

Cultural Production in Transnational Culture: An Analysis of Cultural Creators in the Korean Wave

DAL YONG JIN¹
Simon Fraser University, Canada

By employing cultural production approaches in conjunction with the global cultural economy, this article attempts to determine the primary characteristics of the rapid growth of local cultural industries and the global penetration of Korean cultural content. It documents major creators and their products that are received in many countries to identify who they are and what the major cultural products are. It also investigates power relations between cultural creators and the surrounding sociocultural and political milieu, discussing how cultural creators develop local popular culture toward the global cultural markets. I found that cultural creators emphasize the importance of cultural identity to appeal to global audiences as well as local audiences instead of emphasizing solely hybridization.

Keywords: cultural production, Hallyu, cultural creators, transnational culture

Since the early 2010s, the Korean Wave (*Hallyu* in Korean) has become globally popular, and media scholars (Han, 2017; T. J. Yoon & Kang, 2017) have paid attention to the recent growth of Hallyu in many parts of the world. Although the influence of Western culture has continued in the Korean cultural market as well as elsewhere, local cultural industries have expanded the exportation of their popular culture to several regions in both the Global South and the Global North. Social media have especially played a major role in disseminating Korean culture (Huang, 2017; Jin & Yoon, 2016), and Korean popular culture is arguably reaching almost every corner of the world.

With the rapid growth of Hallyu around the globe, media scholars (Hong, 2020; J. O. Kim, 2021; K. Yoon, 2019) have developed diverse approaches, including audience reception studies, textual analysis, and industry research, to determine the major reasons for the global popularity of Korean popular culture. Among these, as K-pop exemplifies, the majority of research on Hallyu was developed from an audience reception approach; some scholars (Han, 2017; E. B. Lee, 2017; McLaren & Jin, 2020; K. Yoon, 2019) have conducted interviews with global fans to understand the reasons why Korean popular culture, in particular K-pop groups, has cultivated global fanbases. For example, E. B. Lee (2017) conducted in-depth interviews with college students in Tunisia to discuss how Tunisian fans consume Korean culture and the major causes for the spread of Korean cultural products in the Islamic world. With his approach to K-pop from a critical political economy

Dal Yong Jin: djin@sfu.ca

Date submitted: 2020-08-27

¹ This article was supported by the Academy of Korean Studies Grant AKS-2019-R33.

perspective, G. Y. Kim (2017) analyzed structural conditions of possibilities in contemporary popular music from production to consumption. In the realm of film, a few previous works (J. H. Kim, 2019; Yi, 2007) were conducted using a textual analysis of particular domestic films to identify how Korean culture, people, and film styles were represented. K. H. Kim (2004), for example, textually examined more than a dozen Korean films produced since 1980 to identify the representations of Korean men and women in Korean cinema.

Ethnography, textual analysis, and industry research used by these researchers mentioned above provide insightful interpretations for the growth of Hallyu in many parts of the world; however, one major missing approach in current Hallyu studies is the analysis on cultural producers, including film directors, television producers, and music composers, who have created cultural products. Many new cultural planners (e.g., CEOs and board members) and creators not only produce cultural products, but also influence trends in Hallyu as they develop new forms of local culture. Without understanding their roles, global audiences and media scholars cannot fully understand the major characteristics of Hallyu in cultural production.

By employing cultural production approaches as part of the global cultural economy framework, which refers to “the engagement with the dynamics of globalization with a close analysis of cultural, political, and economic, and social workings of the cultural industries” (De Beukelaer & Spence, 2018, p. 35), this article attempts to determine the primary characteristics of Hallyu by mapping cultural production. It documents major cultural creators and their products that are received in many countries to identify who they are and what the major cultural products are. Then, this article investigates power relations between cultural creators and the surrounding sociocultural and political milieu, and then discusses the ways in which cultural creators develop local popular culture toward global cultural markets as production studies also crucially involve a question of power (Hesmondhalgh, 2010). Finally, it explores these shifts and tensions in cultural production as they can be understood in relation to Hallyu, referring to the rapid growth of the Korean cultural industries and the expansion of the exportation of cultural products.

To understand how cultural production in tandem with Hallyu unfolds, I developed multifaceted approaches as we need to “untangle the mutual articulation of market arrangements, infrastructures, and governance of concept production” (Nieborg & Poell, 2018, p. 4281). As part of its main methodology, I conducted in-depth interviews with 12 cultural creators. Because I endeavored to analyze the close relationships between cultural production and the global penetration of Hallyu content, I selected cultural creators who mainly produced cultural content, including television producers and CEOs in production firms. Due to the significant role of Korean popular culture in global cultural trade, I also included board members of cultural companies and analysts in government-funded organizations who envisioned and actualized the transnationality of local content in many parts of the world. They were mainly introduced through my personal networks and by acquaintances. The interviews were conducted in Seoul during July–August 2020. About 58% of them are male, and 42% of them are female creators, and they have worked at cultural industries firms and/or relevant agencies for 5–26 years. I conducted one-hour semistructured interviews, and interviewees were asked about their thoughts on the role of export in cultural production, their understandings of over-the-top (OTT) platforms, the role of cultural policy, and the significance of hybridity to their positions as cultural creators. The interviews were transcribed and read through so that relevant themes could be identified.

In the next section, I discuss theoretical frameworks and key literature. Then, I document the major characteristics of cultural creators in the realm of the Korean Wave. Later, I analyze the ways in which cultural creators conceive cultural production in tandem with Hallyu.

Understanding Cultural Production in the Korean Wave

The academic discourse of cultural production goes back to the 1970s when the analysis of cultural production began to be considered a serious body of research. The discourse of cultural production has been well established in national contexts, most notably in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, and cultural production has been one of the most popular subjects in different academic fields (e.g., sociology and media studies) and approaches (e.g., political economy and cultural studies). To historicize the emergence of cultural production studies, from the 1970s until recent years, there were two main strands of research. The first was derived “from sociology, especially cultural sociology and organizational sociology in their U.S. versions”; the second strand (known as political economy of culture approaches) derived “primarily from critical and Marxian versions of social science in Europe” (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013, p. 181). Based on these major schools, two sets of new entrants to the (sub)field have made their presence: “one group coming from business and management studies, and in some cases from economics; another group coming from various humanities backgrounds, and laying claim to the term cultural studies” (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013, p. 181).

On the one hand, critical political economists have mainly been concerned about the concentrations of power in the media, meaning the primary focus of the political economy of media and culture examines the power relationship in cultural production between cultural industries corporations and governments (Flew, 2012; T. J. Yoon & Kang, 2017). On the other hand, as Caldwell (2008) points out, cultural studies researchers also argue for attention to everyday or ordinary production practices and focus on the cultural practices, beliefs, and discourses of media producers.

Due to the evolution of cultural production in different fields at the same time, scholars have offered different approaches and ideas. In particular, as Peterson and Anand (2004) argue, “the production of culture perspective focuses on how the symbolic elements of culture are shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught, and preserved” (p. 311). Du Gay (1997) also points out that cultural production studies adopt a global focus on cultural industries and the ways in which cultural products are produced, marketed, and sold. Therefore, such a perspective deeply considers organizational strategies and the importance of corporate culture in culture-producing organizations, while showing how economic processes impinge on the production, circulation, and exchange of popular culture.

More broadly, *cultural production* is used “as a shorthand term to refer to industrialized or semi-industrialized symbol making and circulation in modern societies. . . . In some uses, the term refers to the production of art and entertainment” (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013, p. 181). Production studies consider not only the “production processes, products and services,” but also “the nature of labor markets that enable us to speak of these sectors in a collective sense” (Flew, 2012, p. 83). As such, the notion of cultural production has gradually changed, and in the 21st century, it refers to “the social processes involved in the

generation and circulation of cultural forms, practices, values, and shared understandings,” as well as “the work of the culture industry” (Oxford Reference, 2019, para. 1).

As cultural production emphasizes the creation of cultural meaning, various elements have been deeply involved in the production of culture. In other words, cultural production has been closely related to relevant areas as they greatly influence various production processes. As Bourdieu (1983, 1993) recurrently discussed, the “fields of cultural production,” “expressing concerns over the ways intrusions by actors (institutions and individuals) in the economic or political fields, alter conditions inside fields” of various cultures and media (Klinenberg & Benzecry, 2005, p. 15). However, as Hesmondhalgh (2006) points out, “Bourdieu misses the importance of the rise of the cultural industries for understanding the changing social relations of cultural producers” (p. 220). In this light, Peterson and Anand (2004) argue that six main areas are closely combined to produce cultural content, technology, laws and regulation, industry structure, organizational structure, occupational careers, and market. In the digital age, commercial cultural industries often use new technologies to shift control over work conditions from those with specialized craft skills to those with managerial or technical expertise, thereby weakening the position and further compromising the autonomy of cultural creators (Klinenberg & Benzecry, 2005). Simply analyzing cultural content “without including the social and historical forces that inform the design (context of design) and the perceptions of those who create the texts (designers’ perceptions) misses the cruciality of why moral gameplay contains those choices” (de Smale, Kors, & Sandovar, 2019, p. 392). As M. Lee and Jin (2017) argue, production studies prefer to examine media by using grounded analyses of cultural creators’ experiences, observations, conversations, and interactions:

Media workers are asked to see themselves as empowered individuals and active economic beings. They are asked not to see themselves as passive workers in an organization such as waged labor in a fast food restaurant. . . . From this approach, an economy cannot be solely analyzed with concepts such as market structure, but also how participants negotiate their identities, roles, and functions in a media economy. (p. 68)

Meanwhile, the nexus of cultural production and cultural policy needs to be emphasized. As Druick and Deveau (2015) argue, cultural production studies explore “how shifting policies, structures, geographies, and experiences are being manifested” (p. 157) in a certain country. This implies that cultural production studies need to understand the process of cultural production, including not only production itself, but also circulation and consumption.

As an analytic approach, production studies should ponder the cultural, social, and economic conditions of creative work. The process of cultural production must develop more comprehensive and interconnected approaches than one particular approach, as popular culture has been produced through sustained collective activity (Becker, 1982; Menger, 1999). Popular culture is assumed to be coterminous with commercialization. Concomitantly, creativity is considered an input in an industrial framework, characterized by innovation, entrepreneurialism, and technology (De Beukelaer & Spence, 2018; Druick & Deveau, 2015).

Although production studies in Korea are still in a formative stage, cultural production has been closely related to the recent growth of Hallyu, as the industrialization of cultural production has been duly noted by artists and cultural producers and has provoked a range of responses, including aesthetic and political (Druick & Deveau, 2015). The theoretical framework here, informed by the various bodies of literature, aims to systematize the exploration of these political economic and sociocultural relations (Nieborg & Poell, 2018). Instead of emphasizing solely cultural industries, consumers, or cultural policy, the central concern in this article is cultural producers, offering critical insight into the experiences of cultural creators who play a primary role in the process of cultural production, and therefore Hallyu, within a broader context of sociocultural milieus.

Cultural Producers in the Korean Wave Phenomenon

Korean cultural creators, such as television producers, film directors, and music composers, have worked to develop local cultural content. Although staff and crew members as well as actors, actresses, and musicians are broadly cultural creators, I analyze major cultural creators to identify their roles in cultural production. Given that I aim to comprehend cultural production in tandem with Hallyu, symbolizing the transnationalization of cultural content developed from a non-Western country in the global markets, again, it is necessary to focus on cultural creators who are not only producing cultural products, but also envisioning and actualizing the transnationality of local content in many parts of the world. Transnationalization, here, describes a practice by which people, cultural products, and ideas “cross national boundaries and are not identified with a single place of origin” (Iwabuchi, 2002; Watson, 1997, p. 11), and transnational popular culture can be supported by digital technologies and hybridization. Hence, I focused on and spoke with major cultural creators rather than independent cultural creators who do not take a key role in the transnationalization process.

Cultural Creators and Shifting Trends in Broadcasting

Three major trends characterize the broadcasting Hallyu in conjunction with cultural production. First, as TV dramas became the first major cultural form for Hallyu (Y. N. Kim, 2013), TV producers have continued to advance various programs to be exported or seen on global OTT platforms like Netflix. Dramas were the most important television genre during the early stage of Hallyu between 1997 and 2008, as Hallyu started with a few well-made dramas, including *Autumn in My Heart* (2002), *Winter Sonata* (2002), and *Dae Jang Geum* (2003), which were popular in East Asia. The legacy of television dramas has continued, and popular dramas are circulated in many Western countries. Quite a few television producers have developed dramas, which gained popularity in the global markets. Among these, in the 2010s, Lee Eung-bok produced a few famous dramas, including *Secret Love* (2013); *Descendants of the Sun* (2016), which was exported to 32 countries (e.g., Germany, the United Kingdom, and Italy); and *Mister Sunshine* (2018). Producer Lee has worked for various broadcasters, including KBS and Studio Dragon, owned by CJ E&M. In addition, producer Kim Won-seok headed popular dramas, including *Misaeng: Incomplete Life* (2014), *Signal* (2016), and *Arthdal Chronicles* (2019). Meanwhile, Jang Tae-yoo produced *The 101st Proposal* (2006) and *My Love From the Star* (2013–2014), which was exported to the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (see Table 1).

Table 1. Major Creators in Broadcasting.

Name	Genre	Title	Year	Production
Na Young-seok	Entertainment	<i>One Night Two Days</i> (Season 1)	2007–2012	KBS
		<i>Grandpas Over Flowers</i>	2013–2018	TVN
		<i>Youth Over Flowers</i>	2014–2017	TVN
		<i>Three Meals a Day</i>	2014–2019	TVN
		<i>New Journey to the West</i>	2015–2019	TVN
		<i>Newlywed Diaries</i>	2017	TVN
		<i>Youn's Kitchen</i>	2017–2018	TVN
		Kim Tae-ho	Entertainment	<i>Infinite Challenge</i>
<i>How Do You Play?</i>	2019			MBC
<i>Funding Together</i>	2019			MBC
Lee Eung-bok	Drama	<i>Secret Love</i>	2013	KBS
		<i>Descendants of the Sun</i>	2016	NEW
		<i>Guardian: The Lonely and Great God</i>	2016–2017	Studio Dragon (CJ E&M)
		<i>Mister Sunshine</i>	2018	Studio Dragon (CJ E&M)
Min Cheol-Gi	Entertainment	<i>Laugh and Laugh Again</i>	2011–2012	MBC
		<i>Show! Music Core</i>	2012–2016	MBC
		<i>King of Mask Singer</i>	2016–2017	MBC
		<i>Shadow Singer</i>	2017	TVN
Kim Won-seok	Drama	<i>Sungkyunkwan Scandal</i>	2010	Raemongraein, C-JeS Entertainment
		<i>Monstar</i>	2013	CJ E&M
		<i>Misaeng: Incomplete Life</i>	2014	No.3 Pictures
		<i>Signal</i>	2016	Astory
		<i>Arthdal Chronicles</i>	2019	Studio Dragon (CJ E&M)
Cho Hyo-jin	Entertainment	<i>Running Man</i>	2010–2015	Seoul Broadcasting System
		<i>Inkigayo</i>	2015	Seoul Broadcasting System
		<i>Busted!</i>	2018–2019	Company Sangsang

Kim Jin-won	Drama	<i>The Innocent Man</i>	2012	iHQ
		<i>Wonderful Days</i>	2014	KBS
		<i>Naeil's Cantabile</i>	2014	Group 8
		<i>Hello Monster</i>	2015	CJ E&M
Shin Won-ho	Entertainment/ drama	<i>Qualifications of Men</i>	2009–2011	Hoon Media
		<i>Reply 1997</i>	2012	CJ E&M, TVN
		<i>Reply 1994</i>	2013	CJ E&M, TVN
		<i>Reply 1988</i>	2015–2016	CJ E&M, TVN
		<i>Prison Playbook</i>	2017	TVN
Han Dong-cheol	Entertainment	<i>M! Countdown</i>	2010–2017	Mnet
		<i>Show Me the Money</i>	2012–	Mnet
		<i>Unpretty Rapstar</i>	2015–2016	Mnet
		<i>Produce 101</i>	2016	CJ E&M
Jang Tae-yoo	Drama	<i>The 101st Proposal</i>	2006	JS Pictures
		<i>Deep Rooted Tree</i>	2011	iHQ
		<i>My Love From the Star</i>	2013–2014	HB Entertainment
		<i>MBA Partners</i>	2016	Beijing Lehua Round Entertainment Culture Communication Co., Ltd., & Shanghai Huahua Culture Media Co., Ltd.

Second, television producers at both network and cable channels have advanced entertainment genres, although dramas continue to be the largest program category for foreign countries, during the New Korean Wave era starting in 2008 (Jin, 2016). Among these, Na Young-seok has produced popular variety shows, including *One Night Two Days* (2007–2012), *Three Meals a Day* (2014–2019), *New Journey to the West* (2015–2019), and *Youn's Kitchen* (2017–2018), all of which were exported. Kim Tae-ho on MBC has also produced entertainment programs that are exported to many countries. Kim's programs include *Infinite Challenge* (2006–2018), *How Do You Play?* (2019), and *Funding Together* (2019). Min Cheol-gi produced *The King of Mask Singer* (2016–2017), the format of which has been exported to the United States. Meanwhile, Cho Hyo-jin (*Running Man*, 2010–2015) and Shin Won ho (*Reply*, 1997, 2012) are some of leading producers in the entertainment genre.

Third, television producers alongside film directors have recently paid attention to television formats and transmedia storytelling—the adaptation of the original source into new forms of culture—which has spurred the creation of content draw from, for example, webtoons to dramas or films (Jin, 2019a). As digital technologies, in particular smartphones, have transformed people's cultural activities—smartphone users enjoy webtoons on their smartphones any place and any time—these cultural creators develop

transmedia storytelling to attract young audiences who are tech-savvy cultural consumers. Until the mid-2000s, again, broadcasting Hallyu focused on the export of dramas. However, the broadcasting industry has increasingly exported entertainment programs, particularly programs that have been exported as a form of television format. As Chalaby (2012) points out, a format can be defined as “a show that can generate a distinctive narrative and is licensed outside its country of origin in order to be adapted to local audiences” (p. 37). A number of these programs mentioned above are good examples of television formats developed from non-Western countries.

Interestingly enough, variety shows allow K-pop idols and talents to showcase different facets of their personalities, and often put them in unpredictable situations that result in hilarity (Seoul Broadcasting System, 2018). During 2016, dramas consisted of the largest genre for the export of broadcasting programs (79.2%), but entertainment programs also accounted for 18.3%, followed by others (e.g., documentary and education). This means that dramas and entertainment programs consisted of 97.5% of Hallyu broadcasting (Korea Creative Content Agency, 2019). Television producers in the fields of drama and variety shows have advanced unique programs to be exported in the midst of the changing media environment. What is interesting is that these creators, either working for major broadcasting companies or for some of the largest independent production companies, work together to split massive production costs. The media environment surrounding cultural production in the broadcasting sector expedites the increasing role of a handful of key players, resulting in the loss of cultural diversity.

Korean Cinema and Film Creators

Korean cinema has been one of the major cultural forms in Hallyu as many foreigners enjoy Korean films. Several directors have achieved global success. Bong Joon-ho directed a number of well-known films, including *Snowpiercer* (2013) and *Okja* (2017). His latest film *Parasite* (2019) won four awards at the 2020 Oscars, including Best Picture and Best Director. Partially due to its great performance at the Oscars, many countries like the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Russia, Slovakia, and Mexico have imported *Parasite*, and the movie has signaled the revival of Korean cinema in the global film markets. In February 2020, Hong Sang-soo also won the Best Director award at the Berlin International Film Festival for his latest film *The Woman Who Ran*. Meanwhile, Park Chan-wook directed films such as *Joint Security Area* (2001) and *Old Boy* (2003), and Lee Chang-dong directed *Secret Sunshine* (2010) and *Burning* (2018). Kim Han-min directed *War of the Arrows* (2011) and *The Admiral: Roaring Currents* (2014). Kang Woo-suk developed films, including *Moss* (2010) and *First of Legend* (2013), and Kim Yong-hwa directed *Along With the Gods: The Two Worlds* (2017). (See Table 2.)

Table 2. Films and Cultural Creators.

Name	Title	Year	Producer	Budget	Revenue
Bong Joon-ho	<i>Barking Dogs Never Bite</i>	2000	Uno Film		44 million KRW
	<i>Memories of Murder</i>	2003	CJ E&M, Sidus Pictures	2.6 billion KRW	54.8 billion KRW
	<i>The Host</i>	2006	Chungeorahm Film, Segeo Entertainment	11 billion KRW	\$89.4 million
	<i>Snowpiercer</i>	2013	Moho Film, Opus Pictures, Union Investment Partners, Stilliking Films	\$40 million	\$86.8 million
	<i>Okja</i>	2017	Plan B Entertainment, Lewis Pictures, Kate Street Picture Company	\$50 million	\$2.1 million
	<i>Parasite</i>	2019	Barunson E&A Corporation	17 billion KRW	\$170.4 million
Park Chan-wook	<i>The Moon Is . . . the Sun's Dream</i>	1992	M&R		
	<i>Joint Security Area</i>	2001	Myung Film	3.2 billion KRW	
	<i>Sympathy for Mr. Vengeance</i>	2002	Studio Box		\$1.9 million
	<i>Old Boy</i>	2003	Egg Film	\$3 million	\$15 million
	<i>I'm a Cyborg, but That's OK</i>	2006	Moho Film	\$3 million	\$4.6 billion
	<i>Thirst</i>	2009	Moho Film, Focus Features Internationals	6.8 billion KRW	\$13 million
	<i>Stoker</i>	2013	Scott Free Production, Indian Paintbrush	\$12 million	\$12.1 million
	<i>The Handmaiden</i>	2016	Mono Film, Yong Film	\$8.8 million	\$37.7 million
Lee Chang-dong	<i>Green Fish</i>	1997	East Film		
	<i>Peppermint Candy</i>	1999	East Film		\$0.09 million
	<i>Oasis</i>	2002	East Film	\$1.5 million	\$6.7 million
	<i>Secret Sunshine</i>	2007	Pinehouse Film	\$3.5 million	\$11.6 million
	<i>Poetry</i>	2010	Pinehouse Film	\$1.1 million	\$2.2 million
	<i>Burning</i>	2018	Pinehouse Film, Now Film, NHK	8 billion KRW	\$7.1 million
Kim Han-min	<i>Paradise Murdered</i>	2007	Doo Entertainment		\$14.2 million
	<i>Handphone</i>	2009	Hancom, Cinetory		4.2 billion KRW
	<i>War of the Arrows</i>	2011	DCG Plus, Dasepo Club	9 billion KRW	\$51.4 million
	<i>The Admiral: Roaring Currents</i>	2014	Big Stone Pictures	\$18 million	\$139 million

Kim Yong-hwa	<i>Oh! Brothers</i>	2003	KM Culture		
	<i>Take Off</i>	2009	KM Culture	11 billion KRW	\$52.1 million
	<i>Mr. Go</i>	2013	Dexter Studios	\$18.6 million	\$26.7 million
	<i>Along With the Gods: The Two Worlds</i>	2017	Realies Pictures, Dexter Studios	\$18.3 million	\$108.2 million
	<i>Along With the Gods: The Last 49 Days</i>	2018	Realies Pictures, Dexter Studios	\$18.3 million	\$96.1 million
Yoon Je-kyun	<i>My Boss, My Hero</i>	2001	Janice Entertainment, Film G	1.8 billion KRW	
	<i>Romantic Assassin</i>	2003	Doosaboo Film		
	<i>Miracle on 1st Street</i>	2007	Doosaboo Film	\$3.7 million	\$16 million
	<i>Tidal Wave</i>	2009	Doosaboo Film, CJ E&M	\$16 million	\$74 million
	<i>Ode to My Father</i>	2014	JK Film	\$13.1 million	\$105 million
Ryoo Seung-wan	<i>Die Bad</i>	2000	Filmmaker R&K, Content Group	65 million KRW	
	<i>No Blood, No Tears</i>	2002	Good Movie Company		\$2.9 million
	<i>Arahan</i>	2004	Good Movie Company	6 billion KRW	
	<i>The City of Violence</i>	2006	Filmmaker R&K, Seoul Action School	\$2.7 million	\$6.2 million
	<i>Dachimawa Lee</i>	2008	Filmmaker R&K	2.8 billion KRW	\$3.7 million
	<i>The Unjust</i>	2010	Filmtrain, Filmmaker R&K	5.3 billion KRW	\$18.2 million
	<i>Berlin File</i>	2013	Filmmaker R&K	\$9 million	\$48.9 million
	<i>Veteran</i>	2015	Filmmaker R&K, Film K	\$9 million	\$95 million
	<i>Battleship Island</i>	2017	Filmmaker R&K, Film K, Skyline Pictures	\$21 million	\$47 million
	Choi Dong-hoon	<i>The Big Swindle</i>	2004	Sidus	\$3.5 million
<i>Tazza: The High Rollers</i>		2006	Sidus FNH, Cham Studio	\$5.5 million	\$39 million
<i>Jeon Woochi</i>		2009	ZIP Cinema	\$12 million	\$38 million
<i>The Thieves</i>		2012	Caper Film	\$14 million	\$83.5 million
<i>Assassination</i>		2015	Caper Film	\$16 million	\$90.9 million

Lee Joon-ik	<i>Once Upon a Time in a Battlefield</i>	2003	Cineworld		
	<i>The King and the Clown</i>	2005	Cineworld, Eagle Pictures	\$3.5 million	\$74.5 million
	<i>Radio Star</i>	2006	Achim Pictures	\$3 million	\$12.5 million
	<i>Blades of Blood</i>	2010	Achim Pictures, Tiger Pictures	5 billion KRW	\$8.2 million
	<i>Battlefield Heroes</i>	2011	Achim Pictures, Tiger Pictures	8 billion KRW	\$11.7 million
	<i>The Throne</i>	2015	Tiger Pictures	\$8.3 million	\$45.9 million
	<i>Dongju: A Portrait of a Poet</i>	2016	Luz Y Sonidos	0.5 billion KRW	\$7.8 million
	<i>Anarchist From Colony</i>	2017	Park Yul Limited Liability Company	2.6 billion KRW	\$16.9 million
	<i>Sunset in My Hometown</i>	2018	Byeonsan Limited Liability Company		\$3.5 million
	Kang Je-gyu	<i>The Ginko Bed</i>	1995	Shin Cine	
<i>Shiri</i>		1998	Kangjegyu Film	3.1 billion KRW	36 billion KRW
<i>Tae Guk Gi: The Brotherhood of War</i>		2004	Kangjegyu Film	\$12.8 million	\$70 million
<i>My Way</i>		2011	Directors	\$24 million	\$16.5 million
<i>Salut d'Amour</i>		2015	Big Picture, CJ E&M	3.7 billion KRW	\$7.8 million
Kang Woo-suk	<i>Two Cops</i>	1993	Cinema Service		
	<i>Two Cops 2</i>	1996	Cinema Service	1.2 billion KRW	4.5 billion KRW
	<i>Bedroom and Courtroom</i>	1998	Cinema Service		
	<i>Public Enemy</i>	2002	Cinema Service	3 billion KRW	\$15.8 million
	<i>Silmido</i>	2003	Cinema Service	11 billion KRW	58 billion KRW
	<i>Another Public Enemy</i>	2005	Cinema Service	4 billion KRW	\$23 million
	<i>Hanbando</i>	2006	KnJ Entertainment	10 billion KRW	\$17 million
	<i>Public Enemy Returns</i>	2008	KnJ Entertainment	4.4 billion KRW	\$27 million
	<i>Moss</i>	2010	Cinema Service, Lets Film	5.5 billion KRW	\$22 million
	<i>Fists of Legend</i>	2013	Cinema Service	6 billion KRW	\$12 million
<i>The Map against the World</i>	2016	Cinema Service	13 billion KRW	\$7 million	

Korean cinema has been deeply influenced by the Korean government, which means that cultural policies have directly impacted the rise and fall of the film industry. The Korean government has supported the film industry through two major means: legal and financial supports. On one hand, it has deregulated censorship and screen quotas since the mid-1990s and the mid-2000s, respectively, resulting in a transformation in the structure of Korean cinema. On the other hand, the government has continued to provide film funds to develop local films. The Motion Picture Promotion Law, enacted in 1995, saw the reduction of screen quotas from 40% to 20% for Korean films in 2006, and the cultural blacklist introduced in late 2016 to control film creators and various film funds in the 2010s have affected Korean cinema and the cultural work of filmmakers (Jin, 2019b).

As an example, *Parasite* clearly shows a power struggle between the conservative government and liberal cultural creators. As a director, Bong has relentlessly focused on challenging various types of power structures (Park, 2020), and in 2016, Bong and two of his *Parasite* collaborators, actor Song Kang-ho and producer Miky Lee, were placed on a Korean government blacklist of more than 9,000 artists. During 2016, the Park Guen-hye government created a list of cultural creators who leaned politically liberal and were considered to be against the then-conservative government, and restricted financial support to blacklisted creators, including Bong and his colleagues. As Park (2020) reported in *The Washington Post*, "Bong himself recalls being blacklisted as traumatic and nightmarish. If the blacklist continued, there was a good chance that *Parasite* would never have been made" (paras. 10–11). Therefore, these major institutions, including the government, film industries, and film creators, work together to advance film Hallyu; however, at other times, their interests and conflicts have intertwined and influenced film production.

K-Pop and Cultural Production

K-pop has become one of the most significant parts of Hallyu, in terms of global popularity, since the early 2010s. As idol groups, including BTS, EXO, and Blackpink, have gained fame in many countries, global fans enjoy K-pop in various venues and through diverse digital platforms. They go to concerts, buy CDs, watch YouTube, and listen to K-pop music on Spotify. Entertainment houses such as SM Entertainment created by Lee Soo-man, JYP Entertainment by Park Jin-young, YG Entertainment by Yang Hyun-seok, FNC Entertainment by Han Seong-ho, and Bit Hit Entertainment by Bang Si-hyuk have played major roles as creators and producers.

Among these, Lee Soo-man as the first music producer to develop a Korean style entertainment house, which introduced and developed idol systems, has created K-pop musicians, including H.O.T., BoA, TVXQ, Super Junior, SHINee, Girls' Generation, and EXO. Park Jin-young, a singer himself, founded JYP Entertainment to nurture 2PM, TWICE, and Day6, and Yang Hyun-seok established YG Entertainment in 1997 to create idol musicians, including Big Bang, 2NE1, and Icon (see Table 3).

Table 3. Cultural Creators in K-Pop.

Name	Affiliation	Name of produced idols	Year of debut	Foreign activities	
Lee Soo-man	SM Entertainment	H.O.T.	1996	China (1998, album) United States live tour (1998) China (2000, concert)	
		S.E.S.	1997	Japan (1998, album)	
		BoA	2000	Japan (2001, concert) Japan (2006, concert) United States (2008, single album) United States (2008, concert) United States (2009, album)	
		TVXQ (five members)	2003	Taiwan (2005, album) Taiwan, Japan, China (2005, album) Japan (2005, single album) Malaysia, Thailand (2006, concert) China, Thailand, Taiwan (2009, concert) Japan (2010, single album)	
		TVXQ (duo)	2003	Japan (2011, album) Japan (2012, single album) Japan (2012-2013, concert) Japan (2018, concert) Hong Kong, Thailand, Philippines (2019, concert)	
		Super Junior	2005	Hong Kong (2008, concert) Japan (2008, single album) Japan (2008, fan meeting)	

			Saudi Arabia (2019, concert)
Girls' Generation	2007		China, Taiwan (2009, concert)
			Japan (2010, single album)
			Japan (2011, concert)
			United States (2011, album)
			China, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand (2012, concert)
			Japan (2015, album)
SHINee	2008		Japan (2011, concert)
			United Kingdom (2011, concert)
			Taiwan (2011, concert)
			China, Taiwan, Indonesia, Mexico, Chile, Argentina (2013)
			Japan (2017, concert)
			Canada, US (2017, concert)
EXO	2012		Japan (2015, single album)
			China, Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong, Macao, Philippines (2016)
			United States, Canada (2016, concert)
			United States, Mexico, Thailand, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia (2017, world tour)
Red Velvet	2014		Japan (2018, concert)
			Thailand, Taiwan, Singapore, Japan, United States, Canada (2019, concert)
			Japan (2019, concert)

Park Jin-young	JYP Entertainment	Rain	2002	Japan, China, Hong Kong, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, US (2005–2006, concert) Taiwan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand, Japan, China, Australia, United States (2006–2007, concert) Japan, China, United States, Indonesia (2009, concert)
		Wonder Girls	2007	United States (2009, concert) United States, Canada (2010, concert)
		2PM	2008	Japan (2010, concert) Japan (2011, concert)
		Got7	2014	Japan (2014, concert) Singapore, China, Japan, United States (2016, concert) Japan (2019, concert)
		TWICE	2015	Thailand, Singapore (2016, concert) Japan (2017, concert) Japan (2019, concert) Japan (2019, album)
		Day6	2015	United States, Canada (2017, concert) Japan (2018, single album) Japan (2018, concert)
Yang Hyun-suk	YG Entertainment	Se7en	2003	United States (2008, album)
		Big Bang	2016	Japan (2008, EP) Japan (2008, concert) Japan (2017, concert)
		2NE1	2009	Japan (2012, single album) Japan (2012, concert)

			Winner	2014	United States (2012, concert) Japan (2014, album) Japan (2015, concert)
Bang Si-hyuk	Bit Entertainment	Hit	BTS	2013	United States, Canada (2018–2019, concert) Japan (2014, single album) Malaysia, United States, Australia, Thailand, Mexico, Brazil, Chile, Hong Kong, Philippines, Singapore, Japan (2014, world tour) Japan (2014, album) Japan (2015, concert) China, Japan, Thailand, Philippines (2016, concert) Chile, Brazil, United States, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Hong Kong, Australia, Japan, Taiwan (2017, world tour) United States, Canada, France, Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand (2018, world tour)
Han Seong-ho	FNC Entertainment		FT Island	2007	Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia (2008, concert) Japan (2010, single) Japan (2010, rock festival) United States (2012, concert) France, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, United States (2015, world tour)

			CNBlue	2009 (in Japan), 2010 (in Korea)	Japan (2009, EP) Japan (2011, concert) United States (2012, concert) United Kingdom (2012, concert)
			AOA	2012	Japan (2014, concert) Japan (2015, single album) Japan (2015, album)
			SF9	2016	Japan (2017, album) KCON 2017 (Los Angeles, New York) United States (2017, concert) KCON 2019 (New York)
Hong Seung-sung	Cube Entertainment		4Minute	2009	Japan, Thailand, Taiwan, Philippines Malaysia and Singapore (2011, concert) Australia (2013, concert) Argentina, Chile (2015, concert)
			BEAST	2009	Japan (2010, concert) Japan (2011, album) Japan (2015, concert)
Han Sung-soo	Pledis Entertainment		After School	2009	Japan (2011, showcase) Japan (2012, single album)
			NU'EST	2012	KCON 2012 (Los Angeles) Mexico, Chile, Brazil, Peru (2014, concert) United States (2015, concert)
			Seventeen	2015	KCON 2016 (United States) Japan (2016, concert) United States, Mexico (2020, concert)

Most relevant to today's K-pop landscape, Bang Si-hyuk created BTS in 2013, connecting the members who would eventually become some of the world's most popular stars. BTS has continued to win several music awards in international music festivals, including the Billboard Music Awards, since 2017, reflecting the group's transnational activities and popularity. In the field of K-pop, cultural creators have been involved from executive producers to composers and musicians themselves. Unlike television programs and films, musicians, including BTS, also produce their own music based on their personal experience. CEOs in entertainment houses, including Lee Soo-man, Park Jin-young, and Yang Hyun-seok, are signers-turned-businessmen; therefore, the range of cultural creators in the K-pop industry has been deep and diverse.

As such, since the late 1990s, cultural creators have greatly contributed to the growth of local cultural industries, followed by the rapid increase in the foreign exports of their cultural content. Although audiences and/or fans contribute to the global spread of Korean culture, cultural creators develop and advance cultural content, which means that these two major players—audiences and cultural creators—exchange ideas in the creation of cultural content. Cultural production has closely related to shifting cultural policies, and Hallyu has also been influenced by cultural policies, such as censorship, screen quotas, financial subsidies, and tax benefits. As Bourdieu (1983), discussing cultural creation, argues through examples of the literary and artistic fields, cultural creation, "whatever its degree of independence, it continues to be affected by the laws of the field which encompasses it, those of economic and political profit" (p. 320). Cultural production in Hallyu has been especially unique because each administration pursued different cultural policies, sometimes unpredictably, and negatively influencing cultural creators and cultural industries firms. Of course, one of the most significant elements for the advancement of local cultural content is the creativity of cultural creators.

Most of all, the current status of cultural creators in Korea can be identified as the corporate professional discussed by Williams (1981). In his discussion of four stages or phases in the social relations of cultural creators within the institutions of cultural production and wider society, he identifies four different forms of creators: the artisanal; the postartisanal (including patronage); the market professional, which is akin to the 19th-century stages of the field much more fully described by Bourdieu; and the corporate professional stage from the early 20th century onward. As Hesmondhalgh (2006) points out, social relations typical of the integrated professional market persist in this most recent stage.

Cultural creators in the 21st century have been deeply connected with primary actors and institutions. Due to the significance of digital technologies, including OTT and social media platforms, cultural creators have to secure insights to deal with these elements. Cultural production cannot be separated from digital technologies, and culture should not be isolated from socioeconomic dimensions, which means that cultural production is the outcome of power relations between cultural creators and economic, political, and technological actors, as production studies critically involve a question of power (Hesmondhalgh, 2010). Hallyu has evolved in the midst of the power struggles among players, as the blacklist incident indicates. Conservative administrations between 2008 and 2017 controlled cultural creators with their legal (e.g., censorship) and financial (e.g., subsidies) arms, while cultural creators attempted to secure creativity with no governmental interruption. Cultural creators as corporate professionals (e.g., when network producers move to cable and comprehensive channels as they guarantee higher salaries) have advanced Korean popular culture in the global scene, although sometimes they disrupt the growth of cultural production.

Cultural Creators: Major Focuses in the Process of Cultural Production

Understanding the growth of cultural industries and the efforts of cultural creators to produce quality cultural content has been important. Cultural creators emphasize the significance of some focal points, such as foreign export, digital technologies, transmedia storytelling, relationship with the government, and local identity, when they produce cultural content. To begin, many cultural creators have kept in mind the export of cultural content, which means that the transnationalization of local culture has been one of the most significant agendas in cultural production. The Korean market is relatively small; therefore, cultural creators and the government have planned to penetrate global markets, meaning they target global audiences as well as national audiences in cultural production. Interviewee 1, who owns a drama production company and was also a former television producer, said he always believed that Korea should go abroad. Envisioning foreign broadcasting markets is important for cultural creators because the Korean government provides subsidies mainly to those companies that target the global markets. He discussed how the funds from the government consequently spurred the exports of some programs created in his company to Africa, and also explained that his "company plans to export a television drama series to Russia." Interviewee 2, who works at an animation studio, stated the importance of production costs, which can be supported through the export of the created content:

In order to make a good animation program, we need to secure at least 20 billion Korea won per program, and it is not possible to break even from the domestic market because it is too small. To regain the production cost, we should make it a global project and distribute animation to foreign markets. Simply put, this is the way in which we always plan to create animation for global audiences.

In this regard, Interviewee 3, a researcher at the financial institute who deals with the cultural industry, said, "Exporting cultural content is vital to advance the cultural industries. Without exporting cultural content, it is difficult to maintain the current status of the Hallyu phenomenon."

Cultural creators have continued to produce unique cultural content, and during the process, diverse socioeconomic and political elements as well as digital technologies work together to create cultural products. Interviewee 4, a television producer in a network broadcasting company, noted,

Hallyu has been driven by collaborations of various players. Hallyu has been able to start thanks to both legacy media, including network broadcasters, and the government's supports. Corporate identities of Korean companies [like Samsung] in foreign countries also played an important part in spreading Hallyu content.

As this interviewee certainly claimed, the export of Korean cultural content is the result of collaborative work among primary actors, although the role of cultural creators has been the most critical. Interviewee 5, producer at a private cable television company, said, "Hallyu has been fully driven by creators, although I admit that both cultural industries corporations and the government advance cultural products." There are numerous relevant factors for the growth of the cultural industries, but it is ultimately cultural creators who develop cultural content to be widely watched and exported. Again, the Korean government attempted to control

cultural industries corporations and cultural creators through legal and financial mechanisms; therefore, it is not necessarily incorrect to argue that the public and the private sectors, sometimes, develop conflicting power relationships and, at other times, advance collaborative partnerships in creating cultural content.

Meanwhile, digital technologies have transformed the ways in which global fans consume Korean cultural content. Unlike previous years, global audiences mainly enjoy Korean culture through OTT platforms and social media platforms, as Interviewee 9, a researcher at the research institute explained. Another television producer who had worked for one of the major network channels for 26 years also stated,

It is essential to secure investments from Netflix in order to create blockbuster-level television dramas. Due to Hallyu, broadcasters can export some popular programs; however, the production cost has continued to soar, mainly because broadcasters must pay an ample amount of money to cast famous actors/actresses and special effects. (Interviewee 11)

Digital technologies, in particular OTT platforms, create both threats and opportunities for cultural creators and cultural industries corporations. To adapt to the shifting media environment, cultural creators and corporations have to develop their cultural content, while also reflecting new trends that digital technologies drive. Interviewee 4 indeed stated,

Audiences continue to consume television programs via traditional channels as primary service outlets. However, I think that the power of digital platforms like Netflix and YouTube will be getting stronger in the cultural markets. I expect that mobile platforms which can cover both OTT and social media platforms will grow in the future, which greatly contributes to the growth of Hallyu.

Cultural creators also emphasized the increasing trend of transmedia storytelling in Hallyu production. They commonly agreed with the necessity of new movements because of the lack of innovative resources. As CEO of a drama production company, Interviewee 1 said, "Transmedia storytelling is a right direction. We have to develop it. However, it is a very difficult task." Interviewee 8, a developer at an animation studio, also explained, "We are trying to develop a game with our own animation. We also plan to merchandise and license our animation. We always keep in mind that there are needs for transmedia and goods." Interviewee 6, who works as a board member of a private drama production company, claimed,

The creation of something new reaches its limit. There is nothing new. It explains the reasons why television producers consider the seasonal system in the drama series [like the United States]. The Korean drama market has had a high portion of original content, which makes creators exhausted to develop new stories. Under this circumstance, webtoons and Web-novels are interpreted as new sources, and it is easy for us to transform them into television series and films. Audiences also like remade content.

Due to major differences in plots and structures, transmedia storytelling is not easy; however, cultural creators pay attention to transmedia storytelling as a new way to develop cultural content that appeals to global audiences as well as national audiences.

Meanwhile, cultural creators at the frontline of cultural production believe that the government should take a supporting role, not regulating or manipulating cultural production. Cultural creators ask the government to take hands-off approaches, emphasizing their desire for the government to subsidize cultural production, but not intervene in the process itself. Interviewee 6 said that “the government should support producers and writers during the early stage of cultural production. The government cannot fund all production; therefore, the government supports cultural creators by executing strong intellectual property rights.” Another interviewee who works at a government-funded agency, Interviewee 7, also stated,

The government should focus on the growth of the export systems, including favorable tax reliefs and relevant measures. For example, the Chinese cultural sector plagiarizes the format of our entertainment programs without paying for the rights. The government should develop necessary safeguards that cultural creators can rely on against such infringements.

Last, but not least, what is interesting about cultural production is that cultural creators highlighted the significance of local mentalities and cultural identities instead of cultural hybridity, referring to the mix of two different cultures (Turow, 2011), in local cultural production. However, as Bhabha (1994) points out, hybridity should be “an interpretive and reflective mode,” in which assumptions of identity are interrogated; for this reason, the local force, including cultural creators, plays a primary role in developing local culture to avoid a simple mixture of two different cultures (pp. 53–54). Cultural creators emphasized the importance of foreign markets, but they still underscored Koreanness in culture, which eventually attracts global audiences. In this light, Interviewee 1 said,

We have to do something that we are good at, such as making content with our own stories. We can introduce our consumers to how Korean people live, and what kind of mentality Koreans have, instead of how fancy the main character is.

Interviewee 6 also explained,

It is evident that we want to make something that will attract many audiences. I don't think such an idea, e.g., “we are going to make it just because it has been done in the U.S. many times,” is a good one.

This does not mean that all cultural creators prefer local mentalities to hybrid culture, in terms of a simple mixture, in cultural production. A number of cultural creators in big entertainment houses in the fields of K-pop and films always plan to hybridize cultural content (G. Y. Kim, 2017). Therefore, these interviewees' responses were rather unexpected. What I can say, after these interviews, is that, regardless of the trends of cultural hybridization in the production of cultural content, many cultural creators valued local mentalities as one of the most significant priorities in cultural production. In other words, some cultural creators emphasized the importance of cultural identity that they must focus on to appeal to local audiences,

and later, global audiences, instead of hybridization, or the fusion of national and global cultures. Cultural creators do not solely use the hybridization strategy.

Overall, cultural creators have developed various strategies to develop cultural content. They have created cultural products, and they have used new forms of dissemination, like television formats, while practicing transmedia storytelling. In the midst of shifting cultural policies and fan activities, cultural creators sometimes emphasize local identities embedded in people's daily lives and struggles, and at other times focus on the hybridization of cultural content. As cultural production also includes the circulation of cultural content, they always consider the ways in which they disseminate cultural content in the digital platform age; therefore, they sometimes plan to work with global digital platforms like Netflix and YouTube, which the Korean cultural industries have rapidly become part of.

Conclusion

This article documents and discusses cultural production, focusing on the role of cultural creators in tandem with Hallyu. I discuss the significant role of cultural creators in the growth of the Korean Wave by using cultural production studies. As cultural production does not only indicate the production of popular culture, but also includes the circulation of cultural content, even encompassing cultural consumption, it is critical to develop a comprehensive approach or to use multiple approaches together. In this light, cultural production studies' focus should be part of a shift away from selecting either cultural studies, in terms of textual analysis, or political economy, in terms of industry studies, toward complex, multifaceted investigations eminently suited to analyzing culture (Druick & Deveau, 2015; Havens, Lotz, & Tinic, 2009). This article emphasizes that Hallyu should be interpreted not only as the outcome of cultural production, which means the export and consumption of Korean popular culture in other countries, but also as the production of those cultural products through the analysis of cultural creators.

There is an urgent need for research that complements studies of media content, and of media audiences, by evaluating the production processes, mainly for these reasons. On one hand, production processes shape media content and influence the media one consumes. On the other hand, production is important in its own right. Producers' experiences of production matter, and so do the quality of their working lives. An understanding of these issues needs to consider not only sociocultural factors such as existing practices and discourses in society as a whole. It also needs to contemplate economic and organizational processes that are specific to cultural production itself. An adequate theoretical synthesis needs to take account of those factors and to comprehend their interactions (Hesmondhalgh & Saha, 2013).

Cultural creators as some of the most significant actors in Hallyu believe that sociocultural elements and cultural politics surrounding cultural production have been vital given that the process of cultural production has been influenced by the power relationships between the cultural industries and relevant actors, including the government. Cultural creators are at the frontline of cultural production. They have advanced their understanding of local mentalities, global trends, technological breakthroughs, and cultural policies. Cultural creators drive the production of high-quality cultural content. Their creative mentalities, planning abilities, and creativities must be understood as part of the Korean Wave.

References

- Becker, H. S. (1982). *Art worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1983). The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reserved. *Poetics*, 12, 311–356. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X\(83\)90012-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-422X(83)90012-8)
- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Caldwell, J. (2008). *Production culture: Industrial reflexivity and critical practice in film and television*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Chalaby, J. (2012). At the origin of a global industry: The TV format trade as an Anglo-American invention. *Media, Culture & Society*, 34(1), 37–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711427198>
- De Beukelaer, C., & Spence, K. M. (2018). *Global cultural economy*. London, UK: Routledge.
- de Smale, S., Kors, M., & Sandovar, A. M. (2019). The case of *This War of Mine*: A production studies perspective on moral game design. *Games and Culture*, 14(4), 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1555412017725996>
- Druick, Z., & Deveau, D. (2015). Guest editorial: Cultural production in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 157–163. <https://doi.org/10.22230/cjc.2015v40n2a3027>
- du Gay, P. (Ed.). (1997). *Production of culture/Cultures of production*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Flew, T. (2012). *Creative industries: Culture and policy*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Han, B. (2017). K-pop in Latin America: Transcultural fandom and digital mediation. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 2250–2269.
- Havens, T., Lotz, A., & Tinic, S. (2009). Critical media industry studies: A research approach. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 2(2), 234–253. <https://doi:10.1111/j.1753-9137.2009.01037.x>
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2006). Bourdieu, the media and cultural production. *Media, Culture & Society*, 28(2), 211–231. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443706061682>
- Hesmondhalgh, D. (2010). Media industry studies, media production studies. In J. Curran (Ed.), *Media and society* (5th ed.; pp. 145–163). London, UK: Bloomsbury.

- Hesmondhalgh, D., & Saha, A. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and cultural production. *Popular Communication, 11*(3), 179–195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2013.810068>
- Hong, S. K. (2020). *BTS on the road*. Seoul, Korea: Across.
- Huang, S. (2017). Social media and the new Korean Wave. *Media, Culture & Society, 39*(5), 773–777. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443717707344>
- Iwabuchi, K. (2002). *Recentering globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jin, D. Y. (2016). *New Korean Wave: Transnational cultural power in the age of social media*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Jin, D. Y. (2019a). Snack culture's dream of big-screen culture: Korean webtoons' transmedia storytelling. *International Journal of Communication, 13*, 2094–2115.
- Jin, D. Y. (2019b). *Transnational Korean cinema: Cultural politics, film genres, and digital technologies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Jin, D. Y., & Yoon, K. (2016). The social mediascape of transnational Korean pop culture: *Hallyu 2.0* as spreadable media practice. *New Media & Society, 18*(7), 1277–1292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814554895>
- Kim, G. Y. (2017). Korean Wave | Between hybridity and hegemony in K-pop's global popularity: A case of "Girls' Generation's" American debut. *International Journal of Communication, 11*, 2376–2386.
- Kim, J. H. (2019). Korean popular cinema and television in the twenty-first century: Parallax views on national/transnational disjunctures. *Journal of Popular Film and Television, 47*(1), 2–8. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01956051.2019.1562815>
- Kim, J. O. (2021). BTS as method: A counterhegemonic culture in the network society. *Media, Culture & Society*. Advance online publication. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443720986029>
- Kim, K. H. (2004). *Remasculinization of Korean cinema*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Kim, Y. N. (Ed.). (2013). *The Korean Wave: Korean media go global*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Klinenberg, E., & Benzecry, C. (2005). Cultural production in a digital age. *The Annals of the American Academy, 597*(1), 6–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716204270420>
- Korea Creative Content Agency. (2019). *2018 white paper on Korean broadcasting*. Naju, Korea: KOCCA.

- Lee, E. B. (2017). When Korean Wave flows into the Islamic world: A study of Hallyu in Tunisia. In T. J. Yoon & D. Y. Jin (Eds.), *The Korean Wave: Evolution, fandom, and transnationality* (pp. 163–181). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Lee, M., & Jin, D. Y. (2017). *Understanding the business of global media in the digital age*. London, UK: Routledge.
- McLaren, C., & Jin, D. Y. (2020). "You can't help but love them": BTS, transcultural fandom, and affective identities. *Korea Journal*, 60(1), 100–127. <https://doi.org/10.25024/kj.2020.60.1.100>
- Menger, P. M. (1999). Artistic labor markets and careers. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 25(1), 541–574.
- Nieborg, D., & Poell, T. (2018). The platformization of cultural production: Theorizing the contingent cultural commodity. *New Media & Society*, 20(11), 4275–4292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818769694>
- Oxford Reference. (2019). *Cultural production*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Park, S. N. (2020, February 10). How *Parasite* almost never saw the light of day. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/02/10/parasites-oscar-success-was-also-victory-democracy/>
- Peterson, R., & Anand, N. (2004). The production of culture perspective. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30(1), 311–333.
- Seoul Broadcasting System. (2018, April 9). 7 must-watch Korean variety shows. Retrieved from <https://www.sbs.com.au/popasia/blog/2018/04/09/7-must-watch-korean-variety-shows>
- Turow, J. (2011). *Media today: An introduction to mass communication* (4th ed.). London, UK: Routledge.
- Watson, J. (Ed.). (1997). *Golden arches east: McDonald's in East Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Williams, R. (1981). *Culture*. London, UK: Fontana.
- Yi, H. S. (2007). Reflexivity and identity crisis in Park Chul-soo's *Farewell, My Darling*. In F. Gateward (Ed.), *Seoul searching: Culture and identity in contemporary Korean cinema* (pp. 141–156). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Yoon, K. (2019). Transnational fandom in the making: K-pop fans in Vancouver. *International Communication Gazette*, 81(2), 176–182. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518802964>

Yoon, T. J., & Kang, B. (2017). Emergence, evolution and extension of “Hallyu studies”: What have scholars found from Korean pop culture in the last 20 years. In T. J. Yoon & D. Y. Jin (Eds.), *The Korean Wave: Evolution, fandom, and transnationality* (pp. 3–21). Lanham, MD: Lexington.