of physical well-being, rather than luxuries. One aerobics instructor in Seoul confided that she was saving money in order to be able to afford cosmetic surgery before applying to graduate schools in the U.S. She hoped to earn a Master's degree in physical education and a certification in physical therapy that would enable her to teach at upscale gyms and attract higher income personal training clients. Likewise, hair stylists and manicurists have been raised to the level of artists and professionals and are addressed with honorific titles such as teacher (*sunsaengnim*) and *dijainŏ-nim*. While much of this has to do with competition for business, the emphasis on (academic) credentials have become a necessity for nearly every field of service, indicating an extension of middle-class educational values to a broader range of middle-class occupations. Of course, this is not unique to South Korea, but the dogged emphasis on educational, rather than experiential training as a marker of success is remarkable.

Academic credentials and training acquired abroad (especially in North America or Europe) remain the highest level of achievement, and this recognition so deeply engrained as to be a standard trope for social status and success in Korean melodramas. This form of professional training abroad imparts class distinction, whereas the foreign laborers who arrive in Korea as industrial trainees are branded as economic migrants (see chapter 3). But without the patina of a foreign education, domestic knowledge and training can be seen as incomplete even if the benefits of these educations are often unverified by linguistic competency. In fictional narratives they are, rather, metonymically represented through an arrival/departure scene at Incheon Airport or an exaggerated montage sequence.

In this scene Eun-chan indicts Han-kyŏl's privilege as the son of a rich family who has never had to work. Their spat is the first explicit clash over the obvious class disparity between Han-kyŏl and the rest of the employees at the café that puts their brotherly play in a very different light. Where managing the cafe is a lark and a test for Han-kyŏl, the other employees struggle with poverty even as they take the opportunities Han-kyŏl gives them to treat work as play. When Eun-chan calls out his patronizing sympathy, however, Han-kyŏl takes her exclamation that earning a living (being poor) is "dirty, despicable," as an insult to both his privilege and his attraction towards her/him.

> Eun-chan: I'm just talking about my life!
>
> Han-kyŏl: You little punk! Is this what I get for taking you in because I felt sorry for you?
>
> Eun-chan: You took me in because you felt sorry for me? Then don't keep me on!
>
> Han-kyŏl: Are you forgetting something? You're the one who followed me around, begging me to give you a job.
>
> Eun-chan: Is that so? Then I guess I'll just leave.

The scene is played out as a lover's spat with Eun-chan's job at the cafe as a thinly veiled metaphor for Han-kyŏl's confusion about their (homosexual, as he thinks) romantic relationship. While the other characters encourage the pairing, worldly Han-kyŏl struggles with his feelings for another young man, and both characters displace the issue into the realm of socioeconomic status. This entanglement of class, sexuality, and fraternity in a homosocial space is a palliative for the problem of widening income disparity amongst South Koreans that displaces the more divisive issue of class onto the romantic farce.

When Eun-chan returns from studying to be a *barista* in Italy, she has clearly become a woman, signified by her more "feminine" style of dress, hair, and makeup. She is now a cosmopolitan Seoul-ite, and her class transformation is complete. The suggestion that her education and bourgeois travel experiences have enabled her to transcend her class in order to become a suitable wife, neatly resolving the issue of economic disparity and gender confusion.

Gender, Technology, and the Creation of Korean *Gastronomie*: *Dae Jang Geum*

As culinary dramas continued to enjoy popularity in the latter half of the decade, however, the fetishization of foreign cuisine began to explore hybridization with local ingredients and cultural knowledge in a move that proposed the cultural parity of Korean cuisine with imported international cuisines. This shift can best be understood through the concurrent creation of "Global *Hansik*," the government campaign to promote and define a modern and scientific history of Korean cuisine. In 2009, the national globalization campaign, reconfigured as the "National Branding Campaign" under President Lee Myung-bak was extended to Korean cuisine —[270] in addition to literature (Chapter 2), film (Chapter 3), music, and design — and designated as cultural content in 2009. Under the leadership of then-president Lee Myung-bak's wife, Kim Yoon-ok, who chaired the Korean Cuisine Global Promotion Team (*hansik* segyehwa *ch'ujin*) with the goal of "turning Korean food (*hansik*) into one of the five most popular ethnic cuisines in the world by 2017."[271] Defining "global *hansik*" was a national project that "consciously inculcated the image of Korean cuisine as the food of yesteryear, unaffected by industrialization and other evils of the modern world." This deliberate idealization of the pre-modern "purity" of Korean food was, importantly, in accordance with the "nostalgic view of Korean cuisine currently prevalent among South Koreans themselves… and the culmination of a growing nostalgia for and appreciation of domestic cuisine, a phenomenon that has been on the rise in South Korea since the late 1990s."[272] Global *Hansik* created a consciously dialectical segment of national

---

[270] Royal Court Cuisine of the Joseon Dynasty was designated Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 38 in 1970, following the efforts of gastronomist Hwang Hye-seong and her family. Widespread interest in court cuisine did not occur until the late 1990s and early 2000s, however, when the broader movement to reconstruct Korean tradition and growing middle class consumption led to greater interest in the "forgotten" distinctions of Korean royal tradition. The Hwang family later established the Research Institute of Korean Royal Cuisine, which continued the work of excavating the country's culinary past and served as consultants for state functions and popular media representations, including Dae Jang Geum. For a history of the recovery and "preservation" of Joseon Court Cuisine, see Moon, Okpyo. "Moon, Okpyo. "Dining Elegance and Authenticity: Archaeology of Royal Court Cuisine in Korea." Korea Journal 50.1 (2010): 36-59.

[271] Cwiertka, Katarzyna J., p. 363.

[272] *Ibid.*, p. 365.

culture that simultaneously contested and embraced a comparative appreciation of international high cuisine while simultaneously suggesting itself as one among them.

It seems quite natural, then, that the first food drama to establish Korean cuisine as a fetishized system of knowledge was the historical drama *Dae Jang Geum* (Jewel in the Palace, or The Great Jang Geum). The show, which aired on MBC for 54 episodes over the summer and fall of 2003, was a blockbuster hit in Korea and around the world that became emblematic of new historical dramas, even spawning its own tourism industry.[273] *Dae Jang Geum* presented a micro-history of cooks and physicians in the Chosŏn royal palace that transformed the approach to historical dramas from a focus on male-centered political and military intrigue to a re-imagining of the (highly dramatized) "everyday lives" of the pre-modern past. The program also sparked widespread interest in Chosŏn court rituals, cuisine, clothing, and the role of women in the palace.[274]

In essence, the plot of *Dae Jang Geum* follows the same narrative trajectory of the modern dramas of upward mobility discussed above: Jang Geum is the daughter of a fallen *yangban* noble who has been relegated to outcaste status as a butcher and knife peddler. She enters the court after gaining the favor of the king by delivering a secret message that saves his life. Her time in the palace kitchen is fraught with competition and sabotage by her rivals from a prestigious lineage clan, but learns through a studious process of inquiry to adapt foreign knowledge (medicinal herbs and acupuncture from the Ming) to native soil despite opposition from ministers in the court. In her final bid to cure the king through invasive surgery (against the Confucian principle of maintaining the holistic form of the body), the king issues a secret edict to send her to China to "continue to expand

---

[273] A *Dae Jang Geum* theme park was built in Kyeonggi Province, there are/were numerous culinary tours and books with information from the broadcast, and related merchandise can still be purchased at gift shops in Korean airports and all over the country.

[274] Kim, Hoyŏn. "Taechung yŏngsang maech'erŭl tonghae parabon hankuk ŭmsik munhwaŭi chae-insik." Sunch'ŏnhyang inmunkwahak nonch'ong, 31.3 (2012): 221-243.

her skills in a land with a broader perspective"; a pre-modern offer to study abroad, as it were. Her decision to stay in Chosŏn as a fugitive, tending to the sick in remote villages and starting her own nuclear family with her love interest throughout the drama — a royal guard/minister who was also forced into exile in the course of factional wars in the court — makes her a heroic national figure and exemplar of the "wise mother, good wife" feminine ideal. Jang Geum's perseverance and devotion to her native land is rewarded with the restoration of the couple's former titles and offers to return to the palace, but she makes the decision for her family to turn down the offer and leave the palace, acknowledging that her unorthodox methods would almost certainly continue to encounter opposition in the conservative court.

In the series finale, Jang Geum and her family find a woman in childbirth who can only be saved through surgery, which is still expressly forbidden, and which Sir Min asks her not to practice to prevent future persecution. Jang Geum successfully performs the life-saving surgery, and the triumphant final scene of the family closes with Sir Min's overdubbed narration, "It seems like this

Fig. 4.15 Jang Geum's diagnosis: preeclampsia, with Korean gloss for the viewer

woman will always be at odds with this time, but she will always ask of her time, 'Why can't we do whatever it takes if it will save lives?'" an indictment of the closed-minded protocol of the Chosŏn period that has historically been blamed for the country's failure to resist imperial aggression in the

early 20th century. At the same time, the family's departure from the rigid hierarchy of the royal court and their progressive values of spousal equality, scientific experimentation, and personal humility provides a somewhat heavy-handed moralistic ideal of the modern Korean nuclear family with deep historical roots.

Dae Jang Geum accomplished several important functions for the creation of *hansik* and the recuperation of Korea's pre-modern past: through its lavish portrayal of high culture in the Chosŏn dynasty; the use of positivist scientific inquiry to indigenize knowledge from abroad and make use local ecology; the emphasis on the role of women in positions of power; its relative social mobility even within the rigid hierarchy of Chosŏn society; and, of course, the aesthetic and holistic representation of local food culture. The shift from Korean food to *hansik* in *Dae Jang Geum* can be seen as a post-modern turn of signification, "whereby modern modes of alimentary consumption such as industrialized agriculture, mass produced foods, and fast-food have been devalued in favor of an intellectualized consumption that privileges knowledge of place of origin, culinary methods, physiological value, and ecological responsibility"[275] in a local historical context. This renewed focus on the connection between the individual and traditional local food sources underpinned popular culinary trends in the early 2000s like "well-being" (*welping*), "slow food" (*sŭllop'udŭ*), *hyangt'o ŭmsik* (鄕土飮食, "local food"), *chech'ŏl ŭmsik* ("seasonal food") and the earlier *sinto puri* (身土不二, "body and earth are one"), that emphasized a conscientious and nostalgic engagement with what was being put into the body as daily life in urban Seoul was moving farther away from the idealized image of the Korea's rural past.[276]

---

[275] Kim Hoyŏn, "Taechung yŏngsang maech'erŭl t'onghae parabon hankuk ŭmsikmunhwaŭi chae-insik," in *Sunch'ŏnhyang inmunkwahaknonch'ong* vol. 31, no. 3(2012), 224-225.

[276] Slow food and local food movements were also influenced by similar movements around the world, as can be seen in the adoption of the English-language neologisms, but these approaches to physical consumption were also heavily influenced by domestic research on agriculture and nutritional health. On the local food movements as a "cultural pilgrimage to search for a mythic time and nature," see Kim, Kwang Ok. "Rice Cuisine and Cultural Practice in Contemporary Korean Dietary Life."

Food trends like the ones listed above reveal changes in social relations and the expression of individual and collective identities that can be easily mobilized by institutional and commercial actors to create affective communities, and in Korea, as in other industrialized countries grappling with the socio-cultural effects of economic globalization, food was objectified as a site for the (re-) production of national identity and culture. The extensive mediation of *hansik* through state-sponsored scientific research, tourism campaigns, commercial advertising, lifestyle television, and in fictional narratives in literature, film, and television have constructed a sentimental and idealized past of high and low culinary traditions that are mined for their commercial potential and sold back to citizens, co-ethnics in the diaspora, and "foreigners" through luscious imagery, sentimental narratives of tradition and craft, and a syncretic blend of modern science and holistic nourishment aimed at presenting a culinary culture that is coterminous with other culinary cultures with distinction. Barthes wrote of food that it allows a person to "partake each day of the national past…. No doubt the myth of French cooking abroad (or as expressed to foreigners) strengthens this 'nostalgic' value of food considerably; but since the French themselves actively participate in this myth (especially when traveling), it is fair to say that through his food the Frenchman experiences a certain national continuity. By way of a thousand detours, food permits him to insert himself daily into his own past and to believe in a certain culinary "being" of France."[277] The communicative function of food, he continues, "serves as a sign not only for themes, but also for situations; and this, all told, means for a way of life that is emphasized, much more than expressed, by it."[278] He suggests that food in post-modern society produces temporal and locative situations for the culturally literate consumer that are specific to that civilization, but does not

---

Korea Journal 50.1 (2010): 29-31. On *sint'o puri* and government cooperation with the agricultural federation to promote kuksan (domestic) produce and meats, see Cwiertka, pp. 368-369.

[277] Barthes, p. 32.

[278] *Ibid.*

extend this line of inquiry beyond a single national context. By contrast, aesthetic consumption of *hansik* and foreign foods in culinary dramas of the early 2000s constituted an ecosystem of transnational consumption that presented contemporary South Koreans as members of an international culture with distinction. While this image production was reaching an increasingly diverse international audience, however, it was by no means hegemonic. As the unifying images of South Korean citizens expanded, so too did the images of North Koreans, non-ethnic Korean residents in South Korea, and the transnational Korean diaspora.

Global Hansik, "Ethnic Food," and Reconciliation

International interest in Korean food seemed to be having a moment in the first decade of the 21st century that was thought to be an aftereffect of *hallyu*, but a closer examination of the global interest in Korean food reveals a combination of transnational media flows with an unexpected set of consequences for South Korea's promotion of its national image and for ethnic Korean communities around the world. Anthropologist Boudewijn Walraven discussed the early government campaigns to promote Korean food through kimchi thus: "Kimch'i is not only seen as a symbol of national identity by researchers, journalists or the general public, but also by the government, which has given it official status. It has been designated as one of ten symbols of corporate identity (CI, defined as a 'systematic image management tool that has been widely used among business enterprises') selected by the Ministry of Culture and Sports (*Newsreview* 11 January 1999). 'The selected symbols', a newspaper report said, 'are expected to help spread positive images of the country and its people'. The only other food item selected as a CI symbol was *pulgogi*, broiled beef."[279]

---

[279] Walraven, Boudewijn. "Bardot soup and Confucians' meat: food and Korean identity in global context," in Cwiertka, Katarzyna Joanna, and Boudewijn Walraven (eds.). *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*. Richmond: Curzon, 2002, p. 100. The

These efforts to push *pulgogi* and kimchi down the world's collective gullet were successful to some extent, but occurred alongside the fusion of elements of Korean food with other ethnic foods created by enterprising young Korean-American chefs that brought an almost self-contradictory image of Korean cuisine as simultaneously hip and traditional, global and local. Highly educated second generation Korean American chefs trained in 4-star international restaurants like David Chang of Momofuku and Roy Choi of the Kogi taco trucks brought Korean flavors to both high and low cuisine in New York and Los Angeles, respectively. In the process, they also became very visible mouthpieces on food and travel television of Korean cuisine's malleability and distinctive character under the rubric of American multiculturalism and the fetishization of "ethnic food".

"Ethnic" food demarcates and ghettoizes "non-center" food cultures. "Ethnic food" sustains a center/periphery hierarchy of national identities that associates "authenticity" with a perceived class status not unlike the multicultural/global distinction discussed above, regardless of how indigenized certain food becomes in "new" location, and even regardless of whether or not they originated in the local space. Mären Mohring charts the introduction of "ethnic" foods into post-war Germany and the subsequent indigenization of the first "exotic" foreign food, Italian, in contrast to the continued discrimination against Turkish food and restaurants despite their popularity and the localization and

---

conflation of tradition and ecological nationalism related to food was widespread in the late 1990s and early 2000s. On French chocolatiers and the insistence on the authenticity of French chocolate craft in the 1990s, Susan J. Terrio writes: "The selective appropriation, reinvention, and exoticization of the historical origin and use of chocolate in the New World also serve this purpose. By constructing a specifically French history of chocolate and celebrating its transformation from a primitive, foreign foodstuff to a refined French one, chocolatiers and connoisseurs reinforce received notions concerning French taste even as these notions are used to promote new confectionary criteria for determining it. In the skilled hands of French craftsmen, chocolate is sweetened but retains the powerful taste of its wild, natural origins. It is domesticated yet remains inextricably linked to the consuming habits of elites redefined as both cultured and hedonistic" (158).

Terrio connects "craft commodity production in advanced capitalism" to the perceived threat to France's particular notion of cultural achievement (especially in regards to its cuisine and *gastronomie*) in the face of the approach of an EU attempt to "forge Europeanness in the name of a universal culture" as embodied by the proliferation of "cheap" and "inferior" mass-produced Belgian chocolatiers. Cf. Terri, Susan. "Crafting Grand Cru Chocolates in Contemporary France," in James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell (eds.). The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: a Reader. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005. pp. 144-162.

absorption of elements of the cuisine into German everyday lives. The same absorption of Italian food (in the form of past and pizza) occurred in the US, and American pizza became its own global product that then penetrated foreign markets as a typically American food item. This seems not to be the case for ethnic foods that can be seen as racially different like Turkish cuisine in Germany and Chinese cuisine the world over, where the restaurants and food products of these cuisines continue to be asked to perform their exotic identities regardless of the extent of their localization or duration since introduction.

While it is true that national cuisines of all types perform their identities in a "host" environment, the label "ethnic" may not be applied across the board. Parisian-style bistros and Italian trattorias are rarely consigned to "ethnic" status in any major urban city in the world, and their authenticity is often contingent on the "classiness" the establishment is able to express. Menus printed in the language of origin and the whimsical gestures and fixtures that can transport a diner to a desirable cosmopolitan locale (whether urban or rustic) work in opposite trajectories for international and ethnic restaurants, whereas "ethnic" restaurants are expected to be "hole in the wall" places where the presence of co-national migrants indicate authenticity and "traditional" decor is the most desirable aesthetic. While the performative expectations are the same, the respective cuisines are then placed on a developmental scale of cultural prestige.

The image of Korean cuisine has teetered on the edge of this distinction since the early 2000s, and South Korea's promotion of *hansik* has reaped the benefits of the rise of a generation of Korean and Asian Americans in the creative fields of cooking, fashion, design, and writing who have (un-) consciously taken on the role of cultural translators and guides, even as they assert their American identities. At the same time, the growing popularity of foreign food in Korea and the fetishization of *hansik* "leads to a paradoxically persistent questioning of identity of migrants and natives alike. Thus, migrating food practices bridge and buffet bodily conceptions of the self and the other, insinuating

themselves into conceptions of home and abroad, this place and that other one, private and public."[280] The place that Korean-American chefs describe as their heritage cuisine, however, is also tied to an imagined space and time, frozen and reformulated through the experience of immigration and minority cultures.

By contrast, chefs from Korea with a great deal of capital and young Korean transnationals represent a completely different temporal vision of the country that underwent the social transformations of democratization and high speed development. This contemporary vision of the country, however, occurred at the beginning of a wave of nostalgia for the 1970s that was in the process of re-casting that past in an if not positive, at least much more ambivalent light. The nostalgia for the Korea of the 1970s in the late 1990s and early 2000s has, at different moments, corresponded temporally with the country imagined by diasporic Korean-Americans from the first major wave of immigration in the late 1960s and 1970s. Thus, where one group (South Korean nationals) is nostalgic for the presumed lost innocence of the Park Chung-hee era, the other (Korean-Americans in this example) has a fixed imagination of the same temporal space without the intervening decades of social change. For the first group, the fetishization of Korean cuisine is a temporal retrieval that recuperates nostalgia and "traditional" values to assuage a contemporary crisis of identification, while for the second, fetishized and palatably distilled Korean cuisine confirms an atemporal imaginary motherland. While these differing perceptions have the potential for future conflict or confusion, in the first decade of the 2000s, they seem to have hit upon a mutually coincident essentialization of the values inherent to "Korea" and Korean cuisine.

---

[280] Möhring, Maren. "Transnational Food Migration and the Internationalization of Food Consumption: Ethnic Cuisine in West Germany." *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World*. Ed. Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann. Bloomsbury: Berg, 2008.

In this case, conflating food culture, ethnic, and national identities in global media seems uncritically reductive, an attempt to take advantage of a beneficial moment of the confluence of historical contingencies that stemmed from the flow of bodies and capital in the previous half century. While the "fusion" of transnationally produced images of Korean food culture has been relatively successful in the years since *Dae Jang Geum* and the Global *Hansik* Campaign first appeared, culinary dramas in the late 2000s and early 2010s became increasingly concerned with the "local" that reigned in the diffusion of Korean identities depicted in the early 2000s and returned the primary site of collective affective identification to the geographic space of South Korea. In other words, while the early 2000s showed an interactive import and export of culinary knowledge, in later years, culinary dramas turned to the indigenization and amelioration of foreign cuisine and knowledge through a discovery of the local that coincided with popular political and social movements protesting neoliberalism and select international trade agreements.[281] As the culinary drama as genre

---

[281] The massive public demonstrations against the proposed terms of the KORUS free trade agreement is cited as a pivotal moment in the return of contentious politics in South Korea after years of relative inactivity following democratization. The beef protests stemmed from fears over the import of beef tainted with mad cow disease from the U.S., with Koreans protesting the trade agreement that was perceived as forcing inferior products on the country. These tensions were exacerbated by the long-festering public antagonism against the continued presence of the U.S. military in the country, particularly in relation to the unbecoming conduct of American GIs stationed in Seoul and at military bases around the country [footnote about death of teenage girls, prostitution, camptowns]. The boycott of U.S. beef led to many restaurants and barbecue gardens labeling the origin of the meat they served, and contributed to the growing demand and elevation of domestic beef (한우, Hanu). Many restaurants chose to serve beef from Australia in favor of U.S. meats, and the distinctions enabled premium price distinctions that, finally, privileged locally grown meat.

The appearance of national origins on meats and produce at restaurants and grocery stores in the 2000s, for example, was directly related to the popular protests in 2008 against beef imported from the U.S. that combined anti-colonial and anti-American anger at a perceived disregard for the Korean body (the threat of mad cow disease), economic protectionism (protecting Korean agriculture through a concern for farmers), and new patterns of consumption (a more affluent population consuming more meat), and new international trade relations (showing preference for *hochusan* (Australian or New Zealand) beef). In this way, patriotism can intercede in everyday life at the most intimate level of household goods, etc.

For a brief discussion of the "return" to the rural, neoliberal food governance and South Korean responses global foodways, see Muller, Anders Riel. "The Fight for Real Food in Korea." *Korean Quarterly*, Winter 2012 (2012).

On the impact of the anti-US beef protests in 2008, see "Micro-Dynamics of Protests: The Political and Cultural Conditions for Anti-U.S. Beef Protests in South Korea." Sociological Perspectives 55.3 (August, 2012): 399-420; for an analysis of food politics as a locus of fears over national sovereignty and inconsistent anti-neoliberalism, see Hong, Shinae. "The Struggle Against Neoliberal Governance: Anti-FTA Social Movement in Korea in the Context of Neoliberal Economic Reform." Ph.D. Dissertation. January 1, 2013, and Kim, Chul-Kyoo. ""Globalization and Changing Food Politics in South Korea"."

progressed, the parallel trajectories of cosmopolitan consumption of the foreign and the making of cosmopolitan Korean cuisine drew closer together as the realization of "innate" cultural knowledge and methods enabled a reflexive identification with 20th century history.

Discovery of the Local: *Terroir*, *Pasta*, and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu*

The aesthetic use of the "local" in culinary dramas from late 2008-2012 speaks to the relative success of the separation of "Korean tradition" as a politically sanitized cultural heritage distinct from prior associations with the post-colonial and developmental past. In contrast to prior artistic movements like naturalism of the 1960s and *minjung* in the 1970s and 80s that explored rural space and folk traditions as critiques of modernization and authoritarian power, popular cultural production in the late 2000s attempted to recuperate "lost" rural space and local traditions for modern urban consumption. At the same time, national and local government attempted to turn historical inter-provincial chauvinism into regional specialization through marketing, local festivals, and specialized product displays in grocery stores and in public squares.[282] Highlighting regional distinctions through recognizable geographic features, local commodities and foods presented a diversity of cultures that could be unproblematically incorporated in the newly re-branded image of Korean tradition. The creation of idealized local identities for consumption had the potential to assuage collective anxiety over cultural fragmentation caused by the transnational mobility of Korean citizens, the influx of new

---

456_report_2-2.pdf. http://www.waseda-giari.jp/sysimg/rresults/456_report_2-2.pdf
. Web. 17 Dec. 2015., and Park, Mi. "Framing Free Trade Agreements: The Politics of Nationalism in the Anti-Neoliberal Globalization Movement in South Korea." Globalizations 6.4 (December, 2009): 451-466.

[282] Local film festivals also became an important space for staking out regional, cosmopolitan, and minority identities in South Korea from the mid-1990s on. C.f. Kim Soyoung, "Cine-Mania' or Cinephilia: Film Festivals and the Identity Question," in Shin, Chi-Yun, and Julian Stringer (eds.). *New Korean Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

ethnic groups, and the diversification of the ethnic Korean population as a result of “return” migration from different sites of the diaspora.

If Korean cuisine was created as a product for global consumers through the efforts of the government and historical dramas *like Dae Jang Geum*, it also became one for Korean consumers as the transnational elite were reminded of their ties to national culture and the lower classes were taught to understand and emulate bourgeois consumption. This question lends itself to the uneven application of globalization theory in rapidly developing nations. The contradictions and exceptions to globalization as a bourgeois fantasy undergirded by a mobile industrial laboring underclass is met with a discomfiting discrepancy between the liberal humanist ideal of globalization that is the expression of a global ideal of culture, in particular. As "center" culture increasingly denotes a global urban culture,[283] points of origination are subordinated to the continuous production of the interpellating images associated with culture, which can then be attractively packaged for consumption. The lingering sense of liberal ethics of the cosmopolitan class,[284] however, must also be assuaged through media at the same time that it is necessarily deferred for the sake of individual consumption as freedom (Taylor, Foucault). In this sense, consumption of the local by an increasingly mobile "local" population that, due to educational migration and return migration, often forms its ethnic and national identities in absentia. In this regard the discovery, homogenization, and historicization of local culture in relation to food is particularly meaningful.

The fetishization of the “local,” however, not only produces distant communities of feeling to a simulacrum of local space, it also further exoticizes its difference from the urban center of Seoul in a

---

[283] Sassen, Saskia. *Globalization and Its Discontents: essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*. New York: New Press, 1998.

[284] Cheah, Pheng, Bruce Robbins. *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

manner similar to the othering of ethnic food. It effectively constructs Seoul as the metropole of an empire of consumption that even extends to specific centers of social and ethnic capital within the city itself. In this way, mediated Korean culture is deterritorialized, and the subjective "I" of national consumption can, ironically, be found in multiple locations. And yet, the epiphany of the affective connection to the land and local practices in the wine drama Terroir (2009) and 2010's Pasta marked a shift in the acquisition of cosmopolitan cultural capital through diligent study and faithful reproduction that recovered the ingenuity of family and local practices to indigenize foreign consumables (wine and pasta, respectively) and inscribe a modern history of global Korean food culture.

Appellation of Origin in Terroir

Wine culture developed in Korea in the late 1990s and early 2000s along with the opening of import restrictions and greater interest in foreign cuisine (and coffee). During this period, wine acted as a short-hand for refinement and health consciousness associated with wealth, as opposed to the excessive consumption of local *soju* or *yangju* (foreign liquor). By the time *Terroir* aired in 2008[285], consumption of imported red wine had hit an all time high and then rapidly declined, aided first by the ratification of a trade agreement with Chile in 2004 that brought "value-imaged" wine to the masses, then hindered by the economic downturn in 2008[286]. In the drama, a young woman from a

[285] In 2008, the value wine imports to the country peaked at $167 million USD, nearly double the value in 2006, before sharply declining immediately after the financial crisis. Source: Korea Trade Information Service Database (KOTIS)

[286] Oh, Sangyong. *Wine Market Brief Seoul ATO Korea - Republic of.* October 30, 2013. Print. GAIN Report Number: KS1349. French wine had the largest market share of imported wine in Korea in the 2000s due to the popular perception of luxury and refinement associated with French *gastronomie*, but more affordable Chilean wine was popular, and became much more so when the 15% import tax was lifted as part of the Korea-Chile FTA. Terroir goes so far as to vouch for the quality and approachability of Chilean wine through Wooju's training at the restaurant: " It daringly uses young grapes from the vineyard to make the wine. When everyone said that Chilean wine wasn't marketable, you [T'aemin] brought the brand to the masses, and now it has become the most palatable and consumable premier wine in Korea" (*Terroir*, ep. 16).

family of traditional rice wine makers becomes an award-winning sommelier by tapping into her inherited acuity for connecting aroma and taste to environmental influences[287]. *Terroir* follows the established narrative arc of the contemporary culinary drama that begins with the wealthy hero abroad, and the working class heroine in Korea. Here, the prodigal *chaebŏl* heir T'ae-min is in France in search of a rare bottle of wine. After establishing the heroine Wooju's deep connection to the land through a visit to her family's rural distillery, she also travels to France to bring back her errant boyfriend. The two cross paths, only to meet again in Seoul as employee/employer when landlord T'ae-min evicts Wooju's family from their *suljip* (drinking establishment) to turn it in to a high-end wine bar. Wooju stays on at the wine bar and trains to become a *sommelier*, and she and her former employees teach T'ae-min and his pedigreed sommeliers and chefs to appreciate local Korean food and wine, while they learn about wine and French cuisine.

The mutual exchange leads to food and wine pairings that incorporate *sinto puri*, *hyangt'o ŭmsik*, *chech'ŭl ŭmsik*, *well-being*, and *slow food* not to demystify the desirable aesthetics of wine culture, but to propose imminent local parity through the efforts of the younger generations. This is rather ham-fistedly expressed by the elder generation in the final episode of the drama: When Wooju's grandfather presents T'ae-min with his beloved uncle's wine journals, he asks that T'ae-min passes the journals on to Wooju, who, he says, "knew wine before she could even read and write. If you are willing to teach her, she will be able to achieve our goals. […] And there will come a day when we will be able

---

[287] The French term *terroir*, or *goût de terroir*, most frequently associated with French wine culture is generally defined as "taste of place," and "has been used to explain agriculture for centuries, but its association with taste, place, and quality is more recent, a reaction to changing markets, the changing organization of farming, and changing politics. By the late nineteenth century, everyday rural agricultural practices—a reliance on certain crops of livestock because they responded to the local climate and geography, harvesting the bounty of nearby rivers and seas—came to represent the building blocks of regional cuisines" (22). The concept of *terroir* became codified in France in the 20th century during the creation of the *appellations d'origins contrôllées*, which became legal designations for the names of wines of various regions in France such as Bordeaux and Champaign that link taste, place, and quality, a combination meant to symbolize the authenticity of French wine regions and methods for producing wine.

Trubek, Amy B. *The Taste of Place a Cultural Journey Into Terroir*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

to make wine that will be on par with other countries." Mr. Yang, nationally renowned wine collector and T'ae-min's former employer is also blunt about his ambitions for Korea when tells Wooju, "When the Americans first said that they wanted to make their wine, the French laughed at them for being fools — that the wine they made would taste like Coca Cola. But if Lee Wooju were to make the first Korean wine, what will people say about that? Won't they say the wine will taste like kimchi? Many have already failed, but someone needs to succeed in this challenge" (*Terroir*, ep. 20). Wooju's grandfather's own recent experiments with making wine from local persimmons return to the marriage between technology and excavated tradition characteristic of the globalization of Korean culture in the 2000s. While the audience is first introduced to the Lee family brewery as a traditional rural space to explain Wooju's evocative connection to the land (fig. 4.16), in later episodes, her grandfather, clad in a modern-style *hanbok* shows off the modern R&D lab where white-coated technicians experiment with modern techniques to make Korean wine (fig. 4.17).

The visual dissonance of the rural wine brewery and the modern wine research facility challenges the association of traditional methods and rural space with a nostalgic national heritage that the drama itself introduces, and forcefully inserts a new image of local modernization. Through Wooju's grandfather and Mr. Yang, then, the unequivocal desire of the established patriarchy to literally plant the seeds of a new Korean *gastronomie* are entrusted to Wooju and T'ae-min, who are expected to

Fig. 4.16 Traditional wine at the Lee family home (ep. 1)

Fig. 4.17 Wine research facility at the Lee family farm (ep. 16)

personally and professionally consummate the hybridization of academic foreign knowledge (T'ae-

min) and an innate emotional connection to the land (Wooju). The embrace of foreign food cultures and progressive ambition toward local food culture, then, can be seen as part of a similar colonizing impulse that locates South Korea in post-colonial and neo-imperial subject positions. The fervor with which wine culture in *Terroir* is adopted, specialized, and indigenized thus speaks to a complicated relation between the cosmopolitan Korean self and a diffused "other," where the other can be a desirable foreigner (Western), invisible foreigner (non-ethnic Koreans in South Korea), or a Korean "other" located physically and temporally outside the contemporary identity of modern, urban metropolitan subject in Seoul. In this way, *Terroir* moves beyond the acquisition of cultural legitimacy in *Sam Soon, Coffee Prince,* and *Dae Jang Geum* to search for authenticity in modern local space, while evacuating ethnic diversity from rural space by reclaiming tradition as a modern Korean enterprise.

Culture/Class Clashes Between Locals in Pasta

As discussed above, in comparison to other commercial spaces, the culinary workplace drama invited the ingestion of international culture and hybridization as a positive notion that was less politically or culturally threatening to local social practice. And as popular narrative texts reliant on dialogue, it also acted as a tertiary space where Korean actors could stand in for other cultures qua cuisines through their experiences and educations abroad — in effect, personifying the indigenization of the objects of consumption, while simultaneously reaffirming the ethnically homogeneous visual landscape discussed above. This in turn creates a simulacra of contemporary society in which the production and consumption of food by ethnic Koreans allows again for the diffusion of the ethnonational subject of earlier periods of Korean literary and cultural history into post-modern social identifications. But as Korean cultural products continue to find transnational and ethnically diverse audiences in and outside the country, however, the need for a dialectical analysis of this exceptionalism becomes ever more apparent.

What we see on the surface in these dramas after 2008, however, seems to be a retreat into a self-contained notion of local history within international space, where the criticism of inauthenticity and cultural misappropriation is countered with a rediscovery of an authentically "Korean" practices, and the globalized product or practice becomes a way of retrieving a collective identity in the present. In the 2010 drama *Pasta*, for example, the pinnacle of the show's culinary competition centers on an invented dish, ginseng pasta, that the two elite foreign-trained chefs are unable to make palatable in spite of their mutual desire to create a Korean-inflected haute-cuisine pasta dish. This is only resolved by the (naturally) plucky young heroine, who, lacking the wherewithal to pursue her dreams of elite culinary education because she has had to work to support her brother's medical education (another familiar trope), has scraped her way into an entry-level position in the kitchen of a high-class Italian restaurant where she doggedly accepts any and all work, criticism, and suggestions to achieve her goals.

The foil to this romantic comedy narrative is the rivalry between two teams of sous-chefs: the existing team of locally trained working-class cooks who eventually dub themselves "Team Korea" (*t'im k'oria*), and the worldly (and glamorous) "Team Italy" (*t'im it'ali*), all young Korean men trained in

Fig. 4.18 "Team Italy" and "Team Korea" face off in La Sfera's kitchen in *Pasta*

Italy and brought in by the new head chef Choi, inventor of the ginseng pasta. The competition between these status groups is represented visually in the kitchen, and then thematically through a

national competition for "best Italian chef in Korea," with the prize of a year of study in a prestigious culinary institute in Italy.

The now-established culinary drama conventions are repeated in *Pasta*, with the addition of a communal foreign-educated elite that distinguishes themselves as a collective group distinct from the other Korean chefs, and that identifies themselves by the origin of their specialization. In this sense, they themselves have become the products of foreign indigenization, and are able to collectively personify the "foreign" culture. This move entails a further erasure of external referents, where not only is the one non-ethnic Korean character (the original Italian chef) removed from the "authentic Italian" space and replaced by a better "Italian" chef who is Korean, but when the grand-master chef under whom all of the elite chefs (including the ethnic Italian chef) trained in Italy is introduced, he is also a Korean national returning from abroad. This shift in the object of culinary fetishization from food, to acquired knowledge, to embodiment symbolically completes the process of culinary globalization by promoting the "local" foreign expert to the ultimate position of authority regarding this cuisine. At the same time, the competition between the groups attempts to validate the locally trained chefs by conceding the importance of providing high-quality pasta not only to the monied elite who patronize their restaurant, but also to the masses, who have now learned to *appreciate italia-yori*. In this period of widening income disparity and greater poverty, then, consumptive practices that exacerbated differences within the (national) population were the subject of media (and government awareness campaigns) that attempted to bridge these gaps now by introducing these ((un)equally validated) levels of culinary distinction[288].

---

[288] Again, though, the difference between the modes of representation in these dramas and the literature and films discussed in Chapter 3 expose a glaring discursive divide in the uses of "globalization" in Korea, where depictions of national working class subjects in media have changed to reflect a much more worldly group, but the conflict of multiculturalism has been symbolically transferred to an inter-ethnic class or social conflict. While there were a few popular films in the late 2000s featuring non-ethnic Korean working-class characters (*Hello Stranger*, 2007; *Where is Ronny*, 2008*; Bandhobi*, 2009; *Banga*! *Banga*!, 2010) and a film festival dedicated to migrant labor issues and representations (Migrant Worker Film Festival), very

Mythologizing Local Culinary History in Terroir and Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu

The task of establishing and (re-) claiming legitimacy and authenticity for local culinary culture through embodied Korean figures also extended to the creation of a mythologized local history of refined consumption that directly engages twentieth century history, a theme that was reiterated in several popular films and dramas in the late 2000s. In *Terroir*, Wooju's climactic triumph as a sommelier is set at a national wine tasting competition that offers as its prize a vintage bottle of Chateau Margaux 1882, a French Bordeaux introduced in the story as the favorite wine of the (real) Empress/Queen Myeongseong, lionized as the "mother of the nation" after her assassination by the Japanese 1895. The melodrama of Korean culinary history's mobility takes a florid turn during the tasting competition, when, in answer to the question of what the Empress might have "said and felt" when drinking the wine, Wooju professes her love for T'ae-min (rather than providing tasting notes) and says that the flavors in the wine are secondary to the company with whom the wine is shared. This, in turn, prompts the judge to wax poetic about the Empress's wine:

---

few television dramas ventured into this territory of narrative representation. On the figure of the industrial migrant worker in Korean film, see Jirn, Jin Suh. "Happy Seoul for foreigners: scenes from multicultural life in South Korea," Inter-Asia Cultural Studies 15.2 (Apr 2014): 315-322.

There were, however, several dramas in which one of the main protagonists is either an adoptee who has returned to Korea, an ethnic Korean who has lived in a different country for most or all of his/her life. But these characters, by and large, are unproblematically identified as South Korean. The fictional TV dramas that have come closest to seriously dealing with the "multicultural issue" were, perhaps, the two SBS dramas about a Korean man marrying a Vietnamese woman (in both cases, with a Vietnamese mother and Korean father, dealing obliquely with South Korea's involvement in the Vietnam War): *Hanoi Bride* in 2005, and *Golden Bride* in 2007. Popular dramas have conspicuously stayed out of the multiculturalism debates of the period, which is somewhat remarkable considering the fact that these programs are among the country's most watched and well-received cultural exports. While reality programs and chat shows in this period regularly featured humorous or sentimental takes on "multicultural Korea" in programs such as *Love in Asia* (Rŏbŭ in Asia, KBS World), *Chatting with Beauties* (Minyŏtŭl ŭi Suda, KBS, 2006-2010) were premised on the problems and foibles of interethnic daily life in South Korea in a manner that distances viewers from serious engagement by suggesting that any problems might be overcome by a French-style "universal" culturalism stressing cultural assimilation to contemporary Korean culture, while insisting on racial and ethnic difference as "multiculturalism" in a manner similar to Carruthers's "cute logic". On *Hanoi Bride* and *Love in Asia*, c.f. Epstein, Stephen. "The Bride (s) From Hanoi: South Korean Popular Culture, Vietnam and 'Asia'in the New Millennium." Citizenship Studies 12.1 (2008): 9–25.

> My grandfather told me this story about this wine that left a deep impression in my heart. My grandfather said that one night, he was summoned to Empress Myeongseong's private palace. It was the first time after a long absence that Emperor Kochong was to see the Empress. That night was the night when Empress Myeongseong brought out the Château Margaute for the first time. My Grandfather told me it was the first time he had ever seen Empress Myeongseong happy. Now I finally understand why the Empress favored this wine so much. For her, Château Margaute was Emperor Kochong. And for the Emperor as well, the wine symbolized Empress Myeongseong. Although they were separated after that night, both of them would be able to recall the fond memory of savoring this wine together every time they saw Château Margaute. Although she is the mother of our nation, she was first and foremost a woman, and the Emperor was first and foremost a man. The competition is not over yet. Now, you must picture that night and think about what the Emperor and Empress might have paired with the wine that night. With this, I wish to help them end their lifelong regret. I will present the Château Margaute to the person who can capture the happiness shared that night between the couple who were so much in love with each other.[289]

The embedded storyline of Empress Myeongseong's wine was captivating enough to be picked up by major Korean news outlets and reported as a curious blend of news and advertising. Headlines in major newspapers like *Kyunghyang Shinmun* ("'*Terroir*' Reveals Empress Myeongseong's Favorite Wine'), *Hankuk Kyŏngje* ("Did the 'Mother of Chosŏn' Empress Myeongseong, Really Enjoy Wine?"), *and Chaekyŏng Ilbo* ("Château Margaute presented in 'Terroir' as Wine Empress Myeongseong Enjoyed to Endure Father-in-Law's Abuse") did not question the veracity of the dramatic claim, they only reported the plot of the episode and its air times. The *Sobija Chebo's* (Consumer News) entertainment news article on the subject read:

> "Château Margaute, 'Mother of the Nation' Empress Myeongseong's Wine, Made Public on 'Terroir'"
>
> Château Margaute has become a hot topic after being revealed as the mother of the nation Empress Myeongseong's wine on Terroir.

[289] Hwang Sung-Goo. Episode 15. *Terroir*. Dir. Kim Young Min. SBS, Korea. December 1 to February 17, 2008.

> Château Margaute, cherished by Empress Myeongseong, made appeared in the January 12th broadcast of the SBS Monday-Tuesday drama 'Terroir.' The whereabouts of the Château Margaute that Empress Myeongseong was said to have enjoyed to relieve the stress she received from the Hŭngsŏn Taewangun were unknown. In the drama, as soon as the Min Group, who were the keepers of the wine, announced that they would hold a sommelier competition with the wine as the first prize, the conflict between Kang T'ae-min (Kim Ju-hyŏk) and Mr. Yang (Song Sŭnghwan) escalated. "Château Margaute" has an elegant nose and excellent depth, a noble and flawless wine that the French praise as the "Queen of Wines." Experts have said it is a peerless wine with a refined and velvety softness to the taste. In the meantime, the dramatic conclusion of the characters involved with Empress Myeongseong's wine can be seen on SBS's Monday-Tuesday drama "Terroir," aired every week on Monday and Tuesday evening at 9:55 p.m.[290]

While *Hankuk Kyŏngje* took this fictional representative with a grain of salt, the language of the *Sobija Chebo* article seems eager to make of the Empress a culinary aesthete. The brief article blends plot points and character names with broadcast information, but presents the expert assessment of the wine as fact, even including a photograph of the Château Margaux label, on which the fictional "Château Margaute" is based, alongside a photograph of the (real) empress.

[290] "Syat'omagotŭ, 'Chosŏnŭi kukmo' Myŏngsŏnghwanghuŭi wain 'tterua'sŏ conga 'what'," <<http://consumernews.co.kr/news/view.html?pid=131030&cate=&page=5745>> [accessed 02/26/15].

샤토마고트,'조선의 국모' 명성황후의 와인 '메루아'서 공개 '화제'

스포츠연예팀 (csnews@csnews.co.kr) 2009-01-13 23:21:29

조선의 국모 명성왕후의 와인으로 알려진 샤토 마고트가 메루아를 통해 공개돼 화제를 모으고 있다.
SBS 월화드라마 '메루아' 12일 방송분에서는 명성왕후가 소장했다는 '샤토 마고트'가 등장했다.
명성왕후가 시아버지 흥선대원군에게 받은 스트레스를 달래기 위해 즐겨마셨다는 샤토 마고트는 그동안 실제 존재여부가 불분명했다.
극 중 '샤토 마고트'를 소장하고 있는 '민가원'에서 소믈리에 대회를 개최하여 1등에게 이 와인을 상품으로 준다는 사실이 알려지자 강태민(김주혁)과 양대표(송승환)의 갈등이 최고조에 이른다.
'샤토 마고트'는 우아한 자태와 완벽한 기품, 결점 없는 고결함으로 프랑스인들이 '와인의 여왕'이라 칭하고 있으며 맛이 우아하고 벨벳 같이 부드러운 것이 일품이라는 것이 전문가들의 평이다.
한편 명성왕후의 와인으로 등장인물들의 극적 긴장이 한층 고조될 SBS 월화드라마 '메루아'는 매주 월, 화요일 저녁 9시 55분에 방영된다.

Fig. 4.19 *Sobija Chebo* (Consumer News) article with Empress Myeongseong (left), Château Margaux label (right)

The media interest in the fictional storyline was enough to prompt a rejoinder from the left-leaning news organization *Ohmynews* that questioned the claims to Queen Myeongseong's oenophilia, "Did Myeongseong Really Drink Wine? No Historical Record Exists, But There is a Possibility." *Ohmynews* rebukes the headlines above for presenting the story as fact, thereby misleading the viewers. In the interest of public edification, *Ohmynews's* entertainment reporter contacted a representative of the show to learn that, "Empress Myeongseong's love of wine was a creation of the drama. It was during the Korean Enlightenment period, however, when a lot of Western culture was coming into the country, and as Empress Myeongseong was amicable to outside cultures, we can't rule out the possibility that she drank wine." Hence, while decrying other news outlets for misleading the public, they leave the possibility of imperial refinement open to interpretation.[291] In this episode of dramatic

[291] See again Fedorenko, 2014 for a discussion of the humanistic impulse in Korean advertising.

verisimilitude, we can see the conflicting impulses of neoliberal logic at work in the promotion of the growing consumer market for wine and corporate media's appropriation of history in the interest of affective national consumption. *Ohmynews's* objection to the misleading reports, however, also ultimately reaffirms the enthusiasm for a nationalist interpretation of local wine culture. As such, the globalizing impulse in 2008 and 2009 had taken a self-reflective turn that attempted to indigenize world cuisine by providing it with a past, thereby granting itself legitimacy as well as authenticity.

This mythology of cosmopolitan consumption was also at work in *Sik Gaek* (2007, 2008) and *Gabi* (2012) cited above, and even reached out to mass-produced industrial foods in 2010's *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu* (KBS, June-September 2010), a big-budget return to the baking world for a broad national audience in which the illegitimate son of a baked-goods conglomerate competes with his (semi-) legitimate brother for their father's affections and their stakes to the chairmanship of the company. The two sons attempt to master the art of "local" bread-making through apprenticeships in a "traditional" multi-generational bakery where they are taught that the most important components of break-making are water and an inherent sensitivity to the local atmosphere (humidity). This take on local indigenization of a foreign food/beverage again emphasizes the connection to local space and ecology, then takes the theme further into the emotional realm of the multi-generational family romance. The contrast between *My Name is Kim Sam Soon*'s fetishization of French culinary culture through pastry and the creation of a local history of bread-making *in Baker King* shows a line of narrative development within the culinary drama genre from adoption and faithful reproduction to indigenization, but the romanticization of mass-produced foodstuffs and Korean bread did not content itself with an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of local practices and the recognition of future growth as in *Terroir's* hopes for Korean wine culture, or *Dae Jang Geum's* recovery of pre-modern ecological positivism. Instead, it expanded its backwards gaze on local culinary culture to reconcile the lingering tension between authoritarian industrial development of the 1960s and 70s

and the folk populism of the democratization period in the 1980s and early 90s through a lush family drama in which the 'reformed' student activist (T'ak-gu's childhood love, Yu-kyŏng) marries the illegitimate *chaebŏl* heir (T'ak-gu's half-brother Ma-jun), so that both can exact revenge against the scheming duplicity of the older generation while abandoning hope for their own happiness, reproducing the cycle of misplaced sacrifice turned bitter self-interest. T'ak-gu's unswerving devotion to find and avenge his innocent mother, on the other hand, is presented as selfless filiality and optimism paralleling his father's devotion to the matriarch of the Ku family, while he finds his place as the legitimate male heir to the Ku family conglomerate. At the same time, the artisanal bread of Pal-bong Bakery, where T'ak-gu and Ma-jun's father trained, is tested by the corruption and sabotage of its acolytes within the industrial food industry. The tension between familial craft and industry are resolved and order restored when the brothers abdicate the corporation to their more capable elder sister Ja-kyŏng, breaking with the gendered chauvinism of patriarchal corporatism, while the two young men pursue their individual freedoms as an artisanal baker at Pal-bong (T'ak-gu), and a worldly connoisseur (Ma-jun, happily reconciled with his now placated student activist wife, Yu-kyŏng).

In this period of economic downturn, popular mistrust of the government and corporate oligarchies, and resistance to neoliberal financial globalization, the sprawling narrative of this 30-episode family melodrama neatly reconciles class, gender, political, and generational conflicts in a post-war South Korean setting through the fraternal validation of local craft (T'ak-gu and P'al-bong Bakery), cosmopolitan consumption and erudition (Ma-jun and Yu-kyŏng), corporate industrial food production (Ja-kyŏng), and filial duty expressed through the eldest patriarch's (the baker P'al-bong) three aphorisms to make "the most filling bread in the world, the most interesting bread in the world, and the happiest bread in the world."

Where *Terroir's* recuperative approach to culinary distinction literally romanticizes the fall of the Chosŏn dynasty in the early 1900s, however, Baker King creates a nostalgic vision of the 1970s and 80s

that compresses authoritarian developmentalism and democratization into a family drama that folds these opposing periods of history into a mass-produced multi-grain bun. In the course of one competition during their apprenticeship, T'ak-gu encounters a poor woman and her son selling grain in an open-air market. When an oblivious passer-by knocks her grains to the ground, she and her young son disconsolately survey their lost livelihood. Reminded of his childhood with his single mother, T'ak-gu purchases the mixture of spilled grains and incorporates them into his bread for the competition, which is deemed by the elderly patriarch of the bakery to contain the flavor and soul of the people. T'ak-gu's mixed grain bread became a successful tie-in product at national bakery chains Paris Baguette and Tous Les Jours, touting the health benefits of "our local grain bread" (urimil ppang). In mythologies like these, which became more common in the food dramas of 2010-2011, a Korean hero absorbs the received wisdom and "heart" of the Korean people and blends it with her own studiously acquired skills to produce a truly superior product, as compared to the dramas from 2005-2008, which placed more emphasis on the accrual of the foreign skills as the necessary path to mobility.

Baker King was the highest rated drama of 2010 topping at a 50% ratings share for the final episode, making it the 25th highest rated Korean drama of all time and placing it in the "national drama" (*kukin tŭrama*) category along with *Dae Jang Geum* (10th)*, My Name is Kim Sam Soon* (26th).[292] It was also a winner of the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism's 2010 Korean Content Awards (2010 *Taehan minguk k'ont'ench'ŭ ŏwŏtŭ*), first established in 2009 with the following mission:

> In a future society, cultural content can influence the knowledge, industry, and security of a country. Cultural content industries are a core field of an information-knowledge society, and as such, if there are distortions in this cultural content, the entire society becomes distorted, and if there is contention/rebelliousness in this content, it can throw the whole society into

[292] As of 2012. The majority of the highest rated Korean dramas aired in the late 1990s.

> disarray/confusion. Cultural content's ability to make wholesome, promote public good, and make advancements can even be a core issue/question to the management of the nation. And there is a clear need for government and patriotic organizations to take a great interest in cultural content[293]."

The development of the culinary drama genre over the first decade of the 2000s finally tells its own narrative of conscientious consumption from adoption to indigenization with a historical twist, and with a continuous comparative repositioning of Korean culinary culture for an increasingly fluid domestic and international audience.

As consumptive practices in everyday life increasingly come to stand in as cultural identity, that identity has the capacity to become more inclusive. In this way, popular reality television shows like *Chatting with Beauties* and *Love in Asia* can gawk at foreigners in Korea, while suggesting the possibility of inclusion by showing their homes and common daily practices (they're just like us!). However, this simultaneously reinforces the primacy of ethnic Korean identity, even as the practices and practitioners may have changed. One common narrative of this celebration of post-modern Korean identity has been the valorization of Korean ingenuity through adaptation, where original content generation is prized, but secondary content amelioration seems to be equally noteworthy. The television show *Life Masters* (Saenghwal ŭi talin), which has been on the air since 2005, showcases people engaged in menial labor or service labor — food truck vendors, snack shop cooks, at-home piecemeal workers — who have developed special tricks to accomplish their tasks: a woman who is able to separate and stack together tiny wire parts for cell phone conductors, a man who can toss packaged ramen in rapid succession into individual pots, etc. Similarly, an advertising campaign for the city of Seoul geared towards foreigners featured a man who can balance anything (including a moped) on a pedestal and a blindfolded boomerang expert, representing the extremes of trivial

---

[293] Hur, Woon. "'2010-nyŏn taehanminkuk k'ont'ench'ŭ ŏwŏtŭ' sisangsik: hankuk kont'ench'ŭ chinhŭngwŏn, olhaeŭi munhwakont'ench'ŭ sisang," allinkorea.net, 19.Dec.2010 <<http://www.allinkorea.net/sub_read.html?uid=19801>> [accessed 2015/03/01].

concentration and competition in contemporary Korean society. This level of specialization reflects South Korea's postmodern condition, where popular culture has become complicit in the wholesale elevation of the (Korean) working classes to specialists, and with the broad and nearly complete access to popular media in Korea, the standards of consumption are also tied in for all classes of ethnic Koreans so that they can produce a new hybridized global culture.

Finally, the work of popular dramas in the creation of Korean cuisine in the first decade of the 2000s must also be placed within the context of the controversy surrounding the consumption of dog meat around the time of the 2002 World Cup. "Bardot Soup," as the controversy came to be called, become emblematic of the old "backwards" image that the country hoped to shed. The practice of eating dog meat in the dish *boshingt'ang* was seized upon by the French actress and animal rights activist Brigitte Bardot. She led a very public campaign calling for a boycott of the 2002 World Cup (jointly held by Japan and Korea) in order to protest the consumption of dog meat in Korea. The international attention placed on the specialty dish forced restaurants underground and led to name changes, with some openly antagonistic responses — advertising the sale of "Bardot soup" — and others diversionary — *yŏngyangt'ang* ('health soup') — used instead of *boshint'ang*, itself a euphemistic moniker (body-protecting soup'). This episode also illustrates the conflicting impulses at work in Korea's globalization: the desire to shed the international image of a "backwards" third world country that might be remembered from the Korean War, but at the same time, a strong desire to hold tightly to local 'traditions' in the wake of hyper-speed industrialization. Bardot soup became an image of Korean culture and cuisine that, while not necessarily common, symbolized the country to the rest of the world and kept it firmly within the sphere of the "barbaric," Orientalized, and "backwards" developing world in a way that no amount of shiny concrete and steel mega-cities could counteract. This also shows how powerful food and food cultures can be, both for national prestige and as a flashpoint for collective identification.

Having Transnational Culture and Eating it Too

If we can put aside cynicism about culinary dramas as vehicles for product placement and advertising, we can think about the dual form of consumption in terms of a virtuality that brings the ethnicized Korean body into the realm of transnational media flows. Knowledge of the actual taste of the food and the act of eating are no longer the primary goal or realization of this consumption. Rather, it is the act of watching and exhibiting knowledge about the form of consumption that matters. In this respect, it is reasonable to assume that Korean practices of consuming food are also fetishized in such a way that K-drama fans outside the geographic space of South Korea can emulate these practices, such as folding the paper lid of an instant ramen bowl to make a cooling cup for noodles, or as in 2014, the explosion of fried chicken and beer sales in China, emulating the heroine of *My Love from Another Star*.

In this combination of physical consumption and media consumption, food dramas explore the popular perception of Korea's own cultural assessment vis-a-vis different food cultures, and in their capacity to engage in productive, reciprocal play with the cultures of other developed nations. This ultimately becomes a question of authentification, not as a traditional culture, but as a culture that can claim temporal and developmental parity with the center, in the context of the constant reminders of the country's postcolonial condition through US Intervention and continuing tension with Japan over historical grievances. Rather than boasting parity, it seems that the media representations of transnational culinary experimentation propose an alternate model for the transnational cultural encounter that valorizes the local in fiction while deferring real engagement with changing local landscapes to quasi-reality television and neo-realist artistic interventions.

Where the heroines *of My Name is Kim Sam Soon* and *Coffee Prince* were able to succeed through reproduction of European styles and methods, in *Pasta*, the main culinary drama centers on the reconciliation between internationally and domestically trained teams of Korean chefs in a high-end Italian restaurant. In these dramas, a foreign education is recognized as a necessary status marker, but native ingredients and the connection to national space is the only way to fully legitimize foreign methods and education. Save for the few token "foreign" characters sprinkled in for visual flavor and metonymic gestures to global finance, international food culture becomes embodied in the Korean characters themselves, where historical and present international relations are enacted through internecine competition within the workplace. The trope of corporeal indigenization becomes increasingly reactive as the decade progresses, signaling a shift from the enthusiastic embrace of cultural globalization from without (for Koreans) in the earlier period to an assertion of cultural globalization from within that self-consciously attempts to define the place of Korean culture in global culture for the domestic audience, and presents a "sparkling" image of the country for international viewers.[294] This trajectory is intimately connected to the rising international popularity of Korean cultural products that was incorporated by the state and corporate sectors to export a new image of the country along with its consumer exports.

The popularity of these dramas outside of Korea — particularly in the areas of Southeast Asia that are the origin points for many of the migrant workers in Korea — speaks to the desirability and glamor of everyday life in Korea portrayed on the shows. By maintaining a homogenized view of Korean

---

[294] c.f. The Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism's "Korea, Sparkling" branding campaign from 2007-2010, which aimed "to enhance the awareness of Korea as a tourism destination," and "to attract 10 million foreign visitors to Korea by 2010." Yu Byungchae, Dir. of International Tourism Division, ROK Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, "Korea's Tourism Branding & Communication Strategy" (한국 관광 브랜드와 커뮤니케이션 전략), presentation at The 7th UNWTO Asia and the Pacific Executive Training Program, Park Hyatt, Busan, 3 June 2013. http://dtxtq4w60xqpw.cloudfront.net/sites/all/files/pdf/koreas_tourism_branding_and_communicationmcst.pdf <<date accessed: 23 January 2015>>

culture in these shows, however, they deny the changing demography of the country and ignore a vast range of narrative possibilities that could reshape the popular discourse on multiculturalism and/or globalization.[295] In this sense, culinary dramas became a useful space for the deferral of the ethical quandary of globalization questioned in contemporary literature and the *If You Were Me* films discussed in the previous chapter. The popular media representations enabled a serial, yet terminal affective experience that replaced actual engagement for Korean viewers, and opposition from foreign viewers as the consumption of media comes to be perceived as actual experience.[296] This virtual experience of ethical concern or escapist fantasy through media consumption can and does, of course, translate into action in some cases, but for the majority of viewers it enables complacency and, as Baudrillard discusses, a further distancing from the real.

---

[295] Work on Latin American telenovelas has been very helpful in my thinking about the power of soap operas to change social perceptions. Although telenovelas have the benefit of a much larger common linguistic audience, the differences in colloquial language and setting do contribute to both greater transnational understanding and nationalist distinction. At issue here is the exportation of images of modernity, which has been discussed in the Latin American case as an extremely useful tool for reaching audiences with lower literacy rates. The serial dramas very pointedly display the objects of daily lives, creating consumer markets in a cynical reading, and in some instances (as in the case of breast cancer awareness in Latin America in the late 1990s) educating audiences about social and public health issues.

There are some major differences between transnational consumption of Spanish language and Portuguese serial dramas from South and Central America, and Asian products such as the lack of a common language in many of the Asian countries (although dubbing in Mandarin and Chinese subtitles enables a far greater reach throughout Southeast Asia for Korean and Japanese media), modes of access through direct government investment from the sending countries and internet access by audiences in Asia, and user involvement in dissemination, as in the user-generated subtitles made available online for Korean and Japanese dramas. [The long and short of this is that I need a lot more research on this comparison…]

C.f. Jesus Martin-Barbero and Zilkia Janer, "Transformations in the Map: Identities and Culture Industries," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 27, No. 4, Politics, Culture, and Postmodernism (Jul. 2000), pp. 27-48; Ibsen Martínez, "Romancing the Globe," Foreign Policy, No. 151 (Nov.-Dec. 2005), pp. 48-56; Adriana Estill, "Closing the Telenovela's Borders: 'Vivo Por Elena's' Tidy Nation," Chasqui, Vol. 29, No. 1 (May, 2000), pp. 75-87); and José Joaquín Brunner, "Notes on Modernity and Postmodernity in Latin American Culture," boundary 2, Vol. 20, No. 3, The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America (Autumn, 1993), pp. 34-54.

[296] For more reception studies of Korean dramas, see Chan, B., and Wang Xueli. "Of Prince Charming and Male Chauvinist Pigs: Singaporean Female Viewers and the Dream-world of Korean Television Dramas." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 14.3 (April 12, 2011): 291-305: Jung, Sun. *Korean Masculinities and Transcultural Consumption: Yonsama, Rain, Oldboy, K-Pop Idols*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011;Chua, Beng-Huat. "Delusional Desire: Soft Power and Television Drama." *Popular Culture and the State in East and Southeast Asia*. Ed. Nissim Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011. 65-81; Vu, Hong Tien, and Tien-Tsung Lee. "Soap Operas As a Matchmaker: A Cultivation Analysis of the Effects of South Korean TV Dramas on Vietnamese Women's Marital Intentions." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 90.2 (June, 2013).

Contemporary culinary dramas attempted to hide the "multicultural" side of South Korea's globalization coin by first swallowing cosmopolitan culture whole, then embodying it through transnational Korean bodies, while historical culinary dramas worked to "globalize" Korea's past and broaden its geographic connectedness by apolitically highlighting the movement of pre-modern Koreans in the world. At the same time, this fictional cultural sphere provided a safe haven for the preservation and maintenance of local difference, which in many respects amounted to a re-invention of culture and tradition that created new communities across regions, age groups, and ethnicities. Although the regime of inclusion shown in the culinary drama genre continues to be ethnically homogeneous, its portrayal of common practices of Korean consumption regardless of the temporal setting can, perhaps, be seen as an admittedly commercial attempt to nudge affective communal identification towards internationally flavored everyday consumption "with Korean characteristics."

The reified image of Korean culture that emerged at the end of the 2000s incorporated the exclusive homogeneous ethnonation geographically located in South Korea that worked towards national development (on both the liberal and conservative sides) seen in previous generations, and the trauma-based national collectivity of the post-war and post-colonial period before that. This "Global Korea" represented in dramas like *Dae Jang Geum*, *My Name is Kim Sam Soon*, and *Baker King, Kim T'ak-gu* is based on idealized images of an abstracted ecological Korean space and tradition that has been sanitized and generalized into a caricature of the past that correlates to a utopian ideal that transcends national time. The cultural industries and cultural policy continued to imagine an exclusive and racial national identity in its most broadly disseminated media. The texts themselves, however, reveal self-contradictory impulses that appeal to both domestic and international audiences, as evidenced by their popular success. Ultimately, the initiation of imitative consumer lifestyles and fluid identification with different cultures through international cuisine in these dramas suggest that the regime of inclusion in Korean society had opened wider than is immediately visible in these

homogeneous ethnic landscapes. By displacing ethnic, cultural, or racial difference onto aspirational class conflict in these and other workplace dramas of the period, serial dramas sustained the image of the "Korean dream" for their viewers. Perhaps even more importantly, by re-articulating Korean history through the lens of aesthetic post-modern culture, cultural production of the 2000s produced an atemporal Korean imaginary that could be literally traversed by the heroes and heroines of the time-traveling drama genre that flourished in the 2010s. By way of conclusion, I discuss new historical fiction as a suspension of disbelief in South Korean progress and globalization that began to crumble in the 2010s.

Conclusion.

Future Shock: Popular Historical Fictions and the Erasure of Difference

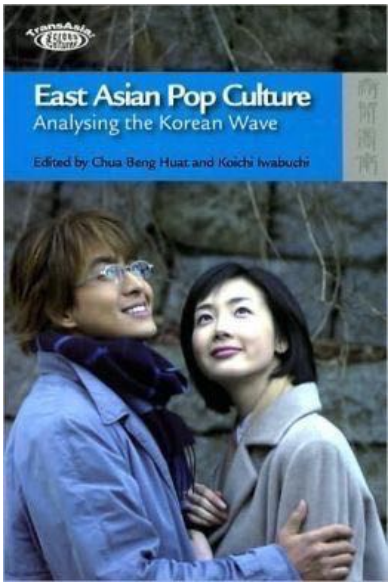

Fig. 5.1 Bae Yong-joon in *Winter Sonata* used as cover illustration for academic text

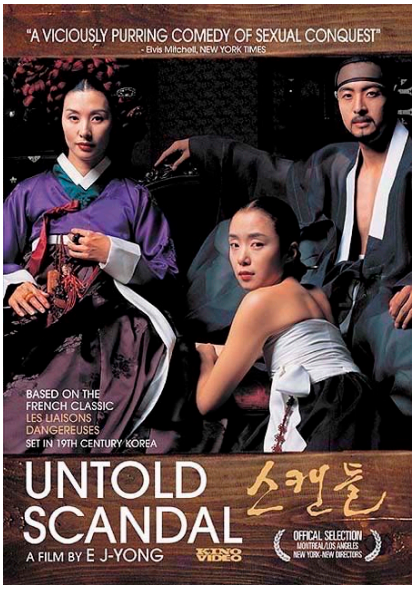

Fig. 5.2 Film poster for *Untold Scandal*, Bae Yong-joon at top right

These images of early 2000s *hallyu* poster-boy Bae Yong-joon[297] illustrate the easy slippage between the image of a contemporary Korean actor and a fictionalized historical figure in period dress as equivalent symbols of Korean culture in the 2000s. Historical fiction re-emerged as a popular narrative mode in contemporary Korean film, literature, and television at the beginning of the decade, but its form was significantly altered. New historical fiction reflects the extended reach of Korean cultural production achieved through *segyehwa* and underlines the contradictions of Korean globalization discussed throughout this dissertation. By the end of the decade, what began as a rehabilitation of the country's past in the 90s and early 2000s as in *Dae Jang Geum* (Chapter 4) eventually erased the

[297] a popular actor whose hit drama *Winter Sonata* made him the ubiquitous face of the Korean Wave/*Hallyu* in the early 2000s, and who later appeared in a number of historical films and dramas

temporal boundaries of historical periodization, resulting in a new genre of time-traveling historical romance dramas that literally moved Korean bodies back and forth in its own constructed history. In this brief epilogue I turn to the gradual slippage of time in popular historical fiction from the mid-2000s and into the 2010s that extend the mechanisms of national narrative, the technological imagination, and cultural belonging discussed in previous chapters that created Global Korea. In this later period of globalized Korean narratives, the time-travel romance genre reified the Global Korea Brand developed over the past 60 years of the Republic of Korea as disambiguated content, a mash-up of now-recognizable images of Korea. In this imagined space, Korean bodies are given the ability to move seamlessly not only through global space, but also through time, influencing past, present, and future conceptions of cultural identity through a flattened media imaginary.

20th century historical fiction articulated and rehabilitated national identity in the aftermath of colonial rule, civil war, division, and the reclamation of national subjectivity during the democratization movement. Like most re-imaginings of the past, what is most interesting about the new engagements with national history is the application of present values to reshape history for contemporary audiences. The late historian Jahyun Kim Haboush suggested that historical fiction in the 1990s expressed a hitherto unarticulated "desire to reevaluate Korea's positionality in relation to its past and global geography through the reclamation of its own modernity and the expression of postcolonial *ressentiment*."[298] Historical fiction in the 2000s reconfigured Korea's past from a closed national narrative to a global cosmopolitan cultural history by purposefully exceeding the boundaries of national space and assumptions of South Korean cultural values. The expanded conceptualization of national space and social inclusion in also reflects the conflicted, but complementary desires of

---

[298] Haboush, JaHyun Kim. ""In Search of History in Democratic Korea: The Discourse of Modernity in Contemporary Historical Fiction"." *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*. Ed. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. 189–213.

national-yet-cosmopolitan identity through which Korea can be seen as both imperial and colonial, advanced and developing.

The seminal line of thinking about the historical novel's associations with nation-building, group identification, individualism, and modernity articulated by Lukács notwithstanding, I hope to move away from the elite/popular distinction it implies and consider the desire to consume the past as a transnational and transmedial method of diffusing — rather than bounding — identification. As my analysis of political and cultural texts in the 2000s shows, this method was mutually constituted by state/institutional forces, cultural producers, and consumers' individual engagement through social media.

I begin with a film from the second peak of the Korean Wave: director E J-yong's *Untold Scandal* (Sŭkaendŭl: chosŏn namnyŏ sangyŏl chisa, 2003), an adaptation of the 18th century French novel *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* that takes place in 18th century Chosŏn Korea and compare it to the time-traveling historical romance drama genre that became popular in the 10s. These works placed Korea's past within a global historical and cultural space that reflected contemporary values on immigration, diaspora, and gender relations. They also show how fictional micro-histories, while often inaccurate (as in the case of Empress Myeongseong's favorite wine in the drama *Terroir* in Chapter 5), are reified by repetition in the media and the emotional experience of the audience. While accuracy is not necessarily assumed in the context of historical fiction, past territorial and cultural attributions presented in Korean historical dramas have been contested by international viewers, indicating that although much of South Korean historical fiction has been popularized and generalized with an international audience in mind, its primary concern remains the continuous projection of a strong (South) Korean image.

Untold Scandal exemplifies the reconfiguration of Korean identity on the global stage. It was released shortly after the FIFA World Cup (2002) when the country had become very visible in the international media for something other than its relationship with its increasingly mysterious northern

neighbor. Just as South Korea prepared to host thousands of foreign spectators for the World Cup, the demographic shifts within the country were becoming much more visible to the general populace, which turned to sanitized media portrayals of Korean culture for solace (Chapter 3-4). As with *Dae Jang Geum* (Chapter 4), popular historical fiction in the 2000s was very different from even very recent internationally acclaimed depictions of Korea's past. Films like director Im Kwon-taek's *Ch'unyhang* (2000) and *Sŏp'yŏnje* fetishized tradition through lavish depictions of traditional Korean culture and his use of the Korean narrative performance form *p'ansori*. The mise-en-scène of Ch'unhyang flashes between a *p'ansori* performer on a modern stage narrating the tale to a responsive audience and scenes of Ch'unhyang and Mongryong. By including the p'ansori performance in a contemporary concert hall, Im indexes the efforts to preserve the traditional art form. He also sutures the spectator's gaze to the fictional audience of the performance to provide the context (the audience's verbal responses to the performance) for viewing *p'ansori*, which suggests that Korean and international viewers alike required pedagogical cues. Aligning the spectator with the metafictive audience of the framing narrative exposes the abstraction and commodification of *p'ansori*, a designated "intangible cultural heritage" artifact, but mourns this transformation in the comparison to the vivacious scenes of the Ch'unhyang tale.

By contrast, E J-yong's 2003 film, *Untold Scandal* adapts a text with a long history of cross-cultural adaptation and directly engages with global cultural production through its knowing appropriation of the previous film and literary incarnations of the text. The film, an adaptation of the 18th century French novel *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* that inspired several stage and screen adaptations, most famously the Stephen Frears's 1988 film *Dangerous Liaisons* and most recently, last year's Chinese language production *Dangerous Liaisons* (危險關係) by Korean director Hur Jin-ho, and starring Korean actor Jang Dong-gun, mainland Chinese actress Zhang Ziyi, and Hong Kong actress Cecilia Cheung. Lee J-yong transplants the story to Korea, but retains the periodization of the original

in the 18th century, providing a direct comparison between the two societies, most starkly in the visual landscape. While hewing very closely to the narrative set out by the earlier film adaptations (which have also been transported to 1950s and 1970s France, 1990s New York, and Korea in 1970), Lee's twist on the corruption of chastity is premised on the Confucian values of male-female relationships during the Chosŏn period, but is complicated by the inclusion of a practicing Catholic, the widow Jung, who comes under suspicion of sedition by the state as a result of her involvement with the dangerous heterodoxy of Christianity. While the French and American film versions of *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* might be considered period costume dramas, E's use of the transgressive role of Christianity in 18th century Korea introduces the historical in a way that is both necessary to the plot (it provides the space where Cho and Lady Jung can see each other in a public space, a highly inappropriate interaction in the period), and obliquely historicizes the period as analogous to the situation in France on the eve of the first revolution. In Chosŏn Korea, the social change that E J-yong suggests is being abetted by the introduction of a foreign heterodoxy (Christianity) at the same time that the original plot of the film suggests the moral decay of the nobility as constant around the world. In light of some of the more recent remakes of the text including 1999's *Cruel Intentions*, which sets the film in contemporary New York City, and the earlier Korean and French versions of the films set in their contemporary periods, 1960s France and Seoul in the 1970s, it would seem that the narrative of corruption in the upper classes is timeless — at least where social stratification can be satirized.

Like *Dae Jang Geum's* aestheticizing of Korean cuisine, *Untold Scandal* presents lavish individual consumption for pleasure as opposed to ritual that is, as discussed above, at odds with "traditional" representations of the Chosŏn period. The attention to Madam Cho and Lord Cho's personal toilettes, for example, transforms the ritual of Chosŏn Confucian culture into a more modern individual consumption, which is ultimately responsible for transforming the image of an archaic, pre-modern culture of tradition that has been threatened by the encroachment of modernity into an

internationally recognizable form of aristocratic lifestyle that can be more generically attributed to a historically indeterminate cosmopolitan upper class.

Perhaps I can make the claim, then, that Untold Scandal is the most properly realist text of the lot if understood in the context of its production and its intertextual considerations. As a South Korean film that takes its inspiration from numerous adaptations across different historical periods and geographic locations, E J-yong's *Untold Scandal* seems to make the best case for cultural coevality with the "West", setting the film in the same period as the original novel, yet bringing to bear the late 20th and early 21st sensibility that almost ironically self-exoticizes with the introductory narration that admits that the characters in the images in Lord Cho's book (published posthumously, like Valmont's letters in *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*) are so "promiscuous and immoral" as to doubt their existence. "It is widely known that Chosun was founded on Confucianism, whereby men must be virtuous gentlemen, and women must be modest ladies, so these characters are more unlikely to be Chosun," the narrator intones over a faux-classical theme composed by Lee Byung-woo that is then replaced by a faux-traditional Korean theme. Through conscious gestures like these towards the other (Western) film adaptations of the novel, E's film inserts itself into the international film canon while historicizing both the growing threat of modern Western impositions in Korea in the late 18th century and an imagined aristocratic society that seems not extremely different from its contemporaneous equivalent as imagined by Frears, Forman, and others.

E's film was one of the highest grossing films of 2003 in Korea, and fared very well in the international press as an art house film, a designation that puts the film itself in a category distinct from the general popular culture audiences of Korean dramas. However, the putative distinction between high and low culture in the production of Korean historical fiction is rather thin as far as many of the actual narratives are concerned. The distinction is generally realized through the construction of the intended audience, where "high culture" products like literature are meant for consumption by an elite Western audience, and "low culture" films and dramas are made for a broader

international audience that may include a western viewers, but is generally directed at regional Asian and Southeast Asian consumers.

Although literary historical fiction has been more engaged and aligned with the literary realism, it has also kept pace with currents in television and film. "*P'aek'shyŏn*" (fact plus fiction) became a popular genre of novels and graphic novels in the 2000s that also provide much fodder for visual media. Literary critic Ch'oe Wŏn-shik points to narratives that focus on secondary historical figures that decenter or replace power, like Jang Geum or her predecessor, Hŏkyun, a court physician who wrote an early manual of Eastern medicine, whose life was fictionalized in literature and on television in the early 1990s. This move towards what Ch'oe calls "anti-heroes" in the 1990s also psychologized celebrated historical figures. In novels like Kim Hoon's *Song of the Sword* (Kal ŭi Norae, 2001), a quasi-confessional novel written from the perspective of the great admiral Yi Sunsin, or Lee Jung-*Myung's A Tree with Deep Roots* (Ppuri kip'ŭn namu, 2006, made into a drama in 2011) about the life and times of 15th century ruler King Sejong, the revered Chosŏn monarch, and the representative ideal of Korean culture in the 21st century (as opposed to Yi Sunsin, in the 1960s-90s). These works dramatize the experiences of the individual within a past where the social concerns reflect contemporary Korean society.

The desire to reevaluate Korea's positionality persisted in the 2000s, but because of its international success, the audience for Korean culture was much more ethnically and culturally diverse. The yoke of postcoloniality ressentiment did not have as much resonance for this new audience, including the Korean citizens and ethnic Koreans around the world who were inundated with the "sparkling" images of Korea's rehabilitated colonial and pre-modern past during the 20 years of the *segyehwa* and Brand Korea campaigns. Through the newly constructed Global Korean image, the latter groups are relieved of the obligation to make sense of the political past. They are able to focus on the alluring culture and romances of historical narratives instead. In light of the exponential

increase in migration to Korea, continued out-migration, and the easy availability of Korean cultural products worldwide, the historical narratives depicting Koreans as active agents in global history have immense significatory potential. Although the failure of the Chosŏn state to modernize and resist imperial domination remained a contentious issue, the focus on micro-histories rather than sweeping national narratives enables an affective identification with the modernized personal narratives of Korean historical figures. As a result, transitioning from a film like Untold Scandal to time-traveling historical romances in the 2010s makes a great deal of sense. The barrage of promotional images of traditional and contemporary Korean culture (like the earlier example of a *muyŏng* performance at the American Museum of Natural History that was immediately followed by B-boys dancing to K-pop in 2014) have successfully aligned past and present such that moving between equivalent Korean spaces does not require much of an imaginative leap*. Dramas like Rooftop Prince, Queen In-hyon's Man, Faith, Dr. Jin* (all 2012), and *My Love From Another Star* (2013), adopt the future-orientation of "Dynamic Korea" to allow Korean characters from the past, present, future, and outer space to find each other anywhere in time and space in a transcendent constellation of Korean culture.

Although I have gone through a somewhat disparate group of texts to arrive at this conclusion, what has remained constant in this discussion of historical fiction in South Korean cultural production in the early 21st century is the malleability of the boundaries of representations of Korea's past, and the continually redefined national identification. These texts create a mythology of Korea that is transnational, transhistorical, and transmedial. Thus, national identity seems to have exceeded its political value to become branded content.

History is appropriated and repurposed as content in these texts, which takes the carefully constructed global narrative of Korea and moves it into the digitized space of data. The insertion of present norms and social attitudes into historical narratives is, perhaps, a given, but perhaps the intrinsically commodified and technologized nature of "content" places these historical narratives

within the realm of science, which appears in the form of generic conventions like the detective novel, time travel, and the fantastic, the common tropes of Korean time-slipping historical dramas.

Throughout this dissertation, I have charted a course of South Korea's globalization through culture. I moved from the stated rejection of foreign influence in the post-colonial and post-war period to the "preservation" of Korean "tradition," pastoral idealism, and patriotic developmentalism to understand twin mechanisms of assimilation and diffusion in the pursuit of cultural capital. Korean culture has been embodied through the images and narratives projected into global media flows, but the anxiety of incompleteness simmered beneath the surface of these images.

As I have discussed, the effort to globalize Korean culture was based on an underlying anxiety of incomplete development that seemed to have abated somewhat in 2012 with a resurgence in national pride following the success Korean cultural exports like Shin Kyung-sook's novel *Please Look After Mom*, and the rapper Psy's "Gangnam Style." But cracks were beginning to emerge on the surface of this shallow pool of solidarity, and was dealt a crushing blow when the *Sewŏl* ferry boat sank on April 16, 2014. The failure of the government and citizens to act to rescue hundreds of young people trapped inside the capsized ferry galvanized a new wave of critical inquiry into the excesses of four decades of national development that seemed to have amounted to nothing more than a trompe l'oeil of a successfully developed civil society.

The nostalgia for the "innocence" and "solidarity" of the developmental period that had been bubbling up in the public consciousness in response to divisive social issues like multiculturalism, class disparity, and ageism (the subject of the *If You Were Me* films in Chapter 4) became the subject of scrutiny again. The recuperative narratives waxing poetic about the communal solidarity that had achieved successful economic development in films, novels, and television programs in the mid- to late 2000s romanticizing Korea's involvement in Vietnam, the "innocence" and "safety" of authoritarian rule, and the emotional comfort of a homogeneous culture became suspect again with the revelations

of graft, corruption, and political obfuscation from President Park Guen-hye (President Park Chung-hee's daughter). Investigators discovered that the ferry had been certified for travel despite being dangerously overloaded and far below any reasonable standard of maintenance regulations, sparking immense public outcry, protest, and, once again, artistic engagement. In the year since the *Sewŏl* ferry disaster, new critiques of the social controls implemented under authoritarian rule have resurfaced, as well as critiques of the self-sacrificing drive towards success that became the narrative of the developmental period. As the cracks in the veneer of Global Korea were becoming apparent to Korean citizens, the cultural industries responded with diversions to time-travel, fantasy, and, most recently the 1990s, signaling a return to romanticizing the mythology of Global Korea's inception. On the first anniversary of the *Sewŏl* in April 2015, protesters calling for transparency and reform clashed with military police in Kwanghwamun Square.

The square, a wide expanse of public space that cuts through the middle of Seoul's historically central thoroughfare was proposed as a cultural space in 2004 despite military and police concerns that the space would become a site of mass demonstrations (it did). The square features an enormous statue of King Sejong that was erected as an emblem of the shift from the Yi Sunshin, the military icon of the authoritarian regimes, to the cultural turn of Global Korea. On April 16, 2015, Kwanghwamun Square, the symbol of *segyehwa* and the reconstruction of Korean culture, was surrounded by military police buses to control potential demonstrators at the memorial event for the victims, and by April 18, riot police had clashed with demonstrators, resulting in the images below of the temporal compression of South Korean culture in 2015.

Fig. 5.3 Kwanghwamun Plaza, April 16, 2015

Fig. 5.4 Kwanghwamun Plaza, April 18, 2015

Bibliography

Abbate, Janet. "From ARPANET to Internet, and the Internet in the Arena of International Standards." *Inventing the Internet Inside Technology*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999.

Abelmann, Nancy. *The Melodrama of Mobility: Women, Talk, and Class in Contemporary South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003.

Abelmann, Nancy, and Jengsu Shin. ""The New (Korean) Wave: A Global Social Mobility Story — Please Look After Mom"." *Korea Observer* 43.3, Autumn 2012 (2012): 399–418.

Adorno, Theodor W. *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture.* Ed. J M Bernstein. Routledge Classics. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

Aijaz, Ahmad. "Jameson's Rhetoric of Otherness and the 'National Allegory'." *In Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures*. London; New York: Verso, 1994. 95–122.

————. *On Communalism and Globalization: Offensives of the Far Right*. New Delhi: Three Essays Press, 2004.

Anderson, Benedict R. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the World*. London; New York: Verso, 1998.

Anderson, Benedict. "Nationalism, Identity, and the World-in-Motion: On the Logics of Seriality." *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Eds. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. 117–133.

Anderson, Benedict. *The Spectre of Comparisons: Nationalism, Southeast Asia and the World*. 2nd Edition (1st printing, 1998). New York: Verso, 2002.

Appadurai, Arjun. "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30.01 (1988): 3–24.

————. Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger Public Planet Books. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

————. Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization Public Worlds, V. 1. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.

Armistead, Claire. “Ten Korean Writers on a Country Sawn in Half.” *The Guardian*, sec. Books. Accessed October 16, 2014. http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/apr/07/inside-story-korea-london-book-fair.

Apter, Emily S. "On Translation in a Global Market." *Public Culture* 13.1 (2001): 1–12.

————. Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability. Brooklyn, NY: Verso Books, 2013.

————. The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature Translation/Transnation. Princeton:

Princeton University Press, 2006.

Armstrong, Charles K. "The Cultural Cold War in Korea, 1945-1950." *The Journal of Asian studies* 62.1 (2003): 71–99.

————. Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

————. *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy, and the State*. Ed. Charles K Armstrong. London; New York: Routledge, 2002.

Arts Council England. "Who We Are," homepage of the Arts Council England. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/who-we-are/

Asad, Talal. "What Do Human Rights Do?" *Theory and Event (Online Journal)* 4.4 (2001).

Baik, Wondam. Tongasia ŭi munhwa sŏnt'aek hallyu. Seoul: Sedo, 2005.

Baik, Youngseo. "Editorial Introduction: Korea As a Problematic and Paik Nak-chung." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11.4 (December, 2010): 481–487.

Bak, Sangmee. "Exoticizing the Familiar, Domesticating the Foreign: Ethnic Food Restaurants in Korea." *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 110–132.

————. "Negotiating National and Transnational Identities through Consumption Choices: Hamburgers, Espresso, and Mobile Technologies among Koreans," *Review of Korean Studies* 7, no. 2 (2004): 37-42.

Bakhtin, M M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays.* Volume 1 of University of Texas Press Slavic Series. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010.

Balibar, Etienne. "The Changing Profession - Racism Revisited: Sources, Relevance, and Aporias of a Modern Concept." *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 123.5 (2008): 1630–1639.

Barraclough, Ruth. *Factory Girl Literature: Sexuality, Violence, and Representation in Industrializing Korea*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012. Global, Area, and International Archive; Seoul-California Series in Korean Studies.

Barthes, Roland. "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption." *Food and Culture: A Reader.* Eds. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. New York: Routledge, 1997. 28–35.

Baudrillard, Jean. *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998.

Berghahn, Daniela, and Claudia Sternberg, eds. *European Cinema in Motion: Migrant and Diasporic Film in Contemporary Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Bermann, Sandra, and Michael Wood, eds. *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works. www.wipo.int. Web. 9 Aug. 2012. <http://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/berne/trtdocs_wo001.html>.

Bhabha, Homi. "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation." *Nation and Narration Edited by Homi Bhabha, 298J299*. New York: Routledge, 1990. 291-322

————. *The Location of Culture*. London; New York: Routledge, 1994.

Bong Chun-su, and Yurŏp Munhwa chŏngbo sent'o taehakkyo. *Hanguk Munhak Ŭi Oegugŏ Pŏnyŏk*. Sŏul T`ŭkpyŏlsi: Yonsei Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2004.

Bourdaghs, Michael K. "Empire of Texts in Motion: Chinese, Korean, and Taiwanese Transculturations of Japanese Literature (review)." Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 71.1 (2011): 148–155.

————. Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J-pop. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984.

————. "La culture est en danger." Kim, U-ch'ang (ed.). *Writing Across Boundaries: Literature in the Multicultural World*. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2002.

Brunner, José Joaquín. "Notes on Modernity and Postmodernity in Latin American Culture," boundary 2, Vol. 20, No. 3, The Postmodernism Debate in Latin America (Autumn, 1993): 34-54.

Carruthers, Ashley. "Cute Logics of the Multicultural and the Consumption of the Vietnamese Exotic in Japan." *positions: east asia cultures critique positions: east asia cultures critique* 12.2 (2004): 401–429.

Casanova, Pascale. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

————. "Le prix Nobel: une consécration littéraire mondiale." Kim, ed. *Writing Across Boundaries*.

de Certeau, Michel. *Culture in the Plural*. Ed. Luce Giard. Trans. Tom Conley. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Chan, B., and Wang Xueli. "Of Prince Charming and Male Chauvinist Pigs: Singaporean Female Viewers and the Dream-world of Korean Television Dramas." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 14.3 (April 12, 2011): 291–305.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Vol. 11. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Cheah, Pheng. "Given Culture: Rethinking Cosmopolitical Freedom in Transnationalism." *Boundary 2* 24.2 (1997): 157–197.

————. "Grounds of Comparison." *DIACRITICS* 29 (1999): 3–19.

————. *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom From Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation*.

New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

————. *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Cheah, Pheng, and Bruce Robbins, eds. *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

Chen, Kuan-Hsing. "Intellectual Engagement Under the Conditions of the Division System: An Interview with Paik Nak-chung." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11.4 (December, 2010): 511–523.

Cheong, Pauline Hope, and Jie Gong. "Cyber Vigilantism, Transmedia Collective Intelligence, and Civic Participation." *Chinese Journal of Communication* 3.4 (November, 2010): 471–487.

Chin Sŏng-ho. "Munhwa kwankwangpu olhae chuyo ŏpmu: alch'an k'ont'enchŭ kaepal 'munhwa sŏnchinkuk' paltotŭm." *Chosun Ilbo Archives*, 15 February 2001. Web. 2 Aug. 2012.

Cho, Hae-joang. "Positioning the Korean Wave in the Nexus between Globalization and Localization - Reading the 'Korean Wave' as a Sign of Global Shift." *Korea Journal* Winter 2005: 147–182.

Cho, I-in. "Chulchiŏ Sŏissnŭn Oripaetŭl [Duck boats in a line]" Digital image. Cho I-in's Tistory Blog. Daum, 22 May 2007. Web. 30 Apr. 2015. <http://joicc.tistory.com/52>.

Cho, Kuk. "Tension Between the National Security Law and Constitutionalism in South Korea: Security for What." *Boston University International Law Journal* 15 (1997): 125, 139-140.

Cho, Se-hui. Nanjangi Ka Ssoa Ollin Chagun Kong: Cho Se-hui Sosolchip. Soul: Isong kwa Him, 2000.

Cho, Uhn. "Toward a Multicultural Society?" *Korea Journal* 47.4 (2007): 5-7. *www.ekoreajournal.net.* Web. 9 Dec. 2013. <http://www.ekoreajournal.net/issue/view_pop.htm?Idx=3452>.

Ch'oe Chong-su. "Ent'ŏt'einmŏnt'ŭ t'ek'ŭnollochi-e taehan soko." *Tamunhwa k'ont'enchŭ yŏnku* 1.1 (December, 2002): 1–2.

Ch'oe Hye-sil. "Munhwa sanŏp-kwa inmunhak, sunsu yesulŭi sot'ong panganŭl wihan ilkoch'al (A Study on the Communication Between Cultural Industry and the Humanities, the Arts)." *Inmun k'ont'ench'ŭ* 1.1 (June, 2003): 40–56.

Ch'oe, Pyŏng-u. "Kŭndae-sosŏl Ui Hyŏngsŏng Kwachŏng." *Hanguk Hyŏndae Sosŏl-sa*. Seoul: Samchŏlli - Munhak kwa munhak kyoyuk yŏnguso, 1999.

Choe, Se-na. “Chusok-enŭn oegugin myŏnŭri suda” (Chatting with Foreign Daughters-in-Law on Chuseok). Sports Chosun. September 14, 2007, cited in Han, 34.

Ch’oe Yŏngsuk (op. ed. contributor, Nurse in Germany). “My Thoughts on Germany and Germans: If I Take Care of Myself, We Can Live Together in Harmony [“Naeka pon tokil-tokilin (34): Naekŏt chik’imyŏn ŏullyŏ sanŭn chohwa”].” *Hankyoreh*, 02 Feb. 1997.

Choi, Dae Won, and Martin Kenney. "The Globalization of Korean Industry: Korean Maquiladoras in Mexico." *FRONTERA NORTE* 9.17 (June, 1997): 5-22.

Choi, Hyaeweol. *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea New Women, Old Ways*. Seoul-California Series in Korean Studies, Volume 1, 2009.

Choi, Jaz. "The New Korean Wave of U." *The Cultural Economy the Cultures and Globalization Series, 2*. Eds. Helmut K. Anheier, Yudhishthir Raj Isar, Annie Paul, and Stuart Cunningham. Los Angeles; London: SAGE, 2008.

Choi, Jinhee. *The South Korean Film Renaissance: Local Hitmakers, Global Provocateurs*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2010.

Chŏn Chi-sŏng and Ch'oe U-yŏl. "Oegukin 100-manmyŏng sidae... kuknae inku ŭi 2% ch'achi." *Donga.com,* International News, 25 August, 2007. Web. 11 Apr. 2009.

Chon, Kwang-yong, Pom-son, Yi, Ho-ch`ol, Yi, and Won-sik Ch`oe, eds. *Chon Kwang-yong, Yi Pom-son, Yi Ho-ch`ol 20-segi Hanguk Sosol, 17*. Kyonggi-do P`aju-si: Ch`angbi, 2005.

Ch'ŏn Sŏn-yŏng. "'Tamunhwa sahoe' tamronŭi hankye wa yŏksŏl." *Taksahoe kwa haknonch'ong* 14.2 (December, 2004): 363–380.

————. "'Tamunhwa sohoe' tamronŭi yŏksŏl." *Hankuk sahoehakhoe sahoehak taehoe nonmunchip* (December, 2003): 219–230.

Chŏng Chong-hwa. "Yŏksa sok-e namŭl munhak ŭi sekyehwa toeŏya." *Munhwa-yesul = Korean Culture and Arts Journal* 1996:1.198-ho (January 1, 1996).

Chŏng Yŏnghŭi, “Research on viewers’ realistic sympathy and enjoyment of ‘My Name is Kim Sam Soon’” in 韓國言論學報, 51권 4호 (2007년 8월) for a discussion of how the realism of the show was its greatest attraction for its core audience of 20-30-something female viewers.

Chŏng Yun-ch'ŏl, dir. "Muhammad, Diving King,"*If You Were Me*, National Human Rights Commission of South Korea, 2006. Film. Author's screenshots. 14 April 2015.

Chongbu Kanhaengmul Chejakso, South Korea. *Pyŏnhwa Wa Kaehyŏk : Kim Yŏng-sam Chŏngbu Kukchŏng 5-yŏn Charyojip*. Vol. 3. [Seoul]: Kongboch`o, 1997.

————. Pyŏnhwa Wa Kaehyŏk : Kim Yŏng-sam Chŏngbu Kukchŏng 5-yŏn Charyojip V. 1. Vol. 1. [Seoul]: Kongboch`o, 1997.

————. Pyŏnhwa Wa Kaehyŏk : Kim Yŏng-sam Chŏngbu Kukchŏng 5-yŏn Charyojip V. 3. Vol. 3. [Seoul]: Kongboch`o, 1997.

Choo, Kukhee. "Nationalizing 'Cool': Japan's Global Promotion of the Content Industry." *Popular Culture and the State in East and Southeast Asia*. Eds. Nissim Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011. 85–105.

Chow, Rey. *The Protestant Ethnic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

————. The Age of the World Target: Self-referentiality in War, Theory, and Comparative Work. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Chua, Beng Huat. "East Asian Pop Culture: Layers of Communities." *Media Consumption and Everyday Life in Asia*, Ed. Youna Kim. New York: Routledge, 2008. 99–113.

————. *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing the Korean Wave*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008.

————. "Delusional Desire: Soft Power and Television Drama." *Popular Culture and the State in East and Southeast Asia*. Eds. Nissim Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011. 65-81. Asia's Transformations.

Chua, Beng Huat, and Koichi Iwabuchi, eds. *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing the Korean Wave*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008.

Chung-in Moon and Jongryn Mo, eds. Democratization and Globalization in Korea: Assessments and Prospects: Conference Proceedings. Seoul, Korea: Yonsei University Press, 1999.

Chung, Eun-Gwi. "Why Say Goodbye: Reterritorializing Working-class Literature in Contemporary Korea." *World Literature Today (online)*: n. pag. *www.worldliteraturetoday.org.* Web. 25 Nov. 2013.

Chung, Jaewon. Interview: Translator Chi-Young Kim (Part 1 of 2)," Chi-young Kim and Jaewon Chung of subjectobjectverb.com, http://subjectobjectverb.com/2011/04/08/interview-with-translator-chi-young-kim-part-i-of-ii/

Collins, Francis Leo. "Connecting 'Home' with 'Here': Personal Homepages in Everyday Transnational Lives." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35.6 (July, 2009): 839–859.

Consalvo, Mia, Timothy Dodd Alley, Nathan Dutton, Matthew Falk, Howard Fisher, Todd Harper, and Adam Yulish. "Where's My Montage? The Performance of Hard Work and Its Reward in Film, Television, and MMOGs." *Games and Culture* 5.4 (February 11, 2010): 381–402.

Corral, Milagros del, and UNESCO. *Culture, Trade and Globalization: Questions and Answers*. [Paris]: UNESCO Pub. 2000.

Corrigan, Maureen. "'Please Look After Mom': A Guilt Trip to the Big City," aired on *Fresh Air with Terry Gross*, 2011/04/05. http://www.npr.org/2011/04/05/135120998/please-look-after-mom-a-guilt-trip-to-the-big-city.

Cumings, Bruce. "From Japanese Imperium to American Hegemony: Korean-Centrism and the Transformation of the International System." *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*. Charles K. Armstrong, ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2006.

Cumings, Bruce. "The Origins and Development of the Northeast Asian Political Economy: Industrial Sectors, Product Cycles, and Political Consequences." *International Organization* 38.1 (1984): 1–40.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna J. "The Global *Hansik* Campaign and the Commodification of Korean Cuisine." *The Korean Popular Culture Reader*. Kyung Hyun Kim and Youngmin Choe, eds. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2014. 363–385.

Cwiertka, Katarzyna J., and Boudewijn Walraven, eds. *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*. Richmond: Curzon, 2002.

Daesan Foundation. *Chedanpŏpin Daesan chaedan saŏp pogosŏ 1993* (Daesan Foundation Annual Report, 1993).

————. *Chedanpŏpin Daesan chaedan saŏp pogosŏ 1993* (Daesan Foundation Annual Report, 1995).

————. Chedanpŏpin Daesan chaedan saŏp pogosŏ 1993 (Daesan Foundation Annual Report, 1999).

Dali, Salvadore. *Dawn, Noon, Sunset, and Twilight* (1979, collection Gala-Salvador Dali Foundation, Figueres, Spain) collection Gala-Salvador Dali Foundation, Figueres, Spain). Digital image. Reprinted from *WikiArt.* Retrieved from Web. 16 January 2015.

Davé, Shilpa, LeiLani Nishime, and Tasha G. Oren, eds. *East Main Street: Asian American Popular Culture*. New York: NYU Press, 2005.

Derrida, Jacques. *Monolingualism of the Other, Or, the Prosthesis of Origin*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

————. *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*. London; New York: Routledge, 2001.

Dev, Amiya. "Is Globalisation Going to Devour Literature?" *Mainstream Weekly,* vol. XLIX, no. 40, September 24, 2011. *www.mainstreamweekly.net.* Web. 14 Jul. 2014. <http://www.mainstreamweekly.net/article3020.html>.

Dewey, Susan. "'Teaching Modern India How to Eat': 'Authentic' Foodways and Regimes of Exclusion in Affluent Mumbai." In Ray, Krishnendu and Srinivas, Tulasi (eds.). *Curried Cultures : Globalization, Food, and South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Diffrient, David Scott. "If You Were Me: Human Rights Discourses and Transnational Crossings in South Korean Omnibus Films." *Transnational Cinemas* 3.1 (2012): 107–128.

Dissanayake, Wimal. "Globalization and the Experience of Culture: The Resilience of Nationhood." *Globalization, Cultural Identities, and Media Representations*. Natascha Gentz and Stefan Kramer, eds. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.

Dudden, Alexis. *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005.

Eleana Kim. *Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptees and the Politics of Belonging.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Elfving-Hwang, Joanna. "South Korean Cultural Diplomacy and Brokering 'K-Culture' Outside Asia." *Korean Histories* 4.1 (2013): 14–26.

Elley, Derek. "Review: *If You Were Me* (Yeoseosgaeeui shiseon (South Korea))." *Variety.* 1 Dec. 2003. Retrieved 15 May 2008.

Epstein, Stephen. "The Bride(s) From Hanoi: South Korean Popular Culture, Vietnam and 'Asia' in the New Millennium." *Citizenship Studies* 12.1 (2008): 9–25.

Estill, Adriana. "Closing the Telenovela's Borders: 'Vivo Por Elena's' Tidy Nation," Chasqui, Vol. 29, No. 1, May, 2000: 75-87.

Fedorenko, Olga. *Tending to the 'Flower of Capitalism': Consuming, Producing and Censoring Advertising in South Korea of the '00s*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2012. <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/33994>.

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

Fisk, Gloria. ""Against World Literature": The Debate in Retrospect." *The American Reader theamericanreader.com.* Web. 17 Jul. 2014. <http://theamericanreader.com/against-world-literature-the-debate-in-retrospect/>.

Fitz Gibbon, Kate. *Who Owns the Past?: Cultural Policy, Cultural Property, and the Law*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005.

Fowler, Edward. "Rendering Words, Traversing Cultures: On the Art and Politics of Translating Modern Japanese Fiction." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 18.1 (1992): 1–44.

Frankl, John Mark. *"Our Country": Changing Images of the Foreign in Korean Literature and Culture*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2003.

Gabroussenko, Tatiana. "From Developmentalist to Conservationist Criticism: The New Narrative of South Korea in North Korean Propaganda." *Journal of Korean Studies* 16.1 (2011): 27–61.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

Gentz, Natascha, and Stefan Kramer, eds. *Globalization, Cultural Identities, And Media Representations.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006.

Giddens, Anthony. *Runaway World: How Globalization is Reshaping Our Lives*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Gills, Barry K., and Dongsook S. Gills. "Globalization and Strategic Choice in South Korea: Economic Reform and Labor." *Korea's Globalization.* Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies. Samuel Kim, ed. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 29–53.

Goff, Patricia M. "Invisible Borders: Economic Liberalization and National Identity." *International Studies Quarterly* 44.4 (2000): 533–562.

de Grazia, Victoria. *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-century Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005.

Guillory, John. *Cultural Capital: The Problem of Literary Canon Formation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Haboush, JaHyun Kim. "Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea." *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea* . JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler, eds. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999. 45–90.

————. "In Search of History in Democratic Korea: The Discourse of Modernity in Contemporary Historical Fiction." *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu, eds. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. 189–213.

————, ed. *Epistolary Korea: Letters from the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392-1910*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Han, Geon-soo. "Multicultural Korea: Celebration or Challenge of Multiethnic Shift in Contemporary Korea?" *Korea Journal* 47.4 (2007): 32–63.

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

Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon. Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon 10-yonsa = Korea Literature Translation Institute 10 Years: Segye Wa Hamkke Hanun Han'guk Munhak. Seoul: Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon, 2011.

Harootunian, Harry. "Some Thoughts on Comparability and the Space-Time Problem." *boundary 2 boundary 2* 32.2 (2005): 23–52.

Heidegger, Martin. *The Question Concerning Technology, and Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

Heldke, Lisa M. *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer*. London and New York: Routledge, 2003.

Henry, Todd A. "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919." *Journal of Asian Studies* 64.3 (August, 2005): 639-675.

Hesselink, Nathan. SamulNori: Contemporary Korean Drumming and the Rebirth of Itinerant Performance Culture. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Higbee, Will and Song Hwee Lee. "Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies." *Transnational Cinemas Transnational Cinemas* 1.1 (2010): 7–21.

Hijiya-Kirschnereit, Irmela. *Canon and Identity: Japanese Modernization Reconsidered : Trans-cultural Perspectives*. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, 2000.

Historical Collection: UNESCO Culture Sector. *www.unesco.org.* Web. 17 Apr. 2014. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/lit/rep/index.php?lng=en_GB&work_titre=&work_type%5B%5D=0&work_auteur=&work_langue%5B%5D=223&work_zone%5B%5D=0&trans_titre=&trans_langue%5B%5D=0&trans_traducteur=&trans_coordination=&trans_editeur=&trans_annee=&trans_annee_apres=&trans_annee_avant=&send=Search>.

Holden, Todd Joseph Miles. "The Overcooked and Underdone: Masculinities in Japanese Food Programming." *Food & Foodways* 13.1-2 (2005): 39–65.

Hong, Chu-hŭi, and Song Ki-sŭng. “Part-time workers vs. independent business owners’ ‘battle between the have-nots’…only the ad company remains” (“*Alba* vs. *chayŏngŏpja* ‘*ŭl* (乙) *kkiri ssaum’*… kwangkochuman namnŭn jangsa”). *Joongang Ilbo* online edition, 2015.02.14. Retrieved 2015/02/20.

Hong, Shinae. "The Struggle Against Neoliberal Governance: Anti-FTA Social Movement in Korea in the Context of Neoliberal Economic Reform." Ph.D. Dissertation, George Mason University. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2013.

Hooks, Bell. *Belonging : A Culture of Place*. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Howard, Keith. *Korean Pop Music: Riding the Wave*. Folkestone, Kent: Global Oriental, 2006.

Hu, Kelly. "The Power of Circulation: Digital Technologies and the Online Chinese Fans of Japanese TV Drama." *Inter-Asia cultural studies* 6.2 (2005).

Hughes, Theodore Q. "North Koreans" and Other Virtual Subjects: Kim Yeong-ha, Hwang Seok-yeong, and National Division in the Age of Posthumanism." *The Review of Korean Studies,* 11.1 (March, 2000): 99–117.

————. "Korean Visual Modernity and the Developmental Imagination." *SAI* 1 (November 30, 2006): 105–129.

————. *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea: Freedom's Frontier*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Hur, Woon. "'2010nyŏn taehanminkuk k'ont'ench'ŭ ŏwŏtŭ' sisangsik: hankuk kont'ench'ŭ chinhŭngwŏn, olhaeŭi munhwakont'ench'ŭ sisang," allinkorea.net, 19.Dec.2010 <<http://www.allinkorea.net/sub_read.html?uid=19801>> [accessed 2015/03/01].

Hwang Jong-yŏn. "Munhak-iranŭn yŏkŭ." *Tongakŏmunhak* (The Research on Korean Language and Literature) v32 (19971201): 457–480.

————. *Piruhan Kot Ui K`anibal Munhak Tongne P`yongnonjip*. Seoul-si: Munhak Tongne, 2001.

————. "After the Apocalypse of Literature: A Critique of Karatani Kojin's Thesis of the End of Modern Literature." *Korea Journal* 47.1 (2007): 102–125.

Hwang, Kyung Moon. "Country or State? Reconceptualizing Kukka in the Korean Enlightenment Period, 1896-1910." *Korean Studies* 24.1 (2000): 1–24.

Hwang, Seongbin. "The Current State of Korean TV Drama." 19th JAMCO Online International Symposium (February, 2010). www.jamco.or.jp. Web. 18 Jan. 2015. <http://www.jamco.or.jp/en/symposium/19/5/>.

Hwang Sung-Goo. *Terroir*. Dir. Kim Young Min. SBS, Korea. December 1 to February 17, 2008.

Hwang Yŏng-mi. "Hankuk yŏnghwa-e nat'anan tamunhwa yangsang yŏnku." *Yŏnghwa yŏnku* 47-ho (March, 2011): 239–262.

Ibsen Martínez, "Romancing the Globe," Foreign Policy, No. 151 (Nov.-Dec. 2005), pp. 48-56

Ijumin yŏnghwache/Migrant World Film Festival Homepage. www.mwff.org. Web. 23 Jan. 2013. <http://www.mwff.org/>.

Im, Hak-sun (Yim Haksoon). *The Emergence and Change of Cultural Policy in South Korea*. Seoul: JinHan Book, 2003.

Im Hŏn-yŏng. "Hankuk munhak kwa tamunhwajuŭi." *Sekye hankukŏ munhakhoe, sekye hankukŏ*

munhakhoe haksul taehoe 3.4 (November, 2009): 1–16. Web. 16 May 2011.

Im, Kyŏng-sun. "Pundan-munje Ui Sosŏlhwa Yangsang. *Hanguk Hyŏndae Sosŏl-sa*. N.p.: Samchŏlli - Munhak kwa munhak kyoyuk yŏnguso, 1999. 352–377.

Innis, Harold Adams. *The Bias of Communication*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951.

International Cultural Society of Korea. *Critical Issues in East Asian Literature*. ICSK forum series, no. 1. Seoul: International Cultural Society of Korea, 1983.

Iwabuchi, Koichi. "Becoming 'Culturally Proximate': The A/Scent of Japanese Idol Dramas in Taiwan." *Asian Media Productions*. Ed. Brian Moeran. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001. ConsumAsiaN Book Series .

Jameson, Fredric. "Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism." *Social Text* 15 (1986): 65.

————. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative As a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981.

Jang, Yoon-hyun, dir. *Kabi (Coffee)*. Film. Trophy Entertainment, 2012.

Jeon, Mihyon. "Globalization of English Teaching and Overseas Koreans As Temporary Migrant Workers in Rural Korea." *J Sociolinguist Journal of Sociolinguistics* 16.2 (2012): 238–254.

Jeong, Kelly Y. *Crisis of Gender and the Nation in Korean Literature and Cinema: Modernity Arrives Again*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011.

Jeong Seon-eon, Kim Mi-ju. "Multicultural Kids Hit a Language Wall," *JoongAng Daily*, March 05, 2010.

Jirn, Jin Suh. *Cosmopolis Now: Urban Narratives in the Age of Global Migration*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Santa Cruz. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2012.

————. "'Happy Seoul for Foreigners': Scenes From Multicultural Life in South Korea." *Inter-Asia cultural studies* 15.2 (2014).

Joinau, Benjamin. "Une Vague De Kimch'i: La Gastronomie Coréenne Face À La Mondialisation Entre Soft Power Et Menace ." *Outre-Terre* 2/2014.No 39 (2014): 350–372.

Joo, Rachael Miyung. *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012.

————. "Multiple Exposures: Korean Bodies and the Transnational Imagination." *JapanFocus*. *japanfocus.org*. Web. 21 Aug. 2012. <http://japanfocus.org/-Rachael_M_-Joo/3807>.

Jun, EuyRyung. *Virtuous Citizens and Sentimental Society Ethics and Politics in Neoliberal South Korea*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2011.

Jung, Heon Joo. "The Rise and Fall of Anti-American Sentiment in South Korea: Deconstructing Hegemonic Ideas and Threat Perception." *Asian Survey* 50.5 (October, 2010): 946–964.

Jung, Sun. *Korean Masculinities and Transcultural Consumption: Yonsama, Rain, Oldboy, K-Pop Idols*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011.

Jung, S., and D. Shim. "Social Distribution: K-pop Fan Practices in Indonesia and the 'Gangnam Style' Phenomenon." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 17.5 (October 18, 2013): 485–501.

Jung, Sun. Korean Masculinities and Transcultural Consumption: Yonsama, Rain, Oldboy, K-Pop Idols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011.

Kang Chin-ho. "Chinchŏngsŏngŭi p'at'osŭ wa sinisichŭm: hwang jongyŏn, [piruhan kŏsŭi k'anipal] (munhak tongne)." *Silch'ŏn munhaksa, silch'ŏn munhak, t'ongkwŏn* 63-ho (August, 2001): 386–389.

Kang Eun-kyung. *Baker King, Kim T'akgu.* Dir. Lee Jung-sub. Prod. Samhwa Networks. KBS Korea. June 9 to September 16, 2010.

Kang Hyŏn-tu. "Munhak ŭi iteolloki sŏng yŏnku. [Munhwa sanŏpron], yunesŭko yŏkkŭm." 25 Sep. 1987.

Kang, Kyoung-Lae. *Novel Genres or Generic Novels: Considering Korean Movies Adapted From Amateur Internet Novels*. M.A. Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2008.

Kang Nae-hŭi. "Sin-chayujuŭi sekyehwa wa hankukŭi munhwapyŏntong: tamunhwa sidaeŭi pip'anch'ŏk ihae." *2008-nyŏn chungang taehakkyo munhwa kont'ench'ŭ kisulyŏnkuwŏn haksul taehoe*. Seoul: 2008. 2–17.

Kang, Younghill. *East Goes West*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1937.

Khan, Valeriy. "Métanation Coréenne. Les Relations Entre La Diaspora Coréenne Et La Corée Le Problème De La Réunification." *Outre-Terre* 2/ 2014 .(N° 39): 232–239.

Kihl, Young Whan. *Transforming Korean Politics: Democracy, Reform, and Culture*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2005.

Kim, Alice. "Left Out: People's Solidarity for Social Progress and the Evolution of Minjung After Authoritarianism." *South Korean Social Movements: From Democracy to Civil Society*. Gi-Wook Shin and Paul Y Chang, eds. Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2011.

Kim Changnam. "Hanguk Ŭi Sahoe Pyŏntong Kwa Taejung Munhwa." *Chinpo p'yŏngnon t'ŭkjip: 87nyŏn t'ujaeng 20nyŏn, pyŏnhwa wa chŏnmang* (June 1, 2007).

Kim Chae-yŏng*. Kokkiri*. Seoul: Silch'ŏn Munhaksa, 2005.

Kim Chong-gil and Hanguk Munhak Ponyok Kukche Haksul Hoeui. *Hanguk Munhak Ŭi Oegugŏ Pŏnyŏk : Hyŏnhwang Kwa Chŏnmang*. Sŏul: Minumsa, 1997.

Kim, Chul-Kyoo. "Globalization and Changing Food Politics in South Korea." Accessed 17 Dec., 2015. *http://www.waseda-giari.jp/sysimg/rresults/456_report_2-2.pdf .*

Kim Do-woo. "Matŭllen, irhŏbŏrin sikanŭl ch'ajasŏ." *My Name is Kim Sam Soon.* Dir. Kim Yoon-cheol. MBC Korea. June 1 to July 21, 2005.

Kim, Dong-Choon. "Growth and Crisis of the Korean Citizens Movement." *Contemporary South Korean Society: A Critical Perspective*. Eds. Hee-yeon Cho, Hŭi-yŏn Cho, Lawrence Surendra, and Hyo-je Cho. Vol. 26. New York: Routledge, 2012.

Kim E-ran. "1990-nyŏnde ihu hankuk sahoe ŭi munhwa saengsan kongkankwa silch'ŏn-e kwanhan yŏnku." *Sahoe* 15.1 (February, 2007): 2–40.

Kim, Elaine H. "Blackness and American Identity in Korean American Literature." *Writing Across Boundaries: Literature in the Multicultural World*. Ed. U-ch'ang Kim. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2002. 291–310.

————. "Defining Asian American Realities Through Literature." *Cultural Critique* 6 (1987): 87–111.

Kim, Eleana Jean. *Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptees and the Politics of Belonging*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2010.

Kim, Eun Mee. *Big Business, Strong State Collusion And Conflict In South Korean Development, 1961-1990*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997.

Kim Ho-yŏn. "Taejung yŏngsang maech'erŭl t'onghae parapon hanguk ŭmsikmunhwa ŭi chae-insik." *Sunch'ŏnhyang inmunkwahak nonch'ong* 31.3 (2012): 221–243.

Kim, Eun Mee, and Jean S. Kang. "Seoul As a Global City with Ethnic Villages." *Korea Journal* 47.4 (2007): 64–99.

Kim, Hoo-ran. "Market Principle, Culture Don't Mix." *Korea Herald* 23 Apr. 2015, online ed., Opinion: http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20150423000859. *www.koreaherald.com.* Web. 25 Apr. 2015.

Kim Jae Young (Kim Chae-yŏng), tr. Nicholas Yohan Duvernay and Lee Moon-ok. "Elephant." *New Writing from Korea*. Korean Literature Translation Institute, 2011.

Kim, Jina E. "Intermedial Aesthetics: Still Images, Moving Words, and Written Sounds in Early Twentieth-Century Korean Cinematic Novels (Yeonghwa Soseol)." *The Review of Korean Studies* 16.2 (2013): 45–79.

Kim, Katharine H.S. "Strangers in the Midst of Globalization: Migrant Workers and Korean Nationalism." *Korea's Globalization.* Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies. Ed. Samuel S. Kim. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 147–169.

Kim, Key-Hiuk. *The Last Phase of the East Asian World Order: Korea, Japan, and the Chinese Empire, 1860-1882*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980.

Kim, Kwang Ok. "Rice Cuisine and Cultural Practice in Contemporary Korean Dietary Life." *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 11–35.

Kim, Kyung Hyun, and Youngmin Choe. *The Korean Popular Culture Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.

Kim, Mi-yŏng. "PC Bang and convenience store owners in an uproar over 'Albamon' ads… why?" *Hankyoreh* online, 2014.02.04. Web. Retrieved 2015/02/20.

Kim, Moon-hwan and Gun-ryol Yang. *Trends in Cultural Policy Studies in Korea*. Seoul: Korea Cultural Policy Institute, 1998.

Kim Myong-sun, Pak Yong-hui, Yi Ik-sang, Paek Sin-ae, and Kim Yong-su, eds. *Torada Pol Ttae : [kit'a] Hanguk Munhak Taejŏnjip, 29*. Sŏul T`ŭkpyŏl-si: T'aeguk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1982.

Kim, Myung Oak, and Sam Jaffe. The New Korea: an Inside Look at South Korea's Economic Rise. New York: AMACOM, 2010.

Kim Pyŏng-ik. *Kŭraedo Munhak I Issŏya Hal Iyu: Kim Pyŏng-ik*. Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 2005.

Kim, Samuel S. *Korea's Globalization.* Cambridge Asia-Pacific Studies. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kim, Sangkyun. "Small Screen, Big Tourism: The Role of Popular Korean Television Dramas in South Korean Tourism." *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Place, Space and the Environment* 11.3 (2009).

Kim Seong-kon. "Images of Koreans in the Western Media." In Kim (ed.), *The Globalizing World*.

————. Kullobol Sidae Ui Munhak: Segye Sok Ui Han'guk Munhak : Kim Song-gon P'yongnonjip. Soul-si: Minumsa, 2006.

————. "Writing in the Multicultural Age: Towards a Reconciliation of the East and the West." In Kim (ed.), *Writing Across Boundaries*.

————**.** "Returning from the London Book Fair," The Korea Herald, 2014/04/15. http://khnews.kheraldm.com/view.php?ud=20140415001460&md=20140416003141_BH <<date accessed: 2014/04/15>>.

Kim, Se-jong. "Development Aid Shouldn't Be Promotional." *The Korea Times*, November 29, 2009.

Kim, Seung-Kyung,. *Class Struggle or Family Struggle? : The Lives of Women Factory Workers in South Korea*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Kim Soyoung, "Cine-Mania' or Cinephilia: Film Festivals and the Identity Question," in Shin, Chi-Yun, and Julian Stringer (eds.). *New Korean Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

Kim, Sun-chul. *Conservative Transition and Popular Contention in Post-transition South Korea*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2008.

Kim, U-ch'ang. Writing Across Boundaries: Literature in the Multicultural World. Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2002.

Kim Won, "Between Autonomy and Productivity: the Everyday Lives of Korean Women Workers During the Park Chung-hee Era." In Alf Lüdtke (ed.), Mass Dictatorship in Everyday Life: Collusion and Evasion. London: Palgrave, 2015 (forthcoming).

Kim Yeong-Hyeon. *Dae Jang Geum* (Jewel in the Palace). Dir. Lee Byung-hoon. MBC Korea. September 15, 2003 to March 23, 2004.

Kim, Y-h. "Doing a Literary Journal in a Divided Country: Changbi, Its History and Projects." *INTER ASIA CULTURAL STUDIES* 2 (2001): 355–360.

Kim Young-ha. "Kim Young-ha writes of elusive freedom in Korean urban life," http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/n_interview/2010/05/31/76/4801000000AEN20100531005200315F.HTML

————. *Pich'ŭi chekuk* (Empire of Lights), Korean edition cover illustration. Munhak Tongne, 2006. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————.*Your Republic is Calling You* (Pich'ŭi chekuk), U.S. edition cover illustration. Mariner Books, 2010. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

Kim, Young Sam. Speech at the Leaders' Forum of the 26th PCEB International General Meeting, 1993/05/24, in *Korea's Quest for Reform & Globalization: Selected Speeches of President Kim Young Sam*. Korea: Presidential Secretariat, the Republic of Korea, 1995.

————. Korea's Quest for Reform & Globalization : Selected Speeches of President Kim Young Sam. Korea: Presidential Secretariat, the Republic of Korea, 1995.

Kim, Youna, ed. *Media Consumption and Everyday Life in Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Kim, Yun-sik and Kyong-nyol Chang. *Understanding Modern Korean Literature*. Seoul, Korea: Jipmoondang Pub. Co. 1998.

Kim-Renaud, Young-Key, R Richard Grinker, and Kirk W Larsen. "Korean American Literature." *Washington DC: Univ. of George Washington* (2004).

Kittler, Friedrich A. *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter Writing Science*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Koo, Hagen. "The Changing Faces of Inequality in South Korea in the Age of Globalization." *Korean Studies* 31.1 (2008): 1–18.

Korea Foundation. "Mission Statement," Korea Foundation website, http://en.kf.or.kr/?menuno=518, accessed 03/2014.

Korean Literature Translation Institute. *1st International workshop: Translation & Publication of Korean Literature*, 2002/06/8.

————.*The 4th International Translators' Conference: Evolution of Translation*, Sept 13-14, 2010.

————. *Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon 10-yonsa* = Korea Literature Translation Institute 10 Years : Segye Wa Hamkke Hanun Han'guk Munhak. Seoul: Han'guk Munhak Ponyogwon, 2011.

————. *New Writing from Korea*, published by the Korean Literature Translation Institute, 2011.

Ku, Robert Ji-Song, Martin F Manalansan, and Anita Mannur. *Eating Asian America: A Food Studies Reader*. New York: NYU Press, 2013.

Kuwahara, Yasue. *The Korean Wave: Korean Popular Culture in Global Context*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Kweldju, Siusana, Jeongmin Eom, and Hye-Won Jung. *Challenging Racial Prejudices, Promoting International Understanding*. Seoul, Republic of Korea: Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding, 2008.

Kwŏn, Kyŏng-u. "What's needed in Korea in the Multicultural Era" [*Damunhwa sidae hankuke p'ilyohan kŏsŭn*]. Hankooki.com *Chukanhankuk Magazine*, 2009/11/04.

Kwon, Nayoung Aimee. "Translated Encounters and Empire: Colonial Korea and the Literature of Exile." *Translated Encounters and Empire: Colonial Korea and the Literature of Exile*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2007.

Kwŏn Sŏk-u. "Inchongjuŭi wa munhakchŏk chaehyŏn - nokŭnri-esŏ mirai-ro (Racism and Literary Representation: From No Gun Ri to My Lai)." *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 78.2007.2 (2007): 358–384.

Kymlicka, Will and Baogang He, eds. *Multiculturalism in Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Larsen, Kirk W. *Tradition, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Choson Korea, 1850-1910*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008.

Larson, James F. *The Telecommunications Revolution in Korea*. Hong Kong; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Lee, Christina. Violating Time: History, Memory and Nostalgia in Cinema. New York: Continuum, 2008.

Lee, Helene Kim. "Bittersweet Homecomings: Ethnic Identity Construction in the Korean Diaspora." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara. Ann Arbor: Proquest/UMI, 2009.

————. "Hybridized Korean Identities: The Making of Korean-Americans and *Joseonjok*." *Hybrid Identities Theoretical and Empirical Examinations*. Eds. Keri E Iyall Smith, Patricia Leavy, and Helene K. Lee. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008. Studies in Critical Social Science. 291–312.

Lee, James Kyung-Jin. *Urban Triage: Race and the Fictions of Multiculturalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004.

Lee, Jin-kyung. Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Lee, Jung-Eun. "Micro-Dynamics of Protests: The Political and Cultural Conditions for Anti-U.S. Beef Protests in South Korea." *Sociological Perspectives* 55.3 (August, 2012): 399–420.

Lee, Jung-yup. "Managing the Transnational, Governing the National: Cultural Policy and the Politics of the "Culture Archetype Project" in South Korea." *Popular Culture and the State in East and Southeast Asia*. Ed. Nissim Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011. 65–81.

Lee, Katherine In-Young. "Dynamic Korea: Amplifying Sonic Registers in a Nation-Branding Campaign." *The Journal of Korean Studies* 20.1 (Spring 2015) (2015): 113–148.

Lee, Kihan. "The Flowering of Asian American Literature." *한국미국사학회, 미국사연구* 11 (May,

2000): 173–190.

Lee Kwang Ho. “Cultural Hybridity in Contemporary Korean Literature,” in *Korea Journal*, Spring 2007.

Lee, Kwangho, and Jinah Lee. "Diasporic Identity and Media Consumption Among Korean-Chinese Diaspora: The Case of Shanghai and Tokyo."

Lee, Namhee. "The South Korean Student Movement: Undongkwŏn As a Counterpublic Sphere." *Korean Society: Civil Society, Democracy, and the State*. Ed. Charles K Armstrong. London; New York: Routledge, 2002. 132–164.

————. The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007.

Lee, Regina Yung. "As Seen on the Internet: The Recap As Translation in English-language K-drama Fandoms." *The Korean Popular Culture Reader*. Youngmin Choe and Kyung Hyun Kim, eds. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014. 76–98.

Lee Seung-u. “Must We Always Aim for A Worldwide Audience?” In Kim (ed.), *The Globalizing World*.

Lee, Sohl. Being Political Popular: South Korean Art at the Intersection of Popular Culture and Democracy, 1980-2010. Seoul; Seattle: Hyunsil Pub. Distributed by University of Washington Press, 2012.

Lee Won. ""Specialized Job Drama's Traits and Aspects of Development in 2000's" [2000-*nyŏndae chŏnmunchik tŭrama t'ŭkching kwa palchŏn yangsang*]." *The Journal of the Korea Contents Association* 12.11 (November 28, 2012): 68–75.

Lee, Yoonkyung. "Migration, Migrants, and Contested Ethno-Nationalism in Korea." *Critical Asian Studies* 41.3 (September, 2009): 363–380.

Lie, John. "South Korean Development in Retrospect" and "Postlude". *Han Unbound: The Political Economy of South Korea*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000. 154–171.

Lim, Jie-Hyun. "Victimhood Nationalism and History Reconciliation in East Asia." *History Compass* 8.1 (2010): 1–10.

Lim, Timothy. "Rethinking Belongingness in Korea: Transnational Migration, "Migrant Marriages" and the Politics of Multiculturalism." *Pacific Affairs* 83.1 (2010): 51–71.

Liu, Lydia He. *The Clash of Empires: The Invention of China in Modern World Making*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

————. *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900–1937*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Long, Lucy M., ed. *Culinary Tourism*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003.

Looser, Thomas. "Superflat and the Layers of Image and History in 1990s Japan." *Mechademia* 1.1 (2006): 92–109.

López, Silvia L. "National Culture, Globalization and the Case of Post-War El Salvador." *Comparative Literature Studies* 41.1 (2004): 80–100.

Lovell, Julia. *The Politics of Cultural Capital: China's Quest for a Nobel Prize in Literature*. Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2006.

Mack, Edward Thomas. *Manufacturing Modern Japanese Literature: Publishing, Prizes, and the Ascription of Literary Value*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

————. "Accounting for Taste: The Creation of the Akutagawa and Naoki Prizes for Literature." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic studies* 64.2 (2004): 291-.

Martin-Barbero, J. "Identities: Traditions and New Communities." *Media, Culture & Society* 24.5 (September 1, 2002): 621–641.

Martin-Barbero, Jesus, and Zilkia Janer. "Transformations in the Map: Identities and Culture Industries." *Latin American Perspectives* 27.4 (2000): 27–48.

Maslin, Janet. "A Mother's Devotion, a Family's Tearful Regrets," *New York Times: Books of the Times*, 2011/03/30. (www.nytimes.com/2011/03/31/books/kyung-sook-shins-please-look-after-mom-review.html?_r=1&scp=1&sq=look after mother&st=cse)

Mazzarella, William. "Culture, Globalization, Mediation." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 345–367.

McHugh, Kathleen, and Nancy Abelmann. *South Korean Golden Age Melodrama: Gender, Genre, and National Cinema.* Contemporary Approaches to Film and Television Series. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005.

McLeod, Ken. "Afro-Samurai: Techno-Orientalism and Contemporary Hip Hop." Popular Music 32.02 (May, 2013): 259–275. Cambridge Journals.

Millet, Jean-François. L'Angélus. Digital image. Musée D'Orsay, n.d. Retrieved from Web. 16 January 2015.

Miyoshi, Masao. "A Borderless World? From Colonialism to Transnationalism and the Decline of the Nation-State." *Critical Inquiry* 19.4 (1993): 726–751.

————. "A Turn to the Planet: Literature, Diversity, and Totality." In Kim (ed.), *Writing Across Boundaries*.

Modood, Tariq. *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity, and Muslims in Britain*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Moeran, Brian. *Asian Media Productions ConsumAsiaN Book Series*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

Möhring, Maren. "Transnational Food Migration and the Internationalization of Food Consumption: Ethnic Cuisine in West Germany." *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World*. Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann, eds. New York: Berg, 2008.

Moon, Chung-in, and Seung-won Suh. "Japan's Asian Regionalism and South Korea." *Korea at the Center: Dynamics of Regionalism in Northeast Asia*. Charles K Armstrong, Gilbert Rozman, Samuel S Kim, and Stephen Kotkin, eds. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe., 2006.

Moon, Katharine H S. *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Moon, Okpyo. "Food and Food Consumption As Cultural Practices: Lifestyle Changes in Contemporary Korea?" *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 5–10.

————. "Dining Elegance and Authenticity: Archaeology of Royal Court Cuisine in Korea." *Korea Journal* 50.1 (2010): 36–59.

Moon, Seungsook. *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea Politics, History, and Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Moretti, Franco. "Conjectures on World Literature." *Debating World Literature*. Ed. Christopher Prendergast. London; New York: Verso, 2004. pp. 148–162.

Morley, David, and Kevin Robins. Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Morris, Meaghan, Brett de Bary, and Kang Nae-hui. *Injong Kongp'o Wa Iju Ui Kijok*. Seoul: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 2001.

Moskin, Julia. "Culinary Diplomacy with a Side of Kimchi." *New York Times* 22 Sep. 2009, Dining section: n. pag. *www.nytimes.com.* Web. 17 Jan. 2015.

Mudge, James. "The Untold Scandal (2003) Movie Review." *BeyondHollywood.com*. *www.beyondhollywood.com.* Web. 28 Oct. 2014. <http://www.beyondhollywood.com/the-untold-scandal-2003-movie-review/>.

Muehlebach, Andrea Karin. *The Moral Neoliberal Welfare And Citizenship In Italy*. Chicago: University

of Chicago Press, 2012.

Muller, Anders Riel. "The Fight for Real Food in Korea." *Korean Quarterly* Winter 2012 (2012).

Nakamura, Lisa. *Digitizing Race: Visual Cultures of the Internet*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Napier, Susan Jolliffe. *Anime From Akira to Princess Mononoke: Experiencing Contemporary Japanese Animation*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

————. *From Impressionism to Anime: Japan As Fantasy and Fan Cult in the Mind of the West.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

National Human Rights Commission of Korea — Introduction. 2007. National Human Rights Commission of Korea. Retrieved May 15, 2008. <http://www.humanrights.go.kr/english/about_nhrck/introduction_01.jsp>

Naver jisik sachŏn. "Munhwa ch'eyuk kwankwangpu [Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism]." Naver.com, *terms.naver.com.* Web. 19 Jul. 2012. <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=646375&categoryId=1014>.

————. "Sekyehwa ch'uchin wiwŏnhoe (kŭnkŏ: [kukmu chochŏngsil kwa kŭ sosok kikwanŭi chikche], [sekyehwa ch'uchin wiwŏnhoe kyuchŏng], daet'ongryŏng 14504-ho 1994." Naver.com kin.naver.com. Web. 11 Jun. 2012. <http://kin.naver.com/knowhow/detail.nhn?d1id=5&dirId=5&docId=545082&qb=6rmA7JiB7IK8IO2YuOyjvCDshLjqs4TtmZQ=&enc=utf8&section=kin&rank=1&search_sort=0&spq=1>.

Nelson, Laura C. *Measured Excess: Status, Gender, and Consumer Nationalism in South Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

New York Instituto Cervantes. "Presentation" page of the New York Instituto Cervantes: http://nyork.cervantes.es/en/about_us_spanish.htm <accessed 7/15/2014>.

Nichols, Bill. "Discovering Form, Inferring Meaning: New Cinemas and the Film Festival Circuit," *Film Quarterly,* Vol. 47, No. 3, Spring, 1994.

Oh, Sangyong. *Wine Market Brief Seoul ATO Korea - Republic of*. October 30, 2013. GAIN Report Number: KS1349.

Oh, Se-Mi. "Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul, 1915-1937." *Consuming the Modern: The Everyday in Colonial Seoul, 1915-1937*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University. Ann Arbor: ProQuest/UMI, 2008.

Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

————**.** "Intoduction: Neoliberalism as exception, exception to neoliberalism" in *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

————**.** "Neoliberalism as a Mobile Technology," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* New Series, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Jan., 2007): 3-8.

Otis, Daniel. "Dining with Dear Leader: North Korea's Pyongyang Restaurants: The Hermit Kingdom's International Chain of Restaurants." *Slate* 22 Nov. 2013: n. pg. *www.slate.com.* Web. 22 Feb. 2015.

Otmazgin, Nissim, and Eyal Ben-Ari. "Introduction: Cultural Industries and the State in East and Southeast Asia." *Popular Culture and the State in East and Southeast Asia*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011. pp. 3–26.

Otmazgin, Nissim, and Irina Lyan. "Hallyu Across the Desert: K-pop Fandom in Israel and Palestine." *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 3.3 (2014): 32–55.

Oum, Young Rae. "Authenticity and Representation: Cuisines and Identities in Korean-American Diaspora." *Postcolonial Studies: Culture, Politics, Economy* 8.1 (January 1, 2005): 109–125.

Pae Chŏl (Korean office worker in Australia). "My Thoughts on Australia and Australians: The Pinnacle of Australia's Chronic Problem of Discrimination Towards People of Color ["Naeka pon osŭtŭreillia-

osŭtŭreilliain (5): yusaekinjong ch'apyŏl kochilpyŏng 'kokae'"]." *Hankyoreh*, 27 Mar. 1997.

Pak Ch'ol-hui, and Si-t'ae, Kim. *Hanguk Hyondae Munhaksa Si Munhaksa Munhak Yongu Ch`ongso, 18*. Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Si Munhaksa, 2000.

Pak Nam-su. "Tamunhwa sahoe-e issŏ siminchŏk chachilŭi yuksŏng: sahoerŭl t'onghan tamunhwa kyoyukŭi mosaek." *Hankuk sahoe kwa kyoyuk yŏnkuhoe, sahoe kwa kyoyuk* 33 (August, 2000): 101–117.

Paik, Nak-chung. "The Idea of a Korean National Literature Then and Now." *positions: east asia cultures critique positions: east asia cultures critique* 1.3 (1993): 553–580.

————. "Notions of the Third World and National Literatures in the Age of Globalization." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11.4 (December, 2010): 488–495.

————. "Towards a Planetary Approach to Western Literary Canons." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11.4 (December, 2010): 496–501.

Palumbo-Liu, David. *The Deliverance of Others: Reading Literature in a Global Age*. Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2012.

Palumbo-Liu, David, and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht. *Streams of Cultural Capital: Transnational Cultural Studies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Parasecoli, Fabio. *Bite Me: Food in Popular Culture*. New York: Berg, 2008.

Park Chan-wook, dir. "N.E.P.A.L." *If You Were Me*, National Human Rights Commission of South Korea, 2003. Film. Author's screenshots. 14 April 2015.

————**.** "Never Ending Peace and Love (N.E.P.A.L.)" (Mitkŏna, malkŏna, ch'andŭra ŭi kyŏngu). *If You Were Me* (Yŏsŏt gae ŭi sisŏ). DVD. Interview with director Park Chan-wook. National Human Rights Commission of Korea (Kukka inkwon wiwnonhoe), 2003.

Park, Hyun Ok. "Democracy, History, and Migrant Labor in South Korea." Working Series. Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. Stanford University, 2005. Web. 13 Sep. 2012.

Park, Jane J. "Locating Korean American Adoptees: Race, Emotion, and Out-of-place Subjectivity." Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University Graduate School, New Brunswick. Ann Arbor: Proquest/UMI, 2011.

Park, Joseph Sung-Yul. "Regimenting Languages on Korean Television: Subtitles and Institutional Authority." *Text & Talk* 29.5 (2009): 547–570.

Park, Jung-Sun, and Paul Y. Chang. "Contention in the Construction of a Global Korean Community: The Case of the Overseas Korean Act." *Journal of Korean Studies* 10.1 (2005): 1–27.

Park, Kyung Ae. "Women and Revolution in North Korea." *Pacific Affairs* 65.4 (1992): 527–545.

Park, Mi. "Framing Free Trade Agreements: The Politics of Nationalism in the Anti-Neoliberal Globalization Movement in South Korea." *Globalizations* 6.4 (December, 2009): 451–466.

Park, Min-gyu. "Say 'Ah,' Pelican [A haseyo, pellikan]," in *Castella* [kasutera]. Seoul: Munhak Tongne,

2005, p. 130-131.

————. *Aepsolut'ŭ Badi [Absolute Body]*. Kyŏnggi-do Koyang-si: Haet'o, 2008.

Park, Sang Mi. "The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-Sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965-Present." *Journal of Korean Studies* 15.1 (2010): 67–93.

Park, Seung Hyun. "Film Censorship and Political Legitimation in South Korea, 1987-1992." *Cinema Journal* 42.1 (2002): 120–138.

Park, So Jin, and Nancy Abelmann. "Class and Cosmopolitan Striving: Mothers' Management of English Education in South Korea." *Anthropological quarterly* (2004).

Park, Soo Kyung, Jae Yop Kim, and Choon Bum Cho. "Prevalence of Internet Addiction and Correlations with Family Factors Among South Korean Adolescents." *Adolescence* 43.172 (2007): 895–909.

Park, Sunyoung. "The Colonial Origin of Korean Realism and Its Contemporary Manifestation." *positions: east asia cultures critique* 14.1 (April, 2006): 165–192.

Pempel, T J. *The Politics of the Asian Economic Crisis*. Ithaca, [N.Y.]: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Pendergast, William R. "UNESCO and French Cultural Relations 1945-1970." *International Organization* 30.3 (1976): 453–483.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. "Empire and 'Civilizing' Missions, Past & Present." *Daedalus* 132.2 (Spring 2005): 34–45.

Poole, Janet. *When the Future Disappears: The Modernist Imagination in Late Colonial Korea*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Prey, Robert. "Different Takes: Migrant World Television and Multiculturalism in South Korea," *Global Media Journal — Canadian Edition*, v. 4, no. 1, 109-125.

Pyŏl-pyŏl iyaki (*If You Were Me: Anima Vision*). Korea National Human Rights Commission, 2005. Film.

Qiu, Jack, & Yeran Kim. "Global Financial Crisis| Recession and Progression? Notes on Media, Labor, and Youth from East Asia." *International Journal of Communication* [Online], 4 (2010): 20. Web. 14 Oct. 2015.

Ray, Krishnendu, and Tulasi Srinivas. *Curried Cultures: Globalization, Food, and South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Roche, Mark William. *Why Literature Matters in the 21st Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Rofel, Lisa. *Desiring China: Experiments in Neoliberalism, Sexuality, and Public Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007. Perverse Modernities, Judith Halberstam and Lisa Lowe, eds.

Roh, Tae Woo. *No T'ae-u Taet'ongnyong yonsol munjip v. 3* (1990). Sŏul: Taetʻongnyŏng Pisŏsil, 1990.

————. *No T'ae-u Taet'ongnyong yonsol munjip v. 4* (1990). Sŏul: Taetʻongnyŏng Pisŏsil, 1990.

Ross, Kristin. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995).

Ryu, Youngju. "The Neighbor and Politics of Literature in 1970's South Korea: Yi Mungu, Hwang Sŏgyŏng, Cho Sehŭi." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles. Ann Arbor: Proquest/UMI, 2006.

Sakai, Naoki. "Literary Nation: Translation and the Figure of National Culture." *Canon and Identity : Japanese Modernization Reconsidered : Trans-cultural Perspectives*. Ed. Irmela Hijiya-Kirschnereit. Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, 2000. 117–144.

————. *Translation and Subjectivity: On Japan and Cultural Nationalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Sassen, Saskia. *Globalization and Its Discontents: [Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money]*. New York: New Press, 1998.

Schmid, Andre. *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002. Studies of the East Asian Institute.

Seo Sook-hyang. *Pasta*. Dir. Kwon Seok-jang. Prod. Son Ok-hyun. MBC Korea. January 4 to March 9, 2010.

Seol, Dong-Hoon, and John D Skrentny. "Ethnic Return Migration and Hierarchical Nationhood: Korean Chinese Foreign Workers in South Korea." *Ethnicities* 9.2 (June 1, 2009): 147–174.

Shin, Chi-Yun, and Julian Stringer. *New Korean Cinema*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

Shin, Gi-wook. "The Paradox of Korean Globalization." Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, January, 2003.

————. *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006.

Shin, Gi-Wook, and Kyung Moon Hwang. *Contentious Kwangju: The May 18 Uprising in Korea's Past and Present* Asia/Pacific/perspectives. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

Shin, Gi-Wook, and Michael E. Robinson. *Colonial Modernity in Korea*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center: Distributed by Harvard University Press, 1999.

Shin, Hyunjoon. "Have You Ever Seen the Rain? And Who'll Stop the Rain?: The Globalizing Project of Korean Pop (K-pop)." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 10.4 (December, 2009): 507–523.

Shin Kyung-sook. *Als Mutter Verschwand* (Please Look After Mother), German edition cover illustration. Piper, 2012. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Haha wo onegai* (Please Look After Mom), Japanese edition cover illustration. Shueisha, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Ŏmmarŭl put'akhae*, 1st Korean edition cover illustration. Digital image. Changbi, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Please Look After Mom*, tr. Chi-Young Kim. New York: Vintage Contemporary Classics, 2011.

————. *Please Look After Mom*, US (and French) 1st edition cover illustration. Knopf, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Please Look After Mom*, large-print U.S. edition cover illustration. Center Point Large Print, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015. (93)

————. *Please Look After Mom*, 2nd U.S. edition cover illustration. Vintage, 2012. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Please Look After Mother*, UK 1st edition cover illustration. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Por Favor Cuida de Mamá* (Please Look After Mom), Spanish edition cover illustration. Grijalbo, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Qing zhaogu wo mama* (Please Look After Mama), Chinese edition cover illustration. Yuan Shen/Tsai Fong Books, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *Zaopiekuj się moją mamą* (Please Look After Mama), Polish edition cover illustration. Kwiaty Orientu, 2011. Digital image. Retrieved from Goodreads.com, n.d. Web. 16 January 2015.

————. *The Girl Who Wrote Loneliness* (Oettanbang). New York: Pegasus Books, 2015 (forthcoming).

Shipper, Apichai W. Fighting for Foreigners: Immigration and Its Impact on Japanese Democracy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Shirane, Haruo. "Introduction: Issues in Canon Formation." *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*. Ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

————. "Curriculum and Competing Canons." *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*. Ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

————. "The Tale of Genji and the Dynamics of Cultural Production: Canonization and Popularization." *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. 1–46.

Shirane, Haruo, and Tomi Suzuki, eds. *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

Singh, J P. Globalized Arts: The Entertainment Economy and Cultural Identity. New York: Columbia

University, 2011.

Siriyuvasak, Ubonrat, and Shin Hyunjoon. "Asianizing K-pop: Production, Consumption and Identification Patterns Among Thai Youth." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 8.1 (March, 2007): 109–136.

Snaije, Olivia. "Yi Mun-yol on Allegory and Naked North Korean Writing," *Publishing Perspectives*, 2014/04/10, http://publishingperspectives.com/2014/04/yi-mun-yol-on-allegory-and-naked-north-korean-writing/ <<date accessed: 2014/04/10>>

Sohn, Stephen Hong. "Introduction: Alien/Asian: Imagining the Racialized Future." *MELUS* 33.4 (2008): 5–22. Web.

Son Hong-gyu. *Isullam Chongyukchom*. Sŏul: Munhakkwa Jisongsa, 2010.

Song, Hye-jin. "Ijen natseolji aneun 2%" (The Two-Percent, No Longer Unfamiliar). *Chosun Ilbo*, September 28th, 2007, cited in Han, 34.

Song Hyŏn-ho. "<K'okkiri>e nat'anan iju tamronŭi inmulhakchŏk yŏnku (A Humanistic Approach of Migrant Discourse on 'Elephant')." *Hyŏndae sosŏl yŏnku* 42.0 (2009): 229–252.

————. "Tamunhwa sahoe ŭi sŏsa yuhyŏng kwa sŏsa chŏnryak-e kwanhan yŏnku." *Hankuk hyŏndae sosŏl hakhoe* 44 (August, 2010): 171–200.

Song, Jesook. "'Venture Companies,' 'Flexible Labor,' and the 'New Intellectual': The Neoliberal Construction of Underemployed Youth in South Korea." *Journal of Youth Studies* 10.3 (2007): 331–351.

————. "Between Flexible Life and Flexible Labor." *Critique of Anthropology* 29.2 (2009): 139–159.

————. *New Millennium South Korea*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Song, Seung-Cheol. "From a Theory of Citizen Literature to the Discourses of Overcoming Modernity." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 11.4 (December, 2010): 536–551.

Soyinka, Wole. "Canons to the West, Canons to the East." In Kim (ed.). *Writing Across Boundaries*, p. 17.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *Death of a Discipline*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Stavans, Ilan. "Teaching Telenovelas." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. *chronicle.com.* Web. 8 Jul. 2013. <http://chronicle.com/article/Teaching-Telenovelas/140017/>.

Stringer, Julian (2003) *Regarding Film Festivals.* Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, United States – Indiana. Retrieved May 15, 2008, from Dissertations & Theses: Full Text database. (Publication No. AAT 3122742).

Suh, Ji-Moon. "Propelled by the Force of Memory: New Directions in Korean Literature in the 1990s." *Human Studies* 24.1/2 (2001): 149-170.

Suh, Serk-Bae. *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan From the 1910s to the 1960s*. Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive, University of

California Press, 2013.

Survey on Korean Food Awareness and Preference of Foreigners. *docs.google.com.* Web. 17 Mar. 2015. <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1bhQA9zc-k2XYMnLkUZq0keHdLC-1F1BlJLyL1F-fH7Y/viewform?fbzx=5093507129121107657>.

Suzuki, Tomi, "Gender and Genre: Modern Literary Histories and Women's Diary Literature." *Inventing the Classics: Modernity, National Identity, and Japanese Literature*. Ed. Haruo Shirane and Tomi Suzuki. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.

————. "The Tale of Genji, National Literature, Language, and Modernism." *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*. Ed. Haruo Shirane. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. 243–287.

Tangherlini, Timothy R, and Sallie Yea. *Sitings: Critical Approaches To Korean Geography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008. Hawai'i Studies on Korea.

Tateishi, Kazuhiro. "The Tale of Genji in Postwar Film: Emperor, Aestheticism, and the Erotic." *Envisioning the Tale of Genji: Media, Gender, and Cultural Production*. Ed. Haruo Shirane. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008. 303–328.

Ter, Dana. "Why Young Asian-Americans Are Fleeing Hollywood." *.Mic*. Mic Network, 9 Dec. 2013. Web. Jan.-Feb. 2015.

Terrio, Susan. "Crafting Grand Cru Chocolates in Contemporary France," in James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell (eds.). The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating: a Reader. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2005. 144-162.

Treat, John Whittier. *Contemporary Japan and Popular Culture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996.

Trubek, Amy B. *The Taste of Place a Cultural Journey Into Terroir*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

U Sok-hun, and Pak Kwon-il. 88-manwŏn Sedae: Chŏlmang Ŭi Sidae E Ssŭnŭn Hŭimang Ŭi Kyŏngjehak (88만원 세대: 절망의 시대에 쓰는 희망의 경제학). Sŏul: Rediang Midio, 2007.

UNESCO. *UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions 2005*. *portal.unesco.org.* Web. 28 Jul. 2012. <http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=31038&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>.

"'Untold Scandal': Giving the Timeless Shame of Gossip to a Korean 'Liaisons'" Rev. of *Untold Scandal*. *New York Times* 13 Oct. 2004, Movies sec.: n. pag. Web. 28 Oct. 2014.

Vargas Llosa, Mario. *Mario Vargas Llosa - Nobel Lecture: In Praise of Reading and Fiction*. *www.nobelprize.org.* Web. 11 Jul. 2012. <http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/2010/vargas_llosa-lecture_en.html>.

Venuti, Lawrence. The Scandals Of Translation: Towards An Ethics Of Difference. London; New York:

Routledge, 1998.

Voon, Tania. "Unesco and the WTO : A Clash of Cultures?" *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 55.3 (2006): 635–651.

Vu, Hong Tien, and Tien-Tsung Lee. "Soap Operas As a Matchmaker: A Cultivation Analysis of the Effects of South Korean TV Dramas on Vietnamese Women's Marital Intentions." *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 90.2 (June, 2013): 308–330.

Watson, Iain. "South Korea's State-led Soft Power Strategies: Limits on Inter-Korean Relations." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 20.3 (February, 2013): 304–325.

Watson, J K. "Seoul and Singapore As "New Asian Cities": Literature, Urban Transformation, and the Concentricity of Power." *positions: asia critique* 19.1 (March 1, 2011): 193–215.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Walraven, Boudewijn. "Bardot soup and Confucians' meat: food and Korean identity in global context," in Cwiertka, Katarzyna Joanna, and Boudewijn Walraven (eds.). *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*. Richmond: Curzon, 2002.

Weber, Samuel. *Targets of Opportunity: On the Militarization of Thinking*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2005.

Wells, Kenneth M., and International Conference on the Korean Minjung Movement. "Contemporary Korean Literature: From Victimization to Minjung Nationalism." *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.

————. South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.

Wilson, Rob, and Wimal Dissanayake. *Global/Local: Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996.

Wŏn Sŭng-ryong. "Tamunhwa sahoe-esŏ inkwŏn tamron punsŏk." *Minjujuŭi wa inkwŏn* 3.1 (April, 2003): 5–35.

Wong, Laura and UNESCO. *Globalization and Intangible Cultural Heritage.* International Conference Globalization and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Paris: UNESCO, 2005.

Woo, Michelle. "Daniel Henney -- Seoul Man." *CNN Travel*. CNN, 19 Oct. 2009. Web. Jan.-Feb. 2015.

World Intellectual Property Organization. *Guide to the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (Paris Act, 1971)*. Geneva: World Intellectual Property Organization, 1978.

Yecies, Brian, and Shim. "Lost Memories of Korean Cinema: Film Policies During Japanese Colonial Rule, 1919-1937." *Asian Cinema* 14.2 (Fall/Winter, 2003): 75–90.

Yi Chŏng-a. "Cheppangwang Kim T'akku', taehanminkuk k'ont'ench'ŭ ŏwŏtŭ 'taet'ongryŏng p'yoch'ang,'" *Chosun Ilbo*, 19 October 2012. Web. 1 Mar. 2015. <http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2010/12/19/2010121900328.html>.

Yi Mun-yol. “From Realism to Mimesis: Writing in a Time of Transition.” In Kim (ed.), *Writing Across Boundaries*.

————. “Literature as Ideology: My Literature and Ideologies.” In Kim (ed.), *The Globalizing World and the Human Community.* Elizabeth, NJ: Hollym, 2012. 241-244.

Yi Pyŏng-min. "Ch'amyŏ chŏngbu munhwa sanŏp chŏngch'aek ŭi pyŏngka wa hyanghu chŏngch'aek panghyang (An Evaluation of Cultural Industry Policies in Korean Participatory Government and Future Perspectives ." *Inmun k'ont'ench'ŭ,* 9.2007.6 (June, 2007): 205-235.

Yi Tong-yon. *Munhwa Chabon Ŭi Sidae: Han'guk Munhwa Chabon Ŭi Hyŏngsŏng Wŏlli*. Sŏul: Munhwa Kwahaksa, 2010.

Yi U-in. "'Tterua,' myŏngsŏng hwanghuŭi 'syat'o makot'ŭ' tŭngjang: 10il [tterua] sosŏl ch'ulkan." CNB News. Web. 26 Feb. 2015. <http://news2.cnbnews.com/news/article.html?no=60645>.

Yi Yŏng-ae and Yi Hyŏn-suk. "Kyoyukpu yuch'iwŏn kyoyuk hwaltong chido charyo ŭi tamunhwa kyoyuk-naeyong punsŏk." *Kuk ŏrini midiŏ hakhoe, ŏrilni midiŏ yŏnku* 1 (December, 2002): 53–72.

Yi, Nam-ho. *Twentieth Century Korean Literature*. Norwalk, CT: Signature Books, 2005.

Yim, Haksoon. "Cultural Identity and Cultural Policy in South Korea." *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8.1 (2002): 37–48.

Yoo, Jee-ho. “Korea poised to join committee of donor nations.” *JoongAng Daily*, November 24, 2009.

Yoo, Kil-Sang. *Foreign Workers in the Republic of Korea, November 2005*. Seoul, South Korea, November, 2005. http://www.jil.go.jp/foreign/countryreport/2005_1107/korea_e.pdf. Web. 15 Jan. 2013.

Yoo, Theodore Jun. *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945.* Asia Pacific Modern, 3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Yu, Byungchae. "Korea's Tourism Branding & Communication Strategy (Hankuk kwankwang pŭraentŭ k'ŏmyunik'eisyŏn chŏryak)." *Koreas_tourism_branding_and_communicationmcst.pdf*. June 3, 2013. Address.

Yun Hong-chun. "Munhwapu wŏnnyŏn, 6kong misul chŏngchaekŭi hŏsang: 'yesul ŭi chŏndang' misulkwan sadae wa sŏul kukche milchae." *Ch'angchak kwa pipy'ŏng* (Creation and Criticism) 71, 1991.2 (February, 1991): 408–416.

Yun Sang-ch’ŏl, “Leading Countries in the ‘Age of Asia’ [“‘Asiasidae’ ŭi chudokuk”],” *Kyŏnhyang Sinmun*, 24 Sep. 1986.