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South Korean food and women in glocalization : a case study in the role of food media

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SOUTH KOREAN FOOD AND WOMEN IN GLOCALIZATION:
A CASE STUDY IN THE ROLE OF FOOD MEDIA

by

Hojin Song

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy
degree in Communication Studies in the
Graduate College of
The University of Iowa

August 2016

Thesis Supervisors: Assistant Professor Jiyeon Kang
Professor John Durham Peters

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Iowa City, Iowa

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

PH.D. THESIS

This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis of

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has been approved by the Examining Committee for
the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
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To Mom, Dad, and My little brother

Jesus said to them, “Come and have breakfast.” Now none of the disciples dared ask him, “Who are you?” They knew it was the Lord.

John 21:12

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the ways in which food media—as publications, broadcasts, and blog postings and discussions with the theme of food—interact with Korean food culture and women’s understanding of their own lives. I analyze these relations within the framework of glocalization, which conceptualizes foreign and local influences as equal elements of change, and thus differs from a concept of globalization which might assume an unequal power relationship between Asia and the West. By analyzing the texts of a cookbook, baking blogs, and a television drama, I explore the relations between foreign and modern influences on traditional Korean food culture and the changing roles of women in the family and society from the 1990s to the 2010s. Through these case studies, I argue that food media reflect and concretize the meaning of traditional or national Korean food culture in its interaction with foreign and modern food cultures, domestic values of Korean women among different generations, and glamorized ideals of class culture and lifestyles. Using food media, Korean women discuss food culture and the lives of women, thereby allowing certain food media to become instructional texts and learning spaces. I argue that both food media and the Korean women who use food media negotiate, redefine, and educate Korean women about traditional and newer food culture, and a set of ideal roles for women.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

This project examines the media's portrayals of Korean food culture and how Korean women understand their lives. Different groups of Korean women interact with food-themed media by watching shows, reading books, and creating and replying to blog posts. In this process, both media and women convey ideas about socioeconomic class, the traditional roles of women, and national food cultures. This dissertation analyzes three different media texts—a cookbook, baking blogs, and a television drama—and situates each of them in relation to political, economic, social, and cultural events. More specifically, I explore the relations between foreign and modern influences on traditional food culture and the changing roles of women in the family and society from the 1990s to the 2010s. In explaining these relations, I use the idea of glocalization. Glocalization is different from globalization in that it does not assume unequal power relationships between various countries and cultures. Rather, glocalization conceptualizes different cultures as equally agents of change.

Through the case studies, I argue that food-themed media reveal the meaning of traditional and national Korean food culture in its interaction with foreign and modern food cultures. Food media also reflect the desire of Korean women for certain cultural values and ideals. Korean women use media to negotiate food cultures and the lives of women—often presenting their ideas as instructional texts and learning spaces. Both food media and Korean women who use them educate women about traditional and newer food cultures, and a set of ideal roles for women.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE. AN INSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE ON KOREAN FOOD AND GLOCALIZATION SEEN THROUGH MEDIA	1
Glocalization: Acknowledging Local Forces in Globalization	11
How Food Media Shape Women's Lives and How Women Shape Food Media	18
Analytical Approaches	28
Outline of Chapters	33
CHAPTER TWO. WHEN KOREA MET FOREIGN: CRUCIAL MARKERS IN KOREAN GLOCALIZATION AND THE LIVES OF WOMEN	36
Confucian Gender Values and Western Culture in Postwar Korea	37
1988 Seoul Olympics: Cultural Turn and Changing Lifestyle	45
Changing Values of Young Koreans in Consuming Foreign Culture	47
Response of the Public to Newer Foodways	51
Changing Gender Identities	56
1997 IMF Crisis: Neoliberal Turn, Visible Stratification of Culture, and Cosmopolitan Identities	58
The Influence of <i>Yuhak</i> and Youth Culture: Stratification of Class Status and Foodways, and Cosmopolitanism	61
CHAPTER THREE. A KOREAN MOTHER'S COOKING NOTES: MAINTAINING KOREAN HOME COOKING AND DOMESTIC IDEALS	68
Changing Cooking, Changing Wives	71
Cookbooks as Mediated Pedagogy	75
KMCN as a Text	79
Instructing the Ideal Housewife	80
Redefinition of Korean Cooking Through Standardization and Hybridization	87
Standardization of Korean Cooking	89
Adaptation of Korean Food	92
Assimilation of Foreign Food	95
Cookbooks as Mediated Pedagogy of Traditions	99
CHAPTER FOUR. BAKING BLOGS AS A LEARNING COMMUNITY: NEGOTIATING CONFUCIAN AND NEOLIBERAL MOTHERHOOD	102
Neoliberal Korea, Self, and Motherhood	106
Blogger Mothers Forming a Learning Community	111
Baking Blog Community As a Space for Analysis	114
The Confucian Mother Managing the Neoliberal Children	116

Negotiating the Sacrificial Mother and the Self-Managing/Self-Enterprising Mother	120
Working Mother Adapting to the Sacrificial Mother	127
What Is The Neoliberal Korean Mother	130
CHAPTER FIVE. AUTHENTICITY OF PASTA: DISTINCTION OF THE UPPER-CLASS TASTE AND THE BOUNDARIES OF KOREAN FOODWAYS	134
Cultural Capital of Young Korean Women: <i>Yuhak</i> and Foreign Authenticity	137
Gourmet Drama: Concretization, Reflection, Negotiation of, and Education about Cultural Taste	142
Pasta as Text	146
Concretization, Glamorization, Negotiation of, and Education about the Ideal Taste	148
<i>Yuhak</i> as a Marker of Italian Authenticity	150
Concretizing the Authenticity of Pasta as a Marker of Upper-Class Taste	154
Negotiation of and Education about Boundaries	157
Adaptation and Assimilation of Italian Foods within the Boundaries of Korean Foods	160
Gourmet Drama: Teaching the Boundaries and Desired Lifestyle	165
CHAPTER SIX. WHAT FOOD MEDIA KEEP, CHANGE, AND DISCARD	168
What Do Food Media Do, What Women Do with Food Media	170
Korean Women and Glocalization of Foodways	174
The Future of Korean Food Media	177
Why Focus on Food: Implications for the Fields of Critical Cultural Media, Food, and Korean Studies	178
BIBLIOGRAPHY	182

CHAPTER ONE

AN INSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE ON KOREAN FOOD AND GLOCALIZATION SEEN THROUGH MEDIA

Like many other food cultures in history, the food cultures of South Korea (hereafter Korea) have been influenced by foreign cultures, which migrate with people and media. An incessant flow of new cooking methods, ingredients, and recipes has expanded what Korean people typically eat as a meal. Historically, the typical Korean meal was a bowl of cooked rice accompanied by *panch'an*¹ (small side dishes of steamed, boiled, or poached seafood, meat, and vegetables with spices), but over time it has come to include more diverse items on the dinner table. In particular, an influx of restaurant businesses owned by Western companies changed the diet of young Koreans from the 1980s onward. A popular Korean television drama *My Lovely Sam-soon* (2005, MBC) illustrates one facet of these cultural changes stemming from Western food cultures. The drama portrays the career and love life of a *pâtissier* (pastry chef) named Sam-soon. The character's vocation was relatively new to many viewers, since cakemaking was not a traditional Korean method of cooking. Indeed, the food category of "dessert" does not exist in traditional Korean food culture. The show's vivid portrayal of settings unfamiliar to viewers—such as hotel pastry shops and a kitchen of an upscale restaurant—and the detailed look at the processes of cakemaking and preparing unfamiliar yet fancy pastry items piqued the interest of the viewers of young Korean women in particular, resulting in 50.5 % ratings in 2005 ("My Lovely Sam-soon"). The heroine, a 30-year-old professional woman, exemplifies the Korean population of young women who were

¹ This dissertation uses McCune-Reischauer Romanization for romanization of Korean.

leading new, popular food trends. *My Lovely Sam-soon* takes advantage of the contemporary fads for delicate French pastries such as *macaron* and *madeleine* by exhibiting the fashionable food cultures of Europe to the target audience of young women. Such portrayals of young Korean women having made a career out of a foreign method of cooking are concrete texts that demonstrate popular engagement with foreign food culture in Korea.

This television drama illustrates the ways in which changes in food culture mirror changes in the larger culture. Drawing on anthropology, history, philosophy, and sociology, scholars in Food Studies examine this process in detail (see Mintz *Sweetness and Power*, Heldke, Pilcher, Counihan and Esterik). For instance, many historians who study food have examined the cultural history of food in a particular society and/or culture, often as it relates to specific narratives of ethnic/racial migration and national citizenship (Gabaccia; Levenstein; Diner; Pilcher; Ohnuki-Tierney). One example is studies of ethnic groups from European countries migrating to the US. Since their arrival in the US, various ethnic groups have sought societal approval as signified by acceptance of their foods into the dominant culture (Gabaccia; Diner; Mannur). Notably, food wars occurred in the US in the aftermath of the mass migration of the nineteenth century, when French, Spanish, and English immigrants had already been settled but waves of Italian, Irish, and European Jewish immigrants were just starting to settle in (Gabaccia; Diner 2). The fight to maintain food culture was a fight to keep the lifestyle and identity of ethnic and cultural groups. Jews, for instance, held cooking classes for younger housewives who had started to turn away from traditional kosher ways, which are deeply associated with their religious beliefs, and begun eating non-kosher meat and bread (Solomon). As

Jewish immigrants slowly assimilated to American culture and other food cultures in the US, though, older Jewish women also flocked to cooking classes to learn the American ways of preparing foods (Diner 216). In the multicultural context of the US, food cultures themselves conveyed stories of migration and assimilation of ethnic cultures. In other contexts such as Mexico and Japan, corn and rice persisted not only as national cuisine but also as symbols of the cultural identity of the country (Ohnuki-Tierney; Pilcher). In her ethnographic study of rice in Japan, Ohnuki-Tierney argues that the story of rice – farming it, cultivating different varieties of it, and eating it – is tied to the national identity of Japan. Rice fortified ideas of collective self and others in different ways at different times. Pilcher also tells the story of corn—how technological developments and the process of making tortillas brought changes in the labor market and gender roles and how this indigenous food of Mexico became a key component of national identity.

Although I have introduced research which considers multiple national contexts, many studies have a Euro-American focus in examining various factors that influence and are influenced by food cultures. Thus, I feel the need to provide a new context to the field of Food Studies—to reveal different sets of relations among categories of people and culture than are usually studied in the Western-centric context. The Korean context is worthy of analysis for its negotiations of traditional, modern, national, and foreign foodways, which follow in large part due to the society's rapid changes created by economic exchange, political necessity, and cultural interpretations. In Korea, we can see in a condensed form the contradictions and challenges of rapid modernization; although there has recently been a blossoming of research on Korea, food has been largely unexplored. This dissertation also adds the specific context of Korean food culture to the

body of Korean Studies scholarship, where exists a lack of overall scholarship on the globalization of Korean food.

In addition, there is a lack of scholarship in both Korean Studies and Critical Cultural Media Studies which uses the context of Korean culture to study the media's role in the globalization of Korean food culture, despite the national popularization of television texts such as *My Lovely Sam-soon*. Most Media Studies research on Korea focuses on *hallyu* (Korean Wave) and the nation's success in becoming a pop culture powerhouse in East Asia and beyond (see D. Y. Jin). Media are important elements for analysis because they convey cultural and social relations of personal identities, especially of and among women, through stories of food culture. In analyzing media and identities of women, media scholars should look beyond media simply as traditionally conceived—as audiovisual institutions providing programming to audiences. Food and its accompanying practices can be considered texts and/or spaces of medium as well. If this stretches the bounds of Media Studies, it is at least fair to say that much in media as traditionally conceived implicates food, as I show in this dissertation.

To address the role played by media and the lives of Korean women in globalization, I draw upon theoretical frameworks and concepts of “foodways,” “glocalization,” and “food media” from the fields of Food Studies, Korean Studies, and Critical Cultural Media Studies, respectively. Firstly, the discussion of foodways is in Food Studies. One of the basic tenets of Food Studies holds that a group of people interprets food items according to the beliefs, values, behaviors, and symbols that they accept as their culture. Food holds symbolic meanings that convey both personal and collective values and practices (Counihan and Esterik 44). So it is possible to, as

anthropologist Mary Douglas says, “decipher” a meal (36). Through identifying and studying food categories, it is possible to decode the religious, political, economic, social, and cultural systems in which food and food-centered practices are embedded. For instance, Douglas argues how the prohibition of pig meat in the Jewish meal is rooted in religious proscription, which in turn originates from a centuries-old belief in the uncleanness of pigs and the then-current butchering practices (51-53).

This embodiment of multiple contexts borne by certain kinds of food leads to the idea of foodways, as the term can situate changing contexts and narratives within the values and practices of food. The term “foodways,” referring to the entire set of practices around food and eating found in a culture, allows for a broader construct of food culture which includes collective culture and history (Rath and Assmann 1). Rath and Assmann, in explaining the history of Japanese food culture, define foodways in the broadest sense, including the production, distribution, and consumption of foods as well as their political, economic, social, religious, and cultural aspects (1). The concepts of “comfort food” or “holiday foods” demonstrate how foodways connect a culture’s collective past and its present as traditions. Americans understand the culinary traditions of eating turkey and gravy on Thanksgiving Day. Turkey and gravy represent the feelings of gratitude and the celebration of the traditional harvest festivals without requiring much additional explanation. As these patterns repeat themselves, foodways become more than just rituals and come to form a nation’s culture and even its history (Cramer et al xi).

Foodways also reveal unarticulated but nonetheless deeply rooted social relations. In *The Civilizing Process*, Norbert Elias examines table manners as a way of articulating the dynamics between the nobility and the peasant class. In this study, he offers close

readings of courtesy and civilized codes, detailing how people behaved in the company of kings and feudal lords using literary and other sources from different centuries of the European Middle Ages. He shows how manners first formed in a narrow privileged circle that later expanded both outward and downward from upper to lower classes. Elias also argues that the same process still influences how we educate our children today, noting, however, that this education occurs through an inward process of learning self-restraint rather than through any kind of standardized system (141). Adopting his notion that the study of food and its surrounding cultural context can be a path to understanding a society, this dissertation defines foodways as practices of food and eating and traces the ways that foodways change and are changed by the dynamics of history, economics, political and socioeconomic circumstances. This definition of foodways is similar to how the text of media bears cultural practices and values. It often reveals unspoken yet prevalent practices of culture and unarticulated social relations. The narratives of foodways in media—by situating these stories within specific political, economic, social, and cultural dynamics—articulate the specific actors that influence changes of foodways and broader culture.

Secondly, theories of glocalization especially help to situate Korean Studies within Critical Cultural Studies, as glocalization emphasizes the importance of localities in unraveling the dynamics of Korean foodways. The concept originally refers to the marketing idea that global products should be customized to suit local tastes and interests (Khondker 3). The concept has evolved to be useful in managing the conceptual difficulties involved in global-local relationships that, in globalization, are addressed by emphasizing the importance of regional and local (Khondker 3). The difference between

the original meaning of the concept and its present meaning illustrates how glocalization became a complementary yet more particular approach for studying the contexts of globalization. Whereas the idea of globalization emphasizes large-scale influences on a nation, the notion of glocalization emphasizes a more active negotiation between local influences (Robertson "Glocalization" 28-29).

In articulating Korean foodways, I explore how tradition, modernity, the foreign, the global, and the national are figured into the process of glocalization. The breaking point of traditions is often reached when older foodways face what is modern; indeed, what modern often means is precisely “the breaking of tradition.” In a broad sense, “modernity” is marked by a questioning of tradition. To be more specific, modernity can include such long-term historical and social processes as rationalization, industrialization, urbanization, the development of the nation-state, a movement from agrarianism toward capitalism, and the prioritization of individualism and freedom. For example, development of convenience food such as canned goods, ready-made products, and frozen meals changed traditional and laborious processes of home cooking in Korea. The ideas of tradition and modernity are also related to the ways that the nation and its position in the world are conceptualized. The axes of national / foreign and global, and traditional / modern can explain the ways in which different cultures interact in the Korean context. I use the term *global* to explain foreign influences that have strong impact in multiple local societies without the implication of generalization or universalization. In other words, global forces mean foreign cultures and values that are more widespread among other local cultures. What is national involves a collective sense of nation, which often overlaps with the ideas of tradition. Modern development of Korea

inevitably contains foreign and global elements. The popularization of foreign food, French pastries, for instance, in Korea tells us more about the country than what can be presumed from observing the raw data of industrialization, urbanization, and modernization. The stories of French pastries in the Korean context reveal the ways that widely practiced foreign foodways are positioned as “higher” and more modern culture than traditional and national Korean foodways. People who collectively create and maintain high culture discursively construct which aspects are national or traditional.

In examining these people and their lives, specifically those of Korean women, and the role of media in glocalization, “food media” is another important term, drawing from Media Studies and Food Studies. Media scholar Signe Rousseau defines the term “food media” concretely: “food” is a textual label which mostly describes the business of food media, especially of television shows and publications featuring celebrity chefs (Rousseau x-xiii). Media, in Rousseau’s sense, means systematic instruments that focus on the market and have political implications.

While drawing on Rousseau’s narrow sense of food media, I also acknowledge a broader meaning of the term. Media are tools that transmit and store culture, as communicative spaces of culture and what accompanies them, such as individual and collective identities. This idea stems from a broad sense of media articulated by Innis. The term “media” is used for tools that store and deliver information or data. The characteristics of space- and time-binding media that Innis articulates can explain how media are containers that transmit and store meanings of life. Innis argues that media diminish the importance of time and space as obstacles in communication (Carey 123). For instance, telegraph, television, and radio no longer bind the form of communication

in space, as it transcends physical distance although they exist only in the moment. On the other hand, written forms of communication such as newspapers and recording devices such as DVRs transcend the limitation of time. By defining media as dishes that contain content, this view allows creative interpretations of the process rather than a narrower focus on texts. This view also does not limit media to systems and acknowledges the possibility that processes of culture and spaces for organic gatherings of a group of people might also be usefully considered as media. These communicative spaces are open to individual and collective discussions, as well as to constructions and negotiations of cultural implications and social relations.

In my study of food media specifically, I employ both the narrower and the broader definitions of media. I adopt Rousseau's definition of "media" such that I consider food media to include conventional mass and new media in forms that we know and encounter in everyday life as they focus on food and foodways. I also expand the idea of food media to include everyday spaces of communication about foodways. Thus, I define food media as media, whether institutional or not, that explicitly and specifically thematize foodways in their texts. As noted with the popular reception of *My Lovely Sam-soon*, food media are one of the most useful lenses for examining shifts in foodways. Additionally, food media often exemplify the ways in which women understand themselves through foodways; they reveal the roles and life choices which women consider available to them and how they might interact with these processes. In addition, the stories of foodways produced in food media, when considered in the frame of Critical Cultural Studies, can help to tease out the intricate and complex aspects of cultural change.

In this dissertation, I study various food media texts of cookbooks, food television, and baking blogs of Korea to articulate changing cultural and social relations of Korean women in glocalization. Here media are conceived both expansively and traditionally. By linking food media to specific populations of Korean women, this dissertation also reexamines the role of mass and online media as cultural intermediaries of foodways, serving as an interdisciplinary work bridging Media and Food Studies.

The first goal of this dissertation is to study mediated narratives of women in order to understand how their cultural identities have changed in food media texts. Following the arc of media popularization in Korean society, the cases illustrate glocal changes in gender, class, and generational identities throughout the 1990s and beyond. The second goal is to examine the role of food media in the changing contexts of foodways and the contemporary lives of Korean women. The last, most macroscopic, goal is to tease out changing relations of cultural and social values in terms of foodways, lives of women, and food media to provide specific, contextualized answers to concerns of globalization and modernity. My goal is to articulate the axes of traditional / modern and national / foreign and global, to examine where they overlap and where they do not and conclude what “modern” means in the context of Korean foodways. In doing so, the project also addresses how media texts convey multiple meanings of cultural values and ideals. I contextualize the influence of food media by marking epochs in which important events began. Through three case studies of food media—a cookbook in the 1990s, baking blogs after the 2000s, and a television drama in the 2010s—I examine the following questions: 1) How do Korean women use food media to negotiate their various identities and to navigate the rapid transitions of glocal foodways in Korea? 2) What are

the roles of food media in portraying these processes? 3) How do Korean food media address the cultural interactions of foodways in relation to the ideas of traditional / modern and national / foreign and global? What are the implications of the three case studies in the bigger context of media text and their meanings?

I argue that Korean food media reflect and concretize, and both food media and the Korean women who use them negotiate, redefine, and educate Korean women about foodways and the ways in which Korean women live. More broadly, this dissertation contends that Korean food media use the glocalization of foodways to articulate the complex boundaries of traditional / modern and national / foreign and global. In doing so, I highlight the possibilities of reading media texts in various ways and conceptualize media texts as cultural knowledge.

Glocalization: Acknowledging Local Forces in Globalization

Because I situate the role of food media and the ways in which women use them within the framework of glocalization, this idea and the related idea of globalization should be discussed. Korean folklorist Young Ha Joo argues that examining cultural and societal changes by historicizing relevant backgrounds and processes is key (*Food Humanities* 19). The process of globalization is one of the biggest sources of change in both Korea and throughout the world from the late nineteenth century onward (Yi "Globalization and Recent Changes" 11). Globalization entails the decisive changes resulting from interactions between nation-states and the integration of their cultural and economic structures (Ryoo 138). In many strands of globalization, the outcome of

international interactions is universalization in the sense of standardization or homogenization. Universalization refers to the ways in which people from different parts of the world have much the same experience with and expectations of life, due to international interactions. For example, the idea of global economy—seeing the world as one big market where national economies have become increasingly irrelevant—has been widely accepted at an academic level, though popular resistance to these developments can remain fierce (Hirst, Thompson and Bromley 2). The idea of a global economy requires a belief in an international market force that controls the world economy and assumes that transnational corporations do their businesses without national boundaries or allegiance (Hirst, Thompson and Bromley 2). This totalizing view of economic globalization often focuses on the West as the center of universalization, an idea that is not limited to the economic sector but also affects politics, culture, and other important facets of collective life.

Westernization is another idea that follows this idea of globalization as universalization. It refers to the ways Western countries such as the US have influenced the economic and political sectors through circulation of knowledge, technology, social institutions, economic systems, and media content which originated in the West (Yi "Globalization and the Culture"; Yi "The Westernization"). The political power of the U.S. is seen as an especially influential force of Westernization, a political governing system that constructs a neoliberal order through agreements and compromises amongst other international partners (Hirst, Thompson and Bromley 6). Korea is a good example of the US influencing another nation-state through its political and economic authority. Choi emphasizes that the noteworthy changes in Korea have happened under the

influence of the US after the Korean War, especially due to its visible economic and political aid (J. S. Choi 84). In *Hanguginŭi Papsang (What Does Pap Mean to Koreans)*, cultural critic Sung-Hee Chung even argues that Korean food culture is subordinate—or rendered inferior—to the food culture of the US (As cited in J. S. Choi 202). This argument is consistent with a concept of Westernization that relies on a binary of West and the Others and sees Americanization as a subset of the larger process of globalization (Park and Kim 17). I do keep in mind the existence of power dynamics between the Western and non-Western worlds. Power is its own variable. However, I attempt to escape the linear conceptualization of globalization because it mostly results in a one-dimensional picture in which a Western ideology is dominant and other countries are subordinated to the West's neoliberal order (Park and Kim 7-8). A focus on Westernization is problematic because it prevents Korean traditions from being an independent and equal variable to Western forces in globalization. I build on recent research on globalization that emphasizes local adaptation. My research goal is to connect points of local historical, political, economic, and cultural factors for interpretation. This is especially important in looking at foreign influence within a non-Western context.

My attempts to escape the Western-centric perspectives of globalization are essentially critiques of the homogeneity of the grand narrative. I would like instead to emphasize the interaction between the local and universal, and to put forward the possibility of the local itself being a global constituent. Stuart Hall takes a rather neutral stance between the homogenous global and the heterogenous local. He acknowledges the homogenizing power of the global, but does not negate the power of local in deciding

how to receive global factors (Hall "The Local" 37-40). Homi Bhabha offers a more resistant perspective than does Hall to homogenous global by arguing that there is a "third space" where local discourses contest and redefine what is global (56). As a postcolonial scholar, Bhabha especially focuses on how two or more local cultures in contact create this third space, which is never the same as cultures of the past. Since this space is discursive, the temporal narrative of homogenous culture is no longer valid (Bhabha 57). While Arjun Appadurai does not completely reject homogenous global culture in *Modernity At Large*, he similarly emphasizes the polycentric distribution and heterogeneity of cultures. He acknowledges globalization as a universal condition and also views it as a disjuncture (Appadurai *Modernity At Large* 37). Because local, regional, and national factors of politics, economy, and culture articulate global forces, they often create negotiating, even contradictory forms of global culture (Helvacioğlu 328).

A conceptual framework that allows for a plurality of localities coincides with Robertson's view of globalization in the sense that they both focus on the element of local. Robertson (1992, 1995) also pulls away from the idea that globalization is always and simply homogenous and argues for a more complex dynamic. Robertson conceptualizes globalization as "*the interpenetration of the universalization of particularization and the particularization of universalism*" (*Globalization* 100 emphasis in the original). He acknowledges interaction between localities and universal elements. In the process, local elements can become more global influences, and global forces can adapt to fit local practices and beliefs. Robertson emphasizes that these processes do not result in universalization and homogenization. He posits the necessity of complicating the relationship between local and more universal processes.

The idea of glocalization fits nicely within Robertson's idea of balancing globalization with other, various local forces of change. If globalization focuses on broader interactions between the local and the larger scale influence, glocalization emphasizes the interaction between the local and other forces within local settings—of specific time and space. Thus, glocalization is a narrower and a more concrete framework than globalization and is free of theoretical background and baggage of the term globalization. Salamandra's study of Arab culture in a local setting of London is a great example of a glocalization process. She examines how interactions between two local cultures can adapt each other and change to create new local culture. She argues that the Arab immigrant population in London—often affluent, well networked, and educated—constructed a distinct Gulf Arab culture (Salamandra 285).

While focusing on the local and regional, however, the idea of glocalization does not negate the occurrence of the global within a local setting. Khondker explains the interaction between and changes of local / local in his articulation of glocalization as a “micro-globalization” (4). It encompasses the modification of global processes within local settings (Khondker 4). Daily activities such as going out to eat at an ethnic restaurant or running into tourists are examples of global exposure at the local level, as is the natural exposure to other cultures which occurs on a daily basis through media (Roudometof 121).

Thus, glocalization refers to the ways that local factors change form (within their unique sets of political, economic, and cultural forces) when brought under the influence of both global and other local forces. This change could entail assimilation to global culture of traditional customs, internal negotiation of culture within a local setting, or

outward expansion of local practices and beliefs to other local settings. For example, potatoes appear in so many cuisines that they are practically a universal ingredient, yet they have become distinct dishes in different cultures. Potatoes originated in southern Peru and northwestern Bolivia, where Peruvians and Bolivians domesticated the plant approximately 7,000-10,000 years ago (Spooner et al. 14694; Francis 876). Potatoes since then have slowly become an ingredient of everyday food in many cultures beyond their original historical and spatial arenas. The menu items in which these universally popular potatoes appear and the process by which they got there, however, are different according to national, regional, ethnic, and religious cultures. While mashed potatoes mixed with cream, butter, or milk is a classic dinner side dish in the US, julienne potatoes and onions lightly fried in the pan are a side dish to a bowl of cooked rice in Korea. Glocalization is driven by specific physical, national, and cultural localities of the US or Korea, and as an analytic tool focuses on the detailed processes of history and cultural interactions.

Roudometof argues that glocalization and internal globalization are synonymous terms, noting the focus of internal globalization on globalization of regional cultures (118). Beck explains it as “globalization *within* the national societies” (12). Internal globalization acknowledges a plurality of cultures existing in a society and emphasizes the importance of everyday life influenced by globalization (see Helvacioğlu; Knorr Cetina and Bruegger; Khondker; E.-s. Bae). These interactions of cultures include local / global in a specific regional setting. Helvacioğlu, for instance, takes the case of Turkey to examine the national, local, and the micro-local level of neighborhood (326). He analyzes the reaction of townspeople in a small neighborhood on the opening of a new mega

shopping center, which is not of the national culture, and argues that the shopping center as a locality created a unique understanding of service, shopping habits, and even business languages (Helvacioğlu 337-8). Helvacioğlu's analysis shows the ways in which the concept of internal globalization articulates specific processes of local / global.

Placing focus on a distinct spatial locality lets us articulate specific boundaries of physical space and time in calibrating local and global (Robertson "Glocalization" 25, 40). In spatial terms, a village is local relative to a region of a society; in temporal terms, what was cosmopolitan in the 1950s could have become a form of localism now. For instance, the aforementioned example of changing foodways of Korea with European influences of pastry and cake items shows how foodways of a nation-state expanded temporally (from its past) and how pastry items expanded spatially (from Europe). Through their use of space and time as points of reference, glocalization and internal globalization become tools to examine specificities of interactions among local and global in a local setting.

I am borrowing ideas from the frameworks of both internal globalization and glocalization to articulate a specific moment of glocalization in the Korean context. First, my understanding of the term globalization draws from the broad definition of Robertson. Thus, it is a concept favorable to the idea of glocalization without relying on a binary of local and global or assuming a global standard. Instead, Robertson's definition assumes the constant creation of multiple cultures and identities that interact with each other rather than the static existence of one hegemonic ideal. In this framework, the idea of neoliberalism, which supports an expansive private sector of the economy, is no longer equated with American dominance but is just one of the aspects of globalization. The

point is to move from thinking about globalization from one-way export or domination to a more transactional, negotiated process.

Secondly, although internal globalization primarily focuses on processes of globalization, this dissertation conceptualizes both the global and local actors of glocalization. As I focus on exchanges, interactions, and effects of multiple food cultures within Korea, local / global or local / local interactions articulate the interactions between traditional, modern, national, global and foreign cultures within everyday foodways. In doing so, I acknowledge that some foreign influences can have more macro characteristics of global culture, without the implication of universalization, compared to local Korean foodways. I frame such foreign influences, such as American culture, as an element of global and conventional foodways as local forces. There may be temporal and spatial relationships present, but no hierarchies. Western influence and Westernization are two different terms. Westernization presumes certain hegemonic ideals at play, while this dissertation addresses the idea of Western influence as a macro shaper of Korean society. It is a term that refers to the Western influence in regional/local spaces opening up at a certain juncture.

How Food Media Shape Women's Lives and How Women Shape Food Media

Amid the dearth of media-centered research into the process of glocalization within the context of Korean foodways, Bae is one of the very few who has examined Korean food culture in the light of glocalization. In his research, Bae briefly mentions the neglect of popular media, pointing out that the economic focus on governmental

strategies for Korean food globalization has limited our understanding of cultural effects (E.-s. Bae 344). The government uses cultural media content only to disseminate information, for example, through databases of stories and movies, rather than to aid the meaningful process of glocalization (E.-s. Bae 344). Bae focuses in particular on the potential for food media texts to serve as specific stories of culture and its changes (348).

Assuming that food media texts are also local actors of glocalization, different approaches in Media Studies can explain the role of these media in cultural exchanges, changes of foodways and values of Korean women. Pertinent to the role of food media, a thread of argument in Media Studies might argue that the reality portrayed in media texts resemble the lives of the Korean women who use them and are featured in them. Scholars regard television as a rich intersection where gender, class, and regional culture meet (Smith and Wilson; Ray; Swenson). *Dallas*, a popular soap opera in the U.S. during the 1980s, is one example of a cultural mirror, argued by some scholars (Smith and Wilson; Ray; Swenson). They present the case that *Dallas* represents the masculine Southern male stereotype and reinforces domesticity of women (Smith and Wilson 192; Ray; Swenson), an argument which other scholars contest, as explained below. Kim also argues that women audiences of the U.S. described *Dallas* as “real,” and “taken from life” (9). These audiences perceived the show as portraying experiences similar to their own.

Some researchers might similarly argue that Korean food television represents contemporary culture and the lives of women. Among many examples of food television in Korea focusing on home-cooked meals, programs such as *Big Mama's Open Kitchen* (O'live, 2004-2007) introduce various menus of both Korean and non-Korean dishes that are simplified and fine-tuned for the Korean palate. The hostess Hyejung Kang, who has

become more famous as a TV chef after the show, gives tips and tricks as a housewife and a home cook. The ways in which Kang positions herself as a housewife and mother—talking about difficulties of preparing meals for her family and using gadgets in different ways in home kitchen—was fundamental to the popularity of the show (H. Chang). The show was very attentive to what Korean housewives wanted, including “everyday” menus for home, and techniques for cooking a variety of Korean and non-Korean foods with ease. The hostess exemplified the Korean housewife and even became a role model, and the target audience of Korean women loved the show, which led to six seasons of the show in four years.

The aforementioned television programs can be argued to reflect women’s lives, assuming that domestic responsibilities belong exclusively to women. In addition, Korean television dramas show how gender ideologies in society have remained static over time, reinforced by their television representations (Y. Kim 21). However, since mass media such as television and radio operate according to certain market rules which often favor liberal politics, the content they deliver can be biased towards those values. Scholars such as Ang argue that audiences acknowledge this bias. Women do not always associate television dramas with real-life situations and this suggests that they understand their own lives’ degree of difference from the media text (Ang 96-102). For example, Elihu Katz and Tamar Liebes, in their studies of *Dallas* and its overseas audience, argue that audiences are capable of presenting compelling and critical opinions in their translations of the narrative and characters of the soap opera, in contrast to the aforementioned studies of *Dallas*. Katz and Liebes focus more on the reflexivity of audiences and their critical readings of the text (60). After analyzing audiences’ feedback after watching television,

they argue that audiences engage more critically with the text and do not equate their lives with the narrative (Katz and Liebes 53-4).

Fiske theorizes this interpretation of the receiver and the production of intended meanings of texts. The idea of polysemy offers a tool to consider both the production and the reception of messages. Polysemy means that the text bears multiple meanings depending on the interpretations of the reader (Fiske). Hall offers a more detailed approach to polysemy, proposing that the audience can generate dominant, negotiated, or oppositional readings. In Hall's scheme, "dominant" readings are interpretations of media texts according to common-sense constructs of social belief system, "negotiated" readings accept parts of the dominant ideology while rejecting other parts, and "oppositional" readings reject all parts of the message ("Encoding/Decoding" 169-73). Hall's scheme applies best to a model of mass media such as television where there is a concrete distinction between the producer and the receiver of a message.

Acknowledging the multiple readings of media texts by the audience and especially the ways in which mass media can distort or lean heavily on certain images of culture, I do not rely on the idea that popular media texts are direct mirrors or reflections of broader cultural tensions. Instead, I recognize the elements of fantasy, desire, will, and idealization which media texts project on the lives of women. In order to address these elements, I introduce the term "reflection" to describe these themes of fantasy, desire, will, and idealization that media texts project onto the identities and cultural values of Korean women. These reflections might include ideological constructions of identities; associated collective sentiments in acknowledging these constructions; and desired lifestyles.

Having established the broad definition of the term, I use the idea of “reflection” accordingly in my case studies, as the nature of each medium of analysis is distinct. In other words, I complicate the meaning to describe each medium’s role of “reflection” in terms of the relationship between producer and audience, or lack thereof—and the creation and reception of the text. The meaning of reflection in each case study thus ranges from the collective cultural sentiment of a certain group of women in a cookbook to the glamorization of cultural ideals in a television drama, as endorsed by a specific generation of women. For a television program, especially, I take into account the fact that television producers design the text to appeal to a certain group. As mentioned above, the images portrayed in mass media texts are often marked as much by industrial production processes as they are by fidelity to social structures. Thus, I complicate the term “reflection” to address the glamorization and the exaggeration of cultural ideals that mass media texts project onto the audience.

In my explaining the ways in which media portray the lives of women, the term “concretization” supplements the meaning of reflection. To concretize means to untangle and articulate the complex relationships of media text within its political, economic, and cultural context. In other words, the term refers to the revelation of unspoken but shared cultural judgments, assumptions, practices, and values, and collective sentiments with a concrete narrative or object. Concretization complements the idea of reflection, as both terms address cultural sentiment and shared feelings of the local actors, who are Korean women. I use both terms throughout my analyses in order to articulate the ways in which media illustrate both the changes of foodways and the cultural values and ideals of Korean women.

Another lens through which we can read and analyze media is the way women use the texts and space of media, especially online media, to negotiate and redefine the meanings of their lives. The aforementioned scheme of polysemy assumes an interactive process of communication, one in which the interpretation can produce its own set of meanings that can ultimately influence the framework of knowledge in which the intended meaning was grounded (Hall "Encoding/Decoding" 165). In the case of online media, both production and reception open the text to various possible meanings. Jin's research on Korean music argues that social media websites such as YouTube are prominent forums for disseminating and discussing hybrid musical texts. Social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter allow for even faster and more organic dissemination of Korean music texts, and critique and analysis take place in the comment section, which naturally address origins and explanations of different music styles and culture as users come from various nations and cultures (D. Y. Jin). The discussion of music even leads to users questioning the system of music distribution and Korea's cultural power in Southeast Asian countries (D. Y. Jin). In addition, the online formats allow users a freer space of recreation. Fans mix music and add subtitles to the original content that encourage further dissemination. Participatory media, as online media that offer users networking opportunities and platforms of expression are often called, give more power to the audience (Howard 493).

The idea that online media can be an open space for discussion has not been without its critics. Scholars such as Andrejevic and Terranova examine different types of interactions between online media users and producers of online media, especially when the groups are distinct. Andrejevic is critical of an uncritically celebratory understanding

of the audience. In his work on online viewers of television programs, Andrejevic argues that viewers actively provide direct feedback—which had previously come from market research—and advertise the program (Andrejevic). Terranova argues that this phenomenon of “free labor,” unrecognized and exploited, happens in the making of the web spaces such as websites and software (Terranova 37). This type of work also can undermine the culture, since anonymity allows biased work and the confusion generated by amateurism hurts the existing experts in cultural industries (Keen 70-71). These scholars are more critical of audience reception because they focus on contexts with clear power dynamics between online audiences and media producers. Although these texts seem interactive, producers hold the power to create and edit the message while the audience receives and reacts to it.

Blogs, which are more pertinent to the scope of this dissertation, are also subject to these critiques regarding power dynamics between producers and the audience. For instance, discussions on journalistic blogs often consist of a small group of producers and a large audience (Morrison 45). This assumes a certain hierarchy within the producer-audience relationship, similar to that of the traditional broadcast model (Morrison 45).

However, it is true that blogs have been lauded by some scholars for their participatory and democratic potential, without the power differentials that exist between the producer and the audience, as is similarly true for social media websites. Blogs are often regarded as public spaces in which people can express opinions that may counter the existing viewpoints, and in which they can produce their own original content for use as a political or economic tool as well as for entertainment, the distribution of information, and communication with their friends and family (Allan; Kahn and Kellner;

Deuze; Tremayne). In discussing online journalism, Deuze argues that discussion sites are open forums for cultural debate—not only for commenting on the news, but also about the ways in which news is produced and written by journalists. Tremayne further expands the idea of the open forum; a blog provides a collective space for public journalism, one where interested citizens can quickly bring resources to problematize an issue (269).

In a similar light, I also consider the ways in which blogs combine personal and collective discussions. Coleman analyzes this space as a bridge between what is private and what is public—because an individual can express personal opinions and any group of people can form and act as a collective (Coleman 277). The case of Korean blogs is a good example. In Korea, 33 percent (2 million) of bloggers are women, many of whom are also mothers (B. Kim). The popularity of the blog medium has much to do with the way that blogs allow housewives to describe their everyday lives, in the form of recipes and family stories. Food blogs allow the sharing of personal stories, which in time forms a collective culture. This intimate sharing of texts builds supportive friendships (Gurak and Antonijevic 64). The interconnected spaces offer a tight-knit community for mothers (Morrison 42). A feeling of connection can manifest through participation (Morrison 45).

These collective discussions on blogs, of course, can generate opinions that resist or redefine the existing meanings of readers' lives. In journalistic blogs, for instance, blogs offer different views on political, economic, and cultural issues; everybody becomes a newsmaker, promoting their own agendas (Kahn and Kellner 94). Thus, the "audience" might oppose the mainstream news, or even actively fight to defy the source.

These smaller discussions can even become main sources of news for the public (Allan 127-29).

Similar to journalistic blogs, which redefine issues or problems in public, women's blogs actively negotiate and redefine older and newer cultures as bloggers bring up everyday lives of women in collective discussions. Mommy bloggers as a community actively organized an annual conference in 2005 called BlogHer in response to the "male-centered, male-authored blogosphere" as an attempt to discuss and redefine the image of the good mother that dominates American media (Lopez 736). In a similar fashion, young women negotiate cultural values and norms of femininity (such as body image and standards of beauty) in conversations that happen around blogs through comments (Lövheim 350). Blogs thus provide spaces in which women negotiate and redefine reflections of dominant gender deals. These spaces are often grassroots, as blogs allow women to gather according to their interests, in a rather organic way.

The social and collective production of media can have educational value, which is a third function of media, along with concretizing and reflecting cultural values and idealizations and providing a space for discussion and cultural negotiation and redefinition. "Education" in this context includes both the idea of hegemonic leading in the Gramscian sense and, in some contexts, more straightforward pedagogy. At the institutional level, especially within political or economic institutions, media can enforce certain meanings of collective values. This function is especially apparent in traditional mass media such as books and television. Among other examples, scholars have read cookbooks as instructional texts that teach the reader to abide by cultural customs, socially-accepted gender roles, and national traditions (Theophano; Eidinger; Drews;

Inness *Kitchen Culture*). For instance, many cookbooks after World War II taught American women the importance of home and their domestic duties (Neuhaus "The Joy"; Inness *Kitchen Culture*). Gendered domestic values in post-WWII cookbooks were an extension of what cookbooks had instructed during World War II; cooking was conceptualized as a tool to strengthen women's emotional ties to the nation (Bentley).

In the case of television, Hartley argues that, in a general sense, television teaches the audience; television transfers culture, knowledge, social structure, and beliefs (Hartley 45). An analysis of how audiences read television texts yields important insights about how knowledge and values are communicated through social systems (Hartley 45). As with cookbooks, specific examples often take the form of emotional life lessons. Gripsrud argues that melodrama teaches women moral values or consequences of good and bad deeds through sentimental education (Gripsrud 87). Other scholars turn to instructional television as a more overtly political or economic tool of power. Networks or channels bear much power in shaping the lives of the audience. For example, De Solier argues that the Food Network—a cable TV food channel in the US—teaches the audience not only how to cook but also how to fashion an ideal upper-class lifestyle, worthy of emulation (De Solier "TV Dinners" 472). In a similar fashion, television reality may allow audiences engage in self-help by teaching them to keep a rational and responsible lifestyle (see Ouellette and Hay). This is how media as institutions exercise their influence. Television trains individuals to self-manage their conduct in everyday life.

In addition, media can be part of explicit learning practices. The idea of media as a discursive site where personal lives are shared expands to the idea of learning space; not only are instructive texts transmitted through media, but the discussion that follows

becomes a text which provides an educational experience. Zaslow finds online forums to be such places of learning, especially for women (Zaslow 1367). This means that women actively exchange information and learn from each other in the process.

The aforementioned literature establishes my foundational framework for three important functions of food media. In the following case studies, I examine specific ways in which each food medium serves these functions: reflecting and concretizing audiences' unspoken values and ideals; negotiating and redefining cultural values and practices; and educating the audience about various foodways as well as gender, class, national, and generational identities in the context of globalization. I also examine how women use food media to negotiate, redefine, and educate each other and learn about foodways and their identities.

Analytical Approaches

For my case studies, I chose texts from three different food media—*A Korean Mother's Cooking Notes* (1993) cookbook, 32 baking blogs collected from the popular website portal Naver.com, and the entire 20 episodes of the television drama *Pasta* (2010). These specific cases best capture and illustrate specific ways in which food media influence and are influenced by foodways and the lives of women in different periods of internal globalization. A television drama, especially, is culturally and socially sensitive to the lived fantasy, desire, will, and ideal of its viewers, since its popularity depends on the views, values, and tastes of contemporary viewers. *Pasta* is one of the few programs to position Western food, specifically Italian cuisine, as a central plot element.

Cookbooks and baking blogs both reveal the everyday lives of women as both producers and consumers of food media. The interactive aspects of blogs offer women the opportunity to have detailed communicative interactions amongst themselves, while a bestselling cookbook concretizes changing discourses of popular foodways.

My overall approach is rooted in a phenomenological perspective. The thread of hermeneutic phenomenology that I follow focuses on interpretation of the text (Manen 26). Compared to descriptive phenomenology, which aims to elucidate people's sense of lived experience, hermeneutic phenomenology focuses more on interpretations. In other words, while descriptive phenomenology might argue that descriptions should be "a direct grasping (intuiting) of the essential structure of phenomena as they appear in consciousness," hermeneutic phenomenology seeks and articulates "the meaning of something" (Manen 26). Media texts especially are good fit for hermeneutic phenomenology because they are often already mediated and bear interpretations of original meanings. Phenomenological interpretation in this sense not only means explaining "interpreted meanings and the thing toward which the interpretations point" but also the relationships among them (Manen 26).

This approach is useful in thinking about potential analytic categories of local and global forces as well as the lives of women in relation to the texts they encounter (Bernard 492). Although traditionally a phenomenological analysis remains interpretive and neutral, my analyses do not always remain interpretive and can also be critical. All three of the food media that I will analyze inevitably involve the workings of cultural politics at some level. For instance, neoliberalism, which is responsible in Korea for

cultural and identity changes, especially after the late 1990s, is a major influence in Western political and economic strategy that has been adopted in non-Western countries.

Grounded in phenomenology, my case studies are broadly construed as critical textual analyses. This approach allows me to interpret publicly-available data in various ways. Because my goal is to uncover the role of food media—what food media do for or to women and how women use the media space and texts to influence Korean culture—a close analysis of specific texts allows for understanding of a narrower topic under a broad subject of food media, culture, and women.

My emphasis on media texts in and as interactive spaces addresses the concern that my approach fails to consider audience reaction and producer intention (Fürsich 244). The texts themselves incorporate the direct interactions of producers and the audience. Even in conventional texts of mass media, “the narrative character of media content, its potential as a site of ideological negotiation and its impact as mediated ‘reality’ necessitates interpretation in its own right” (Fürsich 2). Independent textual analysis by itself can explain symbolic meanings and ideological arrangements, such that cultural values can be decoded in media texts (Fürsich 2). Media texts are more than the intentions of producers and the reactions of audience—with ambiguity, contradictions, and negotiation of broader cultural contexts, they evolve into something more (Fürsich 244). In other words, texts can effectively reflect bigger cultural trends and relations that the producers and users of media might not be able to articulate. In addition, anyone can produce online media such as blogs, and they are popularized by the response created by both producer and audience of the medium.

In addition to its textual analyses of media texts, this dissertation begins with an exploration of the cultural historical context that undergirds three case studies, in order to better analyze the bigger cultural trends at play and to situate specific media texts within a broader time frame. Using a cultural historiographic approach, I emphasize interpretations of “mentalities, representations, and discourses rather than contexts, living conditions or movements” (Arcangeli 6). Rather than providing a broad and generalized narrative, I focus on cultural sentiments, popular discussions, and social atmospheres during the particular eras in which my case studies are located. In the case of television drama *Pasta*, however, I focus more on the textual evidence, the possible ways in which the text can be distorted, and multiple readings of the text—rather than addressing representational culture. Because this project examines the identities of Korean women, the background provides a coherent story of the materials and motivations through which various groups of women perceive and understand the changing cultural context. I start by describing important economic, political, and cultural events that impacted the lives of Korean women from the 1950s to the 2000s. Linking these events with popular practice and beliefs, collective forms of behavior such as traditions, cultural movements, and customs reflect a thought system that is related to national, gender, generational, and class identities (Arcangeli 11).

To be more specific about the case studies, I have developed particular methods of analysis that will be explained in detail in each chapter. Each medium—book, blog, and television program—is different in its dissemination and circulation. In each case study, the media texts are first broken down into various textual elements, which are described. Then, as I find coherent themes, I organize and define the texts according to

these themes. For the cookbook, I examine the tone, style, and the audience of the book—keeping glocalization in mind. In the case of *Pasta*, the script is the basis of the analysis. Other production elements, like lighting and music, and performative aspects such as gestures and facial expressions are also identified and analyzed as texts. Another theme is the target audience of each text. While food media such as cookbooks and blogs are most relevant to the population of married women, a gourmet drama might target young, single women. The last theme is the specific important historical events which have influenced foodways, drawn from the aforementioned historiography. Since identifying specific Korean traditions, national cultures, modern influences, and foreign cultures is key to my analysis, the texts themselves are used as exemplars of each period, and quotes from each text are used to support the theoretical explanation that I build for each case.

The textual elements are then grouped into the following analytic categories: interactions of foreign, global, modern, national and traditional Korean foodways, specific meanings of these interactions, and their relation to the role of food media and how women use it. As these elements are identified, grouped, and analyzed, we shall see the ways that food media reflect and concretize cultural judgment, collective sentiment, cultural desire, and idealization, offer a space for negotiation and redefinition of cultural values, and educate audiences about foodways and gender roles. Reflection and concretization explain the ways in which media texts reveal and illustrate cultural values, ideals, and sentiment, especially when traditional ways face foreign, global, and modern influences. Negotiation and redefinition address the ways in which Korean women balance older and newer foodways and each period's associated values of identity and

culture. Media's function of education focuses on what women learn and/or teach each other to fit into those ideal lifestyles.

Outline of Chapters

The second chapter provides an overview of the major markers in globalization in Korea. Starting with a quick overview of the 1950s, I consider Korean history in periods defined by the Seoul Olympics in 1988 and the IMF crisis in 1997. Each period provides the cultural background for changing perceptions of Korean women's lives and their cultural values as represented by three case studies using texts from the 1990s, after the 2000s, and in the 2010s. The chapter emphasizes social and cultural changes, as well as grassroots movements relating to foodways and lives of women.

Chapter three is a textual analysis of a best-selling cookbook from the 1990s. *A Korean Mother's Cooking Notes* (1993) showcases the formerly under-articulated connection between Korean home cooking and housewives. Replacing the face-to-face, intergenerational, oral cooking instruction with mediated pedagogy, the cookbook reflects the anxiety and desire of housewives in keeping Korean cooking and cultural values intact while rapid global changes were occurring in the 1990s. The cookbook reveals the process by which housewives negotiated which cultural values to adopt or prioritize, influenced by both Korean traditions, national cultures, foreign, global, and modern forces. The chapter shows how traditional Confucian values shaping the role of housewives started to shift from the 1990s onward as food practices changed with the introduction of alternatives to home-cooked meals and a move to standardize home

cooking. I argue that the cookbook negotiates these competing cultural standards and teaches housewives to maintain traditional home cooking by redefining the practices and meanings of home cooking and modernized foreign foodways.

Extending the analysis of the third chapter, the fourth chapter examines how the cultural role of “mother” changes after the IMF crisis. Using online baking blogs posted by young mothers as media texts, I analyze how an interactive online community draws together young mothers to discuss foodways and teach each other food practices, and how their online interactions reveal the ideal role they believe mothers should have in the family. This chapter considers neoliberalism as a critical force of modern, foreign, and global influence in Korea—part of the social and cultural influence of glocalization. Drawing from Foucault’s discussion of political rationality and the traditional Confucian model of motherhood, this chapter examines how an ideal motherhood is constructed and negotiated through discourses of the sacrificial mother—one who provides for her children and fulfills her neoliberal self at the same time. The role of blogs as a learning community is articulated through the ways in which mothers interact with and teach each other.

The last case study engages with the Bourdieusian idea of class-based food culture that a television drama portrays as the ideal of young Korean women. By explaining the idea of distinction using theories of authenticity, I argue that the television drama *Pasta* (2010) concretizes the stratification of Italian food as elite and glamorizes the fantasy of and the desire for the upper class through Italian food, and teaches young Korean women idealized lifestyles of the upper class. This chapter links the phenomenon of “study abroad” education as the basis for obtaining necessary cultural knowledge and

for imagining the ideal lifestyle. For example, the drama portrays the prestige of foreign language through the heightened status of European cultures. The narrative, however, keeps national and traditional boundaries of Korean culture within the taste of the upper class.

The concluding chapter summarizes the relations between the glocalization of foodways, the role of food media, and the ways women use food media in their everyday lives. It revisits the research questions posed here and offers answers about what food media do, and what women do with food media, as well as with the changes in foodways that occur in relation to the generational and class identities of Korean women. This chapter also lays out some specific ways that three case studies inform the broader meanings of modernity articulated through the axes of traditional / modern and national / foreign and global. In terms of the implications of food media texts for women users, I articulate multiple meanings of media texts for both producer and receiver.

CHAPTER TWO

WHEN KOREA MET FOREIGN: CRUCIAL MARKERS IN KOREAN GLOCALIZATION AND THE LIVES OF WOMEN

This chapter highlights and weaves together important elements of social and cultural glocalization of Korea. This historical overview will look at Korea since the 1950s, when society and culture started to undergo rapid political and economic change. Specific actors of glocalization include foreign cultures, modern influences, traditional values, and national concerns as expressed by food media and Korean women. I am not interested in comparing elements of foreign cultures to their traditional Korean counterparts. Instead, the goal of this chapter is to elucidate influential political, economic, social, and cultural phenomena in relation to the values that undergird how women interact with and give life to foodways in glocalization. I focus specifically on the interaction between foreign and Korean cultures in terms of both local and local or local and global cultural relations—including their respective foodways—and the corresponding changes in women's lives.

Foreign cultures have long been influential on Korean culture, and their influence was a leading cause of the emergence of new cultural trends of Korea within the presence of older traditions. Although many foreign cultural influences arrived second-hand from Japan after colonization (1910-1945), Korea broke free from both ancient traditions and Japanese influences and directly acculturated to other cultures upon rebuilding itself after the Korean War (1950-1953) (Park, Warner and Fitzgerald 39). The US especially provided a constant flow of cultural influence compared with other countries, including Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, and Holland (S.-y. Yoo 231). The saturation of

US media and the dissemination of US popular culture in particular has remained one of the most important influences in changing Korean culture and ideas about gender. This chapter treats the interaction between American and Korean culture as a major component of internal globalization, one which influenced relevant political, economic, social, and cultural changes in the ways that foodways interacted with gender, national, and generational dynamics.

In explaining these interactions, I have divided cultural changes into periods bounded by significant events in Korean history, including the Seoul Olympics (1988) and the IMF crisis (1997). Each of these events marks a turn in glocalization and changes in gender identities. These two temporal markers illustrate three facets of glocal interactions and dynamics of women's lives: 1) the impact of global tides of change on Confucian ideas of gender; 2) the popularization of foreign culture and the desire to take up modern identities; and 3) the response to neoliberal influence and cultural gaps that appeared between differences in socioeconomic class. Both these events—the Seoul Olympics and the IMF crisis—reflect how Korean women have redefined the traditional and sometimes nationalistic Korean culture while experiencing the foreign and modern influence through the development and popularization of food media.

Confucian Gender Values and Western Culture in Postwar Korea

Before examining the importance of the Seoul Olympics, it is important to be familiar with the period after the Korean War (1950-1953). Korea went through rapid economic, cultural, and social changes that paved the way for the modification of

individual and collective values. The famous economic success story of Korea is best captured in the expression “the miracle on the Han River,” which refers to “Korea’s astonishing rise from developing backwater of Asia to one of the world’s major economies. From 1970 to 1990 the city [Seoul]’s population more than doubled to a panic-inducing 10 million” (Kane). The Korean economy grew through increasing import/export industries, managing economic liberalization, and competing in the international market (Cha, Kim and Perkins 76). With the focus on economic development, Korea’s GNP grew rapidly, at an average of 7.6 percent annually from 1953 to 1994 (Kim and Kim 3).

The US aid after the Korean War especially helped reconstruct the economy (Kim and Kim 3).² Even before the Korean War, many Koreans had viewed America as the world’s richest nation and a powerful protector who intended not to colonize other countries but rather to help weak ones achieve independence (S.-y. Yoo 230). After the Korean War, the American lifestyle and culture was introduced directly to Korea by American GIs while they rebuilt and aided the country (Yu). This, of course, is a phenomenon experienced by other countries in the post-World War II period. In Korea, American culture naturally filled the gap left by the Japanese cultural invasion and the frequent person-to-person contacts between US and Koreans cemented the popularity of products such as chewing gum, Coca Cola, and Hollywood (Yu).

² The reconstruction of industrial plants and infrastructure was of the utmost concern, and the food business played an important part. For example, the Korean conglomerate Samsung started as a noodle company using US-provided flour and sugar. During the 1960s, the military government was fully involved in all aspects of the expansion and development of the Korean economy (Yang, Kim and Han 602-03).

Exposure to American culture, which became an important actor of glocalization of Korean culture, paved the way for the initial mass media dissemination of culture in the later years. For instance, the American military radio station AFKN (American Forces Network Korea) became popular for airing American pop music all day during the 1970s (Moon). Continuing this trend, about 20 percent of Korean television programming during the 1980s came from the US (H. Lim). With 50 percent of children's television programming produced in the US, younger generations especially were soaked in American culture through media exposure (H. Lim). The popularity of Hollywood movies and jazz music only fueled the fantasies of young Koreans, who imagined America as a model of modernity—one that later offered more visible lifestyle trends and aspirations for wealth (S.-y. Yoo 225).

In terms of foodways, the American influence slowly changed modes of accessing Korean food. The home cooked meal, traditionally the domain of housewives, was synonymous with Korean food before the 1980s. American food culture led to the popularization of Western-style dining and food, which created and dominated new restaurant culture. The propagation of Western food had taken place through frequent contacts with Japan and the US, contacts that continued into the 1980s. A popular newspaper commented that “Even domestic companies are following Western styles in terms of their products, store interior design, and business management. It's because we are living in the age of internationalization, and our foodways have westernized” (D.-s. Nam). *Kyŏng yang sik* restaurants, which came into existence in the mid-1980s, exemplify this popularization of Western food. *Kyŏng* means light, and *yang sik* means

Western food in Korean.³ All their menus followed the form of Western dining; for example, the meal began with a soup and a salad followed by the main course of meat or fish and ended with dessert.⁴ Such popularization of Western-style restaurants represented the continuing exposure to Western foodways as well as drastic changes of traditional foodways.

Another Western menu item that became popular was fried chicken.

Establishments featuring fried chicken first became popular among American GIs after the Korean War (Joo *Sikt'akwiüi* 503). The Korean workers at the military base brought US Southern-style fried chicken to the civilian world through franchised restaurants. They started calling it “ch’ik’in” and opened up restaurants called “Ch’ik’in Center” (Joo *Sikt'akwiüi* 503). These locally-owned fried chicken restaurants were smaller in size than fast food franchises from the US.

Fast food “joints” also expanded business to Korea following their popularization in Japan in the mid-1970s. The first franchise to prosper in 1983 was Dunkin Donuts (Joo *Sikt'akwiüi* 505). After Korea had successfully hosted the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Olympics, other chains such as Pizza Hut and KFC launched there without hesitation (Joo *Sikt'akwiüi* 505).

³ *Kyōng yang sik* restaurants were brought to Korea through Japanese colonization. Western food was offered in the Japanese style—focusing on lightly fried meat or fish rather than a chunk of meat, and served as menu courses. The method of food preparation suggests a Japanese-Western fusion in these restaurants. But Koreans considered these restaurants mostly Western.

⁴ The fusion menus, including items such as *ton-ka-sū*, the breaded and fried pork cutlet, later morphed into Korean menus with different variations of items. The menu became nostalgic for the generation that had been of school age in the 1980s through the 1990s.

In addition to getting involved in the restaurant business and culture, Koreans became immersed in various elements of American culture through the postwar decades. The anxiety around preserving the traditional culture was visible throughout mass media and the culture more generally. Especially in the 1980s, Korean people expressed concerns about incessant imports of food and other products, such as cigarettes and animal products from the US (H. H. Bae; W. J. Lee). Many Korean intellectuals worried that American culture had been incorporated haphazardly into Korean culture and that because it was seen as superior, Koreans imitated it too easily ("Migukmunhwa"). These same critics argued that, in addition to the absorption of Western culture happening too rapidly, Koreans were too indifferent to and ignorant of traditional culture as a whole ("Migukmunhwa"). Many critics saw traditional Korean culture as a barrier to modernization, as "irrational, unscientific, and superstitious," while Western culture was treated as a gateway to modernization from the 1960s to the 1980s ("Chönt'ong").

In the midst of these intellectual arguments, the clash between traditional Korean values, derived from Confucianism, and American "modern" values was very visible. These local / global elements were central to glocalization in postwar Korean culture. In Korea, Confucianism has been the basis of cultural norms, education and politics, the prevailing ideology, and a national philosophy since the fourteenth century (Mimiko 63). Confucianist ideology relating to the domestic realm was one of its especially contested aspects because it emphasized specific and limited gender roles. The Confucianist family is patriarchal, and the family takes precedence over all individuals (Park and Cho 124). From the fourteenth- to the early-twentieth-century Korea, the hierarchical relationship between husband and wife was supported by law, requiring women to be both submissive

and obedient to men (Yoon 3). This idea of women's submission is a key element of Confucian gender roles. As a domestic and nonpublic figure, a woman's lifetime dependence on a father, husband, and son was absolute. Submission also refers to male centrism and preference (E. Kim 27). Within the family group, a man led the family as the head of the household. A woman's realm was domestic, whereas a man's was public, limiting social roles for women and delegating all public tasks to men (Y. Kim 28).

The idea of *hyŏn mo yang ch'ŏ*, a Confucian doctrine stemming from male centrism, also explains this view of gender ideals in terms of sacrifice. Sacrifice as the will of wife and mother is another key aspect of Confucian gender ideals. Literally translated as a virtuous wife and mother, the doctrine of *hyŏn mo yang ch'ŏ* values the characteristics of wisdom, generosity, moral righteousness, and nurturing ("Hyŏn Mo Yang Ch'ŏ"). In addition to being a virtuous wife, a Korean woman was expected to dedicate her life to her children as a mother. Mothers were respected and honored for the sacrifice required to raise offspring successfully (Yoon 6).

At the center of this philosophy of gender roles was the family's role in a well-functioning nation. The Confucian teaching of *susinjegach'igukp'yŏngch'ŏnha* illustrates this well. The phrase means that, when a man knows how to train his body and order the family, he can rule all the kingdoms under heaven (Chong 21). This principle of classic Confucianism teaches men to treat their responsibility for the order of the family as the basis of their public roles, which are to guide and help to build a successful nation. Virtuous women are portrayed as defenders of the household order who show filial piety to parents of both parties, produce sons to carry on the family name, and perform household duties (Sun and Cho 6).

Over time, Korean teaching about gender roles changed from valuing submissiveness and obedience to embracing freedom and independence to a certain extent. The constant and powerful influence of American and other foreign cultures, as well as economic growth, societal development, and rising income after the 1950s helped change the status and lifestyle of Korean women. Women began to take the initiative in life decisions such as education, and they began to participate in the workplace, even pursuing independent and individual living as a result of Western exposure (T.-h. Lee). The gender ratio in the education sector changed especially. Populations of young Koreans decreased as the Korean government discouraged childbirth from the 1950s to the 1980s due to the focus on economic development (National Archives). At the same time, the number of women increased because of a campaign that encouraged two-child families and discouraged favoring boys over girls (National Archives). Along with these changes in policy, the rise of the middle class, and changing values of gender also spurred more women to begin schooling. The percentage of females enrolled in high school increased from 20 percent in 1966 to 62 percent in 1980 (Park and Cho 126). By 1980, 14.7 percent of the male population and 7.9 percent of the female population between the ages of 19 and 24 were attending college (Park and Cho 126).

However, the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the 1960s did not fundamentally shift the social status of Korean women, which mostly remained unchanged well into the 1980s. College degrees for women, once they were married, were mostly irrelevant to the kind of the work they did at home. Women became the major source of unpaid family labor, whether on farms or in households. Despite increased levels of women's education and participation in the labor market, men were

still dominant in the family in terms of both social status and breadwinning (Park and Cho 126).

The figure of the ideal woman from the 1960s to 1980s was still closely tied to the idea of sacrifice, although the idea of submission quickly lost its footing with the advent of modernization, industrialization, and more consideration for women's rights. Even so, Korean women still continued to prioritize their identities as sacrificial wives and mothers even in the 21st century. Abelmann and Kang, in their examination of memoirs of Korean mothers, argue that a good sacrificial mother serves her children with delight, for the sake not only of her children but also of humanity in general (10). Yoon illustrates the notion of the sacrificial mother through the story of football player Hines Ward, the MVP of the Super Bowl XL in 2006, whose Korean mother tolerated extreme hardship in her own life to support him (6-7). These narratives of sacrifice consistently feature willing love and care.

Although these social and cultural changes of gender values were evident, Korea, as a country, focused more on economic development and stability during the 1980s before the Seoul Olympics. The postwar period was a tumultuous and confusing time of rebuilding the nation, re-establishing the economy, and absorbing everything that came in. Little time or energy remained for understanding and discussing how the changes of modernization would affect Korean people. In the process in postwar Korea until the late 1980s, the interaction between traditional elements and modern, foreign ideologies was unruly and unsystematic (K.-s. Chang 6).

These characteristics as they relate to the development of the nation and the cultural sentiment of Korean people particular to Korean modernization are what Kyung-

sup Chang develops as the concept of “compressed modernization” (6-7). Chang argues that rapid modernization happened mainly in the urban centers of Korea, entailing “intense competition, collision, disjuncting, articulation, and compounding” among conventional and modern elements (6). He explains that because Korea does not have a concrete governing order that oversees and guides all sectors of the country, what is traditional and modern clashed and resulted in unsystematic developments, policies, and cultures. This view undermines the position of Confucianism as an important cultural order of Korea notwithstanding, the concept adequately addresses the process of globalization between local / global in terms of traditional and modern in postwar Korea.

The interaction between the local and the influences from the West was indeed unsystematic, as Chang argues, and instead unfolded organically in the lived experiences of Korean women. Economic aid from the US brought with it new culture, which many Koreans devoured uncritically, even while others protested American domination. Mass media supported the dissemination of foreign culture and encouraged Korean exposure to and adoption of Western popular culture. The clash between traditional and modern gender values became visible in the lives of women. Social and cultural gender ideals seemed to change but failed to influence the fundamental ideal of women’s sacrifice.

1988 Seoul Olympics: Cultural Turn and Changing Lifestyle

In the period immediately following the Seoul Olympics, more comprehensive and accelerated changes occurred. Historically, hosting the Summer Olympics aided in the overall globalization of any country undergoing cultural, political, economic, and

urban developments and renovations (Short 323). The host cities especially took advantage of the opportunity to promote a particular image of themselves as global cities, bustling with busy airports, inbound investment, cultural industries, and foreign tourists (Short 336). In the case of Korea, the Seoul Olympics provided an opportunity to show the world a Korea that was different from the one it knew—the Korea of the rigid military regime from 1987 and earlier.

The military-based authoritarian regimes had started with President Chung-hee Park (1961-1979) who was a military general. After a long dictatorship, President Park was assassinated and President Chun's military regime (1979-1988) was put in place (Yea 1555). Although President Chun continued to exert strong governmental control in many sectors of the Korean society such as politics, economy, and culture, he allowed a democratic popular election in 1987 under the pressure from the US and an ongoing citizen-led resistance movement. The June Democracy Movement is a representative example. The Chun regime had publicly designated Tae-woo Roh, another military general, as its successor in 1987 (Adesnik and Kim 1), but this incited nationwide protests in June 1987, as Korean people regarded this action of the government as a final affront to the Korean Constitution (Adesnik and Kim 4). Finally, the president accepted that the upcoming Olympics made it economically and politically imperative to accept Western pressure to create a democratic nation (Adesnik and Kim 2).

The slogan of the Seoul Olympics, "The World to Seoul, Seoul to the World," (Bridges 1948) illustrated the democratic image of Korea and its open door to other nations well. After the closing ceremony, the newspapers ran the headline, "We Did It!" sharing the sentiment of pride and relief (Bridges 1948). Media outlets declared the event

a success, and concluded that the world would now think of Korea as a lively, modern, and safe place for travel. The Seoul Olympics provided a positive boost for national self-esteem, both in the resulting national mood and in the economy.

Accelerated development of the market economy began with the Seoul Olympics and the associated opening up of various sectors, which in turn sped up economic liberalization even in the early 1980s by attracting the involvement of major foreign companies and sponsorships (Bridges 1943). After the Olympics, total exports exceeded imports by over \$11 billion and grew 27% between 1988 and 1989 (S.-j. Han 37). Economic internationalization also enabled foreign investors to participate more easily. The outside pressure to open up to market competition and international trade intensified as the country signed the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (J. Shin 52). Korean businesses soon faced direct competition with foreign companies after this settlement in 1993 (J. Shin 52). President Young Sam Kim attempted to liberalize the market to meet the admission requirements of the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), which Korea successfully joined in 1996 (Y. Kwon), and the “Five-Year Plan for the New Economy,” which ran from 1993 to 1997, focused on globalization (Y. Kwon).

Changing Values of Young Koreans in Consuming Foreign Culture

With the open market economy and political deregulations, uninterrupted exposure to foreign cultures transformed the everyday culture of young people. Some of these experiences were direct. International travel, previously forbidden, was a way in

which college students could experience the unknown. When the government lifted the travel ban in 1989, foreign travel and living quickly became a reality for many Koreans. Starting in 1990, 3,000 college students traveled and studied abroad ("Chŏlmünidŭlŭi"). By 1997, international backpacking had become one of the most popular summer break activities for university students. When American tourist visas became easier to obtain, the US became a popular country to visit (B. Choi). Reflecting the trend, books that illustrate the everyday life of Americans were published in Korea with the purpose of helping Koreans to better understand actual American life in the mid-1990s, serving as supplements to travel guides. For instance, Lim Don-hee introduced American culture and everyday life to Korean study abroad students and tourists to help them in their travels (I. W. Lee). Television also picked up the trend. One such television program was the weekly sitcom *LA Arirang* (1995-1996), which portrayed a Korean immigrant family living in Los Angeles. This program introduced US culture to people in Korea through the stories of a fictional multigenerational Korean family. The program showed the difficulties of living in a foreign country as a foreigner through exemplification of the life in the US, and Korea was seeing a change in the overall sentiment of young Koreans, too. The collective emotional taboo on foreign cultures was lifting, and it was apparent in political, cultural, and social relations and values, from governmental policies to media texts.

The governmental policy of *seggyehwa* and its emphasis on culture aided the development of culture as commodity in both the economic market and media industry, which accelerated consumption of cultural goods and media texts for young Koreans during the 1990s. Before the 1990s, cultural policies were not of importance for the

Korean government. During the 1960s, cultural policies were embedded within economic plans (G. Y. Chung 10). The cultural policies of the early 1970s aimed to strengthen and promote traditional Korean culture, but they were so abstract and defined culture so narrowly that they failed to bring strategic specificity into their implementation (Y. S. Kim 3). Plans in the 1980s focused more on globalization, but a lack of expertise and verifiable data involved in the plan's creation resulted in their being too shortsighted to have a lasting impact (Y. S. Kim 4). The 1990s brought more detailed and explicit plans for cultural economy. The Young Sam Kim administration (1993-1998) coined the term *segyehwa* to describe globalization: *segye* means "world" and *hwa* means "becoming." The *segyehwa* policy did more than just spotlight the economic and political benefits brought by the Seoul Olympics. Sukyung Han states that the concept of *segyehwa* in Korea supports the growth of media and entertainment businesses (18). As President Kim outlined in a meeting with members of the Committee for the *segyehwa* policy on January 25, 1995, Korean globalization in the 21st century meant advancing in information and communications technologies ("Korea's Reform" 7). Policies encouraged active production and consumption in the media industry, developing the potential of the cultural economy under the Young Sam Kim regime. The report by the Presidential Advisory Council on Science and Technology to President Young Sam Kim launched a new focus on media industries. One of the reports noted that the profits of a single Hollywood movie, titled *Jurassic Park* (1993) were the same as the export revenue from 1.5 million Hyundai cars, which demonstrated the economic development and the export business (S.-k. Kim 10). At the time, foreign programs dominated the airtime because

Korea did not have the capacity to produce quality content domestically.⁵ The encouragement of domestic production of media content by the government shaped the ways in which the cultural industry was treated in the following years. The representative case is the promotion of the domestic film market as a government initiative, establishing the Basic Motion Picture Promotion Law (*Yöngsang chinhŭng kibon pŏp*) in 1995 (J. Shin 54). After a series of reformations, the government encouraged Korean film globalization by easing the regulations on international co-productions and exports (J. Shin 54).

In addition to film, the popular music industry benefitted from the growth of the media industry and cultural consumption. Popular music reflects the tastes of youth. In the midst of social freedoms and unprecedented affluence, various genres of music such as heavy metal, dance, popular ballad, and teuroteu, became popular in the music scene (B. H. Jin). American music such as jazz, blues, and rock heavily influenced the musical structure of Korean popular music during the 1990s as well (B. H. Jin). In addition, American-style accents in lyrics became popular (B. H. Jin). In 1992, one of the most influential idol bands, Seo Taiji & Boys, debuted (S.-t. Bae). Although some people are still skeptical of the claim that their music was original, this group led the music scene in

⁵ As imported programs became more and more commonplace, they also became more popular. In 1994, the Hollywood movie market share in Korean theaters was 80 percent (Shim "South Korean" 338). The seriousness of the void in the domestic media market hit hard after signing the Uruguay Round. Because it required all 116 member countries of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to open their doors for foreign services, including communications, the market would soon be swamped by imports if Korea did not have competitive media content (Shim "South Korean" 339). Additionally, the US pushed Korea to open up its television programming sector. Other Asian countries, including Japan and Hong Kong, also invaded the electronic media market. The Japan-based NHK Satellite TV and Hong Kong-based STAR-TV broadcast their signals into Korean living rooms.

the 1990s with their unique style and mixing of different genres, such as hip-hop and traditional Korean music, or techno beat music (S.-t. Bae). In the mid-1990s, Koreans actively expressed their opinions about certain social and cultural ideologies through musical styles that barely existed before the late 1980s (Lim 242). Punk rock and heavy metal, both strongly influenced by Britain and the US especially, swept the underground music scene as well as the popular music industry (Lim 242).

The consumption of other foreign-produced goods increased after the Olympics as well. In 1993, the Korea Chamber of Commerce conducted a survey of the consumption and leisure patterns of youth in their 20s and teens. Although Koreans had criticized unpatriotic consumption of foreign goods before the 1980s, the sentiment shifted to rationalize foreign goods consumption after the Olympics ("A Study"). As Koreans became lenient about purchasing imported goods, Korean companies started producing Western-style clothes, coffee, baked goods, confections, books, stationery, computers, software, machinery, and electronics, to name just a few examples ("A Study"). Western-style products replaced traditional Korean goods. These cultural influences of glocalization laid the groundwork for the coming clashes between traditional Korean values and new foreign ways.

Response of the Public to Newer Foodways

These cultural clashes were especially apparent in the area of foodways. Western influence, as a global actor of glocalization in Korea, brought huge changes in Koreans' relationships with food. Jeong Duk Yi argues in his explanations of cultural change in

Korea in the 1990s that “Korean consumption patterns have been almost completely Westernized except for food” (“Globalization and Recent” 18). Yi may be right in the sense that Korean home cooking was still a prevalent and important foodway at the time. But Joo argues that Yi disregards the drastic changes in Korean foodways caused by the development and success of restaurant businesses after the Olympics (*Ŭmsik Inmunhak* 316).

Many ethnic restaurants—including Indian, Japanese, American, Chinese and European—opened in Korea during this period, but the majority had Western-style menus (Yi “Globalization and Recent” 19). In 1988, the Japanese Western-style restaurant Cocos opened (Joo *Sikt'akwiŭi* 506). This was different from the previous *kyŏng yang sik* restaurants, in that it offered menus similar to higher-end hotel restaurants but more cheaply and with the standardized cooking process and homogenized taste of a franchise (Joo *Sikt'akwiŭi* 506). Foreign chain restaurants, especially fast food restaurants, increased by 70-100 percent per year in the mid-1990s (D. H. Nam). Foreign restaurant companies cooperated with *chaebŏls* (Korean conglomerates) in the domestic market, encroaching upon the territory previously held by local, Korean mom-and-pop restaurants (T. Han 242). From an early age, the younger generation was accustomed to changing foodways, since foreign menus were a part of their everyday lives. For instance, primary school students claimed that they disliked *kimch'i*, and preferred hamburgers or pizza in 1996 (Yi “Globalization and Recent” 19). In the 1990s, dining out became a part of Korean foodways equal in validity to Korean home cooking. Housewives, especially younger ones, liked having an alternative to home cooking, and restaurants were able to produce stable taste and offer convenience. Restaurants were the major reason for the

changing Korean palate, which reflected the active exchange of culture and what was considered a modern lifestyle for younger people and families.

However, the reception and the consequent popularization of Western restaurants yielded many concerns within the country. This especially is where the axis of traditional / modern overlaps with national, foreign, and global cultures. Sangmee Bak argues, in her 1994 research of McDonald's in Korea, that the popularization of hamburgers in Korea highlights the dilemma of having to choose between being a global citizen and being Korean (158). While the Western fast food restaurants were never designed to replace the traditional Korean meal system of sharing a rice-based meal with side dishes, McDonald's set menus as meals for individuals fit the values of young Koreans who emphasized individuality as an important characteristic. Bak suggests that eating foreign-based food was "related to a general ambivalence toward achieving a globalized lifestyle and in the process losing one's identity as a Korean" (159). It was a cultural fear that crisis would result from the loss of cultural leadership.

This cultural fear was, in fact, a form of nationalistic response and demonstrated the anxiety about losing constituents of Korean foodways. The reception of foreign culture around the time of the Seoul Olympics informed a national reaction. The contradicting political views toward US influence—both pro- and anti-Americanism was highly visible during the 1980s⁶—carried over to the cultural realm in the form of movements intended to preserve Korean traditions. From the early- to mid-1990s, there was a boom in print media articles analyzing the impact of the US in the global cultural

⁶ With the rise of democratic movements such as the assassination of president Chung-hee Park and the protests in Kwangju, American imperialism was widely rejected. Once an emblem of modernization, America came to represent a barricade to South Korea's independence, unity, and democracy (Yoshimi and Buist 444-45).

market. The American influence was referred to as “bombardment” (O.-m. Kwon), and Korean responses as “idolization” in cultural industries such as music, film, foodways, and clothing (I. W. Lee). A column in 1994 expressed concerns about building cultural independence first through elementary education (“Munhwajök”). The writer argues that the colonial attitudes of Koreans towards American and European cultures stemmed from mass media and textbooks (“Munhwajök”). University students, in addition, started an “everyday culture campaign” to fight American imperialism and consumption-oriented culture by drinking Korean tea, avoiding karaoke and rock cafes, and promoting traditional products (Soobeom Lee).

Some responses to the nascent yet already powerful influence of Western foodways were just as strong. *Sint’oburi*, an effort initiated by the government but later turned into a cultural sentiment of the public to preserve food traditions in the 1990s, is an exemplary and successful case of such a response. *Sint’oburi* first emerged as a nationalistic cultural agenda during the Young Sam Kim regime.⁷ The National Agricultural Cooperative Federation (*Nong Hyup*) used the phrase to encourage the consumption of domestic agricultural products (T. Han 235). The word *sint’oburi* is translated as “the body and the soil are one,” or “body and earth are inseparable.” It was

⁷ *Sint’oburi* especially became popular after the signing of the Uruguay Round, which forced Korea to open its agricultural market, and the rice market in particular. Unlike other industries, Korean agriculture relied heavily on small farmers, which took more time, money, and effort as compared to the American large-scale industrial farming. Due to the difference in production costs, if Korea opened the agricultural market to international competition, Korea could not match the international market rate for rice. President Kim Young Sam apologized to the citizens and especially to farmers after the event; he mentioned that signing the Uruguay Round was inevitable because it was the only way for Korea to move forward and not be isolated as a global orphan (Y. M. Kim). Opening the rice market was crucial for Korea to participate in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a multilateral agreement regulating international trade of more than 120 countries (Y. M. Kim).

the thought that, as Korean bodies consist of food grown in Korean land, thus should Koreans eat Korean food. *Sint'oburi* defined and promoted national food as native ingredients and spices wholly produced and consumed within Korea. It became a rallying cry to protect Korean products from foreign imports, and the phrase became a brand name of products sold in *Nong Hyup* markets.

When *sint'oburi* became a cultural sentiment, however, it became a generational attitude, rather than national cultural value, toward foreign foodways. *Sint'oburi* also clearly illustrates the process of glocalization, as local traditions and foreign foodways clashed within Korean culture. Phrases such as the “crisis of food” or “poverty (of the mind) in (material) abundance,” describe how older Koreans feared such changes in their foodways. The latter phrase especially explains that the variety of foreign foods that became available cannot enrich the minds of Korean people, exhibiting a cultural sentiment which favors traditional foodways and the accompanying cultural values over foreign foods and foreign values. These phrases show the ways in which older generations directly associated food with their cultural values. They worried that popularization of Western food and the consequent changes in Korean foodways would put at risk the country's overarching traditions and values. A columnist lamented in 1993 that although Koreans no longer suffered from starvation, since they were growing up eating Western food such as pizza and hamburgers—though Korean children were perhaps taller and stronger—their souls were ill (As cited in S. Park 113). Sunwoong Park, further translating this comment, stressed, “If one people can't correct their food culture, then would they perish” (113). This anxiety not only reveals the interaction between traditional, national and foreign, global, and modern foodways but also

articulates the otherwise intangible ideas about taste in the older Korean generation. The emphasis was put on preservation of traditional values and food practices, on the basis that these were not only fit but also right for Korean people.

Changing Gender Identities

Among the Korean public, the anxiety between different generations of Korean women was especially apparent in popular culture. Many factors contributed to the ways in which young women actively renegotiated their positions within the family. The new population policy, more widespread economic affluence, increased levels of education, and continuous exposure to Western culture through mass media all changed the contours of everyday life (Y. Kim 205).

In the late 1990s, television food advertisements portrayed young women in their teens and 20s as the generation that actively constructed its lifestyle as free individuals consuming food products, rather than simply fulfilling the traditional image of housewife and mother (D. Yoo 196). The meaning of food was mostly constructed outside the home in these cases, and empowerment was represented through the ideas of entertainment, romance, or sexuality, which signified individual control and management of their bodies (D. Yoo 196). For instance, in advertisements of snack food such as chocolate, female models metaphorically expressed the pleasure of sweetness through sexual connotations, or actively expressed their interest in pursuing romance with the male model (D. Yoo 183).

In addition to idealizing the image of liberal, independent women, media provided platforms on which women expressed their own identities freely as adults, with the focus on modern ideas of individualism and expression of self. Young women in the 1990s voiced their opinions and came forward on topics traditionally frowned upon under the strict and patriarchal Confucian values. There was a visible feminist movement in books, theatre, movies, and music (S. Cho). For example, *I Wish for What is Forbidden To Me* (K.-c. Yang), with its aggressive feminist voice, became a bestseller in the early 1990s. Through a fictional female character, Yang discusses a series of topics such as domestic violence and the patriarchal structure of family and society. In 1999, a celebrity named Kap Sook Seo published a book titled *I Sometimes Wish I were a Pornographic Star*, discussing her sexual experiences, which broke new ground in terms of making publicly visible formerly taboo topics. In addition, Korean women increasingly took socially prominent roles, such as T'aeyŏng Lee, the first female lawyer and founder of the Family Legal Aid Center, which worked to improve the rights of women (Clark 166).

Even though women were progressively taking more supplemental jobs outside the home, the housewife role was still important, and in the 1990s two-thirds of married women were housewives (Choi and Lee 114). The traditional Confucian ideal of the sacrificial housewife clashed with these modern values, but it remained a core value of married women.

Increasing exposure to and an emphasis on foreign experiences, the popularization of Western products and media, and responses to newer foodways all illustrate the visible struggles between the traditional Korean values, national foodways, and the foreign, modern influence. The period between the Olympics in 1988 and the

economic crisis of 1997 was especially emblematic of the US cultural influence, which upset nationalistic sentiment and cultural values. Policies such as *segyehwa*, the *sint'oburi* movement, and changing youth culture all demonstrate the clash between what was deemed national and what was deemed foreign and global. Many young women responded by imagining themselves outside of the traditional Confucian family roles and choosing to embody a “modern” lifestyle. Their new perspectives also illustrate the process of glocalization between what is global and local—the younger generation embraced changing foodways like the increasing popularity of restaurant culture and foreign foods instead of traditional home cooking. Idealized and traditional gender roles were the site of the clash between traditional and modern values. In the 1990s, media visibly illustrated the changes in and negotiations between older values and newer influences, displaying youth cultures that closely followed Western trends and the visibly increasing gaps between generations. For housewives, however, Confucian values remained at their cultural core.

1997 IMF Crisis: Neoliberal Turn, Visible Stratification of Culture, and Cosmopolitan Identities

Although the cultural consequences of American influence continued unabated during the 1990s, the nuance of this impact changed with the sudden economic shift in 1997. The IMF crisis brought with it an affirmation of a neoliberal economy and politics that led to deeper encounters with Western culture in everyday life. This period saw glocalization occurring in local-to-global interactions and cultural changes. On one hand,

Korea followed an economic standard in an attempt to fix its problems. On the other hand, the economic hardship of the country led to further glocalization of various foreign and global cultures—different cultures were coded to different lifestyles and economic and cultural status. More specifically, young Korean culture experienced further stratification of class and cultural status through direct exposure to foreign and modern cultures via study abroad programs, media texts, and foodways.

The financial crisis started after President Young Sam Kim stepped down. The so-called “Asian debt crisis” began in Thailand in July of 1997, when foreign investors feared a currency hike after the market bubbles from real estate subsided (see Haggard and Mo; Lim and Han; Crotty and Lee; J. Song "Family Breakdown"; J. Song *South Koreans*). Foreign investors retreated from short-term and unhedged loans—not only those from Thailand but also from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Korea (J. Song "Family Breakdown" 41). In November of 1997, the Korean nation became the object of an International Monetary Fund (IMF) bailout, when it became clear that Korea did not have enough US dollars to repay debts to foreign financial institutions (J. Song "Family Breakdown" 40). As a condition of receiving IMF funds, the Korean government agreed to a series of economic and political reforms. The guidelines were based on liberal free market philosophy and resulted in the bankruptcy of large companies (*chaeböls*) and banks, which led to large-scale layoffs (J. Song "Family Breakdown" 41). Historically, Korean capitalism had favored kinship and personal relationships over productivity and better performance, and this cronyism came under scrutiny for leading to lax management and an increase in national debt (J. Song *Shifting Technologies*). To boost the economy, the state and corporate sectors underwent restructuring to become leaner (J.

Song *Shifting Technologies* 39). Critics of the economy called for venture capitalism, which allowed for growth of smaller start-up companies in a deregulated market (J. Song *Shifting Technologies* 241).

At the micro level, families suffered from job loss, decreases in assets, and increases in debts. Companies starting to lay off their employees found it easier to dismiss female employees than their male counterparts, since women were expected to leave their jobs willingly to make room for heads of the households in the job market. For example, a Hyundai plant located in Ulsan laid off 277 workers out of approximately 46,000 in 1998, 167 of which were the entire staff of female workers from their cafeteria (H. Cho "Male Dominance" 170). This was, however, the result of an agreement reached by the labor union and Hyundai Motors after 35 days on strike (No). The plant originally had decided that about 18,000 workers were excess labor force when the government suggested and legalized layoff as outlined in the guidelines from IMF (C. Lee).

Paradoxically, during this same period gender relations started to change in the economy. Although companies were laying off employees, housewives willingly and desperately jumped into the job market in order to secure their family's future. Their husbands also were at risk for getting laid off (Koo and Kim). Women's potential to contribute to household incomes became crucial for the middle and lower-class families in the late 1990s. In fact, some women found that their income contribution was the one that sustained the family's living, while others worked to compensate for the temporary drop in their standard of living (Kim and Finch 48).

With this overall hardship at the family level, incomes dropped for 80 percent of Korean households, leading to the destabilization of socioeconomic class status by May

of 1998 ("80 Percent of Families"). In 1997, a study done by the Institute of Taxation showed that 60 percent of Koreans considered themselves middle class; in June of 1998, only 34.8 percent answered the same (H.-K. Chang 32).

The Influence of Yuhak and Youth Culture: Stratification of Class Status and Foodways, and Cosmopolitanism

The collapse of the middle-class meant that more people were joining the lower- and not the upper-classes, further widening the social gap. The stratification of socioeconomic class after the IMF crisis was more visible than ever. People with money often benefited from the unstable economy that followed the crisis; investment profits rose with soaring stock prices and both the unfavorable exchange rate with the US dollar and dropping real estate prices benefitted those who had the capital to invest (D. Y. Lee 186). Although inflation rates affected the general population and slowed economic recovery, people with stable or even rising incomes could take advantage of the frequent sales in department stores. The increasing stratification of income levels also resulted in the creation of a consumer population who could and would spend excessively.

Money became a key index for gauging participation in culture, as the consumption of those foreign cultural products that became more expensive during the crisis turned out to be an indicator of socioeconomic class. The IMF crisis also revealed and specified the association between higher income and deeper encounters with Western "high" culture (D. Y. Lee 186). The newer and stronger consumer population started to distinguish their upper-middle class tastes and lifestyles from those of the lower classes.

Classical music and art, for instance, became markers of high-class culture for the affluent in Korea (S. Choi; Choi and Lee; Kim and Kwon; D. Y. Lee). This was especially true among young women, since upper-class mothers were keen to educate their daughters about highbrow tastes, often represented by Western classical music (S. Choi 140-41).

As Koreans had become sensitive to income levels and now had the capability to spend money to experience Western high culture, the embodiment of this culture had become a distinctive asset and lifestyle attribute, especially among young upper-middle-class people. Cosmopolitanism, an identity that extends beyond national barriers, favoring global governance and policies (Norris 159), was a representative sentiment of this population, especially after the IMF crisis. Additionally, cosmopolitans are comfortable living and traveling abroad, are fluent in foreign languages, and have global networks (Norris 159).

The enthusiasm for *yuhak* (studying abroad) was directly related to becoming cosmopolitan and so it became a cultural asset of the upper-middle-class. *Yuhak* especially exhibits the axis of national / foreign and global within Korean culture in a very clear way. Firstly, the background of *yuhak* starts with the relatively competitive nature of education as Korea's source of manpower. Because education has worked to help many people achieve success throughout history, higher education has been a collective priority in Korea. The importance placed on education made study abroad especially desirable. From the early 1990s onward, there was an increase in private after-school education that supposedly supplemented Korea's formal education system (Kang and Abelmann 95). The traditional emphasis on "which school" one attended and

whether or not it was the best high school or university in Korea was turned outwards to an emphasis on “which foreign school” one attended on study abroad. The highest prestige was attributed mostly to Western countries such as the US. The age range of the *yuhak* population widened during the 1990s. In addition to students in middle and high schools, younger students in their elementary education started studying abroad. The phenomenon was termed *chogiyuhak* (early study abroad). Media popularized this trend by telling narratives of foreign experiences, thus creating a fad among young people. The publishing industry came out with books showcasing the success and failure stories of teenagers receiving foreign education. *7 Acts 7 Scenes*, an autobiography of a Korea-born Harvard University student named Jung-wook Hong who had been studying in the US from an early age, sold more than one million copies upon its publication in 1993.

After the 1997 economic crisis, the absolute number of students studying abroad increased even as decreasing numbers of students left Korea for foreign education,⁸ and private education within Korea expanded (Kang and Abelman 96). Liberalization and restructuration of corporate entities were the main contributors to this expansion, but parents’ concern about losing the opportunity to reproduce the class status of their children who were studying abroad motivated growth despite decreased cash flow (Kang and Abelman 96).

On one hand, the socioeconomic value of the prestige of studying at Western schools seemed to override Korean economic hardship. On the other hand, many study abroad students returned home because of an unfavorable exchange rate with the US dollar and the pressures on the middle class. Even so, *yuhak* established a direct foothold

⁸ The pre-college study abroad population increased from 1,562 to 27,349 between 1998 and 2008 (Kang and Abelman 96).

for the continuous flow of Western culture into Korea via young students coming home from foreign countries, whether for a school break or to live again permanently in Korea. Much of the younger generation was already saturated in Western culture from the early 1990s onward, but the return of these *yuhak* populations was significant as they settled down to work and live in Korea. The specialized subjects of study abroad—including food,⁹ sports management, hotel management, and aviation—diversified (S. Kim). Many of these students returned home in the early 2000s and worked in hotels and upscale restaurants. In addition to knowledge, Koreans who had studied abroad embodied Western ideas of thinking, acting, and appreciating the world, which included adopting a cosmopolitan perception of culture. Youna Kim argues in her examinations of television audiences that young Korean women in the middle class imagined achieving freedom and individuality through the mediated representation of the West (208). Freedom and individuality meant an openness in what women could do and how they could be, and options other than those provided by traditional gender roles. These options directed them away from the morality of sacrifice that their mothers and grandmothers so keenly emphasized. Since many young women were too hindered by economic hardships to live and study abroad, they localized the Western culture as they had experienced it first- or second-hand. This dream of individuality, freedom, and escape from Confucian traditions, combined with the value of Western high culture as a marker of upper-class status and the “good life,” made the cosmopolitan lifestyle especially desirable.

In addition to developing a sense of cosmopolitanism, young people started to differentiate foreign cultures based on regional orientations of those cultures. Korean

⁹ The first generation of food study abroad was in the mid-1990s, mostly to Japan (S. Kim).

people not only learned first-hand the food they could eat if they had the money, but also what sociocultural significance was attached to the different foods they ate. Although the economic recession shriveled the overall size of restaurant industry, menus and price points became further stratified and diversified, such that restaurants and food more visibly signified economic, social, and cultural status. The specialization and maturation of Western restaurants illustrate the hierarchy of foodways in glocalization. By the end of the 1990s, Koreans finally experienced the numerous courses of foreign foodways and learned to differentiate foods in categories other than “Americanized” or “Japanized Western.” This diversification of foreign food was especially visible in the category of European cuisines. The *kyōng yang sik* restaurants started to disappear and were replaced with Italian, French, and other restaurants specializing in ethnic or regional cuisine, differentiated by specialty and price.

Pasta as a menu item is a representative example of how Western menu items assimilated themselves to and repurposed themselves in Korean foodways. Pasta as a dish was first popularized in fast food pizza restaurants such as Pizza Hut, which sold it as a side menu item to pizza. The quotidian nature of American-style spaghetti and meatballs was then continued in Italian-American food menus afterward. The taste of “spaghetti” was adapted to the Korean taste by reducing the tanginess of the tomatoes and adding more sweetness to the sauce. There were numerous side dishes available, which further mitigated the richness of the meat and tomato. By the mid- to late-1990s, smaller spaghetti restaurants that mainly served tomato-sauce based pasta had sprung up in corners of Seoul. These were often in the form of franchises, and featured affordable prices, more expensive than fast food but less expensive than high-end pasta restaurants.

These restaurants targeted families or younger generations who had grown up with Americanized Italian food and were familiar with their taste. The word spaghetti settled in the Korean language to remind people of these particular dishes. Koreans became accustomed to the dish and spaghetti became an everyday menu item, especially for young Koreans. On the other hand, pasta, as well as other Italian words in the menu, was used to describe higher-end Italian-style pasta that slowly popularized. Hotel restaurant chefs opened up their own Italian restaurants under Italian names such as *Il Vino Rosso*, and differentiated themselves by focusing on the authenticity of taste (H.-j. Kwon). The focus on authenticity restored the modified forms of spaghetti and meatballs to their “original” American Italian form.

Pasta as an Italian menu item became a higher-end food associated with the status of young upper-middle-class culture. As detailed experiences of specific cultures established the regional authenticity of foodways, the foreign experience of *yuhak* established that person’s cultural status. For instance, Koreans who studied abroad in the US were considered not only cosmopolitan but also culturally higher-class. With *yuhak* influencing not only foreign, global and modern ideals but also class cultures within Korea, the relationship between the popularization of *yuhak*, embodiment of Western culture, and the upper-class was in itself a form of cultural glocalization for young Korean women.

This chapter described two major temporal markers that influenced the progress of cultural glocalization and shaped the gender, national, class, and generational identities of Korean women. The 1988 Seoul Olympics allowed for a continuous flow of Western influences that changed the values and norms of traditional Confucianism, especially

those regarding popular culture—including foodways, family, and the roles and priorities of women. By the mid-1990s, the younger generation absorbed Western culture to the point of saturation, and there arose an anxiety in Korean society to preserve long-standing traditions. This was when nationalistic movements, especially in terms of foodways, became alive and visible. In terms of media texts, programs describing the Western lifestyle became popular, as television content was imported mostly from the US and Japan during the 1990s. The second event, the financial crisis in 1997, had an impact on the economy in general, including cultural industries, and so paved the way for more visible transformations of socioeconomic class. Foreign foodways diversified and stratified the dining culture. The sector of education, particularly study abroad, illustrated the yearning of young Korean women for cosmopolitan identities and established the upper-class status of specific foreign foodways. All these factors conspired to create a social scene in which gender identities, foodways, and media formats evolved into new congregations of social and cultural values and lifestyles of Korean women.

CHAPTER THREE

*A KOREAN MOTHER'S COOKING NOTES: MAINTAINING KOREAN HOME COOKING AND DOMESTIC IDEALS*¹⁰

According to the Confucian traditions examined in chapter two, it is housewives who perform most of the work and are also the pillars of domestic life in Korea. Such traditions are similar to the gender ideals of the US, especially during the 1950s—when prevailed the idea that women found fulfillment in domesticity. Korean housewives living according to their sacrificial gender roles also fulfill the emotional needs of their husbands and children. Home cooking, for instance, is an important element of this sacrificial role of housewife. This role reflects the meaning of a warm and loving home—which the woman creates often without an acknowledgement of time and effort of her labor from other family members.

Over time, the specific ways in which Korean housewives carried out their invisible and sacrificial roles slowly transformed as the nation continued to change from internal globalization. Following the 1988 Seoul Olympics, exposure to and popularization of foreign and modern food cultures transformed the lives of housewives, especially in their primary roles as cooks at home. The soaring popularity of cookbooks in the 1990s illustrated the need to make traditional home cooking easier, while various meal options such as dining out or buying pre-cooked meals were increasingly available. Influenced by factors of modernity such as an increasing number of women in the workforce, improvement of women's social standing at home and in the workplace,

¹⁰ Portions of this chapter have been published in 2016, titled “*A Korean Mother’s Cooking Notes: Maintaining South Korean Cooking and Domestic Gender Ideals in Global Influences*,” in the *International Journal of Communication* (H. Song).

economic prosperity, and the rising middle class, the publishing industry focused on creating how-to guides, which traditionally had been handed down by mothers or mothers-in-law, for everyday cooking. Cookbooks in the 1990s included recipes of side dishes such as stews, rice, soup and *kimch'i* as their focus, in contrast with the encyclopedic recipe books popular before the late 1980s (S.-h. Chung).

In 1993, *A Korean Mother's Cooking Notes* (hereafter *KMCN*) by Sun-young Chang was published as the first practical cookbook in Korea and the first bestselling instructional cookbook with everyday recipes, which later became a distinct genre. Within three months of publication in 1993, *KMCN* sold more than 50,000 copies (J.-k. Lee). Within two years, the cookbook sold more than 100,000 copies and made into the bestseller list (J.-k. Lee). In 1997, a new edition was printed and also published in English under the title *KMCN*. In the mid-1990s, publications modeled after *KMCN* multiplied, including *Ŭmmado Morŭnŭn Yangnyŏmgongsik Yoribŏp* (M. H. Shin 1996), *Pangbaedong Sŏnsaeng Choi Kyung-Soogŭi Urijip Yori* (K.-s. Choi 1998), *Ŭmmaga Chunŭn Sumŭn Pibŏp Yorich'aek* (*Mom's Hidden* 1998), and *TTalŭl Wihan Yorich'aek* (*A Cookbook for 1998*). These cookbooks in the 1990s taught standardized tactics for simple preparation to make these modern homemade meals more time- and labor-efficient than elaborate traditional cooking.

In addition to raising awareness of the practical requirements for production and consumption of cookbooks, the organic origins and the independent publication of *KMCN* in particular offers a snapshot of the sensibility of housewives of the time. The processes of production and publication of the book are very distinct. The author of the cookbook was Sun-young Chang, a mother in her 50s with two married sons and

daughters-in-law living in the US at the time of publication. *KMCN* is a compilation of cooking memos that Chang wrote down for her daughters-in-law. Because friends admired her cooking and insisted that she should share her recipes, Chang printed fifty copies of her notes and gave them out as gifts (Y. R. Lee). Myung-soo Chang, a popular columnist for *Hanguk Ilbo*, was one of these friends and she wrote about this gift in her column. Soon after, the readers of her column bombarded her with calls and letters asking to share the recipes, which ultimately became the cookbook (S.-y. Chang 5-6). This unusual, bottom-up process of publication mirrors the unrefined everyday cooking practices of Korean housewives, and it makes *KMCN* an especially good text for exploring the changing gender roles and traditions, how these are negotiated, and how modern and foreign elements are incorporated into everyday life. *KMCN* also shows how informal oral instructions from an archetypal Korean mother-in-law standardize as mass-produced written instructions, reflecting the effort of an older-generation housewife to preserve family and national traditions through mediated pedagogy.

In my analysis, I use the framework of glocalization to analyze the ways in which the text of *KMCN* portrays the local element of traditional foodways; other local and global elements of both foreign and modern cooking; and the changes of Korean foodways as well as the role of housewives in the 1990s. I argue that *KMCN* reflects collective sentiments of housewives—the anxiety and desire to maintain traditional home cooking upon the popularization of newer food practices after the Seoul Olympics. Korean home cooking is intertwined with the devotional roles of housewife, and family and nationalistic traditions. *KMCN* redefines this home cooking—the methods and the usage of ingredients and spices—through glocal tactics of standardization and

hybridization. This text articulates the specific ways that the axes of traditional / modern, and national / foreign and global foodways overlap with each other. The tactics of standardization involve providing directions to cook everyday recipes in precise step-by-step guides, using clear measurements in the metric system, as compared to loose, unstandardized ways of traditional cooking. Strategies of hybridization are apparent in the author's negotiating foreign, modern and national foodways. Assimilation, for instance, is a subcategory of hybridization—showcasing the ways in which foreign foodways adapt to that of Korea. Through these strategies, *KMCN* teaches readers various ways of maintaining housewives' important positions as carriers of patriarchal traditions and values, grounded in gendered labor.

Changing Cooking, Changing Wives

Social and cultural changes challenged Korean home cooking in the 1990s. These changes—economic liberalization, rising incomes, and the emergence of democratic government—naturally followed from the process of modernization which began after the Seoul Olympics. In the home, having greater convenience in meal preparation became important as housewives attained busier and freer lifestyles. Over the years, families had access to increasingly greater options of store-bought meals, ready-made foods, and Western-style restaurants. Korean housewives favored what restaurants offered—the stability in taste, competitive pricing, and convenience—over home cooking, even though home cooking offered the traditional meanings of love and care put into cooking through expending time and effort. The convenience food industry slowly grew, beginning with

the introduction of frozen food at a bakery in Pusan in 1979 (Lee and Song 88).

Housewives could choose to buy ready-made meals, frozen foods, and canned goods at their convenience; however, the reception of modernized, more convenient foods was not completely positive. The perception of housewives who bought frozen food in the 1990s was that such women were lazy, young, had no cooking skills, and showed no interest in the health and provision of the family (Lee and Song 94). Many housewives avoided buying convenience foods, and the most frequent consumers were people in their teens or twenties (Kim and Song 472). Korean housewives regarded frozen foods as the opposite of home-cooked meals due to the taste and easiness in usage of frozen foods.

This response to modernized foods demonstrates how much time and effort Korean home cooking required. The emotional value of investing time and effort into home cooking and eating with family is a major component of home cooking. Byung Woo Lee emphasizes that Korean cooking essentially is everyday foods prepared by housewives with devotional care and love (239). It refers to the idea that the good of the family takes priority over personal needs and aspirations.

Thus, the clash between the commercial adaptation of home cooking and modern attempts to make it convenient on the one hand, and traditional home cooking on the other hand, illustrates changes in ideas about caring and sacrifice and the traditional place of housewives in the home. In the 1990s, Korean housewives clung to a reinterpretation of Confucian values while mostly remaining within the realm of family-serving traditional female roles (Y. Kim 202). This redefinition of gender roles varied between generations of housewives in the 1990s. The “older” generation that I describe here was born in the 1940s to 1950s; they were in their 40s or 50s during the mid-1990s. This

population is an extension of the “mother’s generation” as labeled by Haejoang Cho—women born in the 1940s who were young children during the Korean War (H. Cho *Living with* 172). These women, who raised their children during sudden economic growth, have been characterized as “aggressive modern wives, the backstage managers of rapid industrialization” (H. Cho *Living with* 169). The urban relocation of nuclear families freed housewives from traditional family structures that required obedience to in-laws who resided with them (H. Cho *Living with* 169). Husbands credited their wives accordingly, appreciating and acknowledging domestic work and allowing women a new standing as domestic partners rather than their previous standing as workers of household chores and mothers of their children (H. Cho *Living with* 172). Thus, the position of housewives shifted from the traditional Confucian emphasis on obedience to men in the family to a more independence and individuality within a bigger family, a role which allowed housewives to gain domestic power (Y. Kim 128). However, Cho in her analysis overlooks the ways in which the fundamental responsibilities of women in the home remain unchanged. Housewives served and sacrificed for their families with an acknowledgement from the family. Women lived with an even more confining form of domesticity than the previous form of strict Confucian gender role requiring obedience, since housewives carried on in their roles, with appreciation.

Compared to the older generation, the changes in the younger generation occurred more rapidly and were more drastic. The younger women that I describe are also an extension of the “daughter’s generation” that Cho describes (*Living with* 178). This generation was born in the 1960s. Thus, they were in their twenties when college student activists were demanding democratic government (H. Cho *Living with* 178). Cho explains

that this generation of women assumed in public the role of active partner to a male counterpart (*Living with* 178). Combined with increased women's participation in liberal feminist causes, this shift contributed to an image of independent and self-sufficient women during the 1990s (H. Cho *Living with* 179). What I am calling the "younger" generation includes these women who were born in the 1960s as well as women who were born in the early 1970s. By the mid-1990s, these women were new brides and/or mothers of young children. Growing up in economic affluence and heavily exposed to Western culture during their teenage years, these women focused on self rather than family. As noted in chapter two, these younger women were more exposed to individualism and freedom as a lifestyle. For these women, marriage was not such a hindrance to the desire for self-realization, because their male counterparts increasingly took part in raising, educating, and taking care of the children (Kwon and Roy 288). However, men still remained the predominant breadwinners in the family, and women were expected to perform the majority of the housework. Cho describes this younger generation of married women as caught between the domestic duties of housewives and the realization of self (*Living with* 178).

Still, the difference between the older and younger generation was vast; the younger generation of women more actively sought to redefine traditional cultural values. Driven by achievement, the younger generation lacked the traditional filial respect for their own mothers, focused on finding their own private time and space, and took charge of housewife and motherly duties rather than seek help for these responsibilities (H. Cho *Living with* 180-81). These radical attitudes were out of line with the Confucian ideas of what made a good wife and mother. As the older generation of women observed their

daughters' behavior and aspirations, they started to worry about the future of the nation. They were uneasy that their daughters' open reception of foreign cultures and their changing values would lead to a collapse of traditional values, especially the fundamental gender ideals of domestic responsibility and sacrifice. Younger women especially did not consider themselves as the key to the collective identity of the family, the guardian of the moral traditions of the country, and the defender of the home (H. Cho *Living with* 180-81).

Cookbooks as Mediated Pedagogy

Many Korean cookbooks, including *KMCN*, illustrate the ways in which Korean housewives changed their perceptions of their lives. This portrayal of changes is indeed a characteristic of media texts in a broader sense. Existing scholarship on media in general discusses how studies of media texts articulate local / local and local / global relationships and interactions. Within the framework of glocalization, many scholars have examined texts and practices of hip-hop music, online news reporting, and television programs as interactions taking place in the global / local nexus, for example in Spain and Ghana (A. Y. L. Lee; Moran; Oduro-Frimpong; Wasserman and Rao). Upon the reception of foreign culture, such as American hip-hop music, Ghanaians localized the global rap trend and created a lifestyle associated with this type of music (Oduro-Frimpong 1100-01). Cookbooks also have served in many cultures to maintain traditions during glocalization. Older housewives have created community cookbooks, compiling recipes to ensure that the younger generation maintained national and cultural customs

(Drews; Eidinger; Theophano). Women often mix traditional and novel techniques in their daily preparation of food, creating lived knowledge that is preserved and conveyed from home to home and generation to generation (De Certeau, Giard and Mayol; Inness *Dinner Roles*). Some of these cookbooks introduced readers to international foods as well (Gallegos; Solomon). Solomon's analysis of Jewish cookbooks written for American housewives (both Jewish immigrants and Gentiles) from the 1940s demonstrates how many Jewish women emphasized keeping traditional kosher rules and foods while adapting to a foreign culture (Solomon 31).

During World War II, food rationing in the US challenged American housewives to conceptualize cooking as fighting the war from home and strengthening their nationalistic allegiances (Bentley). After World War II, US culture idealized home and family, with women at the center. It was important to preserve a middle-class identity that could withstand global influences (Bentley 82). Housewives during the 1950s were thus required to make the home a fortress that could buffer against unstable political and social climates (Meyerowitz 3). Cookbooks expressed ambivalence about preserving the domestic role of housewives and projected the anxiety and uncertainty of the postwar era (Neuhaus "The Way" 537). Nonetheless, cookbooks prescribed, sometimes subtly, conservative gender ideologies to keep women mainly at home. Neuhaus later argues that American cookbooks in the 1950s served as manuals for marital sexual education for housewives by emphasizing a wife's sexual duties such as keeping a well-groomed body for the satisfaction of her husband (Neuhaus "The Joy" 107). Convenience foods took advantage of the normative image of housewives that cookbooks featured, and brands like Campbell Soup exploited it successfully in their ads (Inness *Kitchen Culture* 7). With

the rise of industrialization in the 1950s US, housewives slowly adapted to the newer foodways and redefined what it meant to be an ideal housewife.

Interestingly, the rhetorics of cookbooks in wartime and postwar US and their symbolic roles in perpetuating ideologies of gender and nation are similar to those of Korean cookbooks during the period of development and prosperity in the 1990s. In the case of the US, the postwar period required women to reinforce their domestic values in response to political, economic, and social instability. With modernization in full swing, however, US housewives also exhibited ambivalence about preserving these traditional gender values. Similarly, Korean housewives negotiated their roles at home at the same time that modern values of individualism and industrialization and foreign cultures were being assimilated into the lives of young Koreans. The circumstances are comparable in the sense that both groups of American and Korean housewives faced anxiety when confronted with newer modern values or clashing foreign influences at home, and that housewives were the primary population affected by these changes.

In addition to preserving traditional values, some cookbooks in the US focused on their educational potential, replacing personal, oral instruction with written pedagogy. Mass publication of cookbooks slowly became an educational tool of cooking; women did not learn how to cook from their mothers or their mothers-in-law but from cookbooks after they were married (Endrijonas 166). These cookbooks¹¹ in the 1950s US taught women the skills to balance time and budget while producing quality meals and investing the same level of work and dedication as the previous generation had done (Endrijonas 169). Even in the case of younger girls, Inness argues that juvenile cookbooks prospered

¹¹ See, for example, *Silver Jubilee Super Market Cookbook* (Barber) and *Anybody Can Cook* (French).

in the 20th century when the American publishing industry realized the effectiveness of mass education (*Kitchen Culture* 120).

In the Korean context, Young-dong Bae's work identifies specific tactics to adapt, preserve, and educate women about traditional gender values through foodways in glocalization. In articulating how Korean food interacts with foreign food cultures, he highlights standardization and hybridization (Y.-d. Bae 101).¹² Standardization includes regimenting the taste so that the same dish or cooking methods can be preserved throughout time and space (Y.-d. Bae 101). Hybridization is the fusion of foreign or modernized cooking practices with traditional Korean foods (Y.-d. Bae 101). Using Bae's ideas to guide my analysis, I define standardization as the quantifying of ingredients, methods, and cooking processes in a recipe. Hybridization has two meanings: firstly, the ways in which traditional food adapts to modern or foreign foodways and secondly, the ways in which foreign foods assimilate to Korean foodways so that these foreign foods suit the Korean palate. In my analysis, I use the term assimilation to articulate the latter as a subcategory of hybridization. Bae argues that these processes of standardization and hybridization redefine local traditions and, to a degree, adapt themselves to existing food practices—such as the industrialization of the food industry and usage of chemical additives (102). A sense of local in the everyday foodways of Korean housewives lies in the explanation and mediation of traditional Korean cooking, which illustrates dominant ideologies of gender and nation. Korean housewives continually redefine this local element of home cooking in the moments of expansion and constriction of foodways and

¹² Bae has three categories of glocalization tactics—standardization, hybridization, and specialization (101).

of fusion with foreign and modern elements. In the process, the traditional values become the standards by which Koreans evaluate and adapt newer foodways (Y.-d. Bae 102).

KMCN as a Text

My analysis in this chapter starts from observations of media reactions such as newspaper and magazine articles and author interviews of Korean cookbooks in the 1990s and proceeds to specific readings of the cookbook texts. After collecting and reading 35 articles from major newspapers and women's magazines regarding the introduction and influence of cookbooks in the 1990s, I proceeded to focus on media coverage that presented cookbooks as texts that narrate the collective sentiments and beliefs of housewives about everyday life; insight into housewives' feelings about everyday life are hard to find in other publicly available media. Then, I identified the common themes about the role played by cookbook texts. Prior to choosing *KMCN* as the main text of analysis, I searched for cookbooks published in the 1990s in an online bookstore "aladin.co.kr." A total of 26 practical Korean cookbooks were published from 1993 to 1999, but many were now out of print. I examined the five cookbooks I mentioned in the beginning, since they were the most popular at the time.¹³ I located many of these cookbooks at the National Congressional Library of Korea or at second-hand bookstores. After reading them each several times, I took note of the organization and narrative style of recipes, along with any instructions that suggested changes in Korean foodways and any expressions of emotion regarding Korean cooking and newer

¹³ *Pangbaedong Sönsaeng Choi Kyung-Sooküi Urijip Yori* sold 100,000 copies (Kang-Kim).

foods. Patterns emerged as I grouped these ideas into repeated themes and developed a definition of each theme—instruction and redefinition. After finding a fitting framework from Bae’s work on glocalization and food culture, I categorized the idea of redefinition into narrower groups of standardization and hybridization and developed more specific definitions and subcategories, such as adaptation and assimilation, of these themes. In doing so, I kept in mind the larger questions of national / foreign and global, and traditional / modern in terms of internal globalization.

Once I noticed the unique narrative style of *KMCN*, its methods of pedagogy as well as its rhetoric of specific roles of housewives and the emphasis on traditions, I also learned of its unique path to publication. Deciding that *KMCN* not only thematically coincides with other cookbooks but also best conveys the daily lived lives of housewives in the 1990s, I chose to focus on *KMCN*. Then, I further articulated how *KMCN* teaches women to master home cooking. I analyzed the specific interactions between local Korean traditions and modern and foreign cooking practices within the glocal influences portrayed in the text.

Instructing the Ideal Housewife

KMCN portrays the ways in which traditional Korean home cooking changed and was redefined upon exposure to modernized or foreign cooking cultures. But more fundamentally as a food medium, it replaces the embodied cooking instructions of a mother-in-law with mediated pedagogy. The mass-mediated instructions clearly convey to housewives the Confucian ideals that define their role as sacrificial mother and carrier

of family traditions, even while younger housewives were seeming to leave behind such ideals. For the most part, it was *KMCN*'s attempts to translate spoken and embodied instructions of a mother-in-law into written words and to teach traditional values that were the basis for its popularity. Since younger housewives still valued traditional Korean cooking and the other conservative ideals about housewifery—while simultaneously adapting to individualism, and more public roles—*KMCN* provided ways for them to preserve traditional Korean cooking and the domestic values of gender at their own pace.

The reason this cookbook appealed to its audience lay in its style and tone. For example, Chang uses onomatopoeic and mimetic words—such as “*song song*” that portrays the sound and shape of chopping soft food into small pieces and “*ttuk ttuk*” that describes the sound of big and firm food snapping or being cut—to explain the cooking process. To a certain extent, these words make up for a lack of pictures in the cookbook. But more significantly, Chang’s tone makes the text of *KMCN* appear to be a reflection of older housewives’ everyday sentiments concerning the taste of home-cooked meals. *KMCN* offers easy cooking lessons without the stress of interacting with the person who held domestic power in the family into which the younger housewives had married (Y. R. Lee).

In addition, *KMCN*'s pedagogical passages capture the personality of Chang, which is in itself her style of mediated pedagogy. Chang conspicuously constructs a character of a typical Korean mother-in-law, a narrator who is nitpicky due to concern, often nosy and passive-aggressive—and this fits with her choice to include in the cookbook suggestions for handling household management, budgeting and time

limitations, and everyday constraints and challenges. The realistic portrayal is the most obvious in her language describing and teaching frugality and resourcefulness.

1: “Using kimch’i leftovers are good here” (S.-y. Chang 36).

2: “Using Spam in the U.S. would prevent over spending” (S.-y. Chang 36).

3: “If you are out of spices in the middle of cooking, you would have to go out to buy it and spend a lot of time” (S.-y. Chang 27).

4: “If you buy too much food for some unavoidable reason, you should try cooking all of it. Preservation is the next best method, and of course, spending in a budget is the best method” (S.-y. Chang 27).

In these quotes, Chang teaches readers how to utilize leftovers (1), manage time (3), and plan budgeting (2, 4). She stresses the importance of planning before shopping for food, and her instructions focus on frugality. She pays attention to miniscule details and instructs in a teacherly language. Chang’s explanations of preparing ingredients are detailed, mentioning the size of the cut: “pepper should be diced smaller than onions, and tofu should be of the same size as the onion” (S.-y. Chang 39). Her character as a typical Korean mother-in-law mimics face-to-face personal instructions, teaching housework in extensive detail.

Furthermore, *KMCN* illustrates realistic concerns of an “older” generation mother, which stem from the clash of and negotiation between the traditional values of home cooking and the influence of modernization and foreign exchanges on food culture. These narratives are interrelated stories of culture and history encapsulated in distinct mediated cooking lessons of a mother-in-law—rather than clear-cut written instructions of the ingredients and cooking process. She promotes maternal duties by criticizing

wrongdoings of the current generation of children and teenagers, blaming family neglect of a Confucian sense of societal well-being. In the preface, Chang argues that the number of young people causing social problems rise due to a lack of fundamental family education, because many Korean families do not eat dinner together (9). Dinner with family allows discipline to occur through conversation rather than coercive communication. Her belief is that “a harmonious family comes from eating meals together. This is where you learn table manners and that is how your children become good parents in the future” (S.-y. Chang 10). This conveys the Confucian belief that stable and healthy homes are the basis of a strong nation. In her emphasis of the taste of home-cooked meals, Chang stresses the importance of sacrificial devotion of housewives and family traditions that these housewives carry. Chang identifies traditions of foodways with Confucianism with a nationalistic sentiment of Korea.

KMCN especially emphasizes the importance of family recipes and the associated duties and responsibilities of women that extend beyond the family to society. This illustrates the process of receiving and transmitting recipes among family members, then a community, and the society, which later become social and cultural traditions. Usually, housewives hand down the customs of the husband’s family person-to-person through Confucian rituals that extend through an entire lifetime. For example, in describing the cooking process for ancestral rites, Chang explains which menus are appropriate for the rites; how best to cook the dish for the deceased; and how to find out what the guests like to eat (179). Chang’s brief explanations of cultural traditions are also included in the recipe. She describes the custom of collecting rice from 100 households and then making rice cakes for 100 people in her rice cake recipe for a 100th-day celebration for a newborn

(S.-y. Chang 181). In teaching how women use food to express feelings—gratitude, especially—Chang does not stress rigid rules, preparation, or table arrangement, but rather the housewife’s role in the process. This recipe explains why the time and effort of the housewife is meaningful in traditional Korean cooking. Her work thus translated into devotional love and care, the Korean housewife “defends family traditions” (S.-y. Chang 181,) the Confucian foundation of national culture.

Chang’s choice to use a tone and style that a mother-in-law would use also reifies this traditional value of the Confucian patriarchy. Compared to the matrilineal pedagogy of cooking through the grandmother/mother line, education by the mother-in-law focuses on maintaining the patriarchal lineage and traditions. Chang explicitly states her personal belief in emphasizing traditional patriarchal values, and advises the reader to keep them. Writing from the perspective of a mother-in-law, Chang stresses that a new housewife be educated about her family: “When you start your journey as a housewife, the four ceremonial occasions (coming of age, wedding, funeral, and ancestral rites), and the four phases of life (birth, old age, sickness, and death) have different meanings to you” (177). The priorities of a housewife change after her marriage as family duties require more time and effort. This shows well in Chang’s expression of gratitude to her daughters-in-law for following the conventional methods of feeding her grandchildren even with the availability of convenient store-bought options (171). Chang says, “I make baby food the same way now and 30 years back, and they still eat it well so I guess the taste remains the same” (171). Then, Chang further translates their devotion to promote these traditions by praising the good family education that her daughter-in-law has received following the Confucian tradition. Chang says: “I was very thankful and proud of you making clean

baby food with devotion even in the US where you can buy store-bought stuff so easily. It also shows how your mother had educated you!” (175).

Interestingly, this emphasis on a housewife’s dedication reveals Chang’s anxiety in witnessing her daughters’ generation making what she considers a lopsided negotiation between foreign and traditional values. This is where the overlap between the elements of tradition, foreign, and global happens—the Confucian sense of sacrifice meets the younger generation’s understanding of independence and freedom. Because her daughters-in-law live abroad, they sometimes travel far and for an extended period of time to visit their family back home. Chang notes: “Although your husband is capable of cooking by himself, I’m writing up a few recipes so that your minds will be at peace” (191). While Chang respects the culture of the younger generation of women, she describes her own duties within the framework of a good Confucian housewife and considers her daughters-in-law within this same framework. She includes recipes that could last up to a month in the fridge with proper preservation methods: “With soups, I freeze each serving in a zip lock bag. Marinated and/or spiced fish and meat are also frozen. If you write up the dates of what to eat on the fridge per meal, your husband will find it easily” (S.-y. Chang 192). Despite her sons’ ability to cook for themselves, her daughters-in-law are nonetheless expected to cook and store months’ worth of food in the freezer for the sake of their own peace of mind. Chang deploys her authority as a mother-in-law, which makes her recipes more than mere nudges in the right direction for her daughters-in-law to follow—an example of the Confucian sense of sacrifice. This recipe in particular portrays the careful ways in which *KMCN* prioritizes Confucian traditions in an extremely conservative glocalization of habits and lived experiences. In addition, the

recipe is a representative case which illustrates Chang's pedagogical leveraging of her status as a mother-in-law; she states her firm belief in the ideal Confucian housewife figure without coercing the responsibilities of such a figure onto her daughters-in-law.

In the same vein, Chang acknowledges that gender roles are changing and makes an effort to recognize this taken-for-granted gender labor by according much value to women's domestic work. Specifically, the acknowledgment of hard work is visible in *KMCN*—unlike the emphasis on hidden sacrifice under the old Confucian patriarchy. To be more specific, the focus on the aesthetics of food presentation in Chang's recipes inspires the reader to appreciate the labor and time involved in cooking tasty homemade meals. Ironically, this is exactly the dilemma that the younger housewives faced in the 1990s. Chang validates women's work by making visible the work that goes into creating an aesthetic style. She shows this in a tofu recipe: "Tofu will absorb the sauce better if you score it, although it may be cumbersome. But these incisions will make the dish look like you really made an effort" (S.-y. Chang 50). The cook is satisfied in presenting the dish in a professional and attractive way, which also encourages other family members to acknowledge her work. By focusing on the expertise of the individual cook, Chang not only makes visible formerly taken-for-granted labor so that cooking Korean food for one's family is not merely a house chore, but also reframes home cooking as an accomplishment of self. Chang acknowledges housewives' independence and individuality as well as their authority in the family by recognizing the under-articulated women's labor in Korean cooking. Finally, Chang highlights the hardships that only

young wives, the newest members of the family,¹⁴ have to endure in the kitchen under Confucian patriarchy. The focus on the stylistic element of the food appeals to the emotion of the audience as the presentation of food shows self-respect. In her effort to select and reiterate the important traditions of housewives, Chang's text reflects the desire of housewives to be recognized as an individual within and apart from their family, while stressing the importance of maintaining traditional values.

Redefinition of Korean Cooking Through Standardization and Hybridization

The specific ways that the text of *KMCN* educates the audience about gender ideals are embedded in the process of redefining home cooking. The redefinition of home cooking occurs as specific elements of traditional home cooking—ingredients, spices, and cooking methods—are compared to, replaced by, or blended with modernized and industrialized foodways. Bae's glocalization tactics of standardization and hybridization are two tactics of redefinition. Standardization means measuring ingredients and regimenting processes of cooking. The essay-like cookbook explains foundational Korean recipes by successfully tackling the difficulties of home cooking: Chang provides with each recipe a detailed step-by-step guide and clear measurements in the metric system. These tactics give traditional cooking a more structured form, making Korean food more independent of regional or personal variation. Standardization addresses the

¹⁴ In Confucian patriarchy, men carry the family name, and thus the "blood." Women are married into the family, and thus are outsiders coming into the group. When a woman is married, liminality becomes her permanent condition. She is no longer regarded as a part of her birth family; however, conceptually, she is not fully incorporated into the husband's family either.

difficulties of both time and effort that are considered to be proportional to housewives' devotional love and care, as well as ingredients, spices, and cooking methods. Reducing time and effort through standardization helps to overcome and simplify Korean cooking so that housewives who cook do not favor store-bought foods over home cooking.

Standardizing the amounts of ingredients and spices teaches housewives to safeguard the Korean taste by adding more seasoning to store-bought items and enhancing the natural flavors of traditional foods. At times, however, Chang complicates this idea of standardization by allowing leniency in using different ingredients and spices. By allowing the freedom of the cook to a certain extent, Chang adds an interpersonal element in her mediated pedagogy.

In terms of the hybridization of Korean home cooking and foreign foods, Chang suggests adaptation and assimilation. Adaptation refers to changing traditional home cooking practices to suit the modernized and foreign foodways. Assimilation is when foreign ingredients and spices assimilate to the traditional Korean palate, even for older Koreans who are less accustomed to foreign foods. The author teaches readers various ways to negotiate the components of home cooking to adapt to glocal influences while maintaining relatively conservative approaches to taste and gender ideals.

While the tactic of standardization involves the axis of traditional / modern, hybridization closely relates to the axis of national / foreign and global. Standardization is in itself a practice of modernization. It is an effort to adapt traditional home cooking so that it better suits busy lifestyles. Hybridization includes both the adaptation of traditional Korean foods to modern and foreign foods, and assimilation of foreign foods such that they suit the Korean palate. The Korean "taste" relates to nationalism, as the standard of

this taste is challenged by foreign elements. However, this idea overlaps with traditional customs of foodways, complicating the relations among the elements of traditional, modern, national, and global.

Standardization of Korean Cooking

Through her tone and presentation, the author successfully articulates the importance of preserving Confucian traditions. Chang especially remarks on how Korean home cooking—its components and meanings—changes and addresses the need for instructions on paper. She mentions this in the preface:

“My mother-in-law taught me to cook with unclear explanations, such as ‘one fistful’ or ‘bring to bubbly simmer.’ But we live a busy life, what I like isn’t what you like to eat, and I can’t physically be next to you all the time” (S.-y. Chang 9).

Chang specifically mentions the busy lifestyle induced by modernity and the need of change in traditional methods. In addition, Chang acknowledges the inaccuracy of old cooking instructions in the preface: “Whenever I asked my older sister how to cook, she always said ‘you just do it’ making it very hard to learn. I’m writing easy instructions after thinking about what was hard for me then” (9). Embodied instruction was face-to-face and hands-on, although it often lacked precise measurements. Learning took place through sensory experience rather than systematic instruction. *KMCN* illustrates specific

attempts to translate fleeting face-to-face instructions and various ways of cooking onto a standardized paper-mediated form of pedagogy. Such translation expands one family's legacy to a broader sense of cultural and social custom in terms of Korean home cooking and taste.

Standardization of measurements in recipes is an important task for Chang, as it allows housewives to produce consistency and quality of taste in their home cooking.¹⁵ The usage of metric or US standard measurements and quantifying the amount of ingredients and spices are specific examples. This focus on measurement shows the ways in which the ideas of traditional and modern intersect with the idea of national. While spices and ingredients are traditional, modern cooking methods are sure ways to preserve the national taste. For example, Chang tells her readers to score rib meat 5 millimeters apart (72) or dice ingredients such as tofu, onion, and red pepper in 1-centimeter cubes (39). Chang also addresses spice substitutions and instructs the audience to use one-third of the amount of coarse salt when replaced with finely grated salt (45).

Compared to other cookbooks of the late 1990s,¹⁶ though, the measurements and language of *KMCN* is sometimes less clear. As one of the first Korean cookbooks to attempt to provide didactic instructions and clear-cut measurements, *KMCN* reflects the

¹⁵ This is one of the major themes Korean cookbooks in the 1990s emphasized. The other four cookbooks that I have examined also focused on the standardization of ingredients and spices by adopting precise measurements.

¹⁶ Cookbooks in the 1990s became more comfortable using precise metric measurements. They focused on proper proportions of ingredients and formulas of spices that would consistently produce the same traditional taste. The point of comparison was foreign cooking methods, which Mi Hye Shin argued Korean cooking should adopt in order to make traditional cooking easier and more comfortable for cooking novices, especially “newly-wed housewives” (10).

grassroots desire to maintain the taste of traditional home cooking through standardization. In the process, Chang sometimes sacrifices precision to capture details that other mass-produced cookbooks ignored. Here, Chang complicates the idea of standardization by allowing freedom of the cook to a certain extent. In the standardization of a mung bean pancake recipe, she has lenient recommendations for the amount of salt used. Chang writes that the amount of salt is “impossible to instruct because it depends on the saltiness of kimch’i” (S.-y. Chang 78). Deciding whether the food is salty or not is a personal preference and taste. The taste of saltiness is even harder to assess in raw ingredients. Yet Chang makes an effort to explain the process systematically through an action plan to streamline the cooking process as much as possible. For example, cooking and tasting just one pancake before dumping all the batter into the pan allows the cook to adjust the saltiness of the food. Chang provides experiential directions, similar to those of embodied pedagogy. She begins with raw ingredients and a measured amount of spice. This case shows the specific ways in which Chang tries to overcome the limitations of cookbook pedagogy through standardization.

Standardization also reduces the inconvenience of and enhances the perceived value of traditional home cooking. In other words, the effort to modernize ironically preserves traditional foodways. Maintaining homemade taste preserves broader cultural tradition, namely the role of housewives as devotional figures for the home and society. The need for an efficient method to preserve the taste and practice of homemade food, such that it is not abandoned in favor of buying convenience foods, is best illustrated in Chang’s *kimch’i* recipe. *Kimch’i* is a difficult recipe and yet one of the most traditional Korean foods, and it involves fermentation. *Kimch’i* recipes vary by localities and by

person, yet Chang measures spices and describes her *kimch'i* recipe in descriptive and experimental language. "If the cabbage looks like it contains much water within, then the amount of salt should increase" (S.-y. Chang 107). She also emphasizes cultivating an emotional attachment to *kimch'i*. The reason why young children of that time do not like to eat *kimch'i*, according to Chang, is because young mothers buy *kimch'i* instead of making it at home (105). The Confucian emphasis on maintaining the taste of home extends to preserving the Korean taste. This is another instance in which tradition overlaps with the national taste. Chang believes that if children help with the process of making *kimch'i* from a young age, then they will enjoy eating the food, keeping the sense of traditional taste of home, and further preserving the national taste of Korea.¹⁷

Adaptation of Korean Food

Because traditional home cooking takes much time and effort, taking the burden off of home cooking in comparison with restaurant options and store-bought ready-made foods is important in *KMCN*. To do this, Chang attempts to hybridize traditional Korean cooking methods and industrialized and convenient food practices. In *KMCN* hybridization takes the form of picking what is advantageous to the cook from heterogenous food practices and implementing them in the cooking process. These

¹⁷ Not all cookbooks in the 1990s prioritized preservation of traditional taste in order to maintain gender ideals and national traditions. Shin includes a table of spices that provides exact proportions for specific ingredients such as chicken, beef, and seafood, which is more concerned with perfect scientific harmony than with gender or tradition (16).

processes of hybridization are adaptation of Korean food to foreign and modern foodways, and assimilation of foreign food.

Such examples of adaptation of Korean food in *KMCN* include enhancing *chang* manufactured in factories to achieve something closer to a traditional taste. *Chang* means various types of fermented paste that incorporate basic spices such as *koch'ujang*, made from spicy red pepper, or *toenjang*, fermented soybean paste. Cooking with *chang* made by traditional fermentation processes and factory-manufactured pastes are two completely different practices, as the former involves a long and laborious national tradition while the latter is a product of industrialization that evolved out of the need of convenience for modern housewives. Conventionally, *chang* is made at home and is regarded as the basis of home cooking. During the process of fermentation, which can take years, it is the housewife's responsibility to check continually the humidity and temperature to guarantee the taste of the final product. The process is so intensive that it is almost impossible to make *chang* in modern times when most Korean people live in high-rise apartments. In *KMCN*, Chang describes ways to modify store-bought *chang*, for example, by adding ingredients such as ground anchovy powder, minced garlic, sesame oil, or wheat powder. Using store-bought *toenjang* to get a homemade taste is another tip that redefines the relationship between industrialization and traditional values. This recipe complicates the role of housewife in the interaction between traditional, national, and modern foodways. It reflects the author's desire to maintain traditional home cooking practices and national taste by negotiating a new balance between the modern housewife's need for convenience and the traditional housewife's tradition of devotional effort.

KMCN also relies on adaptation when home cooking practices directly faced foreign influences. The priority again was to maintain the traditional practice of Korean home cooking—even in a foreign setting—for the family. Adaptation here addresses the ways in which *KMCN* modifies traditional foodways so that Korean food better fits into foreign, and often global understandings of foodways. Chang argues that Korean recipes should adapt to any environment and conditions—both overseas and for the foreign palate. In her explanations of basic spices of Korean cooking, Chang specifically advises readers to use one-third less the amount of garlic, onion, and ginger, which are representative flavors of Korean food, when cooking for foreigners (35). Chang mentions: “Consuming a lot of raw garlic could offend foreigners because of its strong smell, so be careful” (35). Chang reminds her audience that the amount of garlic is not proportional to the enhancement of taste and that the audience should especially be careful when feeding foreign guests.

Adapting to the Western influence, Chang recategorizes the labels of Korean foods—an attempt at hybridization. She changes the name of complex Korean recipes in a more globally recognized way, using Westernized language—not only to help her daughters-in-law but also to shift Korean cooking into a more modern style. The desserts section best illustrates this recategorization. The desserts that Chang introduce are dessert *chŏn* (pancake), *ttŏk* (rice cake), and *yakbap* (sweet and savory rice with nuts and dried fruits). Chang’s instructions are basic and specific, assuming a minimal skill set of the reader. In stir-fried and poached dessert recipes, Chang’s explanation starts with the order in which ingredients should be added and moves to the required pot or pan, the stove setting, the cooking process, and ends with suggestions about how to make the food

glossy to appear more appetizing. The simplification of recipes and the labeling of sweet foods as desserts in the Western sense recategorize traditional Korean food items. In doing so, hard and difficult Korean cooking becomes a more approachable and even convenient practice. But it also gives up on the innocence or purity of a local tradition.

Assimilation of Foreign Food

If adaptation addresses the ways in which *KMCN* modifies Korean foods to follow foreign and modern foodways, assimilation takes effect when foreign foodways change to suit the Korean taste in redefining home cooking in *KMCN*. Not only were foreign foods well-liked as restaurant choices, they also changed how Korean housewives used spices, ingredients, and cooking methods at home—especially once practical cookbooks began to include popular foreign recipes.¹⁸ Younger housewives especially were already familiar with and more willing to bring foreign foods and foreign cooking methods into the home. A new era of home cooking in terms of ingredients and spices began with the introduction and assimilation of foreign recipes to traditional Korean cooking methods and tastes. *KMCN* modified foreign recipes to use Korean ingredients and spices, and to be cooked according to Korean methods. This constructs the meaning of traditional foodways as national taste. *KMCN* not only worked as an educator in foreign cuisine but also as a preserver of traditional methods and national taste.

The introduction of Western menus to its readers was an important task for *KMCN*. Read two decades or more after its initial publication, recipes such as scrambled

¹⁸ Specific titles are *Italian cuisine* (M. Choi) and *Ch'am Maditnŭn P'ŭrangsŭ Yori* (Seoul Munhwasa P'yŏnjippu).

eggs might seem odd, but in the early 1990s, scrambled eggs were only known as a fancy item served at hotels. The directions of the recipe are very basic; whisk a couple of eggs into a bowl and then cook it on the stovetop. Although simple, Chang attempted to include foreign foods and cooking as a friendlier everyday practice for Korean housewives. Such recipes were also relevant because her own children were living abroad.

Chang's spaghetti recipe is very representative of the process of assimilation; she modifies the ingredients, spices, and cooking methods of Italian food for Korean cooking. Italian pasta was not a familiar or everyday menu item in Korea in the early 1990s. Hence, Chang used simple and didactic language to describe a modified version. She skips the ingredients of breadcrumbs and cheese from the original recipe, and adds sesame seeds "to make it in Korean style" (S.-y, Chang 131). She also suggests putting the pasta in water, boiling it for 5 minutes, then taking off the lid and removing the pot from heat to let it rest for 25–50 minutes (S.-y. Chang 132). This may be an attempt of Chang to finish the sauce while the pasta is cooking, thus, making it easier for her. Chang also translates words such as "meatball" or "spaghetti" into Korean, although now these foreign terms are used by most Koreans. Although Chang tries to familiarize spaghetti for her audience, the description of the texture of the cooked pasta is entirely missing in her instruction. She also does not offer an estimation of how much importance the audience gives to the incorporation and assimilation of foreign cuisines in their everyday lives. This shows a wider distance between Western and Korean cuisines in the early 1990s compared to the later years. For instance, it became natural in Korea after the late 2000s to discuss the perfect texture of cooked pasta as *al dente*, meaning to the tooth in Italian. The term is widely used on media to describe the texture of the noodle cooked only until slightly

resistant when bitten into, which would have been too much information for the audience in the early 1990s.

Chang's effort to mitigate the Western foods to suit Korean tastes shows more explicitly in the use of the term "*nŭkkihada*," which means the food is greasy, buttery, and/or makes the eater queasy. These meanings mirror what Korean people typically believe about dishes, usually foreign, that lack the salty, spicy, or other strong flavors that are used in many Korean foods. In a recipe for making a raw vegetable salad to go with a meat dish, Chang includes an Asian-style dressing recipe with sesame seeds, and says: "This would taste better and spicier than greasy American dressing" (100). Chang injects Korean spices into Western cuisine, altering the dish so that it is suitable to the Korean taste. Compared to the assimilation of foreign foods in Western cultures, this process is unique in that Korean chefs are making an intentional effort to assimilate the foreign foods and practices. In contrast, Japanese cuisine was able to "melt" into American culture only when Japanese chefs reconstructed its flavors, texture, and ingredients. A part of the success of California roll as a staple menu at Asian restaurants in the US was due to its inverted structure of *nori* (dried seaweed) and rice. This structure successfully hid the black color of *nori*, which was once considered to be unappetizing in the US. Korean housewives, however, actively adopt foreign foods to their Korean home cooking as agents of glocalization.

In contrast to a relatively recent adoption of Western culture, Chinese food has long been a part of Korean culture. *KMCN* introduces more exotic and complex Chinese recipes, which demonstrates the closer emotional connection for the Korean audience. In her descriptions, Chang constructs the idea of Korean taste in her modification of spices

and ingredients in recipes to “suit the Korean taste” (135). This usually is mitigation of flavoring, such as using less oil or omitting strong or unfamiliar spices such as coriander. In addition, the cooking tips which are intended to enhance the taste for the Korean palate are kneading the shrimp ball batter to create a chewy texture; using a Swanson brand chicken broth for convenience; and substituting hoisin sauce by mixing sugar and oyster sauce with a Chinese *chajang* (sauce made with black paste). As she updates Chinese-Korean fusion recipes, Chang mentions that “cooking foreign recipes at home is not hard, it just requires knowledge” (134). Chang assimilates foreign recipes to suit Korean cooking practices as well as the traditional taste, so that “the traditional ways of home cooking is preserved wherever you are” (134).

Both standardization and hybridization redefine traditional and national components of Korean home cooking—time and effort, as well as usage of ingredients, spices, and cooking methods. *KMCN* makes use of both standardization and hybridization to maintain homemade taste while accommodating to more convenient and newer options. Through this process, home-cooked meals and taste become more accessible to housewives fitting to glocal changes. The attempt to measure out ingredients and standardize the cooking process establishes stability in preserving the taste of homemade meals. In doing so, *KMCN* complicates the axes of traditional / modern and national / foreign and global; some recipes and explanations overlap the two axes but not completely. Hybridization of both Korean recipes with foreign foods and of foreign recipes for Korean taste similarly focuses on maintaining the Korean taste by mitigating foreign ingredients and spices. The adaptation and assimilation processes especially overlap the ideas of traditional cooking and national taste; the former is constructed as the

latter in some recipes. Assimilation of foreign foods also articulates how the foreign clashes with and redefines what is traditional and national. The standard of assimilation always remains within the traditional components of Korean home cooking. *KMCN* portrays housewives' struggles with standardizing and hybridizing ingredients and spices of home cooking in detail. The cookbook also reflects the desire to maintain traditional taste and guards the boundaries of Korean home cooking and the meanings of national traditions, which was a growing need in the early 1990s.

Cookbooks as Mediated Pedagogy of Traditions

Along with other cookbooks in the 1990s, *KMCN* captures some key components of the general effort to redefine Korean cooking, especially standardization. The value of *KMCN*, however, lies in its ability to reveal the grassroots needs to standardize and hybridize Korean cooking and newer and foreign foodways. *KMCN* reflects the desire and anxiety of Korean housewives to preserve the components and meanings of Korean home cooking, which coincide with gender and national ideologies.

KMCN's glocal tactics in redefining Korean cooking begin with Chang's authority as a real housewife and a mother-in-law who is trying to preserve the meaning of sacrificial devotion and the taste of a home-cooked meal. The emphasis on the role of housewife is central, even as she employs the tactics of standardization and hybridization. Chang makes an effort to educate readers about Korean home cooking by focusing on the meaning of family food culture that extends to Confucian customs. In addition, *KMCN* redefines what Korean home cooking and taste mean and suggests how to fit a global

standard—the ripening of cultural interactions between Korea and the rest of the world in the process of glocalization.

A full analysis of the value of this book to the younger-generation housewives is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but we can examine comments written by one of Chang’s daughters-in-law:

When my mother-in-law visits my family the first thing that she does is to make kimch’i. She mixes up vegetables and spices without gloves because ‘the taste of the hand’ is important. (...) Her food always tastes good because she stays away from chemical additives and cooks with devotion. (...) Because we live far away, she lets us experience the food of family in a cautious and considerate manner (S.-y. Chang 196-97).

Chang’s daughter-in-law notes Chang’s efforts to standardize Korean cooking, her dedication to the maintenance of home-cooked taste, and the value of family traditions and gender ideals, all of which are present throughout the cookbook. The daughter-in-law’s appreciation of Chang’s instructions and effort reveals her own desire to maintain traditional methods and tastes of Korean home cooking.

The comment by Chang’s daughter-in-law also acknowledges that *KMCN* is an educational food medium. It is an example of an everyday effort to preserve Korean cooking by a mother-in-law figure, and the willingness of readers to listen and pay attention leaves us to wonder about the next generation of cookbooks and other food media and their mediated pedagogies. The degree to which housewives preserve

traditions notwithstanding, the redefinition process of glocalization in Korean foodways continues into the post-IMF crisis era.

Lastly, *KMCN* articulates the clash between and redefines meanings of traditional / modern, and national / foreign and global in the 1990s. The occasional overlap between all elements is complex yet clearly visible in *KMCN*. The analysis of *KMCN* thus concretizes what threatens Korean foodways and gender roles. Modernity for Korean housewives in the 1990s meant both modern methods of cooking and foreign tastes, both of which young people started to indulge in despite counter movements that argued that foreign cultural influences threatened the stability of national traditions. More broadly, modernity also meant the actual need to redefine the meaning of traditional housewife and living as more global and modern—independent and open—individuals. Thus, we see how the biggest social clashes of modernity can manifest themselves in the smallest social practices of cooking.

CHAPTER FOUR

BAKING BLOGS AS A LEARNING COMMUNITY: NEGOTIATING CONFUCIAN AND NEOLIBERAL MOTHERHOOD

Since the IMF crisis of 1997, the Internet has slowly become a popular medium—sometimes serving as an influential alternative to traditional forms of mass media. Granted by accessibility to the Internet, the popularization of blogging started after the launch of the unique blogging platform Cyworld.com in 2003.¹⁹ Blogs especially became big in Korea through portal websites (H. Lee 624). Among 37 million Internet users in Korea, 60 percent of them reported using social networking websites and blogs, and 44.3 percent reported actively updating personal homepages, including blogs, every day in 2011 (*Domain Report 2011*). Naver.com, one of the biggest portal websites,²⁰ offers a variety of content and services—including news, blogs, email, online communities, and dictionaries. Since its launch in 2003 through 2007, Naver.com maintained a share of

¹⁹ Cyworld had more than 10 million visitors per day in 2003 (H. Lee 624). Cyworld expanded its territory by implementing a unique feature, the “*ilch'on* system,” which is similar to Facebook’s friends system. According to the Korean kinship chart, the different relations of family members to one another is explained through *ch'onsu*. *Ilch'on* refers to the relationship between a parent and a child. Cyworld adopted a system whereby users accept *ilch'on* requests from other users, who could then control the visibility of their blogging content, which was a novel feature at the time. Also, through personalized content-based avatars and background skins, Cyworld allowed a user to individuate his/her own page in a unique way. Rather than written entries, Cyworld’s primary tool for expression was a photo album. The creation of photo albums was easier with Cyworld’s ready-made templates. “Mini hompy,” (with “hompy” as an abbreviation for homepage) as these blog forms were called, were unique in the sense that they focused on visual rather than textual content.

²⁰ Naver.com is one of the most popular portal websites in Korea; 75 percent of online users in Korea use this website as their gateway to the World Wide Web (J. Lee). This means, as of 2011, 30 million people visit Naver on a daily basis (*Domain Report 2011*).

Korea's blogging industry of nearly 70 percent—in both participation of bloggers and of users browsing the site's other content (S. Kwon).

In 2010, 134 blogs with beauty, food, and design content were among the blogs voted the most popular on Naver—while only 55 education, economy, and current affairs blogs were on the list. Baking blogs are a popular category within food blogging, especially among young mothers. Since the popularization of home baking in the 1990s,²¹ baking bloggers have collected and published recipes similar to what are published in print cookbooks. The genre of this food medium organically gathered a specific group of young mothers who had no prior means of engaging in such online interaction. Young mothers in Korea made use of a space of online media to create and propagate a new type of culture that had not existed before.

The case of the baking blogger nicknamed “Hobaragi” illustrates this cultural interaction among young mothers discussing their lives through baking. On her blog, “Hobaragi” has posted recipes and pictures for cookies and waffles. “Hobaragi” described how she spent all afternoon baking them for her two daughters’ picnic at their nursery school the next day: “The cookies and waffles came out great and taste delicious so I feel great” (“Sop’ungkanŭn nal”). One of her regular commenters replied under the post: “The teachers will really appreciate them too. Baking cookies for the school picnic is such devotion. Your kids would scream the best mom ever. I would try this!” (“Sop’ungkanŭn nal”). “Hobaragi” replied, updating the commenter about the results of her baking: “I went to pick up my kids yesterday and the teachers gave me two thumbs

²¹ The term home baking starts appearing in Korean newspapers in the early 1990s. Home baking classes opened up during this time and grew in popularity. In the late 1990s, pre-mixed baking products appeared on the market.

up with a shout of joy. It felt so good” (“Sop’ungkanŭn nal”). Many baking blog posts similarly reveal the direct lived experience of foreign foodways by showing the specific ways in which young and tech-savvy Korean mothers come together to share their shifting values and lifestyles. Baking blogs are grassroots food media that visibly portray glocalization—the process by which a foreign method of cooking that does not exist in traditional Korean foodways has been adapted and popularized.

This chapter focuses on how mothers use these spaces and texts of baking blogs for self-creation and identity-work. Due to the medium’s interactive yet independent and time-sensitive nature, blog texts convey the identities of participants both as individuals and in a group, as compared with more unilateral forms of media such as cookbooks or television dramas. In other words, while mass media have distinct authors/producers and readers/viewers, blogs as food media are more open to the public becoming the text’s author/producer. The public can freely write and interact through the creation of blog posts. In an interactive media setting, readers are much more likely to influence the content of the authors whether by comments or by linking their own blog posts to the original post. These interactions are also time-sensitive, as they can happen in real time—allowing for a more interpersonal form of communication compared with what is permitted the public by mass media. This co-creation of media texts reveals the ways in which a group of people thinks and what they value in life in the process.

In terms of thematic focus, this chapter analyzes stories of mothers of young children, blogger mothers, which is a distinct subset of the Korean housewives examined in chapter two. To situate the term blogger mothers within the Korean context, the literature of “mommy blogging” in the US is useful. Early scholarship on mommy

blogging has opened an ongoing thread of discussion about whether these women participate in a confining space of digital domesticity or an enabling space for feminist resistance (Chen; Friedman; Lopez; Morrison). Although mommy blogging may be empowering, Chen acknowledges that its primary focus on child rearing restricts mothers to the domestic realm (511). On the other hand, scholars who view mommy blogs as feministic resistance argue that they are an effective mode of collective resistance to traditional motherly identities (Morrison 51-52), and a counterpublic space for challenging hegemonic notions of “motherhood” by expanding its meaning (see Friedman; Lopez). However, these discussions and critiques of mommy blogging mostly derive from and applied to the US context, leaving a great gap in the understanding of the phenomenon in Korea. Given the possibly-problematic historical or theoretical associations of the term, I will not use the term “mommy blogger,” but a more neutral term of “blogger mothers” instead to discuss the activity of mommy blogging in the Korean context.

Looking at blogs written by mothers in the context of Korea requires a different framework, one that allows for the study of changing economic, social, and cultural realities of individuals in relation to the popularization of baking blogs. This chapter focuses on glocalization in the post-IMF period—the neoliberal influence of modernity on Confucian traditions of Korean motherhood. I analyze a set of baking blogs that mothers, through a mode of Westernized foodways, collectively use to negotiate and educate each other about motherhood as a practice of glocalization. I argue that baking blogs form a learning community where blogger mothers concretize and negotiate the traditional Confucian-based motherhood with ideas of self-management and self-

enterprise. Similar to what I found in *KMCN*, blogger mothers negotiate foodways and the idea of motherhood through the broader frames of traditional, modern, foreign and global. The modern and foreign neoliberal ideas of self-management and self-enterprise incorporate the ways that an individual seeks self-knowledge in order to learn the right conduct and stay competitive. Mothers learn and practice skills of self-management and self-enterprise for the benefit of both their children and themselves, while carrying out the traditional Confucian value of sacrificing oneself for the family. As blogger mothers encourage each other to negotiate and learn—or rather, glocalize—the older and newer notions of self and motherhood, they ultimately construct an idealized motherhood for the post-IMF period.

Neoliberal Korea, Self, and Motherhood

The prominence of neoliberalism in Korean glocalization is inescapable when discussing the general changes in Korean society, especially the effects of neoliberalism on public sentiment for economic and social issues. Blogs written by mothers illustrate the ways that young Korean mothers incorporate a sense of self into motherly care, which exemplifies the transition from a traditional to a neoliberal society following the IMF crisis. Roughly, I use the word “neoliberal” to refer to both the economic and political changes I have outlined in the second chapter. More specifically, “neoliberal” refers to deregulated markets, globalization, changing rules and policies, and self-regulating techniques (Thorsen and Lie 7). As policies, practices, and social and cultural values, neoliberalism is in itself a form of modernity.

The theoretical implications of neoliberalism as a political and economic reality and a necessity for individuals to re-engineer their personal economic life and perception of self provide good context for understanding the rise of neoliberal tendencies in Korean women. From a neoliberal perspective, an individual, like a business, is a collection of skills and traits, and needs to cultivate self-management to stay competitive (Gershon 539). This idea derives from Foucault's notion of technologies of the self—autonomic, constant, and universal care of self to maintain satisfying physical, mental, and spiritual states (Foucault *Technologies of the Self* 19). Self-management includes taking care of the body, fulfilling emotional needs, and learning new knowledge, abilities, and skills. Self-management also extends to the idea of self-enterprise, which Foucault describes as “a way of behaving in the economic field” (*The Birth* 148). A successful neoliberal individual, as a productive entrepreneur, actively seeks out economic prosperity, freedom, and self-expression (Davies and Bansel 249-50). Self-branding is a prime example and an active act of self-enterprise; it means to expose package, and promote the personal skills, knowledge, and abilities of an individual into something resembling a commercial “brand” (Banet-Weiser *Authentic TM*). Self-branding is the process, effort, and result of self-management. As it has become an expected activity within capitalist culture, self-branding now serves as more than an economic tool of neoliberalism (Banet-Weiser "Free Self-Esteem" 43). Self-branding, as a culture, brings like-minded people together into larger communities, in which we can find a microcosm of the shifts and negotiations within contemporary culture (Banet-Weiser "Free Self-Esteem" 45). I mainly use two broad terms of self-management and self-enterprise to describe the neoliberal tendencies of Korean women.

In the Korean context, as the need grew for Koreans to take an active role in seeking productive lives under a modern competitive job market and social environment, self-management and self-enterprise became continual, lifetime efforts. In his study of two famous books²² by self-management gurus published in the aftermath of neoliberal reform, Seo illustrates how the authors instruct readers to use their special techniques of self-management, which mostly center on the pursuit of knowledge and commodities. Additionally, these authors teach the techniques of consumption to achieve the mobilization of one's freedom, responsibility, and autonomy (D. Seo 93). Self-management and self-enterprise in the Korean context especially stress the acquisition of knowledge through education, emphasizing in particular studying at highly-ranked colleges and improving one's language ability, in order to promote oneself as an entrepreneur of the personal life (see Abelmann, Park and Kim; Park and Abelmann; D. Seo).

Korean mothers responded to these tendencies of self-management and self-enterprise in a unique way—by incorporating pieces of the existing tradition. Korean blogger mothers, as a community responding in dispersed ways to neoliberal reform, construct a Confucian-neoliberal mother figure, which is the result of a negotiation of the cultural axis of tradition / modernity. In other words, mothers use their baking narratives to negotiate the meanings of traditional motherhood when they live under the influence of neoliberalism. The new neoliberal motherhood, in itself a process of glocalization,

²² They are Bon Hyung Goo's *Changing Story of Me* (2004) and Byung Ho Gong's *Self-Management Note* (2001). Both gurus also have self-management companies that received admiration from both management consultants and corporate education trainers, for being the gurus of the self-management industry (D. Seo 93).

combines and renegotiates the Confucian ideal of mother with neoliberal self-management and self-enterprise.

In this chapter, I characterize this traditional Confucian ideal of mother as the sacrificial mother.²³ In everyday contemporary practice, the idea of a sacrificial mother is not so different from what Lawler describes as a mother providing for a child's needs and wants (50). However, Korean mothers still embrace the notion of sacrificial motherhood with a ferocious intensity, striving for a lifetime to find the meanings and purposes of their lives entirely from within and for the family. For all the cultural changes around them, the primary responsibilities of the sacrificial mother remain the same: selfless devotion for children and husbands, all done from the home front.

The sacrificial mother discourse is indeed an important part of neoliberal motherhood. More specifically, the education of children and their mothers illustrates well the dynamic between the selfless care and devotion of the sacrificial mother, and their efforts to manage their children to raise modern and global individuals. Korean mothers emphasize quality education, not only as one of the key values of traditionally Confucian countries (see chapter two), but also as evidence of mothers' virtue under neoliberalism. Rather than directly teaching the children, mothers are more keen to

²³ Constant attempts to change the perception of gender roles are ongoing in Korea. The preference for the son and for the male-focused headship system of family structure is slowly but steadily changing (Jones 218). Gains in work-related rights for women, such as the disappearance of compulsory retirement upon marriage, are also significant (Jones 219-20). The effort to moderate the sense of male supremacy and the submissive nature of the duties expected of women has been successful to a certain degree. However, even with the rise of women's political rights and the increasing population of married working women, women remain responsible for a majority of the housework (Jones 217). In addition, providing higher education for women is seen to assure their upward mobility in marriage and prepare them to nurture the children wisely (Jones 218). Sacrifice still remains as a major characteristic of Confucian gender ideals.

providing the best environment for learning—through offering genuine economic, temporal, and emotional support and guidance. The discussion of manager mothers emphasizes this sacrificial role of mothers in raising neoliberal individuals. A manager mother works hard to provide opportunities for her children to learn different aspects of life and guide them into being successful global citizens (Park and Abelmann 647). Articulating the types of maternal labor performed in creating global subjects who function as both cosmopolitan and national citizens, Abelmann and Kang illustrate that mothers of pre-college children studying abroad describe their parenting as guidance—through nurturing the development of creativity, language skills, and the conduct required for global citizens (1).

Mothers themselves need to be creative and entrepreneurial in order to teach their children to be so. This coincides with the neoliberal trend towards self-management and self-enterprise. It is necessary for neoliberal mothers to demonstrate qualities of hard work and efficiency to be good examples of self-managing conduct (Abelmann and Kang 11). In addition, mothers' intellectual and cultural ability to bring together resources for creative learning—and their economic and social capacity to find quality education—requires mothers to be consistently self-enterprising. The knowledge and experience of the mother is not only directly related to how well her children are educated, but also how well mothers keep or develop a sense of social and economic security (Park and Abelmann 665). Thus, neoliberal Korean mothers strive for their own sense of achievement and success (Park and Abelmann 651). For instance, mothers supporting their study-abroad children not only take satisfaction in raising competitive and successful children, they fulfill their own feelings of accomplishment for serving as “role

models” (Abelmann and Kang 11). Whether the mother’s knowledge is intellectual, social, or cultural, the practice of self-management benefits both the mother as an individual and her children as they learn to become competitive, and further self-managing and self-enterprising.

Thus, Confucian and neoliberal motherhood are not mutually exclusive, as tradition and modernity are not. In fact, the characteristics of neoliberal Korean motherhood that focusing on self-management and self-enterprise complement the traditional values of maternal sacrifice and care for the family. The process by which Korean mothers maintain their maternal responsibility and connect their efforts into nationalism still continue under the neoliberal influence. These young mothers merge two ideals of motherhood to raise and educate successful individuals, while also practicing self-management in the context of glocalization.

Blogger Mothers Forming a Learning Community

Blogs are media spaces in which this activity of sharing and negotiating between Confucian and neoliberal motherhood takes place. Mothers openly discuss their motherly responsibilities in blogs through first-person narratives (Lopez 731). The literature studying Japanese *bento* blogs illustrates how mothers make their labor visible by posting the process of making lunch boxes for their children (Seddon 52-53). *Bento* blogs not only communicate the practical necessity of *bento* for creating a balanced meal for children, but also sublimate maternal responsibility into recognition from other mothers through telling personal stories and giving practical, often technical knowledge (Seddon

50-55). These mothers practice negotiated reading of the texts. They accept the dominant ideology of domestic gender roles by discussing and sharing cooking tips but assert that making *bento* requires and displays specialized skills and knowledge possessed by an individual.

Zaslow describes these personal expressions and knowledge that pass among women as feminine ways of knowing (1355).²⁴ Zaslow explains how this way of knowing becomes a collective sense of maternal knowledge in online medical communities of mothers. Maternal knowledge is subjective thoughts, emotions, and intuitions of women conveyed through personal anecdotes and descriptions of experiences—which consists of knowledge, information, and techniques deemed valid and necessary (Zaslow 1368-9). This personal sense of maternal knowledge can become collective, socially constructed knowledge in the online space through voluntary participation in discussion and networking among mothers (Zaslow 1366-7). In the example above, blogger mothers demonstrate, via this socially constructed maternal knowledge, the ways in which they share cooking tips and methods for *bento* making.

Another instance of blogger mothers sharing maternal knowledge that thereby becomes part of interactive public conversations is on child rearing (Lopez 744). Because the content of maternal knowledge is specific to the needs of other mothers, blogs written by mothers attract an audience of like-minded mothers in similar circumstances. Morrison understands this type of blogging by mothers as a specific genre of blogs, a community developed to address the needs of mothers that enables them to share

²⁴ Zaslow introduces feminine knowledge as a form of thinking that is culturally associated with women. It typically relies on emotion, intuition, and subjective thought, and is, thus, a socially constructed idea rather than an essential feminist approach (Zaslow 1355).

experiences and build collective narratives (Morrison 51). For example, the use of photographs in Japanese *bento* blogs is a cultural dialogue where women express what cannot be communicated easily through words—the time, effort, and value of their sacrifice for the family (Seddon 52). They receive feedback from each other and participate in ongoing conversations through which they develop close friendships and intimate support (Morrison 48).

This tightly-knit social network encourages blogger mothers to form a community in which they learn from each other the skills and knowledge, regardless of theme or category, for everyday life. Formal educators use a similar type of large online learning community to build expertise, to exchange knowledge to advance teaching skills, or to share research ideas (Hur, Brush and Bonk; Kjellberg; Tseng and Kuo). Compared with teachers, blogger mothers gather content more organically, without a specific purpose or educational goal. Research on these online communities of women—particularly communities of mothers—has, due to this organic development and inherently implicit style of learning, found evidence that learning is a key reason for their use. Chen suggests that one of the major purposes of women blogging communities is “to learn interesting things” (7). Similarly, Zaslow finds that one mother advised another to “learn” from her lived expertise in finding a fit school for her child (1362). Despite the lack of literature about learning communities of blogger mothers, I will explore the possibilities of these organic, interactive learning communities.

Baking Blog Community As a Space for Analysis

Because baking blogs written by mothers have an organic character, I analyze the posts as phenomenological texts, under the assumption that they portray mothers' experiences and knowledge of both Confucian and neoliberal ideas in the context of globalization after the IMF crisis. I chose blog posts from Naver.com. Naver allows bloggers to interact with each other by providing categories of interest as they publish posts. Under the category "Kitchen," for example, many food bloggers who are amateur cooks and bakers present their recipes and related stories. Five to seven popular bloggers are featured every month under the "Kitchen People" segment. A subcategory of the Kitchen People section is "Baking," where Naver selects one or two baking blogs based on their number of visitors and the number of clicks to individual blog postings. They are written by amateur bakers, young mothers, often in their thirties, who are interested in baking snacks for their preschool- or elementary school-age children. These baking blogs allow young mothers to interconnect through the visibility and popularity of the Kitchen People section. Baking bloggers "neighbor" each other's posts closely and interact by commenting or sharing the content, thus forming an online community.

I chose texts from the Kitchen People section with publication timestamps from 2008 to 2012. From the total 39 baking blogs, I selected 32 blogs authored by mothers. On average, each blogger had 154 posts, although the number varied from 52 to 256. Except for two mothers in their forties with teenage daughters, all the blogger mothers whose blogs I chose to study were in their thirties and had children between the ages of 0 and 12. Although baking blogs, by their nature, do not contain much personal

information, I removed all identity signifiers—such as the blogger’s age, address, and children’s names—before copying and pasting the texts into a document for analysis—with the exception of the bloggers’ usernames. My analysis presumed that the narratives concretized the social construction of maternal knowledge and experience. In other words, the stories and lives of blogger mothers reveal and illustrate the specifics within the framework of changing motherhood and Korean foodways—as they are situated within the traditional, the foreign, the global, and the modern—and thus the process of glocalization. As coherent themes arose based on bloggers’ own standpoints, I grouped different blog posts together according to the ways the texts negotiated between Confucian and neoliberal ideals of motherhood.

In the following sections, I analyze how the sacrificial characteristics of the Confucian ideal of motherhood combine and enter into negotiation with the neoliberal elements of self-management and self-enterprise—and the ways in which mothers learn to practice both. First, the emphasis on their children’s health, safety, and education lets these blogger mothers keep the sacrificial characteristic that adheres to Confucian tradition. The other two most obvious themes repeated across blogs were negotiations of the Confucian and neoliberal ideals of motherhood: the sacrificial mother into the self-managing/self-enterprising mother, and vice versa. Where a blog entry was characterized was closely related to the status of the blogger mothers as full-time or working mothers; there is a big difference in the amount of time and effort that each kind of mother is able to devote to motherly activities. Both kinds of mothers subscribe to the social norms of the Confucian tradition, but adapt differently to the neoliberal influence of self-management and self-enterprise. Throughout my analysis, I also articulate the ways in

which the ideas of traditional, modern, foreign and global overlap.

The Confucian Mother Managing the Neoliberal Children

The first dynamic between the Confucian mother and the neoliberal trend is most evident in the efforts to manage and guide children through modern and global ideals of well-functioning and successful individuals. In other words, some of the blogger mothers use the online community to discuss and encourage good habits for their children. Blogger mothers who participate in this dynamic are mainly stay-at-home mothers, carrying on the tradition of sacrificial motherhood rather than focusing on a career. In their discussions, blogger mothers reveal their will and desire to raise their children into successful neoliberal individuals.

One of the biggest concerns of blogger mothers is the safety and health of their children, a fear generated by widely-publicized food scares involving mass-produced snacks.²⁵ Additionally, additives, preservatives, and chemicals in store-bought food concern many mothers. Blogger mothers pride themselves on eliminating dangerous elements altogether by baking from scratch, which is a neoliberal management of food. For example: “I took the kids to the library today. On our way back, we were thirsty and hungry so we stopped by Mister Donut. I like their *pingsu* (shaved ice) because they

²⁵ Food scares regarding store-bought snacks are prevalent in Korea, as in other countries. One such scare occurred in March of 2008 with the incident that came to be known as “Rat Cracker.” A snack named “Shrimp Cracker”—manufactured by Nong Shim, one of the biggest manufacturers of food products in Korea—discarded the entire stock due to an unfavorable incident. A customer at a karaoke opened the bag and discovered an object that was about an inch big and resembled a rat head. The manufacturing factory of this product was in China, and the facility was shut down. Large retailers such as E-mart and Lotte Mart also halted all sales of the product (Gina Kim).

don't use nasty canned fruits and red beans weren't bad either" (Talk'omi). The perceived risk of ingredients such as "nasty canned fruits" or "red beans" in children's snacks is largely due to the perceived unhealthiness and uncleanliness of processed food. The mother aims to create good eating habits and develop her children's taste palates. The replies to this post are in enthusiastic agreement and reveal the mothers' reception of information—thus, their learning. For instance, one commenter writes: "I never feed canned red beans, you just don't know what is in it. And it is way too sweet. But I didn't know Mister Donut had a good *pingsu*. Thanks, I know where to take the kids the next time we are out" (Ch'iroch'iro).

For these mothers, failing to serve a homemade snack leads to feeling guilty. The case of a blogger named "Hobaragi" illustrates this: "I have never bought a cake mix before for the purpose of making snack for my kids. I didn't have enough time to bake. I feel so sorry for them, almost guilty" ("Interview with Hobaragi"). This blogger suggests that baking mix is an alternative that a mother can use when she is "out of time." The blogger feels guilty because she failed to devote enough time to make a healthy snack for her kids, and she frames her usage of a cake mix as inadequate motherly behavior. What makes a good mother depends not only on the amount of time and effort expended, but also on the careful consideration of ingredients and processes.

The maternal knowledge of nutrition is another important aspect in presenting one's sacrificial devotion, which focuses primarily on managing good habits of health of children. Home baking starts with carefully scrutinizing all ingredients used. Baking without butter, wheat flour, or sugar is popular among blogger mothers. For example, the blogger "Hobaragi" writes that "No butter is used so it's not as soft or nicely shaped but

the rice flour gives it a crunchier texture, and the cranberries give a chewy texture. Above all, it's so much healthier!" ("Short Bread Cookie Ran?"). It is interesting to note that the taste is much compromised to reach the desired healthfulness; indeed, most of the discourses along these lines emphasize a recipe's ingredients over its taste. Another blogger mothers, "Julia," replied that she will test the recipe, and posted her own making of the cake with pictures and detailed explanations of the process. She does not forget to credit the source and mentions that she "learned" it from Hobaragi: "I learned a great recipe from Hobaragi. I know exactly what goes in, so safe and healthy, and the kids love them!" (Julia).

The focus of bloggers who participate in this dynamic extends to ingredients that children refuse to eat and maternal tactics they use to incorporate vegetables into meals for children. In making black bean chocolate chip biscotti, "Honey" mentions: "They did not even guess that black beans were in there because it was so finely grated. My children hate black beans. It felt so good to have them eat black bean in snack food" ("Kömünk'ongaru"). This strategy demonstrates a mother's effort to provide healthy options instead of directly teaching her children what to eat. These baking tips and skills are expert maternal knowledge within the community. These healthful baking techniques—grating vegetables such as carrots and adding them into croquettes, stuffing them into donuts, or milling them into fine powder to mix with regular flour—are popular. It is apparent from their comments that these mothers believe they are cultivating the right taste and providing more healthful options to their children. Honey says: "They are too young to know now. But my children will understand the importance of eating this

way when they grow up” (“Kömünk’ongaru”). Blogger mothers cultivate a privileged state of self-management and further self-enterprise starting from an early age.

These pieces of maternal knowledge—the detailed content such as ingredient information and baking techniques which young mother post to blogs—foster interaction with other mothers who value sacrificial motherhood. Their stories, tested and proven by direct maternal experience, are useful resources for other mothers. The opportunity for networking is the basis for the organic online gathering of blogger mothers: “I’ve decided to use a nickname that can be associated with home baking because I wanted to interact with mothers who have the same interest” (Talk’omi). Sharing and discussing maternal knowledge are essential for blogger mothers in forming a learning community.

This learning community illustrates how blogger mothers, via grassroots food media, position their neoliberal values and sacrificial motherhood as specific ways of glocalization. Blogs as a community teases out the ways that blogger mothers negotiate between traditional and modern ideals of motherhood and redefine their meanings so that they co-exist without an obvious clash. For instance, the community discusses the early-stage education of children, because it is a mother’s responsibility and duty to show her competency in raising successful individuals. Here, blogger mothers practice ideals of the modern and global individual, of any gender, while serving the role of sacrificial mother. Any achievement of the child serves as proof of the mother’s successful adaptation to the neoliberal ideology expressed on her blog. The encouragement and reporting back of their processes of learning, done through posts and replies to other mothers’ blog posts, evidences how blogger mothers learn to lead their children to healthier and safer food options.

Negotiating the Sacrificial Mother and the Self-Managing/Self-Enterprising Mother

While blogger mothers discuss the mother-child relationship with an emphasis on the sacrificial characteristic of the mother and the neoliberal success of their children, mothers also discuss their own neoliberal identities. This discussion, which usually takes place among full-time mothers, is where active negotiations between the self-managing/self-enterprising and sacrificial mother figures happen—in their subtle construction of baking practices as both neoliberal and sacrificial activities. On one hand, mothers freely share their own self-managing/self-enterprising needs. They value the personal satisfaction they derive from the activity of baking, and see it as a safe way to enjoy their own private time and to recoup energy. Additionally, they use baking blogs as a consumptive commercial space to improve their odds for monetary gain, which translates into success in the Korean neoliberal economy. On the other hand, baking is a foreign mode of cooking that has only recently become popular. Home baking is in itself a devotional motherly activity due to the investments of significant time, effort, money, and care that it involves. Imported ingredients are expensive and often require extra research and trips to multiple grocery stores.

In addition to fostering negotiation of neoliberal values and sacrificial motherhood, baking is an area in which the ideas of modern, and foreign and global meet. Along with its foreign nature, baking requires modern infrastructural adjustments in the kitchen architecture and technology, because an oven is not a standard appliance in the Korean home. The “extra mile” that mothers go in the name of cooking make their home-baked goods evidence of exceptional motherly sacrifice and devotion.

In this negotiation between sacrificial motherhood and neoliberal self-identity, there are several ways in which full-time mothers rhetorically construct themselves as competitive, successful, well-managed individuals increasing their self-worth in economic, social, and cultural aspects of life. These are emotional satisfaction, experiential accomplishment, self-branding and promotion, and commercial achievements. These characteristics of self-management/self-enterprise are also common in the entire learning community, as mothers teach each other baking skills, blog promotion, and branding.

The first characteristic of self-management/self-enterprise is baking as a means of emotional satisfaction. As a neoliberal activity, baking is an extension to what housewives in the 1990s have negotiated as younger housewives especially started to focus on individual achievement and acknowledgement by others. The same activity which represented “sacrifice” also meant “allowing for personal time and self-care,” marking baking as a path to emotional satisfaction and pride, as neoliberal values surged during the post-IMF period. This emotional satisfaction narrative is a natural part of the ways that mothers share recipe stories, which incorporate personal experiences and as well as knowledge of mothers. This is evident in the following blog excerpts:

My children went camping yesterday so this morning has been very peaceful. It feels like I’m on a special vacation lying around in my pajamas blogging without even washing my face. I’ve decided to bake really quick and simple cookies for myself in the morning (Hobaragi “Brunch and Scone”).

I, as a stay-at-home mom, can't rest over the weekend because everyone else is at home. I feel liberated every Monday morning when they're all out of the house. I'm baking a cheesecake just for myself this morning to comfort myself from the busy weekend's work of taking care of the family (Miae).

I went hiking this morning, came home and baked some scones after brunch. It's not too sweet so it suits the latte. Scones are so easy and quick, I love baking scones (Honey "Hiking and Scones").

I rarely bake cookies when it is daylight but it feels so good to take pictures enjoying the sunlight coming into my windows. One of the biggest perks of home baking is to photograph the finished products that came out successfully (Bread Mama "Chocolate Crack Cookies").

These quotes exemplify how these Korean mothers immersed in Confucian values negotiate a neoliberal focus on themselves without contradicting their sacrificial responsibilities. A mother's freedom is allowed when the kids are not home, needing care. Under the Confucian value system, an activity like baking means taking care of the family even when they are absent, but these women see it also as an end unto itself, something just for themselves. Home baking serves dual duties in self-management. It is a perfect hobby for mothers, a means of nourishing the self—baking cookies or cakes for

herself, enjoying coffee time, or taking photos. Recharging and replenishing the self with a neoliberal act of self-care, the mother is her own individual, in a community with other bloggers. The blogging community empowers mothers to improve their quality of life. In conceiving of time as their own resource, mothers safely engage in enjoyment and satisfaction to “comfort myself from the busy weekend’s work,” which ultimately serves to prepare them for another round of “taking care of the family.” Taking time off from “work” through baking and blogging, thus, is caring for the self and investing in devotion to the family at the same time.

Another element of self-management/self-enterprise is gaining maternal knowledge of baking skills, including technical terms, techniques, and professional equipment that mothers learn from each other. Compared with the cookbook analyzed in chapter three, which mostly teaches housewives about Korean home cooking, home baking is a more self-centered activity. Young mothers are not baking experts, although cooking has traditionally been a duty for married women. Home baking as a hobby requires self-management, especially through learning. Blogger mothers teach each other difficult recipes, such as castella, which is a Japanese sponge cake, or specific techniques and tips—such as adding more egg yolks instead of egg whites in baking the castella. Other bloggers take it upon themselves to respond to recipes by baking a difficult item. Such is the case with the blogger “Yōngi,” who baked castella after reading the original blog post of another blogger mother, “Honey.” Yōngi has multiple posts detailing both her failed and successful attempts at Honey’s recipe. Castella requires a wooden mold specifically designed for this recipe, and extra care on the part of the baker to reduce the number of pores, as well as her time and patience to create the perfect consistency of

meringue and yolk cream. The quality and the uniqueness of these difficult recipes are important to blogger mothers—not because they are trying to fulfill the sacrificial mother figure who feeds her children healthful food, but because they are motivated to learn and to excel. In a way, a mother’s family members are test-baking audiences when the focus shifts to actualization of self through technical expertise and accomplishment.

Among the tactics for self-management and self-enterprise, self-branding is a practical step toward economic stability and success. The authorship of blogs is stressed in many ways, but especially through the watermarking of pictures and photographs with blogging names or logos made by the writer. The publication of pictures underscores the writers’ emphasis on self and the way private narratives are considered public property. Blogger mothers often teach each other promotional ideas and skills, especially regarding the quality of photographs. For instance, in response to a baking post, a commenter named “Pretty p’obi” asked “Bread mama” for the brand and model of the camera that she used. Blogger mothers promote their own identities, considering blogging an investment that moves them beyond their domestic identities.

The regard for blogging content as intellectual property also suggests that blogs could serve as a means of economic gain. Some bloggers become power bloggers—writing and managing popular blogs. Popularity is determined by the length of her blogging career; the number of posts, comments, and visitors; and the frequency of updates, page views, etc. It is common to see, at the end of each post, bloggers urging the viewers to click a “boom up” banner—with each successive click bumping up the post in the rankings. The number of clicks determines if the post is featured in Naver on the main page and in the kitchen section. Blogger mothers directly solicit this kind of support from

their audience, with sentences such as, “please click for a boom up,” so that they can remain power bloggers, retaining their popularity and authority. Power bloggers not only gain prestige and authority in a blog community, but also profit through sponsorships and commercial marketing²⁶ in the form of product and monetary support. The economy of power blogging often allows for the monetization of blogs. Advertising banners from company sponsors, frequent posts about online bake-off competitions, and posted recipes sponsored by specific products all suggest that many blogger mothers participate in monetary exchanges. The political economy of power blogs is not always about voluntary sharing or empowerment of other mothers, but rather personal striving for money and often, fame. This is where neoliberalism breaks off from the ideas of foreign and global, which treats neoliberalism as a universal economic ideology. In the Korean context, it functions as a more independent local yet modern influence—as self-enterprising practices.

It is important to note that this focus on self-management and self-enterprise does not exclude the language of traditional Confucian values. For instance, a power blogger nicknamed “P’ulmuwon” has a rough idea for extending her business beyond the realm of blogging, which she describes in terms of the motherly concept of “gifting” to other people. She writes: “Another enjoyment of home baking is that you get to gift other people. I want to rent a work kitchen when I can later. My dream is to study and teach

²⁶ Products that sponsor blogger mothers vary, but website banners typically advertise them on the blog. Kenwood Bread Makers, as well as manufacturers like homemeal.com and trulife.com, is a frequent sponsor. Often, these bloggers compete for prosumer challenges organized by brands such as Zipel (refrigerator), Together (ice cream), or Houzen (washing machine). Bloggers post their recipes and ask their commenters/viewers to vote for them, specifying that the recipes posted are sponsored and that they are receiving monetary compensation.

baking, maybe open a home bakery/coffee shop. I don't know. Dream's just a dream?" (P'ulmuwon). She carefully prequalifies her plan with the term "enjoyment," which positions her plan as a consequence of emotion rather than as a profitable career. Thus, the sacrificial mother rhetoric carries on, not for the benefit of one's own children but that of other bloggers. These mothers often design excessive gift baskets for close friends and post the detailed process of baking and wrapping. For special occasions such as birthdays and anniversaries, these posts by power bloggers become guidelines for other mothers. For instance, a power blogger named "Bread Mama" posts a chocolate brownie recipe for Valentine's Day, using chocolate that a sponsoring company sent her expressly to use as an ingredient ("Koguma"). Other blogger mothers post follow-up recipes, reporting the results and their adjustments or additions to the recipe. In the original post, Bread Mama reports making extra gift baskets because she enjoys baking so much, noting that she will be "gifting" her close friends from the blogging community. Even within the modern idea of blogs as economic enterprise, blogger mothers frontload care and devotion.

By carefully engaging and learning how to self-manage and self-enterprise, blogger mothers adapt to society's neoliberal reformations. The rhetorics of baking as individual satisfaction and motherly activities overlap with the ideas of modern, and foreign and global, but only to a certain extent, since the specific context of Korean baking blogs assumes neoliberal market economy as a driver and blogging itself a form of self-management and self-enterprise. The ideal of motherhood evident here embraces ideas of emotional satisfaction and the development of self, which translate into economic motive and possibility, although these modern currents are hidden under the safe, traditional mask of the sacrificial mother. The blogging community may highlight

both the performance of motherly activities and a mother's individual achievement, but the development of self-managing and self-enterprising skills always fulfills characteristics of sacrificial motherhood. Such a mother figure is giving but cautiously embedded in the realm of self-improvement. This ongoing conversation provides readers a collective discourse on the ideal mother and her lifestyle.

Working Mother Adapting to the Sacrificial Mother

The last dynamic in these bloggers' negotiation of the Confucian motherhood and neoliberal ideals entails how mothers who put themselves outside the home subtly incorporate the notion of sacrificial mother when narrating their motherly identities. Although these full-time working mothers frame their decision to work within the values of neoliberalism within the Korean context—individualism, urbanization, and market economy—the blog space is where they describe themselves according to Confucian values and learn the cherished practices of the sacrificial mother. What working mothers mostly learn from each other is quick and easy baking skills to help them perform and preserve the idea of sacrificial mother.

Because the baking blog community has a tendency to praise the blogger mothers who bake for children as good mothers, blogger mothers construct baking as a necessary task in order to blot out the stigma attached to being a working mother. For example, one blogger writes: “With my H (her daughter) growing, I need snacks. I can't let her eat store-bought snacks. When I worry people tell me that it's okay because that's how kids develop their immunity but as a mother, I want her to eat the mass-produced snack later in her life” (Minimom). Similar to the sentiments expressed in the discourse on health

and safety, Minimom acknowledges the potential danger of store-bought snacks and the consequent necessity of homemade snacks. She presents herself as an advocate for the sacrificial mother figure—concerned for her daughter rather than for her working self.

While the activity of baking can give at-home mothers a neoliberal skill set and connect them to the modern ideal of motherhood, it also lets working mothers position themselves as sacrificial mothers in line with the Confucian ideal. A blogger named “Kang Yōsa” regularly updates her blog, although she works full time. As a power blogger, Kang Yōsa posts stories about cooking and baking for her family, mainly focusing on making healthy snacks for her sons. As she explains her reason for blogging: “I am a working mom with a nine-year-old and a five-year-old. As I’ve started my job, my mother-in-law has been taking care of them. I always feel sorry because I’m not there to be a mother. This is the reason why I started cooking. As fast-growing children, what they eat will inevitably affect their health or growth. I’m trying to feed them a homemade snack at least once a day” (“Interview with Kang Yōsa”). Her constraints as a full-time worker made her feel guilty because she was “not there to be a mother.” She follows the rhetoric of the sacrificial mother; it is the mother’s responsibility to fulfill her children’s requirements for health. For Kang Yōsa, making clean food at home is necessary to eliminate the stigma of being a bad mother. Thus, she draws a distinction between what is modern and traditional, a store-bought snack and a homemade one—not only by the presence of chemical additives and preservatives, but also by the absence of care and love. In her blog, she rarely mentions what she does for work, keeping the space within the realm of domesticity. The discussions always center on her children and the food that she makes. Although she is a working mother, she asserts that she fulfills the sacrificial

mother image as well by making homemade snacks, and showing readers through her commentary describing her ease with being a mother that she handles the responsibility well.

Although Kang Yōsa follows the rhetoric of sacrificial mother, her idea of “homemade” is different from that of a traditional sacrificial mother. She reconstitutes the meaning of homemade through the values of efficiency and creativity, which are central tenets of neoliberal subjectivity. Kang Yōsa’s forte is preparing fast and convenient snacks with a creative touch. She uses store-bought sandwich bread and transforms it into mini-pizzas, communicating maternal attention through her time, effort, and labor. In introducing a mini pizza recipe, Kang Yōsa remarks: “I bought mozzarella cheese the other day and thought to make sandwich bread pizzas, but they are not the ordinary kind! I thought of this one but the idea is brilliant” (“Kwiyōwō”). Kang Yōsa adds: “This is really easy and doesn’t require many ingredients” (“Kwiyōwō,”) emphasizing the ease of making homemade snacks. Kang Yōsa does bake from scratch, but she does so far less than full-time mothers. She conforms to and even surpasses the norms of the stay-at-home mother while working a full-time job to prove she can still manage the role of mother. Other mothers in the community praise Kang Yōsa’s self-sacrificial traits. According to replies under her mini pizza recipe, Kang Yōsa is “so devoted to her children and family” because she “works full-time and still seems to do more than regular mothers (full-time mothers)” (May). Her sacrificial traits are worthy of admiration and emulation. Because she not only fulfills her motherly tasks but also goes the extra mile by “baking,” Kang Yōsa establishes herself as a sacrificial-and-working

mother with a neoliberal twist of personal creativity—and thus, repositions her working self.

As personal anecdotes of working mothers accumulate, readers learn from the community how to perform the sacrificial mother role. In some cases, the working mother even turns into a full-time mother. For instance: “When I became pregnant, I got maternity leave and got to spend a lot of time at home. This is when I started reading food blogs. When I looked at baking blogs, I thought I wanted to be a mother like that. For many reasons, but mainly for my newly born son, I stopped working full-time as a graphic designer. Now I take great joy in being a full-time mother” (Koyōsa). The blogger Koyōsa stresses that she realized the importance of being a full-time mother, meaning one who dedicates herself completely to her children, through the learning community. Although hers is a rare case, Koyōsa’s post reveals the force of the traditional ideal of sacrificial motherhood even within the working mother discourse. The mother-child relationship focuses more on the devotion of the mother rather than self-management and self-enterprise. The successful performance of the sacrificial mother figure among working mothers creates an ideal motherhood that only implicitly values the focus on self and explicitly prioritizes the rearing of children.

What Is The Neoliberal Korean Mother

The conversation between married women/mothers occurring in these baking blogs seems to resemble the kind of communication about which Sun-young Chang, the author of *A Korean Mother’s Cooking Notes*, would feel proud and accomplished (see

chapter three). The conventional model of a full-time mother who takes pride and joy in providing for her children—the model that Chang encouraged for the younger generation of housewives in the 1990s—still remains dominant. Yet despite this perceived similarity, considering baking blogs as food media in glocalization led to a unique conclusion.

While the idea of Confucian motherhood has undergone transformation over the years, the neoliberal influence after the IMF crisis has further encouraged a combination of both selfless devotion and the well-being of the mother herself. The term traditional can thus be equated with the idea of sacrificial motherhood among blogger mothers, contextualized within its dynamics with the ideas of modern, and foreign and global. For blogger mothers, baking blogs serve as a learning community, where young Korean mothers daily engage in the activities of glocalization—negotiating and redefining Confucian ideals of motherhood. Blogger mothers share personal sentiment, stories, and experiences; they learn various ways of self-management and self-enterprise as well as care for the family. Although this learning community bears neither neoliberal nor sacrificial characteristics in itself, it ultimately reflects the ideal balance between neoliberal and Confucian ideals of motherhood, through education of seemingly motherly practices.

The first way that baking blogs negotiate the dynamic between Confucian and neoliberal ideals of motherhood is in the relationship of a mother and her child. The discussion of the health and safety of children focuses on mothers raising and feeding their children in the best possible home environment. By disguising healthy food and using safer ingredients, mothers show their ability to raise self-managing individuals.

These mothers successfully present and learn each other's techniques for raising neoliberal individuals.

The other two ways that the blogging community negotiates the dynamics of sacrificial and neoliberal ideals of motherhood relate to identities of mothers. Stay-at-home mothers develop and learn baking skills and turn them into opportunities for self-enterprise, while still using baking to emphasize the role of caretaking. Working mothers more explicitly present themselves as sacrificial mothers who always put children first, and in so doing present the activity of baking as visible evidence of their dedication. Although both kinds of mothers follow the neoliberal trend toward self-management and self-enterprise, they cement their role within the family by putting forward the sacrificial mother figure.

Thus, the neoliberal ideal of motherhood in Korea is neotraditional, which is also a post-IMF-era articulation of a characteristic of glocalization and modernity for blogger mothers. The meaning of neotraditional is similar to what is aforementioned—the traditional sacrificial motherhood is put forward in its negotiation with neoliberal values. Blogger mothers teach each other the foreign, modern mode of baking via their posts, which concretize the sacrificial motherhood within the narrative. In other words, the neoliberal motherhood combines the traditional with a newer foreign, modern focus on self. The neoliberal influence works to complement the tradition of the sacrificial mother figure. The two models of motherhood—one focusing on self, the other on family—work in tandem, with the ultimate goal of becoming a better mother. While blogger mothers negotiate neoliberal self-management and self-enterprise with the sacrificial mother figure, blogger mothers as a community ultimately learn the ideal motherhood. For

blogger mothers, modernity entails an ideal modern mother figure that successfully embodies neoliberal values while following the sacrificial motherhood. The medium of baking blogs exemplifies—through specific social practices of blogging—the clash between tradition and modernity, which inherently is a process of glocalization.

CHAPTER FIVE

AUTHENTICITY OF PASTA: DISTINCTION OF THE UPPER-CLASS TASTE AND THE BOUNDARIES OF KOREAN FOODWAYS

The popularity of television shows with the theme of food started with fictional dramas in Korea. The drama *My Lovely Sam-soon*, discussed in chapter one, is a good example. Compared with *KMCN* and baking blogs, which negotiate and redefine foodways and the meanings of married women's roles in an organic way, these television portrayals of foreign foodways targeted and reached a wider and different audience: mostly young single women.²⁷

One of the most popular genres among this young female audience is primetime “gourmet dramas,” which are fictional narratives that revolve around food themes or in which food carries symbolic weight (Ahn).²⁸ The drama *Pasta* (2010, MBC) is a representative example. The drama specifically illustrates the restaurant culture and young women. Modern restaurant cultures introduced to Korean foreign foodways which clash with the local culture of traditional home cooking, and are redefined in the process,

²⁷ Young Korean women are the biggest audience of highly rated television programs, and the annual list of the top 10 programs in Korea regularly includes five or six dramas (Shim "The Growth" 24). Altogether, dramas have received record ratings, capturing up to 30 percent of the television market. Terrestrial broadcasting companies air as many as 30 television dramas a week (Shim "The Growth" 24). In a survey, 31 percent of the over-20 female audience chose the genre of drama when asked about their favorite television programs ("Yōsōngdŭl").

²⁸ The genre of “gourmet drama” came from Japan, having derived from Japanese manga (comic book) series, including *Oishinbo* (Kariya) and *Shota No Sushi* (Teresawa). In Japan, one of the most successful gourmet dramas, *Shota no Sushi*, debuted in 1996 (Ahn). In Korea, the drama introduced in the beginning of this chapter, *Dae-jang-geum* (*Jewel in the Palace*, MBC), gained both domestic and international success in 2003.

similar to what was seen in both *KMCN* and baking blogs. Housewives and mothers approached eating out with caution. Despite the convenience and break from the responsibility and duties of home cooking that restaurants offered, these women still followed traditional ideals. If the home cooking culture confined women within traditions—Confucian gender ideals for sacrificial housewives and mothers (see chapter three and four), the restaurant culture allowed women to be both modern, and foreign and global, pursuing busy urban lifestyles influenced by Western cultures and values (see chapter two). Compared to their older counterparts, younger women more actively consumed and constructed for themselves a role within the restaurant culture (see chapter two).

Pasta exemplifies young women as leaders of the restaurant culture in its narrative. Set in a top-tier, fine Italian restaurant named *La Sfera* (the sphere) in Seoul, the drama shows the dynamics between the top chefs and the cultural hierarchy of both Italian and Korean foods. The table settings of *La Sfera* follow the general rules of Western haute cuisine. All serving dishes are white, so as to avoid the color clashing with the true character of the dish. Tables are covered in white tablecloths and the staff work in uniforms. The hall area is two stories, both of which are spacious, modern, and full of greenery. In this trendy and upscale dining space, all dishes are served only upon the chef's approval. The customers also keenly follow the rules of the chef and obey those that dictate how food is to be served to them. For example, waiting staffs often explain, as per the instruction of the chef and upon the agreement of the customer, how to eat certain foods. Customers also wait in line before the restaurant opens. The drama

connects the cultural meanings of Italian foods for its young female audience with the behind-the-doors kitchen scene in an upscale restaurant and the dining space.

The vivid portrayals of an upscale Western-style restaurant, interesting characters, and a dynamic storyline on this show generated a fad for Italian food in real life. During and after the airing of *Pasta*, other television variety shows made pasta the theme of one of their episodes, as daily newspaper articles started to mention the rising popularity of Italian menus (Oh). The sales increased at Sun At Food, the company which owned the Italian franchise restaurant *Spaghetia* (S. A. Yang). In 2011 especially, the term “Italian restaurant” was the most searched term on social commerce websites (“Sosyöl K’ömösü”). The types and descriptions of Italian foods become much more specific compared with how they had been referenced as a more general category of foods in the early 2000s, let alone in the 1990s. During that time, sales of pasta dishes featured on the show, such as *Aglio e Olio* or *Vongole*, soared (S. A. Yang). The term *Aglio e Olio*, a basic garlic olive oil pasta menu item, even became a commonly used word in Korea, demonstrating desire to be associated with the fashionable Italian fad.²⁹

In this chapter I analyze the narrative of the popular gourmet drama, *Pasta*, and look for ways that it concretizes the meaning and status of Italian food while building on the currently-held ideas about Western food. I argue that the text of *Pasta* concretizes the meaning of foreign and modern Italian foodways in comparison to traditional Korean foodways in Korea. In these dynamics of traditional, foreign, global, and national, the

²⁹ Prior to the airing of the show, Italian words were not as popular as English words were. Italy was less familiar to Koreans than were English-speaking countries. Many loan words in the Korean language derive from English. Many Koreans also visit English-speaking countries for the purpose of receiving an English-language education, known as *öhakyönsu*.

meanings of *yuhak* and Italian foodways in relation to restaurant culture in Korea further exemplify the class cultures of young women. Despite the drama's exaggerated nature typical of the texts of popular culture, I argue that the narrative reflects, or rather, glamorizes the idealization and desire for the upper-class culture and the class-based furtherance of cosmopolitanism through the lens of foreign experiences. As aforementioned in the first chapter, I further complicate the meaning of the term "reflection" below. I also argue that the claiming of Italian foods such as *Aglio e Olio* as a fashionable culture for young Korean women only applies within the boundaries of Korean taste. While the drama teaches young Korean women that Italian pasta can function as cultural capital for an idealized upper-class, it also firmly endorses Korean foodways.

Cultural Capital of Young Korean Women: *Yuhak* and Foreign Authenticity

As the number and diversity of foreign foods in Korea grew following the IMF crisis and the growth of restaurant culture, Italian food in particular became stratified. The story of spaghetti and pasta in chapter two is a fitting example. Spaghetti, as one of the introductory forms of Italian food in Korea via American fast food chain restaurants, is differentiated from pasta—which strives for authentic taste and aesthetics, and is served mostly in high-end Italian restaurants with Italian names. The popularization of study abroad and participants' subsequent embodiment of foreign values are important actors in this stratification of Italian foods. Because study abroad is a particularly upper- and upper-middle class phenomenon, foreign food experiences and tastes which became

the most comfortable for these students also acquire upper-class connotations in the Korean context.

This idea of socioeconomic class and class-based differences in cultural taste helps to explain the stratification of Italian food in the Korean context. In his work on *Distinction*, Bourdieu explains the class structure in France through economic wealth and occupational status, the accumulation of cultural taste, and social networks or connections (114).³⁰ For Bourdieu, class relates to the social spaces that provide the conditions of existence as well as the dispositions and practices that shape individual members (Swartz 153-54). Cultural capital—collective cultural knowledge—is an important means of continuing the class structure because it ensures that conditions of cultural practices and habits will be maintained. For example, the formal education system allows cultural capital to be passed on within the upper-class. What Bourdieu emphasizes is that, in addition to imparting knowledge to their students, schools are also culturally educative, such that they also reinforce a type of status culture (Swartz 194-95). Education is one element that develops and influences one’s cultural taste and knowledge, which are markers of one’s socioeconomic class. For instance, the kind of language used by the elites in the field of Humanities in France, is “bourgeois language,” a style of writing and speaking which employs euphemism, abstract description, and formalism (Swartz 177, 90). It requires not only a refined style of language but also an accompanying cultural awareness.

³⁰ An individual’s cultural knowledge may be derived from dispositions of the habitus or be a product of formal education. Either way, the “work of acquisition is work on oneself, an effort that presupposes a personal cost, an investment, above all of time” (Bourdieu "The Forms of Capital" 244). Such work provides a means to access upper-class social circles as well as fitting occupations.

While some scholars argue that Bourdieu's definition of class culture is not the most adequate framework to explain cultural differences among Koreans in the Korean context (Kim and Suh; Kim, Lee and Oh),³¹ others such as Choi and Lee argue that class-based culture exists in Korea and is an important factor, along with generational and income-based differences, in perpetuating the patterns of consumption that maintain the elites' upper-class status (54-55). The ways in which the upper-class in France used academic language as an asset to reinforce and reproduce their class status have echoed in contemporary Korea. Young single women in particular embodied high culture using classical music and art exhibitions as cultural tools for class maintenance (S. Choi; Choi and Lee; D. Y. Lee). As young girls, upper- and upper-middle-class women took lessons in these elements of Western high culture. Participation in these activities slowly became a cultural marker of the upper- and upper-middle class. Having the knowledge of and the technical skills to perform classical music, for instance, could be an indicator of one's cultural capital in the Korean context. The values reinforced by this type of education soon became characterized as a set of cultural ideals that coincided with the aspirational values of higher class status for which other young women in the middle- or even the lower-classes strived (D. Y. Lee).

The construction of the upper-class cultural taste of young women through Western culture also shows how foreign education plays an important role in this construction—as explained in chapter two. *Yuhak* in American and European countries

³¹ Due to the outdated and narrow scope of this analysis, which focuses on one European country, some scholars have denied the link between the upper-class and high culture (Halle; Peterson and Simkus). A popular alternative argument is that the upper-class consume culture as omnivores, focusing on cultural breadth rather than on excluding elements of other classes from the shared high culture (Peterson and Kern 904).

has not only been helpful in building global cosmopolitan identity but also in delineating social and cultural differences between classes in Korea, similar to the phenomenon Bourdieu had noted. Fluency in the English language can explain the link between socioeconomic class and *yuhak*. The cultural meaning of English in Korea is connected to both economic and cultural capital; the high cost and long duration of English language education, which takes place mostly in Western countries, are both essential for achieving fluency. This fluency, which can be evaluated directly through a speaker's accent and pronunciation, displays class status as well as exposure to and embodiment of Western culture itself. Fluency in the English language is an indication that one can embody foreign and global culture, which translates into high culture. Although not directly compared or placed in opposition to this foreign experience, skills and experience that are considered Korean are considered mundane, and not as desirable as what is foreign and global.

In explaining the ways in which embodiment of Western culture becomes a marker of upper-class cultural capital of Koreans, the idea of authenticity offers a theoretical background. Some food scholars discuss the notion of authenticity in US-centric national and cultural contexts—as well as how the concept exists within a global flow; others discuss it in terms of ethnic cuisines (see Mintz *Tasting Food*; James; Heldke; Abarca). In relation to “other” cuisines—whether ethnic, cultural, or regional—authenticity in terms of foodways is a degree to which certain foods should taste (Appadurai “On Culinary” 25). It is a question of standard that arises in the contexts of foreign and “other” (Appadurai “On Culinary” 25). Thus, the idea of authenticity essentially becomes the ability to re-create the original taste attached to the region and

culture by using the right ingredients and spices when away from home. In further articulating the concept, Johnston and Baumann explain elements of authenticity as physical location and tradition, which define the boundaries of traditional and foreign foodways (65).³² When food is attached to a place, geographic specificity restricts the production and consumption of that food (Johnston and Baumann 66). Other versions of the dish may exist elsewhere but the “true” and “perfected” way it is made in its place of origin is considered its most authentic representation (Johnston and Baumann 66). Similarly, tradition serves as a set of cultural and social standards by which the integrity of a dish is judged, relative to a particular time and culture (Johnston and Baumann 88). The tried and true foodways are maintained through history and culture (Johnston and Baumann 88). This tradition also limits individual re-imagining of the dish because a traditional dish has authentic elements that need to be kept. Thus, tradition guards the perceptual boundaries of authenticity. The assumed embodiment of foreign authenticity is based on geographic proximity and a close understanding of foreign cultural tradition. These two elements—the place of origin and associated historical and cultural traditions—are critical situating Italian foods in the context of Korean foodways.

In addition to articulating the elements of authentic foodways, Johnston and Baumann further theorize the meaning of authenticity serving as cultural distinction (94). Through their analysis of the meaning of the term “foodies,” Johnston and Baumann argue that people distinguish and seek haute foods in order to access the top of the cultural and culinary hierarchy (94). Fine dining restaurants with European cuisines are good examples of the use of authenticity to distinguish haute cuisine from everyday food.

³² Other elements of cultural knowledge are geographic specificity, simplicity, personal connection, ethnic connection, and history and tradition (Johnston and Baumann 65).

Attached to certain ethnic or regional affectations, haute cuisine marks the upper-class and the desired level of cultural taste.

In their conceptualization of authenticity as distinction, Johnston and Baumann assume inclusivity, which means the degree to which American culture accepts multicultural “others” on equal ground (93). This assumption, however, should be applied with caution. Many foodways, including those of Korean, are not always favorable toward newer foodways—as exhibited in ethnic migration of foodways in the US (see chapter one) or the constant worries of older generation Korean women upon modern and foreign foodways (see chapter two). Especially in the Korean context, Korean women have guarded and preserved their traditional foodways as illustrated in previous chapters. Using the framework of authenticity as distinction to explain the role of the narrative of *Pasta* in glocalization of Italian foodways and gender-specific class cultures, I focus on the ways in which the drama concretizes the authenticity of Italian food as upper-class culture within the boundaries of Korean traditions.

Gourmet Drama: Concretization, Reflection, Negotiation of, and Education about Cultural Taste

Among different roles of food media discussed in chapter one, television dramas as concretization, reflection, negotiation, and educating tools are useful in analyzing the text of *Pasta*. To be more specific, television dramas concretize various cultural assumptions and unspoken judgments, reflect desire and idealization, negotiate local foodways, and teach certain values and ideals. To begin with the role of concretization,

television dramas concretize—reveal—an unspoken cultural judgment through a specific narrative.

As a genre of television drama, mini-series dramas³³ often give concrete examples of proper moral, ethical behavior through the contemporary narratives of young working women (Y. Kim 75, 197). For example, television dramas provide traditional standards of morality, in that women should refrain from liberal sexual behaviors (Y. Kim 122). Hartley argues that television audiences in general learn to differentiate what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’ through repeated situations; one example is the cop versus the villain (46).

This standard of value is not only pertinent to morality but also extends to ideological and cultural values. Gourmet dramas more specifically concretize certain unspoken yet expected standards of Korean foodways. These standards are not exactly moral values, but rather judgments about what best fits Korean taste in terms of nationalistic or traditional standards. Gourmet dramas negotiate these judgments of validity through a specific narrative of cultural and social transformation under the influence of what is foreign and what is modern. One of the most common stories of struggle is the contrast between old and new values in a nation where the former is always re-endorsed (Ahn). For example, television drama *Sikgaek* (2008) presents conflict between the older and younger son. They disagree whether dishes at their prestigious Korean restaurant should remain traditional or adapt to popular Western fusion. Throughout the narrative, *Sikgaek* concretizes the meaning of Korean traditions in foodways and adapts the newer Western foodways to traditional foodways, exemplifying

³³ Mini-series dramas are a sub-genre of dramas. They air from 10 to 11 P.M. and run for two to three months. Most themes of mini-series are contemporary issues experienced by young women.

a cultural standard. As these recurring themes in different gourmet dramas have become a characteristic of the genre, it is safe to argue that gourmet dramas concretize the real struggles around changing foodways in glocalization. Specifically, they capture the dynamics among the ideas of traditional, national, foreign, and global.

Of course, these narratives of media are simplified and provide an exaggerated, one-sided view of cultural values, often that of the producer or the network rather than the laypeople. Television programs, in their one-way nature of communication between producer and the audience, assume a particular intention of the creator and multiple readings from the audience. Television programs also inevitably carry political, economic, and cultural agendas; embody the dominant ideologies of current social structures; and exaggerate these portrayals in their texts. This is evident in many cases of Korean dramas where women are not central to the plot and are portrayed as obedient and reliant upon male characters. These dramas especially focus on traditional female roles such as providing care to the family and children (Y. Kim 21). It is hard to argue that these gender roles are the sole representations of Korean cultural values of gender. Nonetheless, as explained in chapter one, television programs can glamorize an idealized form of collective desire, as the programs are designed to appeal to the audience. For instance, Kim argues that young middle-class Korean women—in their talks after watching television dramas—discuss how they dream of more independent, liberal, and free “Western” lifestyles compared with the traditional gender ideals of Korea (Y. Kim 115, 208).

Acknowledging the one-way nature of television programs and the fact that the producer’s intent is left open to audience interpretation, I complicate the term “reflection”

to address complex relationships between producers, the audience, and the text. I use the term “glamorize” to address the nature of what television “reflects”—which might be distorted mirrors of the audience’s desire, will for, and fantasy of idealized culture and lifestyle.

The idea that these fictional conflicts concretize standards of taste and narratives glamorizing the cultural desire is similar to De Solier’s suggestion that instructional cooking shows and foodways provide a form of cultural capital. In a broader category of discussion, cooking shows are lifestyle programming, which Gorman-Murray theorizes as class identity markers (Gorman-Murray 229). Lifestyle television, a sub-genre of reality programs, teaches the audience how to live via home improvement, personal styling, and cooking. While some scholars such as Ouellette and Hay examine these programs in a neoliberal context, others are interested in the cultural context of taste in food programs. They explain that authenticity—as portrayed through demonstration of cooking skill or expertise, or the promotion of celebrity chefs—is one of the important elements in determining good taste (Strange; Powell and Prasad). To be more specific, the element of education—teaching audiences how to cook or what to consume—directs the audience towards class signifiers of this good taste (De Solier "Foodie Makeovers"; De Solier "TV Dinners"; Gorman-Murray; Palmer; Strange).

Appropriating Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital, De Solier additionally suggests the term “culinary cultural capital” to explain how a combination of practical cookery skills and ideological knowledge of taste and preferences constitute one’s class culture (De Solier "TV Dinners" 471). The practical skills include knowledge of ingredients and cooking skills. The ideological knowledge of taste comprises the

adoption of an aesthetic attitude towards cooking: emphasizing the form of food over its function and discerning certain kinds as haute cuisine. These are elements of a highbrow lifestyle that places emphasis on pleasure (De Solier "TV Dinners" 472). Because learning these skills will improve viewers' lives, these programs concretize and teach the values of good food, taste, and lifestyle (De Solier "TV Dinners" 471).

Lifestyle food programs reflect and directly teach the audience to emulate idealized taste and lifestyle through the use of an expert figure. It is a stretch, however, to argue that gourmet dramas, especially those with a fictional narrative, are instructional texts. Still, dramas can teach the audience cooking skills, the cultural boundaries of foodways, and what the producer considers the idealized form of the good life through their explicit and vivid cooking scenes and glamorization of cultural and ideological ideals, in ways similar to what De Solier identifies ("TV Dinners"; "Foodie Makeovers").

Pasta as Text

The primary mode of inquiry in this chapter is textual analysis of the gourmet drama *Pasta*. The drama aired from January 2010 to March 2010 in Korea on MBC³⁴—after many earlier gourmet dramas had succeeded and the genre itself had become a staple in the television market. The drama premiered to ratings of 11 percent, on average, which meant that it had a strong start, since many dramas premiere to a single digit rating. As it gradually gained in popularity, the channel extended the program's run by four

³⁴ MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) is one of the most influential radio and television networks in Korea. As a multimedia group, the network owns one terrestrial television channel, three radio channels, five cable channels, five satellite channels, and four DMB (Digital Multimedia Broadcasting) channels.

more episodes—expanding the series to a total of 20 episodes instead of 16. The final episode’s ratings were as high as 23.5 percent (C. Lee). If a mini-series drama achieves ratings of more than 20 percent, it is considered successful as a terrestrial television program. The show was most popular among women in their 30s.

I analyzed all 20 episodes of *Pasta*, considering the industry and the economic, social, and cultural circumstances which led to its creation, in order to link the drama with Korean culture. The notes that I took while watching the episodes recorded dialogue; appearance of the characters; visual descriptions of the scenes and background settings; and music. Thus, all dialogues quoted in the analysis below are translation from Korean to English. In my notes, I first identified the roles of the text of *Pasta* as a food medium: reflection, concretization, negotiation, and education. I then situated these functions in terms of gender identities, class, and Western food, considering the bigger cultural terms of traditional, national, foreign, global, and modern. In doing so, I complicated the idea of reflection to include the idea of glamorization by television texts. I also noted obvious cultural references to young women in their 20s and 30s, socioeconomic class, *yuhak*, and Italian food. The overarching theme of authenticity started to emerge after I considered these references within the discourse of my literature sources. Finally, I re-organized my analysis along the following themes: authenticity within the role of gourmet dramas, cultural distinctions of Italian foods in comparison with Korean foods, and their meanings to young Korean women.

I also combined textual analysis with social and cultural responses from popular media. The meta-analysis of media texts provides a richer context for examining the texts of *Pasta*. I gathered articles related to *Pasta*, dating from 2010 to 2012, from

comprehensive newspaper and magazine databases such as Kinds.or.kr and Naver.com. Among 305 articles, only 36 contained descriptions and analyses of *Pasta* regarding its social and cultural influence on Italian food in Korean foodways, or in gender and class identities. After taking notes from each article, I categorized them into themes that show the relationship between the drama and the identities of young Korean women in the context of glocalization.

Concretization, Glamorization, Negotiation of, and Education about the Ideal Taste

A plot summary of *Pasta* will help contextualize the analytical themes. Yoo-kyung Seo is the female protagonist. She has been working as a kitchen assistant for three years, and dreams of becoming a chef in La Sfera. Due to sharply decreased restaurant sales, La Sfera hires chef Hyun-wook Choi, a graduate of a culinary school in Italy. Upon his arrival, all female chefs at the restaurant are fired. The character is set up as a patriarchal villain who refuses to treat women as professionals in the kitchen. However, Seo keeps coming back to the restaurant, refusing to take no for an answer and thinking up clever ways to be rehired by the chef. Eventually, she is permanently rehired after winning a blind taste test for a new pasta chef position. At the same time, San Kim, the restaurant's owner, hires his good friend Sae-young Oh, a celebrity chef, as the co-head chef of La Sfera. Back in their culinary school days in Italy, Choi and Oh had dated each other, but they broke up when Oh sabotaged Choi's ginseng pasta dish in order to win a culinary award. At the restaurant, Oh and Choi resume their rivalry and try to outdo each other. Seo and Choi instead develop their relationship into a romantic one. Throughout

conflicts and clashes between chefs, Choi eventually becomes the lone head chef of La Sfera and brings the restaurant back to its finest state.

In the narrative, *Pasta* exemplifies the authentic pasta menu as a type of culinary cultural capital that signifies upper- and upper-middle-class status through its connection to the idea of *yuhak*. My summary explains the premise that chefs educated in Italy cook better-tasting—more authentic—Italian food than their Korean-educated counterparts. The foreignness of Italian foods is amplified by the *yuhak* experience. The idea of authenticity in the drama is based on the geographical specificity of Italian *yuhak* and the lived experience within the region, which translates to the distinction of class. In the following analysis, I argue that *Pasta* concretizes the hierarchy of cultural taste through the relationship between the value of high-end Italian food and *yuhak* in the narrative. In the process, the text glamorizes the desire for the cultural taste and lifestyle of the upper-class as exhibited by *yuhak* and teaches the audience about this glamorized lifestyle—which includes cosmopolitan identity.

I also argue that *Pasta* negotiates the meaning of or, more specifically, adapts and assimilates Italian food to suit the Korean taste. The idea of authenticity helps to emphasize the foreign position of Italian foods within traditional Korean taste. But the idea of authenticity also helps to establish the boundaries of Korean traditions and national culture, which allow the authenticity of “foreign” to be accepted only within. The narrative of *Pasta* teaches the audience about this boundary of Korean foods.

Yuhak as a Marker of Italian Authenticity

The first way in which the text of *Pasta* concretizes the authenticity of Italian foods as markers of upper-class cultural taste is through geographical specificity—revealing the unspoken assumptions and judgments of Italian *yuhak* and the culinary cultural capital that distinguishes classes. The chefs are major portrayals of how *yuhak* supports class status. The groups of chefs are readily divided into *yuhakp'a* (*p'a* means group) and *kuknaep'a* (*kuknae* means domestic) as early as the third episode, and then kept within these groups throughout the entire drama. The characters identify themselves or chefs in the other group with these labels of foreign and national, which they associate with cool cosmopolitans and schlumpy locals. The tension and conflict between the two groups of chefs in *La Sfera* make up the bigger storyline. For instance, in-restaurant cook-offs and menu competitions lead to an ongoing discord between the two groups. *Yuhakp'a* and *kuknaep'a* become the identities of two groups and also of the individuals themselves. The tension starts in the first episode, when the male protagonist, Chef Choi, who graduated from an Italian culinary school, becomes the head chef of *La Sfera*. As he tries to remake the kitchen into his own, tensions develop between Chef Choi and the rest of the cooks with regards to their Korean education. When Chef Choi first shows up, the cooks comment on his *yuhak* status in the first episode: “The new chef. He’s a direct Italian import. He doesn’t look Korean, does he? Just like freshly squeezed olive oil.” They are awestruck, in part his *yuhak* background and the associated embodiment of foreignness marks his class as well as cosmopolitan status.

One of the elements that Chef Choi embodies is fluency in the Italian language, which is a key element illustrating authenticity of Italian culture through Italian *yuhak* as cultural capital of the upper-class. Proficiency in a foreign language is a marker of a well-educated and thus upper-class person, so it distinguishes the *yuhakp'a* from the *kuknaep'a*. In episode two, the newly-hired *yuhakp'a* chefs answer in Italian “*Si, va bene,*” which means “yes, it’s okay,” while the Korean-educated chefs respond in Korean to Chef Choi’s instructions. The *kuknaep'a* chefs are left wondering what the Italian words mean.

Kuknaep'a’s lack of foreign language skills implies that they do not possess the right cultural capital to present themselves as chefs who can competently cook the authentic pasta. The disparaging of the *kuknaep'a* due to their lack of cultural knowledge is apparent in lines such as the following in episode 3: “This happens quite often in Italy. Do you want to see what the chef does?” *Kuknaep'a* chefs respond to this by murmuring, “Italy, you Italies, you keep saying Italy towel for us *kuknaep'a* to hear.” “Italy towel” is a rough bath towel used as a skin scrubber. The modern word originates from the word for the fabric used to make the towel when it was first manufactured in Korea. The play on the word equates the *yuhakp'a* group with an Italy towel, as an expression of frustration and a kind of inferiority complex that *kuknaep'a* have towards *yuhakp'a*. *Yuhakp'a* chefs force their “authentic” ways to *kuknaep'a* chefs and *kuknaep'a* feel discriminated against, because of their imagined inadequacy; they are treated poorly by the head chef and *yuhakp'a* because of their perceived lack of cultural knowledge. The scene exhibits an ongoing tension of the same binary of local and foreign, global

sophisticate, but transposed to city slickers and country bumpkins. This continues until the two groups come to understand each other at the end of the drama.

These narratives also set up *yuhakp'a* as superior experts of Italian cooking. Practical cooking skills are a type of expert knowledge derived from the geographical place of one's education. When the new co-head Chef Oh is hired, she and other *yuhakp'a* chefs argue about two different opinions for the proper seasoning of pasta and the amount of salt to be used in boiling water. The multiple and competing ideas about technical skills both increase the practical knowledge available to audiences and concretize the upper-class culinary cultural capital that one can gain through *yuhak*. The direct experience and knowledge from *yuhak* are the basis of the authenticity of Italian food, and thus better tasting Italian food. In episode 10, Chef Oh suggests changing the current vegetable broth to a chicken broth in order to bring out the flavor that "Korean people like." She argues that Koreans like complex taste rather than a clean vegetable base, and this proves to be true when other chefs take a taste test. *Pasta* suggests that chefs with Italian education have a better-trained sense of taste and therefore make better decisions. Foreign-educated chefs embody cultural capital through their practical expertise—a combination of foreign education and knowledge about the local, Korean people and their likely local acceptance of this taste. With a broader set of cultural knowledge, thus, *yuhakp'a* chef's expertise translates into their embodiment of global, cosmopolitan identities who understand not only local Korean taste but also foreign Italian foods.

Chef Choi, the most authoritative person in the drama, provides direct instructions similar to those of cooking shows. His authority comes from his position but also from

the authenticity derived from his *yuhak* status. His cooking tips are specific and sometimes include vivid metaphor: cooking pasta as handling a newborn baby; two pans on the stove weigh about 3 kilograms total; and flipping the pan back and forth is key to cooking pasta, especially with *Vongole*, because evenly cooked clams open up at the same time and so release their juices simultaneously. Chef Choi instructs that pasta should not be tasted until after 15 minutes off the stove because the customers will remember the very last taste. When pasta gets cold, the tip of the tongue most strongly tastes sweetness and saltiness. This expertise and authority established through *yuhak* both demonstrate the character's ability to cook authentic pasta and also instruct the audience in cooking so that they can enhance their own culinary cultural capital.

The idea of authenticity of Italian food is in itself a concept of glocalization when it meets Korean foodways. The meaning of authenticity, as grounded in the sense of region and tradition, concretely distinguishes different foodways from culturally and geographically distinct places. Here, embodiment of authenticity in foodways not only means the ability to re-create the original taste attached to the region and culture using the right ingredients and spices as explained above, but also to understand and typify the broader culture. In other words, the text of *Pasta* exemplifies Italian *yuhakp'a* as people who possess knowledge of authentic Italian culture and further global cosmopolitan identity. *Yuhakp'a*'s practical techniques of cooking Italian foods and Italian language skills as the traits of desired foreignness represent these identities in the text. The local / local actors of *yuhakp'a* and *kuknaep'a* and the ways in which the two groups present the interplay of authenticity of Italian foodways and foreign and global identities thus is a narrative of glocalization.

Concretizing the Authenticity of Pasta as a Marker of Upper-Class Taste

The second way in which the narrative of *Pasta* concretizes the authenticity of Italian foods brought by Italian *yuhak* as a form of cultural capital of the upper-class is by exemplifying stratification within pasta menus in Korea. In *Pasta*, stratification is best understood by analyzing the difference between *La Sfera* and the Italian restaurant started by female *kuknaep'a* chefs fired by Chef Choi upon his arrival at *La Sfera*. While *kuknaep'a* chefs are mostly interested in earning a living, *yuhakp'a* emphasize their reputation as chefs, developing novel dishes and cooking high-quality food. *Yuhakp'a* chefs cherish aesthetics, fine distinctions in flavors, and the cultural origins of the food they make—in other words, what seem to be the ideological elements of good taste. Their ability to fine-tune the taste and aesthetics of food comes from the geographic specificity of their Italian education, which allows chefs to learn the skills and a way of seeing informed by the food and culture, while also developing their ability to evaluate and verify the taste. Knowledge of authentic pasta and the experience of Italy become the exclusive property of *yuhakp'a*, and thus the upper- and the upper-middle-class. Living and training in Italy becomes desirable as these assets let the audience visually perceive the class status.

In addition, *yuhakp'a* and *kuknaep'a* are distinguished by the dishes that their restaurants serve, their types of customers, their prices, and the people their restaurants' marketing targets. In terms of location, *La Sfera* is in Kangnam, which is the affluent area in Seoul often compared to Beverly Hills in Los Angeles, whereas the *kuknaep'a* restaurant is in a smaller and friendlier neighborhood. In *La Sfera*, a plate of pasta

averages \$20 without tax. The *kuknaep'a* pasta restaurant's price range is \$5 to \$8, including tax. Targeting different customers, the *kuknaep'a* store is very small with five tables. It is laid out more like a colorful snack bar than like a full restaurant. A good description of the target demographic is in episode 11, when the owner of the building asks the *kuknaep'a* chefs what kind of restaurant they plan to open. Since the owner does not immediately catch the word "pasta," the female chefs say "spaghetti," which is the more commonly-known term for the American-style Italian food popularized by fast food chains. The owner then replies: "Oh, that Italian pibinguksu!" *Pibinguksu* is a Korean noodle dish mixed with the traditional spicy pepper sauce *koch'ujang*. This interpretation of foreign Italian food in terms of Korean tradition connects the meaning of foreign to class culture. The owner's linking of a cheaper and more popular Korean dish to pasta demonstrates the neighborhood's comparatively lower level of culinary cultural capital. The people lack the ability to speak about Italian food because they have little knowledge of what Italian food is. If geographic connection to Italy is the basis for defining authenticity, then that of the *kuknaep'a*'s Italian food is low. The exaggerated contrast between the restaurants marks their difference in degree of authenticity in the world of the narrative.

Concretizing authenticity of Italian taste as upper-class cultural capital glamorizes the high status of Italian foods and the lifestyle of the upper class through a rather extreme binary of *yuhakp'a* and *kuknaep'a*. The comparison between Seo and her family on one hand, and the status of *La Sfera* on the other hand, portrays best the idealized taste and lifestyle that the drama glamorizes. The scene in which Seo's lower middle-class family dines at *La Sfera* is a prominent portrayal of people unaccustomed to this type of

restaurant and dining experience. Seo's father is an owner and the chef of a Korean Chinese restaurant, an example of which is on every corner of Korea, serving quick, popular meals. As early as the first episode, there is a scene contrasting the Italian cuisine of *La Sfera* with Seo's father's cuisine. In a split screen, both restaurants are shown cooking noodle dishes. As Seo's father cooks *chajangmyŏn* in his tiny, dark, and unruly kitchen, Seo cook pasta in the spacious, white, and orderly kitchen of *La Sfera* under the coaching of the best Italian chef in Korea. Although multiple readings of the scene are possible, which I articulate below as a process of negotiation, the scene treats Italian cuisine as a high-end dining culture and a desirable trend, while presenting Chinese food as quotidian and enjoyed by people of all classes in a more relaxed setting.

Media responses to *Pasta* also illustrate how the drama concretizes authentic Italian pasta and related high food culture as cultural capital. The magazine *Lady Kyunghyang*, which shares a target audience with the drama, featured a recipe article that created the dishes from the drama (Gunwoo Kim). The recipe used Italian terms written in Italian and described the basic ingredients, such as extra virgin olive oil, without much Korean explanation, suggesting that such cultural knowledge was already assumed of the audience. The dish was displayed in the magazine in such a way that it resembled the aesthetics of *La Sfera*, with a kitchen and a table decorated in the Western-style: paper napkins with Italian engraving, expensive silverware, and a table set with flowers and a table runner.

This example also shows how Korean culture visibly interacted with the drama and how authentic pasta in *Pasta* exemplified the high class status of Italian food. The publicity around the popularity of *Pasta* has turned foreign Italian cuisine from a fad into

a glamorized exemplification of affluent people embodying desirable cultural capital and cosmopolitan behaviors.

Negotiation of and Education about Boundaries

Although the narrative of *Pasta* concretizes how practical cooking knowledge and ideological cultural capital distinguish the upper-class, the drama does bear ambiguity in its glamorization of Italian foods as idealized cultural capital of the upper class. The authenticity of Korean food is just as important to the drama as the authenticity of Italian food, and it is the former that takes precedence when the two cuisines clash with each other. *Pasta* presents this process of negotiation between Italian foods as cultural capital and Korean traditions through a series of dramatic showdowns. These scenes serve to compare Korean and Italian food and highlight the conflict between them—and thereby concretize the boundaries of Korean foodways in glocalization and teach the audience about the “right” mix of glocal foodways.

In these portrayals, the drama endorses an idea of authenticity which directly relates to the axis of national / foreign and global as a glocal constituent of Korean foodways. The idea of national overlaps with the idea of traditional, since the concept of Korean taste is brought to bear on both—in terms of ingredients, spices, and cooking methods. This is similar to how the author of *A Korean Mother's Cooking Notes* in chapter three teaches the younger housewife the importance of protecting the national and traditional home cooking. The drive to preserve authentic Korean taste overrides the desirable cultural connotations of Italian pasta. The text of *Pasta* appeals to this type of

geographical authenticity located in Korean foodways. The glocalization of Italian foodways does not threaten Korean foodways because it is contained within specific boundaries of Korean foodways.

The ways in which Seo solves the clash between two foodways of Italian and Korean illustrate this process of negotiation between Italian foods and Korean taste, as these ways exhibit what is national in terms of Korean taste. The ending of the drama specifically portrays a certain ambiguity in the favorable and idealized treatment of Italian foodways as a specific process of glocalization in the Korean context. The resolution of tension in the drama involves an assertion of Korean tradition. For example, in episode 6, Seo and Chef Choi visit an outdoor fish market. To alleviate hunger, they sit down at a small food cart for a bowl of noodles served with pickled cucumber. As they start a conversation with the owner of the cart, she explains that her pickled cucumber has no sugar because her husband has diabetes, and that it took her a long time to figure out how to make it without sugar. Seo learns the cart owner's method; she follows a traditional Korean technique for boiling cucumber as if making sauce for the fermentation of *kimch'i*. In episode 12, the remedy for Chef Choi's failed ginseng pasta again comes from Seo, who suggests using room-temperature milk rather than cold milk for the sauce—another trick she learned from the *kuknaep'a* chefs when they sweetened the vegetables for an antipasto dish. Glocalization of Italian food within Korean foodways is a process of negotiation between authentic foreign techniques and Korean traditions. The backdrop of traditionalism serves as the key to satisfying Korean tastes, and so the uppity foreign sophisticate must concede to the simpler and homier ways of

their adopted country—the experience of *kuknaep*'a chefs when engaged with traditional Korean methods of cooking.

This negotiation, however, only happens when Seo, who often exemplifies traditional Korean foodways, acquires enough practical knowledge to be accepted by the *yuhakp*'a chefs. Seo's acculturation to authentic Italian cuisine and manners is almost a process of civilization, or, in other words, her achievement of upper-class cultural capital. After she starts working in *La Sfera*, Chef Choi, the *yuhakp*'a head chef from Italy, helps her acquire cultural capital. Seo has started to pick up proper eating manners with her culinary education; she eats pasta differently now. She no longer slurps, and she knows how to use a fork in a proper European manner. Seo also realizes the importance of plating; in episode 4, she claims, "You always eat with your eyes first." In episode 11, Chef Choi teaches her not to eat the bread served before the main course, or the pickled cucumber, because both ruin the taste of pasta. Chef Choi also explains how to critique the taste of the dish, and how to construct satisfactorily cosmopolitan cultural taste. On one of their dates in episode 11, Chef Choi teaches Seo how to cook shrimp: make it raw inside so that the juice is still preserved. These supposedly romantic dates double as Seo's education in cooking techniques and proper dining manners. Italian food in these scenes also glamorizes the desire for cosmopolitanism, or global manners of foodways. These portrayals not only cast a positive light on authenticity as distinction, but they also frame authentic Italian foodways as a desirable culture for young women.

Adaptation and Assimilation of Italian Foods within the Boundaries of Korean Foods

As a subcategory of negotiation, adaptation of Italian foods further articulates the cultural meaning of authentic Italian foods upon meeting the Korean taste. The drama decides the validity of foodways based on the larger question of what is fit to produce and consume for national and traditional taste. One of the biggest conflicts in *Pasta* focuses on the resistance of *kuknaep'a* chefs and their customers to follow authentic Italian foodways; they refuse to change the Koreanized practices of Korean Italian foodways. In episode 4, Chef Choi announces two things to eliminate in the kitchen: the spoon and pickled radish/cucumber. His idea is that “pasta sauce needs to be half of what it is now” because “you can taste the pasta itself as you chew when you cook a good pasta dish. You don’t inhale pasta noodle drenched in sauce.” He argues that a spoon is unnecessary when the pasta itself draws the sauce in. Other chefs immediately oppose Choi’s idea, stating that Koreans are used to the watery sauce in episode 4: “Korean people like it when it’s like *chajangmyŏn* (a popular Korean Chinese noodle dish with black sauce).” Chef Choi’s definition of “real pasta” is based on his Italian education and on his belief that pasta should be consumed in what he thinks is its most authentic way. As the meaning of the text is polysemic, the meaning of this scene can vary according to how audience members are positioned or position themselves as readers (Fiske). On one hand, Chef Choi’s words and actions can be read as delusion; he is clinging to an irrelevant standard of Italian authenticity instead of embracing a local adaptation. On the other hand, Chef Choi’s desire to popularize the “right” Italian food practices is grounding Italian authenticity in his experience and expertise. He believes that if a restaurant is called

Ristorante Italiano, then the chef should prepare and serve the food in the authentically Italian way. What he does not take into consideration is that even though Seoul has become a global metropolitan city, the diners at his Italian restaurant are primarily Koreans who have grown accustomed to the Korean ways of eating. *Pasta* illustrates the limitations of how Italian cuisine is allowed to be glocalized “within” Korean taste.

In addition to getting rid of the spoons to avoid watery sauce, Chef Choi plans to eliminate the pickled cucumber that is served as a side dish to all food ordered at any Italian restaurant in Korea. He says in episode 4, “The customers are unaware of the amount of sugar in the dish. They eat it because they are uninformed. They look for it because they don’t know. A lump of sugar. It’s a barbaric eating habit. Whatever the kind of pasta it is, people eat for the taste of sweetness. Pickled cucumbers are also out of the kitchen.” Chef Choi acknowledges the customers’ ignorance about what they eat, criticizes Korean eating habits, and expresses his belief that authentic Italian pasta is superior to Koreanized Italian food. His concept of authenticity is based on geographical specificity and his formal foreign education. While one can read this scene as cluelessly snobby and disregard the exaggerated way in which he claims the authenticity of Italian food, it is also true that his insistence on authenticity reveals much about the meaning of Italian food as both cultural capital of higher class and global actor that assumes cosmopolitanism in glocalization. Chef Choi tries to redefine Italian food practices in Korea through his hierarchy of food practices and cultural capital, and he assumes that customers will adapt to his ways simply because his ways represent the way it is done in Italy, and because upper-class culture values foreign, global experience.

Despite Chef Choi's belief, though, authenticity based on foreign experience does not override Korean foodways in the narrative. The rest of the staff does not concur Chef Choi's decision. They defend the boundaries of Korean foodways in episode 4: "You want to run this restaurant or not!" yells the owner. The serving staff especially reacts strongly: "Pickles! Kitchen staff, come on!" Seo describes the symbolic position of Italian food in the Korean foodways: "Korean people come to Italian restaurants expecting pickles [pickled cucumber]. The food is too rich. Chef, how do you eat Italian food without pickles?" She adds: "Customers eat Italian food for the taste of pickles. You eat ramen noodles for the taste of kimch'i. Fried chicken with pickled white radish. Chajangmyôn with pickled yellow radish." Seo lists common pairs of foreign food and side dishes that are eaten together, and emphasizes the Koreanized way of eating foreign foods. This portrays the status of Italian food in Korea and the degree to which it is familiarized in Korean foodways. Koreans have established their own ways of eating popular Italian dishes, "spaghetti" for example. As continuation of the previous scene, one could read the staff's reaction to Chef Choi's rather tyrannical decision as a strong disapproval of his stubborn adherence to personal standards of foreign foods. The way that Chef Choi treats eating habits of Koreans can be disturbing, and thus regarded as nonsensical dramatic device to the plot.

Alternatively, the entire scene can be read in a manner that favors what Chef Choi endorses—foreign Italian foodways chosen over national and traditional foodways. Essentially, he is encouraging the further stratification of Italian food from the Koreanized concept of spaghetti. He firmly believes that his ability to present Italian haute cuisine will be acknowledged by enforcing the authentic Italian ways, which will

be accepted by the customers. If not, the customers need cultural education. Choi not only relies on the practical knowledge and skills from his education, but also the ideological construct that if one has the economic and social capital to dine at the best Italian restaurant in Seoul, then they also should “know” how to dine in the authentic Italian way. When Seo tells Choi that his decision is too “coercive” to force customers out of their box, he says, “Then you would serve them junk food if they wanted it.” Chef Choi thinks that if the restaurant serves whatever the customer wants to eat then it will become “a snack bar in the neighborhood” (“Episode 6”). He distinguishes himself as a high-end cuisine chef by focusing on guiding the customers toward the authentic taste.

Although its main character believes in the importance of authentic Italian food, the drama *Pasta* takes a different approach. The negative reaction to Chef Choi’s comments shows how the drama prioritizes traditional Korean foodways in the adaptation of Italian foodways. Western food in general is described as “greasy, oily, and rich” by Koreans. The richness of Italian food can explain why the drama transformed the food to fit the Korean palate. All Italian restaurants serve pickled cucumber and radish, and occasionally *kimch’i*, to provide the key “sweet and sour” taste that mitigates the richness of Italian food. Customers resist the absence of pickled cucumber in episode 4, saying: “How do you eat something so rich without pickle?” “The taste of pasta itself? How dare you try to teach me?” or “What is this? Give me more sauce then.” Even the serving staff comments on the reaction of customers in episode 4, saying “This is worse than a Korean restaurant not serving kimch’i.” Even considering the genre’s overly dramatic presentations, this reaction is rather exaggerated. It nonetheless exemplifies how some aspects of Korean practice are not up for negotiation for customers in the drama, even for

young women who lead adoption of Western trends. Similar to how the author of *A Korean Mother's Cooking Notes* in chapter three hopes that the younger generation will keep the value of the Korean taste, this televisual exemplification of young women of 2010 also shows a strict boundary against percolation of foreign authenticity.

Even though Chef Choi emphasizes his authentic Italian ways, he himself acknowledges the value of national taste in Korean Italian food. Because Italian food is assimilated to Korean food, the authenticity of Italian food is only meaningful within the boundaries of the Korean taste, despite its value as cultural capital. In episode 7, conflict arises between the *yuhakp'a* and *kuknaep'a* when the owner San Kim closes the restaurant for three days so that each group of chefs can come up with a new menu that will bring the sales back. The contest becomes a match between the two groups as they create new menus of antipasti, pasta, main course, and dessert. The *yuhakp'a* focus on creating menus based on Italian food such as polenta, whereas *kuknaep'a* chefs incorporate Korean ingredients such as *kimch'i*. As *kuknaep'a* chefs win in every category, *yuhakp'a* chefs assess their cause of defeat to be the “unfamiliarity” of their menus. Similar to the customers’ perception of forced Italian authenticity, *yuhakp'a*’s dishes were too new for the Korean palate. This limitation of Italian food occurs naturally in the glocalization of Korean foodways. *Kuknaep'a*’s winning menu exemplifies the assimilation of Italian food, featuring dishes such as *kimch'i* risotto or *toenjang* (fermented bean paste) sauce that contain familiar Korean ingredients.

This adaptation and assimilation also coincide with the effort that real-life restaurants make in the assimilation of Western menus. Korean ingredients such as *toenjang*, *koch'ujang* (red chili paste), and *misutkaru* (ground grains) are added into pasta,

bread, and ice cream (Sanghun Lee). Bread & Co. developed a new sandwich menu with *toenjang* sauce instead of mustard, using Korean meatballs and sesame leaves to promote Koreanization of the Western-style bakery (Sanghun Lee). The American restaurant Bennigan's in Korea has come up with a new menu which incorporates *koch'ujang* in pasta sauce, called "spaghetti koch'ujang ragu" (Sanghun Lee). The boundaries of Italian food as a meaningful category of cultural capital are limited by how familiar the foreign cuisine is to the Korean taste.

These narratives of *Pasta* delicately position Italian foodways so as not to disturb the boundaries of Korean taste. By assimilating and adapting Italian foods to the Korean taste, foreign food not only is a means of assessing class stratification but also of confirming, re-assessing, and guarding the boundaries of Korean foods when clashing with national and traditional taste of Korea.

Gourmet Drama: Teaching the Boundaries and Desired Lifestyle

Pasta offers a new set of lenses for analyzing the meanings of Western foodways, distinct from those offered by cookbooks and baking blogs. The exaggerated and dramatic storyline of *Pasta* is ambiguous, and interpretations of the text are left open. However, the explicit and repeated illustrations of foodways at least concretize the position of high-end Italian restaurants as upper-class culture in the Korean context. The narrative concretizes the upper-class status of Italian food in at least three ways: *yuhak*, the ideas of foreign and global opposed to traditional and national Korean food, and the customers' economic and cultural capital. The drama, though presented through a

fictional narrative with perhaps unrealistic conflict and clearly opposing characters, helps the audience acquire and develop practical knowledge and glamorizes ideological cultural taste similar to lifestyle programs teaching the audience such lessons.

The ways that culinary education translates into authenticity of food and foreign cultural capital exemplify the idealized sense of Westernization in *Pasta*. In other words, the drama treated Western foodways as cultures to look up to. In this context, Chef Choi's effort to differentiate *La Sfera* from middle class Italian restaurants serving fast food is easy and natural. His geographical authenticity and Italian expertise become basic elements of class difference. The drama establishes a hierarchy of taste that places authentic Western taste at the top in glocalization of Korean foodways. This hierarchy connects to the high culture valued by the upper class.

In the drama, though, the question of the ideological supremacy of the West remains unanswered. Although *Pasta* ends with the *kuknaep'a* chefs going abroad for an Italian education, the narrative does not completely endorse this supremacy of Western cultures in the Korean context. This is especially clear in the ways in which *Pasta* concretizes the axis of national / foreign and global, and the overlap between national and traditional. The boundaries of Korean foodways override the distinction of cultural class based on the authenticity of Italian foods, which only functions as distinction within the boundaries of Korean foodways. In other words, the effort to preserve the national, traditional Korean taste strongly shows that glocalization of foodways must preserve a diversity of taste that follows the taste of Korea even as it incorporates global standards. The drama redefines the meaning of Italian food as enrichment of Korean culture, an addition within the boundaries. The worries of Chang and the author of *KMCN* in chapter three

are answered again, 15 years later, by a television drama's exaggerated narrative. The adherence to the boundaries of Korean tradition, history, and national taste still remains the core value of Korean cooking. In *Pasta*, the production and consumption of the Korean taste is the basis of Korean Italian food, even as a form of cultural capital.

Lastly, the drama exemplifies what modernity means to a certain group of young Korean women who position themselves as consumers of this Italian authenticity. Within the context of glocalization of Korean foodways, *Pasta* translates foreign Italian foodways as a part of "modern" Korean life. Furthermore, *Pasta* glamorizes the idea of modernity for young single Korean women living in 2010—as a glamorous and cosmopolitan lifestyle which essentially embodies the upper-class cultural capital.

CHAPTER SIX

WHAT FOOD MEDIA KEEP, CHANGE, AND DISCARD

Food media within the Korean context keeps growing—in the amount of content available, in cultural depth and richness, and in popularity. As of this writing in 2016, Korean food media texts have exploded. On television, in addition to gourmet dramas, the popularity of the new format of instructional cooking shows has soared. This format fits into the genre of entertainment variety shows, which includes reality programs, comedic sketches, and musical elements. Cookbooks also have become diverse, addressing themes ranging from lean cooking to foreign foods to simple Korean cooking to baking. Baking blogs continue to be popular for both young mothers and young single people living alone. The social and cultural interest in food is unprecedented in Korean society. The continued growth of Korean food media supports, organically, my argument that food media are rich sites for examining glocalization of foodways as well as the culture and the changing lives of Korean women.

In the beginning of this dissertation, I posed three big research questions. The first two specifically address the role of food media in relation to Korean women: what food media as texts and institutions do for and to Korean women, and how women use these texts and spaces of food media in the context of glocalization. My three case studies have suggested a few answers to these questions: food media reflect and concretize foodways and the idealization of womanhood; both food media and the women who use them negotiate and redefine conflicting ideas of foodways and identities of women, and offer education about the ways these ideas are changing. In my first case study, the cookbook *A Korean Mother's Cooking Notes*, shows how an older generation mother uses a

cookbook to preserve Korean home cooking while adapting to the influence of Western foodways embraced by the younger generation in the 1990s. In my second case study, through baking blogs and the comments of the community that use them, I trace the meaning of motherhood and Western modes of baking in a modern setting after the IMF crisis. I have examined the ways in which blogger mothers formed a community to discuss and learn baking skills and maternal knowledge in order to maintain but still compromise within traditional Confucian culture. In my last case study, the drama *Pasta* concretizes the status of Italian pasta as cultural capital through *yuhak* and glamorizes an idealized upper-class lifestyle to which young Korean women aspire. *Pasta* stages a debate about ideas of national, traditional, and foreign and global in the status hierarchy of Korean food culture.

The third research question addresses these cultural implications of the role of food media texts in the broader context of Media Studies—in other words, how media texts convey polysemic ideas and multiple negotiated readings. This question links my case studies to the specific meanings of globalization and modernity. I have woven together the axes of national / foreign and global and traditional / modern in order to tease out the ways in which the meanings of various older and newer cultures circulate within Korea. Articulating the glocalization of older and newer cultures and influences have laid the groundwork for me to make bigger claims about what “modern” means for groups of Korean women in terms of their identities and foodways. Below, I articulate my final thoughts about food media’s role in the context of glocalization, and what its bigger cultural implications are within the fields of Critical Cultural Media Studies, Food Studies, and Korean Studies.

What Do Food Media Do, What Women Do with Food Media

As uncovered in my case studies, food media perform three broad sets of functions: reflection and concretization, negotiation and redefinition, and education about foodways in Korea and about gender, national, class, and generational ideals. First, concretization refers to ways of revealing and untangling the complex relationships between older and newer values in specific populations of Korean women. The television drama *Pasta* concretizes how the embodied experience of *yuhak* supports the meaning of Italian pasta as high-class cultural capital. Through vivid portrayals of the gender-oriented food culture of young single Korean women, the drama also concretizes the emergence of a different type of hierarchy in Italian food, even after Western food had been incorporated into Korean foodways. Reflection in this chapter refers to the ways in which producers designed the show to appeal to the audience of *Pasta*. The text glamorizes the desire and idealized form of the upper-class culture and lifestyle.

Reflection in the case of *KMCN* is different, as the text reveals the collective anxiety about, desire of, and will in preserving Korean traditions of gender roles and the value of home cooking. The cookbook text candidly reflects the anxiety of women facing the vivid Western influences in their lives. The text concretizes the threat of the erosion of traditional Korean forms of food and Korean knowledge and relationships. *KMCN* shows women's efforts to mitigate these worries by implementing specific tactics to adapt both Korean and Western foodways. In doing so, the cookbook also reflects the traditional Confucian gender roles as the ideal to preserve.

The tactics used in *KMCN* lead us to the second function of food media: negotiation and redefinition. If food media's function to reflect and concretize is pertinent to the glocalization of women's identities, its function to negotiate and redefine relates to both women's identities and the glocalization of foodways. The texts of *KMCN* and *Pasta* have redefined the meaning of both Korean and Western foodways. The text of *KMCN* redefines Korean home cooking as well as modern and foreign foods through standardization and hybridization, although this redefinition takes place entirely within Korean foodways. The narrative of *Pasta* also shows a similar idea; the idea of negotiation applies to glocalization of Italian foods within Korean foodways. The drama preserves the integrity of Korean foods and uses it as a boundary to which Italian foods should adapt and from which they should not diverge.

KMCN and *Pasta* offer textual evidence of negotiation and redefinition of foodways. The nature of mass-produced print and broadcast media texts, and their institutional power, are the basis of this negotiation and redefinition. Baking blogs, on the other hand, demonstrate how Korean women are active producers and consumers of food media, because baking blogs are quotidian spaces of communication. Baking blogs provide interactive spaces for young mothers to negotiate and redefine their own constructions of motherhood.

Redefinition of motherhood is a theme shared by *KMCN* and baking blogs. The 1988 Seoul Olympics was a significant marker in the merger of Korean traditions and Western culture and the consequent introduction of Western foods. My analysis of the cookbook illustrates the focus of older housewives on preserving the Confucian traditions. The author of the cookbook especially emphasizes the role of housewives and mothers in

educating the next generation about these traditions. In a similar sense, my analysis of baking blogs argues that, despite the influence of neoliberal concept of self-management and self-enterprise, young mothers still remain within the ideology of sacrificial motherhood. On the other hand, they also actively negotiate to affirm their identity, which is an important quality of a successful individual, according to neoliberal politics.

Foodways and motherhood are articulated together as cultural phenomena. The Western influence on Korean foodways—both home cooking and eating out in restaurants—carried with it values that favor an independent self over collective family, which inspired women to think outside their traditional domestic duties as mothers. It is interesting to note, however, that the fundamental, traditional sense of the mother as one who successfully cares for the family still dominated. For these Korean mothers, the main means of conveying motherly love is through foodways. Still, young mothers brought changes to both practices of home cooking and the food industry with their changing ideas about motherhood.

Lastly, food media's function to educate participants and audiences about foodways and cultural ideas is inter-reliant and co-constructive with its role in negotiating and redefining. These food media texts provide neither moral lessons nor explicit or coercive propaganda, but they do offer specific guidance for living the ideal life—whether one is a global cosmopolitan or a loving married woman. The standards of this ideal life changed after the global incidents of the Olympics and the IMF crisis. In all cases, women and media texts tried to balance tradition with newer influences, and to teach the current ideal cultural practice, or at least the glamorized cultural ideal, by redefining the meaning of foods and social and cultural roles for women. For instance,

the concern that Korean food traditions might be at risk was one of the motivations for the writing of *KMCN*. In the process, Chang redefines traditional Korean home cooking and conveys a negotiated, easier way of being a housewife that still honors Confucian ideals. She taught this to her daughters-in-law because she felt obligated, not only because it was her duty as a mother-in-law but also because it was her duty as a member of the more experienced and older generation who was observing this rapid cultural change.

Baking blogs offer a space for young mothers to negotiate and learn about Confucian notions of gender roles. Blogger mothers actively redefine the idea of sacrificial mother under neoliberal standards. They articulate self-management and self-enterprise in interactive discussions of recipes and related life stories which are used to redefine an ideal lifestyle for mothers as well as their children. This neoliberal education of mothers through media might look similar to the argument made by Ouellette and Hay in that reality television can provide direct form of lifestyle education. Blogs written by mothers are similar to these programs in the ways in which the space of medium functions as a promotional tool of self-management and self-enterprise. A key difference between television and blogs is their degree of institutional power. As an institutionalized medium, television relies on the network's political and economic agenda, while personal blogs are freer of these motives.

In the case of *Pasta*, the drama educates viewers about practical cooking skills, much like those demonstrated on an instructional cooking show, although in the drama the teaching takes place through the portrayals of cooking by chefs in the narrative. Ideologically, television as a medium also glamorizes the existing relationship between

yuhak, economic class status, and the embodiment of high cultural capital through the concept of authenticity as distinction. The narrative of *Pasta* teaches the audience of young Korean women this glamorized, hegemonic image of the upper-class lifestyle and of the cosmopolitan. In addition, the text teaches the audience the “correct” glocal mix of Korean and Italian foodways according to the boundaries of national tradition. Italian foods expand Korean foodways in *Pasta*, but only within the boundaries of tradition.

In my case studies, food media reflect and concretize the changing meanings of foodways and ideal lives of women in Korea. Both food media and the women who use them negotiate and redefine the boundaries of Korean foodways and the social and cultural roles of Korean women through specific glocal instances. Food media as texts and as institutions also educate Korean women about practical skills and knowledge of foodways, in addition to teaching an ideological balance of Korean traditions and newer influences.

Korean Women and Glocalization of Foodways

In examining the use and functions of food media, I have also examined in each chapter the specific processes of glocalization and the ways that different populations of Korean women interact with particular foodways, as well as how this interaction changes their identities of nation, class, gender, and generation. My findings in these specific texts, of course, cannot necessarily be generalized to all Korean women’s actions and attitudes. My observations, however, highlight some specific interactions of women and foodways worth mentioning in detail and situate them within historical moments of glocalization. In

my interpretation, the case studies of blogger mothers and the author of *KMCN* especially highlight their agency.

These case studies offer important insights about the glocalization of foodways, in particular the processes of negotiation characterized by assimilation and adaptation in my case studies. The negotiation processes of adaptation and assimilation include the interaction between Korean tradition, national taste, and foreign, global, and modern foodways—occurring in both forms of foreign food assimilating into and adapting to Korean food or Korean food adapting to the global standard of taste. *KMCN* illustrates how foreign and modern foodways expanded the borders of Korean food in the 1990s. Korean people reworked ingredients, spices, and tastes from foreign and modern foodways and adapted them to Korean preferences, resulting in an assimilation, or even reinvention of foreign food. The difference between popular chain-restaurant pizza and authentic Italian pizza is a good example of such a reinvention. The former has been modified to fit Korean taste with adaptations including sweeter tomato sauce to replace Italian tanginess, and offering Korean *pulgogi* (beef marinated in soy sauce) as a topping. Western food, however, was viewed as a threat to traditional foodways, especially by the older generation. In *KMCN*, the anxiety of the older generation of women most likely is the result of the rather rapid acceptance of foreign food into the Korean diet and traditions. Their anxiety led to a focused effort to redefine traditional Korean home cooking as well as foreign foods. The text reflects a visible reaction to foreign influences.

However, the commitment to follow global trends varies among the different generations of women within each period. Younger generation women were typically more open to new, foreign experiences and embraced and adapted more easily to foreign

foodways. It was Chang's, the author of *KMCN*, assumption that younger women led the effort to widen the boundary of acceptability in the Korean palate in the 1990s. Baking blogs show that younger generation women started to distinguish subtle differences within the muddled category of Western food after the year 2000. Rather than getting anxious, women actively assimilated foreign cooking methods. Popularization of European cuisine also diversified Korean foodways, and foreign modes of cooking such as baking became a way of illustrating the changes to Korean society.

In the 2010s, Korean people further distinguished foreign foods and became much more familiar with particular foreign food items. Restaurants developed specialties according not only to national and ethnic but also regional origin. For example, it became easy to find in the corners of Seoul restaurants that specialize in southern American-style home cuisine or food from Provence (a region of France). If the glocalization of Western food in *KMCN* is a careful process of assimilation to Korean food, then the glocalization of Western food in *Pasta*, although portrayed in an exaggerated form, could be seen as a more open and accepting form of adaptation and assimilation of foreign food in its current form. Within Italian food, Americanized Italian food that was further Koreanized was not only distinguished from "authentic" Italian food, but also deemed inferior to it, as exemplified in *Pasta*. By incorporating Western food into the everyday diet, Korean food has expanded its borders, and yet it still maintains a strong boundary between national and traditional foodways. The tradition of Korean foodways exhibits doubleness—both assimilative and defense attitudes to otherness exist simultaneously.

The Future of Korean Food Media

Internal globalization of Korean foodways is a continuous process. This project characterizes food media as one of the driving forces of glocalization. Food media have a few key characteristics that set them apart from other kinds of texts. First, they are heavily gendered in nature. In general, cookbooks, baking blogs, and television dramas are targeted towards women. Audiences are mostly women, due to the cultural association between feeding and the mother figure. Women are also the chief buyers and thus the targets for advertisers and the chief movers of the consumer culture. Secondly, food media can portray everyday life in an organic and mundane way. Despite the corporatized nature of media organization, much of the content of food media is drawn from the private realm. For instance, *KMCN* was written out of a feeling of personal necessity. This is not only because the subject itself, food, is linked to basic survival, but also because family is often the main concern of women, especially of mothers. Lastly, food media can concretize and redefine the living knowledge of food culture, practices, and ways of life. Although food media do not always function successfully as an interactive space for discussion or are free of political, economic, social, and cultural agendas, women can utilize food media as productive collective discursive fields within which they can explore their changing identities and teach each other of their lived knowledge.

Food media bring women's domestic and traditional values into a public arena. The everyday life of Korean women requires complex negotiations between Confucian traditions, and foreign and global ideas. It is true that the dynamics between foreign and

Korean food sometimes put Korean traditions on the backburner. For instance, the anxiety of older women stems from the rapid and popular acceptance of Western food culture by the majority of young Koreans. After close examinations of the globalization of foodways and gender identities, however, we can see how Korean women have worked to preserve traditions. In these spaces, women are not merely consuming and reiterating cultural norms. They actively take part in constructing the discourse and respond to the perceived threat of Western influence.

Korean food media will continue to specify and characterize Korean food, and negotiate various kinds of generational, gender, and class identities. The potential of food media texts as an ongoing cultural institution is proven by the popular media industry. In 2011, the channel named *O'live* (see chapter two) successfully re-launched itself as a “food lifestyle” channel. As mentioned in the beginning, the popularity of food television has soared in recent years and remains strong, and other media such as radio have jumped on the bandwagon, even though they might at first seem distant from the core experience of food—its taste, smell, and aesthetics. Food media will continue to be important as productive texts, spaces, and even institutions for women and their cultures.

Why Focus on Food: Implications for the Fields of Critical Cultural Media, Food, and Korean Studies

I'd like to conclude this dissertation by stressing the implications of studying foodways in relation to media in broader fields of Critical Cultural Media Studies, Food Studies, and Korean Studies. Putting my interpretations of foodways and the role and

meanings of Korean women's lives and their cultural values in a conversation with larger discussions within Cultural Studies, the study of food offers concrete examples of cultural theories of globalization and modernity, in large part because of its ability to capture and preserve eating habits and cooking cultures.

The interactions of Korean and foreign foodways illustrate the ways in which traditional and foreign cultural practices, and nationalistic sense of Korea and modern values clash. As noted in chapter two, these two axes of national / foreign and global, and traditional / modern are major elements of modernity in the lives of Korean women. Each case study articulates how these axes overlap but not completely. In the case of the cookbook, traditional home cooking coincides with the idea of national cuisine while the standardization of home cooking coincides with the ideas of foreign menus, cooking methods, or the ways in which recipes are written only to a certain degree. Moreover, Confucian ideas about gender roles are both traditional and national values as they clash with the modern, and foreign and global sense of individualism and freedom. The case study of baking blogs also illustrates the ways in which traditional, national, modern, and foreign and global values of gender overlap. Neoliberalism especially established its clash with traditional Confucian ideals. In the case of *Pasta*, the television drama text examines the value of *yuhak* as global experience and the value of cosmopolitanism. Traditional and national foodways clash with both the authentic foreign experience and cosmopolitan identity that *yuhak* bestows.

These analyses offer specific points of conflict and examine how they involve the ideas of what is traditional, modern, national, foreign, and global. The specific elements of modernity, which break off from traditional foodways and Confucian gender roles, are

concretely defined for and by Korean women from these food media texts. The individualism and freedom of women, the neoliberal rationality and subjectivity, and cosmopolitan ideals that are derived from global interaction and glamorize upper-class status in Korea are important elements that exemplify the identities of modern Korean woman in the Korean context.

In addition, my focus here on food emphasizes how women, as the target audience of media texts and practitioners of foodways, negotiate, redefine, and educate each other about their social relationships and cultural values via media texts. Broadly, polysemy of media texts and interpretations of the message in media tell us much about how women produce, receive, and digest media texts. The case studies confirm interactivity between the producers and the audience of mediated messages, and how Korean women actively negotiate these messages, especially in online media. In the context of Korean women's baking blogs, the distinction between producer and audience is no longer valid. As women audiences actively participate in online media, they share with others their negotiated readings of the text. This negotiated reading then redefines the existing meanings of and ideas about gender roles. Ultimately, the meanings and ideals are reconstructed in terms of traditional / modern, and national / foreign and global and inbetween.

Lastly, the nascent fields of Food and Media Studies have wide research gaps in terms of context. The survey of literature I have provided throughout this dissertation indicates that research focusing on British, US, and Australian contexts tends to be conflated, despite geographical and historical differences. Existing research on food as well as cookbooks, blogs, and television is concentrated within the domains of these

nations. This dissertation thus adds to the body of Korean Studies, specifying what is unique about the Korean case, and offers a basis for comparative work between the US, UK, or Australia and Korea.

I argue that centering on food in the fields of Critical Cultural Media Studies and Korean Studies not only provides specific examples of temporal and spatial relationships of culture and of lived experiences, but also further complicates discussions in the existing scholarship. Especially in Media Studies, the focus on food-themed texts, in all genres and forms, provides more detail and insight specific to the identities and cultures of different populations.

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