Korean movies: from the survival of the old heritage to the modernized tradition

Marian SUCIU¹

Generally, the younger generations tend to rapidly embrace new subcultures and trends, weakening the role of traditions. Such is the case of Korea in the last hundred years, as Koreans have had to adapt to various new influences, and the old traditions were either maintained with great effort or adapted to new situations. The "Korean Wave", which is not only the promotion of Korean pop music, but also of Korean movies and television series, reflects this continuous process by shining a spotlight on both the old traditions and the new trends of the Korean society. The survival of the Korean traditions is portrayed in the movie "Seopyeonje" (1993), directed by Im Kwon-taek, which follows two teenagers, who were taught pansori by their stepfather, as they strive to survive as pansori singers in a society where Western songs are more appealing. Conversely, the movie "Love, Lies" (2016), directed by Park Heung-sik, showcases why the old way of singing will become less appreciated, as the new Korean pop music gains more and more popularity. While the former shows how traditions might be lost, the latter offers a popular solution to the problem of preserving traditions, using Homi Bhabha's (2004) hybridity theory.

Key-words: tradition, hybridization, modernized tradition, pansori, teuroteu.

1. Introduction

We live in a complex and multicultural society, demonstrated by the fact that you can encounter naturalized citizens who come from a different continent in most developed countries. Living in such a world means that we are influenced by the "nomadic thought [which] amounts to a politically invested cartography of the present condition of mobility in a globalized world" (Braidotti 2014, 176). A positive aspect of this nomadic world is that it offers some benefits, such as getting to know the diverse cultures brought by the Asian and African immigrants naturalized in Western countries, as well as being able to relocate to richer countries in order to

¹Babeş-Bolyai University, suciu_marian0@yahoo.com

be able to provide for one's family, and so on. Unfortunately, this new nomadic influence offers some negative perspectives, as the citizens have to face a:

perverse hybridization induced by advanced capitalism [which] translates in socio-economic terms in the state of so-called 'flexibility' of a large proportion of the working force. Interim, [...] part-time, sub-standard [...] has become the norm in most advanced liberal economies. (Braidotti 2014, 177)

In this context, we can see that the younger generations appreciate the new subcultures, while the old traditions tend to be lost, as those practising the old traditions tend to have less and less of an audience, slowly becoming underpaid specialists who renounce their profession.

Fortunately for the practitioners of the old traditions from many cultures, the majority of countries understood, during the Cold War (1947-1991), that waging war is not the way to achieve economic growth or to improve their influence in another state around the world. Therefore, many countries started to use the so-called "soft power". This soft power, as stated by Joseph S. Nye, helps "a state (...) make its power seem legitimate in the eyes of others [...]. If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow" (1990, 167).

One of the countries that wielded this soft power with great success is the United States of America, which promoted its own culture especially through Hollywood movies, as the "addressing body of (...) Hollywood was almost the entire world that has access to cinematography (...) [and] the distributions speed of the 'political messages' was incredibly high" (Gűzelipek 2018, 231). Another country that elevated itself through the use of soft power is Japan, which showed the world that it is a haven for both traditions and modernity. It achieved this result by means of the cinematic industry, the Japanese animation industry (anime), and the Japanese cultural centres. By the beginning of the twentieth century, an increasing number of people from around the world became interested in knowing more about Japanese traditions, from ikebana²/生け花 (the art of arranging the flowers) to the building of a nihon teien/日本庭園 (Japanese garden), from kabuki/歌舞伎 (Japanese dance-drama) to Ningyō jōruri/人形浄瑠璃 (Japanese puppet theatre).

In a similar way to Japan, South Korea used soft power in order to show that the country is both traditional and modern, but also to compensate for the fact that it is "the weakest among East Asia's 'Big Three'^{3"} (Sun 2013, 222).

² All Japanese words were transcribed using the Revised Hepburn Romanization.

³ China, Japan, and South Korea are considered to be the three largest economic powers in East Asia.

Furthermore,

journalists and scholars have applauded the country as a master of using soft power to maximize its influence. They point to the "Korean Wave" – the penetration of South Korean drama, music, fashion, cuisine, and other attractions in major Asian markets. (Sun 2013, 222)

In the more recent decade, this influence has greatly expanded to the younger population of the United States of America, Western Europe, and Eastern Europe.

Many observers equate the Korean Wave, also known as *Hallyu*, with K-pop music or Korean dramas, and believe it to be just a temporary popular trend embraced by teenagers. In truth, the Korean Wave incorporates numerous diverse means of promotion, from Korean popular music (케이팝) and manhwa⁴ (만화) to Korean dramas and movies. It is used by South Korea to advertise both the modern and industrial Korean products created by big companies, such as Daewoo (대우), LG Corporation (엘지), Samsung (삼성), and Lotte Corporation (롯데), as well as to showcase and popularize traditional cultural practices, such as *janggi* (장기)/Korean chess, *pansori* (판소리)/ Korean musical performances⁵, and *teuroteu* (트로트)/ Korean popular music.

2. Methodology

2.1. Hybridization theory

As the theoretical framework employed in the analytical part of the paper is *hybridization*, a brief presentation of this theory would be appropriate at this point.

The first discussions on hybridity appeared during the eighteenth century "in the context of interracial contact resulting from overseas conquest and population displacement in Britain, France and United States" (Kraidy 2002, 319), but due to the belief in white race superiority, many saw this cultural hybridization in a negative light. After World War II, cultural hybridization began to be presented as positive because it was a useful means for the colonized states in Africa and Latin America to develop into unique countries with hybrid cultures.

⁴ All Korean words were transcribed using the Revised Romanization, with the exception of quoted sources.

⁵ Pansori is a Korean musical performance in which the singer, *kwangdae*, narrates a story in a musical rhythm and plays the roles of various characters, when needed. While performing, the singer is accompanied by a drummer. For more details see Pihl 1993.

For example,

the ideology of *mestizaje* (as it is known in Latin America) was an attempt to mitigate tensions between the indigenous populations and the descendants of Spanish colonists, by posting the new nations as hybrids of both worlds. (Kraidy 2002, 319)

In the context of the postcolonial Indian novel, Bhabha posits that mimicry "repeats rather than re-presents" (Bhabha 2004, 162), while a hybrid novel in which both the traditional Indian and the British-oriented Indian are included may better reflect the reality of the new Indian state. This theory does not perfectly resolve "the tension between two cultures (...) [as the authors] always [produce] the split screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid" (Bhabha 2004, 162), but at least it offers a solution to a more accurate representation of the image of the postcolonial Indian citizen. Bhabha uses the hybrid model "not merely to indicate the impossibility of its identity but to represent the unpredictability of its presence" (Bhabha 2004, 163), due to "[t]he sociological intersectional variables (gender, class, race and ethnicity, age, health)" (Braidotti 2014, 181).

May Joseph states that "[t]he increasingly seductive alienation inflected through global penetration of consumer capital demands that we reconsider strategies of cultural survival" (Joseph 1999, 21), and one such strategy is the hybridization of culture, tradition, and writings. In the United States of America, the hybridity is "a democratic expression of multiple affiliations of cultural citizenship" (Joseph 1999, 2). Unfortunately, "in the postmodern world, cultural hybridity has become (...) a reflexive moral battleground between cultural purists and cultural innovators" (Werbner 2015, 12).

While Homi Bhabha tried to present hybridization as a useful process for postcolonial states, today we can see that due to globalization, this process is also of actuality in various countries. Therefore, Kraidy's definition of hybridization as "the fusion of two hitherto relatively distinct forms, styles, or identities, (...) which often occurs across national borders, as well as across cultural boundaries" (Kraidy 2005, 5) is more accurate.

In the Asian context, we can observe that an important Korean researcher adopted Kraidy's definition and asserts that hybridity "has come into existence (...) [through] a hybrid but distinctively Korean pop style" (Shim 2006, 37). Unlike Shim, John Lie argues that "the South Korean government and fandom alike take some

pride in the Koreanness of K-pop. Yet, as a matter of traditional culture, there is almost nothing 'Korean' about K-pop" (Lie 2012, 360).

2.2. Hypothesis and research questions

The paper starts from the hypothesis that, in our globalized world, the Korean traditions have easily survived through the actions of those practicing the old customs or due to state support. This supposition makes one wonder if the financial supporters influence the way in which the practice of traditions evolves. Furthermore, a wise observer of our globalized world would also ask if those preserving the Korean traditions use traditional or modern clothes.

The aim of this paper is not only to show how the Korean traditions survived in the modern and contemporary world, by conserving the tradition in its pure form, but also to emphasise that a new tradition has been created through the hybridization process. As we live in a nomadic world, one could easily ask if this new hybrid tradition attracts both Korean and foreign attention, or just purely Korean interest.

In order explain how the pure Korean tradition and the hybrid one have survived in our competitive global world, and to answer the research questions, two important Korean cinematic representations were used. While "Seopyeonje" (1993), directed by Im Kwon-taek, portrays preserving traditions and the suffering of the artists from the lack of clients, "Love, Lies" (2016), directed by Park Heungsik, approaches the adaptation of tradition, which brought the creators of modernized traditions a large audience.

3. The hardships of preserving traditions

In the contemporary world, traditions are either preserved, as some people can "find the close connection between the modern and the past" (Zheng 2012, 113) or lost, as other people prefer to "completely den[y] tradition without any analysis, antagonistically claiming that the more thoroughly we deny tradition, the more modernity there will be" (Zheng 2012, 112). As Maliangkay noted,

in 1962, South Korean President, Park Chung Hee (...) promulgated the *Munhwajae pohopŏp* (Cultural Properties Protection Law; hereafter CPPL). (...) [This law] was concerned not only with the safeguarding of tangible cultural properties, but it incorporated *muhyŏng* (intangible) cultural properties such as customs, crafts, and performing arts. (Maliangkay 2014, 78)

Pansori was quickly recognized as an intangible cultural property, but the old pansori were less popularized, as new Christian pansori stories and the Korean pansori-reggae style appeared (Dunbar 2018). It began with singers such as:

Pak Tongjin (1916-2003) (...), [who] had in 1970 composed and recorded a p'ansori piece of his own, *Yesujŏn* (The Story of Jesus). Others followed. In 1985, Yi Yong-bae performed *Sŏng Andrea Kim Taegŏn-jŏn* (The story of Saint Andrea Kim Taegŏn), about the first Korean Catholic priest. (Maliangkay 2014, 85)

At a first glance, Seopyeonje, the movie directed by Im Kwon-taek, seems to have the purpose of popularizing the old traditions and stories, as had earlier movies that presented the most famous pansori story, Chunhyangga, namely the adaptation directed by Myeong-u Lee in 1935, Ch'unhyang-jŏn, and the one from 1955, directed by Yi Kyu-hwan, Ch'unhyang-jŏn (Wade 1983, 195-196). This is "important for educating overseas audiences in the ways of unfamiliar lands and peoples. Alternatively, they can easily lead to reductive, stereotypical, and perhaps even racist perceptions of a nation's culture" (Stringer 2002, 160). Upon a closer analysis, the viewer can see that Im Kwon-taek's movie goes beyond the purpose of popularization, as the movie emphasizes the difficulties encountered by those preserving the pansori tradition and how male singers had to castrate their own masculine identity, i.e. their own culture, in order to survive in the postcolonial context. Furthermore, unlike the previously mentioned movies, which present just an adaptation of a single pansori story, Seopyeonje tells the story of the pansori players that interpret various pansori. The lives of the performers are presented to ensure the viewer understands how difficult the mission of the pansori storyteller kwanadae, truly is, as they had to memorize multiple stories and know how to interpret the various character roles from each story.

Seopyeonje is not a linear movie, as it intersperses the story set in the present time with flashbacks from the past. The movie begins with an adult Dongho travelling to a certain village in order to reach the "Inn of Music" and find his stepsister, Song-hwa. Unfortunately, he does not find his stepsister, but another pansori female singer that was trained by his stepsister. While staying at this inn, the kwangdae starts singing, accompanied by Dong-ho's drum, which makes Dongho remember his difficult past as a pansori disciple under his stepfather.

During these flashbacks of Dong-ho's past life, the viewer learns that both Dong-ho and Song-hwa were adopted by the so-called "master", Yu-bong, in order to become talented *pansori* singers. This transformation of the two - from children into talented singers - was not an easy one, as it required sacrifices, constant training, and the will to go on when there was no reason for continuing. Firstly, it

imposed sacrifices, as in order to practice this traditional art form, they had to sing for a small amount of money and, therefore, eat porridge every day. Secondly, it required constant practice so that the children did not forget how to perform properly. Thirdly, a strong will was needed to continue to practice such a tradition in times when Western and Japanese songs were more popular than *pansori* shows, as the small family had to sleep in abandoned or damaged houses most of the time.

One of the more notable flashbacks is an encounter with an old friend of Dong-ho's stepfather, a street artist calligrapher, who asks Yu-bong to quit teaching *pansori* to the children and teach them something more useful, as most people had started to live in a globalized world and, therefore, preferred Western and Japanese songs. The new postcolonial Korean society in which the characters live is not a fully Confucian one, "programmed by phallogocentric culture" (Braidotti 2014, 173) any longer, but a nomadic society in which the external influence, be it Japanese and/or American, "destabilizes the sanctity of the past and the authority of the experience" (Braidotti 2014, 173).

The decline of *pansori* appreciation is evident in the scene where, while Dong-ho and Song-hwa strive to interpret a story perfectly after a Western music band arrives in the neighbourhood, all the members of the impromptu audience prefer to watch the performance of the band rather than the classical *pansori* piece. This intrusion of the new music types transforms *pansori* from a respectable tradition into an artistic tradition in decline. In this state of degradation, the *pansori* shows were used as a form of advertising for medicine or herbal products – the sellers would sponsor the show in order to advertise their merchandise at the end of Dong-ho and Song-hwa's performance. Furthermore, this decline of the status of traditional art meant that those seeking private shows started treating Song-hwa more like a prostitute than an artist. In effect, after the performances ended, the patrons would ask Song-hwa to pour their drinks, drink with them, and some would even touch her.

Dong-ho recalls that his stepfather preferred to teach Song-hwa to become a singer, while he was put aside and could only accompany the *pansori* song as a drum player. Despite Dong-ho's perception, such a destiny should not be considered a castration, as "entertainers frequently married female shamans (...) [and the] musician-husband (...) might accompany his wife on the drum and could also perform as a singer himself" (Pihl 1981, 51). Furthermore, "Im's films also invoke the classic Freudian anxiety over the child's potential to suffer from life-long, wolf-man-like symptoms for having witnessed the 'primal scene' where parental coitus has taken place" (Kim 2011, 242). Prompted by witnessing this sexual episode, Dong-ho begins to feel disgust against everything that his father teaches

him. His disdain of the art culminates when he observes his stepsister's harassment. Consequently, he decides that *pansori* had become a depraved art, and it was time to create his own path.

While Dong-ho pursues the new Korean destiny, his stepfather takes drastic steps "to protect the national art against foreign cultures such as jazz during the era of modernization" (Kim 2011, 243). He willfully blinds his stepdaughter, giving her a poisonous drink, in the misguided belief that "such disability could further cultivate her han as a singer" (Kim 2011, 243). As Song-hwa never becomes aware of the reason she went blind, she takes care of her stepfather in his old age, while Dong-ho becomes a successful man. He builds a family, obtains a job in a pharmaceutical company, and preservers his knowledge on traditional heritage. Although he does not become a rich Korean citizen, Dong-ho manages to free himself from his stepfather's "maimed tropes or vestiges of colonial-era disfigurations" (Kim 2011, 244). As a symbol of this divorce from the old self, in the last scene of the movie, Dong-ho plays alongside his stepsister, recognizing her musical style, but afterwards he leaves without saying anything to her.

Unlike Dong-ho, who is the symbol of the new modernized society, Song-hwa remains the symbol of the traditional arts that manage to be preserved. Even if she is a professional pansori storyteller, she must endure hunger, misfortune, and sickness. Her resilience in such difficult times, during which the Korean society minimized the importance of traditional arts, was less appreciated because she was a woman without a husband in a conservative society with regards to family norms. Furthermore, after her stepfather's death, she had to take care of herself, which meant that sometimes she had to trade her body in order to survive, if her performance was not deemed good enough. While the Korean society was undergoing a great transformation, there was little change in the deeply rooted beliefs of male superiority. While "the male, may possess the right attitude (anger, resentment, and most importantly han)," (Kim 2011, 243) and succeed even without great talent, Song-hwa is disadvantaged despite her musical gifts, as society in general believes that she "lacks the attitude needed for her pansori to achieve the sublime state" (Kim 2011, 243). This topic is broached in the last scene of the movie, when Song-hwa tells the innkeeper that she will find a new place to stay, and he replies that he will therefore lose his mistress, having taken advantage of her disability and lack of recognition to require payment in flesh for providing accommodation.

Another important observation is that the contrast between Dong-ho, as a symbol of the globalized contemporary world, and Song-hwa, as a symbol of the traditional Korean world, is underscored through their intentionally opposite

attires in the movie. The former is dressed in Western style clothes, wearing elegant pants, a white shirt, a grey vest, and a long black coat, while the latter wears a scarlet *hanbok*, the traditional Korean dress.

Seopyeonje is a dramatic movie through which the viewer discovers the tragic destiny of the pansori disciples during the postwar period, when new music trends attracted more attention than the traditional one. Furthermore, the movie emphasizes that a true traditional art will survive even under the influence of new foreign sub-cultures, which usually destabilize the old society. Unfortunately, in order to survive, the preservers of the old traditions have to make compromises that can make the artists seem to have been disgraced, at times.

4. The modernized traditions

Unlike the previous movie, which deals with the compromises and sacrifices needed in order to preserve traditional art, Park Heung-sik's movie, *Love, Lies* shows how the hybridization process between the traditional art and Western art gives birth to new art forms through which the old traditions survive. Moreover, the movie introduces the Western viewer to the *gisaeng* tradition, which is similar to the Japanese *geisha*. The *gisaeng* "were legal entertainers hired to flaunt their highly accomplished skills such as singing, dancing and even poetry-reading at highend events, but were treated as socially inferior" (Jung 2016).

Love, Lies is set in the Korean peninsula during the last years of the Japanese colonization and focuses on the evolution of two young girls, Jung So-yul and Seo Yeon-hee, as they prepare to become gisaeng. During their training at a special institution, gwonbeon, alongside other girls, they learn to sing jeongak, a traditional form of music dedicated to the upper classes and other traditional Korean songs. Although they both manage to graduate from the gwonbeon institution, Jung So-yul, the daughter of a famous gisaeng, was considered to be more talented, thus attracting more attention, while Seo Yeon-hee was less popular with the clients, being the daughter of a rickshaw worker.

Both Jung So-yul and Seo Yeon-hee like the new *teuroteu* (트로트), which is a "Korean popular music form similar to Japanese *enka* and based on the two-beat foxtrot rhythm" (Oh and Jang 2020, 28), but continue to sing traditional Korean music, despite their appreciation towards this new musical style. One day, So-yul's lover, Kim Yoon-woo reveals to her that he is the person in charge of songwriting for a popular artist of *teuroteu*. During this period, So-yul must go to an important

gisaeng presentation in the presence of the Japanese Chief of Police and she decides to leave Yeon-hee in the company of her lover, Yoon-woo and of a popular teuroteu artist. To pass the time in the company of two strangers, Yeon-hee, as a young gisaeng, sings a simple song that impresses both the songwriter and the artist. Later on, the artist will invite Yeon-hee to sing on stage at a concert where she had been in the audience. From this moment on, Yeon-hee is determined to become a music star by accepting the songwriter's proposition to sing for the Korean people, while also becoming Yoon-woo's new girlfriend.

Although Yeon-hee had to face many difficulties, her status as the daughter of a rickshaw worker is considered a great drawback for a *gisaeng* artist. In this particular artistic field, the odds were stacked in favor of those belonging to families already established in the industry, and newcomers faced harsher conditions. She prospered as a *teuroteu* artist, because it was a new hybrid musical style made attractive by the combination of both traditional Korean and new Western and Japanese elements and where there were no defining traditions. This hybrid of Western music with Korean lyrics and folk music rhythm was "not a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures" (Bhabha 2004, 162), but the only way to represent how "two contradictory knowledges (multiple beliefs) split the ego (or the discourse) into two physical attitudes, and forms knowledge, towards the external world" (Bhabha 2004, 164).

In a similar way to the new Korean religious movements, the *teuroteu* musical style "represents the marriage of tradition with modernity, with modernity identified largely with the global culture that originated in the West" (Baker 2009, 222). Therefore, the new Korean musical style, a modernized tradition, can be described as a globalized musical style rather than a local/national one. Although this musical genre "would never be exported to K-pop fans in particular or general Western markets" (Oh and Jang 2020, 28) at present, it would have most probably grabbed the attention of a Western audience if it had been exported during the postcolonial years.

While Yeon-hee became a music star and Yoon-woo's girlfriend, So-yul had lost Yoon-woo and she had to become the mistress of the Japanese Chief of Police. This entire situation made So-yul act irrational and she asked her lover to ban Yeon-hee's new album due to poor singing methods, as well as forced her former friend to become a celebrity that sang traditional songs. This was not enough for So-yul, so she sends Yeon-hee to sing at a prostitution house. While she is there, the Chief wants to take advantage of Yeon-hee's body, but she retaliates and runs. However, he finds her and kills her in front of So-yul.

As World War II ends, the Korean people go out into the streets and chant independence slogans. Furthermore, So-yul's mother's establishment is destroyed, as the majority of *gisaeng* had served the Japanese army officials as entertainers and prostitutes. So-yul manages to survive the massacre of the workers, but she remains traumatized by her own deeds.

As an artist, So-yul failed because she did not see "the split screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid" (Bhabha 2004, 162). She liked the new *teuroteu* music, but she preferred to concentrate on traditional music, as it was something familiar and known, which made her feel more at ease. So-yul could not understand that in the globalized world, where your neighbors are foreign nationals, tradition sometimes changes through mixing with the traditions of the neighbours.

The women's looks and attires are used to illustrate the difference between So-yul, the symbol of the old Korean traditions, and Yeon-hee, the symbol of the new hybrid tradition. The first *gisaeng* usually wears the *hanbok*, while the second one is dressed in Western style dresses. Furthermore, So-yul usually has a traditional *gisaeng* hairstyle, while Yeon-hee sports a Western bob after becoming a *teuroteu* singer.

As in the case of building the modernized $hanok^6$, where architects combined the traditional Korean house style with Western modern materials in order to obtain a more energy-efficient house (Lee and Park 2018, 1), in the case of the *teuroteu* music trend, the creators combined traditional Korean music with Western sounds in order to attract the new generations and avoid falling in the trap of adopting a foreign music, which would be rejected by the older generations.

Love, Lies shows that change does not wait for anyone's approval and, even if So-yul tried to forbid teuroteu and Yeon-hee's performances, consumed by jealousy of her success and anger for stealing her boyfriend, the Korean people continued to listen to teuroteu and to Yeon-hee. The proof of teuroteu's persistence is the fact that the promoter of a music company advises So-yul to sing as Yeon-hee had in order to be successful, as the public prefers to buy Yeon-hee's records on the black market to purchasing So-yul's records from the stores. One of the final scenes of the movie occurs many decades after the main storyline, when somebody finds a record of Yeon-hee's performance during a building demolition.

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⁶ Hanok is the traditional Korean-style house.

5. Conclusion

Korean traditions were not easily preserved, although they were intensely promoted by those practicing the old customs, as presented in the two movies. Furthermore, state support for Korean heritage brought about more damage than positive results during the period in which Korea was a colony, as we saw in the movie *Love, Lies. Teuroteu* was banned because of the influence of the Japanese rulers. On the other hand, as it was illustrated in the movie *Seopyeonje*, the total lack of state support for the preservers of Korean traditions during the first postcolonial years made many talented people abandon their gift.

Although the movie *Love, Lies* promotes *teuroteu* as a beautiful Korean tradition, "teuroteu (...) would never be exported to K-pop fans in particular or general Western markets" (Oh and Jang 2020, 28), because this type of music is specifically intended for the Korean audience, while a Western person would not understand its lyrics and its musical rhythm would seem too common. But this movie attracts the foreign public primarily through the traditional Korean music. Furthermore, it captivates the audience through the visual cues of the clothes: they dress in *hanbok* when singing traditional Korean music, and they wear Western style clothes when singing *teuroteu*.

In conclusion, Korean cinema presents two possible models to preserve our heritage in our globalized society. One is described by the movie *Seopyeonje*, which shows how the preservers of art must compromise, by accepting the lack of money or food, or obtaining a sponsor, in order to create for any length of time, while the second movie, *Love*, *Lies* explains that the world changes continuously and the artist should accept new hybrid art forms as better means of preservation for the old traditions.

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