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La musique populaire coréenne et son industrialisation : entre idoles scintillantes et rigueur néo-productiviste

Mémoire de maîtrise en science sociales

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Introduction

Rapport à l'objet

Au-delà d'un travail concluant une maîtrise en sciences sociales, ce mémoire s'inscrit avant tout dans un projet de plusieurs années. En 2011, lors d'un voyage linguistique dans le nord de l'Angleterre, je me lie d'amitié avec plusieurs sud-coréens¹. De ces liens découlent des situations de quiproquos liées à des normes culturelles différentes, mais aussi une grande curiosité et envie de mieux connaître ce pays et surtout de futures amitiés de longue date. En parallèle de cette expérience, je m'intéresse aux *manwha* (manga coréen) puis séries télévisées coréennes, accessibles sur internet. Ces médias me permettent d'avoir un premier accès, bien que particulier, à la Corée et sa culture. En 2012, j'intègre l'Université de Lausanne en sciences sociales et politiques dans le but de me former sur des questions d'altérité, de compréhension du monde social et de diversité. En parallèle, je continue à développer mon intérêt pour la Corée du Sud que ce soit au niveau politique, des enjeux sociétaux ou encore des normes et questions culturelles, que j'intègre le plus souvent possible dans mes travaux universitaires.

Dès le début de mes études, je commence à organiser un échange universitaire en Corée du Sud, projet qui se concrétise et me permet de passer ma dernière année de Bachelor à étudier dans le pays. Ayant déjà pour objectif de réaliser un mémoire de master sur une sujet lié à la Corée, cette année d'immersion dans le pays s'avère donc une immense source d'informations. En outre, elle est l'occasion d'observations actives et de la rédaction d'un journal sur mes réflexions vis-à-vis de la société coréenne, mes propres expériences dans le pays, ou encore sur le retour de discussions avec des informateurs privilégiés. A la fin de cette année d'échange, certains enjeux ou thématiques présents dans ce mémoire ressortent déjà dans les grandes lignes. En 2018, je retourne finalement dans le pays pour matérialiser mon projet et effectuer un travail de terrain et de récolte de données pour mon mémoire de master. Le présent travail s'inscrit donc comme une forme de concrétisation académique de ma fascination pour ce pays et ses enjeux à travers notamment la théorisation et l'approfondissement de mes connaissances acquises tout au long de ces dernières années.

¹ Les termes employés pour désigner des personnes sont pris au sens générique ; ils ont à la fois valeur d'un féminin et d'un masculin. Cela dans le seul but de ne pas alourdir ou porter préjudice à la clarté des propos tenus.

Les mois passés lors de mon deuxième séjour en Corée du Sud coïncident aussi avec mon implication dans le mouvement Me Too (나도) qui connaît un essor significatif dans le pays dès les premiers mois de l'année 2018. C'est lors de discussions avec un groupe de réflexion constitué d'amies coréennes activistes et spécialistes des questions de genre que je découvre l'histoire de Jang Ja-yeon. Cette actrice s'est donné la mort en 2009, laissant derrière elle une lettre dénonçant les cas d'abus sexuels et physiques dont elle avait été victime. Elle y explique que son manager la forçait, sous peine de violences physiques, à avoir des rapports sexuels avec des personnalités importantes du pays. La liste de celles-ci, qu'elle inclut dans sa lettre, contient plus d'une trentaine de personnes, incluant autant des directeurs et producteurs de l'industrie du divertissement, que des politiciens, en passant par des présidents de grandes entreprises tels que *Lotte*, ou encore le PDG de *Choson Ilbo*, le premier journal de droite du pays. À la suite de l'émoi causé auprès des fans et du public, plusieurs enquêtes sont ouvertes. Finalement, seul son manager finira par être condamné à un an de prison, deux ans de probation et des jours amende. Tout porte alors à croire que le procès a été corrompu de par la gravité des accusations, l'importance des personnalités impliquées dans l'affaire et la clôture du cas sans d'avantage de condamnations. La police elle-même semble avoir été impliquée dans la dissimulation de preuves, puisqu'elle détruira la lettre de suicide de Jang. En 2019 seulement, suite au scandale dit du « Burning Sun », un club séoulite, mettant en cause d'anciens idoles de K-pop dans des affaires de viols, de diffusions de vidéos de ceux-ci et de drogues, le président Moon Jae-In intervient et demande une investigation minutieuse et complète. Il exige par la même occasion la réouverture du cas de Jang Ja-yeon qui confirmera d'ailleurs que la première enquête avait été corrompue et falsifiée.

En 2018, rien n'a pourtant encore été fait et la sensation d'injustice qui règne dans le pays face à la domination patriarcale et conservatrice est palpable. Dans le monde de la K-pop, de plus en plus de cas de suicides justifiés par des situations de « pression extrême » ressortent également dans les médias. Toutes ces situations m'ont alors semblé revêtir certaines similitudes et faire partie d'un même système ayant trait à l'industrie du divertissement coréenne. C'est ainsi que j'ai commencé à m'interroger sur le fonctionnement de cette industrie et sur les rapports de domination qui la compose.

Sur une note plus positive, ce choix de la K-pop comme sujet d'étude est aussi en lien direct avec le temps passé dans le pays, ainsi que les différentes connaissances que j'ai pu

développer et qui m'ont petit à petit permis de distinguer le phénomène grandissant de la K-pop comme un élément fondamentalement intriqué dans le fonctionnement de la société coréenne, que ce soit au niveau structurel ou individuel. Ce sujet s'inscrit donc à la fois dans un engagement personnel pour certains enjeux sociaux, mon intérêt pour la Corée et sa dimension culturelle, ainsi qu'une volonté d'approfondissement de mes connaissances sur une de ses thématiques les plus contemporaines.

La K-pop : d'une définition musicale...

Rythmes entraînants, chorégraphies parfaitement synchronisées, vidéos clips aux univers aussi variés qu'extravagants, styles précurseurs soignés et jolis minois, la K-pop a progressivement fait sa place dans les charts internationaux et jouit d'un énorme engouement principalement auprès des jeunes² du monde entier. La présence du groupe BTS en tant que présentateur du meilleur album R&B aux Grammy Awards de 2019, ou encore leur obtention de l'Award du meilleur « artiste social »³ aux « American music Awards » de 2018 et celui du « Billboard music Award » de 2017 à 2019, démontrent bien de l'omniprésence de ces groupes coréens dans la pop mondiale. Pourtant, ce qui ressemble à un succès fulgurant pour beaucoup, est en réalité le résultat actuel d'un processus de *commodification* (marchandisation) et de professionnalisation d'un style de musique pop prenant naissance au début des années 1990 en Corée du Sud lors de la transition néolibérale du pays. En effet, si le succès de la K-pop à l'international est relativement récent, l'industrie musicale coréenne produit des groupes depuis la deuxième moitié des années 90 et connaît un succès important dès le début des années 2000 (Park , 2013a, p.6)

Bien que la K-pop d'aujourd'hui puisse relativement facilement être présentée et soit l'objet d'un vif intérêt dans les médias, elle reste quasi inlassablement décrite d'une façon similaire

² Malgré l'ambiguïté du terme relevée par P. Bourdieu (1980), le terme « jeune » est à comprendre ici comme les personnes aux études, dès l'école primaire, jusqu'à celles en début de carrière professionnelle ou de moins de 30 ans.

³ Ce prix récompense les artistes pour leur popularité vis-à-vis du public, que ce soit à travers les réseaux sociaux, leurs interactions avec les fans ou encore l'ampleur de leurs ventes notamment et ne sont donc pas basés sur un engagement des artistes pour une cause particulière. Le vainqueur est choisi par le public à travers différents moyens de votes, plutôt que par un jury, comme pour la majorité des autres prix.

et répétitive qui pourrait être résumée de la façon suivante : « Surprenant phénomène musical autant inattendu que rapide, soutenu par des milliers de jeunes fans dévots dans le monde entier, des Etats-Unis au Moyen-Orient, en passant par l'Amérique latine ». Par la suite, les médias locaux et certains étrangers se sont intéressés d'un peu plus près à ce sujet pour découvrir les problèmes d'exploitation des jeunes aspirants artistes souvent soumis à des contrats de travail abusifs, ou communément appelés « contrats d'esclavage ». Pourtant, les contextes de production de ce genre musical et leur potentiel explicatif de ces cas d'abus ne sont jamais l'objet d'investigations profondes par les journaux qui les présentent. Les médias étrangers quant à eux semblent plus intéressés par l'idée qu'un pays asiatique puisse potentiellement arriver à dominer la scène pop internationale, que de développer une analyse plus profonde de ce phénomène et de ses potentielles significations et implications sociales par exemple. De ce fait, la K-pop est souvent traitée par la presse d'une manière passablement répétitive et superficielle.

... A un « symbolisateur nodal » de la société sud-coréenne

Dans ce mémoire, la musique populaire coréenne, ou *K-pop* dans sa dénomination contemporaine, n'est pas abordée comme un « pur » objet musical. Elle est étudiée comme un phénomène social signifiant « pour » et signifié « par » la société dans laquelle il se développe ainsi que par les individus qui le constituent. Ainsi, parce qu'il a vu le jour et continue d'être façonné dans la société coréenne, la définition même de ce phénomène ne peut être exclue de ce contexte. Dans la même logique, à travers l'étude de la K-pop ce travail permet d'aborder de nombreux enjeux clefs de la société coréenne contemporaine.

D'une certaine manière, la K-pop s'avère être une sorte de « fait social total », développé par Marcel Mauss, par sa capacité à toucher à un très grand nombre des institutions de la société coréenne. Bruno Karsenti (1994), dans son ouvrage sur le fait social total de M. Mauss, reformule d'ailleurs de façon pertinente le potentiel de cette notion : « Comme l'a justement souligné J.Cl Passeron⁴, c'est en indiquant l'existence de certains « symbolisateurs nodaux [...],

⁴ Ce mémoire s'inspire du positionnement de Jean-Claude Passeron, co-auteur avec P. Bourdieu des « héritiers : les étudiants et la culture » (1964), notamment dans sa distanciation d'un structuralisme génétique trop déterministe. Ce travail partage donc l'idée de l'existence de structures objectives

points privilégiés d'un réseau symbolique où se trouvent rassemblées et nouées les significations les plus valorisées par un groupe », que Mauss identifie du même coup des lieux d'observation particulièrement féconds – lieux à partir desquels les dichotomies classiques de l'ancienne sociologie peuvent justement être dissoutes » (p. 94).

Cette notion de fait social total ainsi définie a deux conséquences pour ce travail : En premier lieu, elle positionne la K-pop comme un outil pour la compréhension de la société coréenne contemporaine et des enjeux qui lui sont propres. Ainsi, à travers la déconstruction de ce phénomène socio-musical de la K-pop, ce travail a pour but d'appréhender des problématiques centrales à la Corée contemporaine telles que la sur-compétition, la limitation des alternatives à la culture dominante, ou encore les tensions identitaires dans les formes qui lui sont propres. Autrement dit, ce mémoire ne suppose pas le caractère unique de ces problématiques qui se retrouvent dans d'autres lieux et temporalités. Ce qu'il propose en revanche est une explicitation des formes particulières que prennent ces enjeux insérés dans le contexte coréen.

La deuxième conséquence est, elle, d'ordre méthodologique, puisque l'appréhension de ce sujet d'étude dépasse un antagonisme de cadres théoriques qui prôneraient soit la supériorité des structures, soit celle de l'agentivité dans la compréhension de ce phénomène social. Ainsi, c'est grâce à une conjugaison de facteurs structurels et individuels que le présent travail fait sens et rend compte de la complexité du phénomène de la K-pop. De la même manière, ce travail aborde de ce fait les éléments intériorisés par les individus comme des traductions, ou l'expression subjective du mode de développement du pays.

ayant une influence sur les individus, sans pour autant ignorer l'expérience des individus, ainsi que la marge de manœuvre (réappropriation, réinterprétation, etc.) qu'ils possèdent (Delas & Milly, 2009, p. 356). Ce mémoire se positionne donc comme J.C.I. Passeron et J.-C. Kaufman, dans une conception refusant un « excès de holisme » ou « l'individu tendr[ait] à n'être plus qu'un « support de structures » (Delas & Milly, 2009, p. 315). En outre, il partage l'idée d'une épistémologie « pluraliste », réinsérant la contextualisation historique comme un élément essentiel à tout travail sociologique, démarche particulièrement présente dans ce travail.

Posture théorique initiale et attitude pragmatique face aux données d'enquête

En ce qui concerne l'approche choisie pour l'élaboration de cette étude, ce travail s'est construit à travers une approche inductive empruntant sa méthodologie, sans toutefois s'y limiter, à la grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) ainsi qu'à Howard Becker (2000) et son induction analytique « pas-trop-rigoureuse ». Ainsi, ce travail n'a pas débuté à travers la mise en place d'une théorie qu'il aurait cherché à confirmer ou infirmer. Il est au contraire parti du terrain et des discours des acteurs, ainsi que d'observations. En effet, en vivant dans le pays, de très nombreux discours ont pu être récoltés et leur accumulation a progressivement donné lieu à des fils directeurs ou thèmes saillants, qu'il a ensuite été nécessaire d'affiner ou d'approfondir à travers leur réinsertion dans le terrain et une comparaison critique avec la littérature scientifique existante. La pertinence de cette approche est qu'elle a permis de ne pas partir de théories déjà existantes et ainsi d'éviter le risque d'essayer de faire concorder les données récoltées à celles-ci ou de s'y limiter.

Ce travail est donc le fruit d'une oscillation, d'un va-et-vient constant entre construction théorique et récolte de données, cette dernière ayant été effectuée à différentes étapes du processus de théorisation. Par exemple, une première analyse des entretiens a mis en lumière la pertinence de s'intéresser plus précisément aux publics de la K-pop, donnant lieu à la réalisation d'un questionnaire aux modalités de réponses ouvertes en ligne. Dans un deuxième temps, les données de ce questionnaire ont permis de venir raffiner le processus de théorisation en répondant à certaines interrogations que les entretiens avaient fait émerger. En sus, ce travail se rattache aussi à une approche plus Glaserienne de la grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), car sans avoir mélangé des méthodes quantitatives et qualitatives, il ne s'est pas pour autant limité à des données dites « traditionnelles ». Ainsi, c'est à travers la cumulation et la comparaison de différentes données tels que questionnaires, observations (participantes ou non), entretiens, discussions avec des informateurs privilégiés, lectures régulières des journaux nationaux, de la littérature théorique, historique, économique ou encore l'étude des médias sociaux en ligne que le présent travail a pu rendre compte de nombreuses facettes propres à son sujet d'études, qu'une méthode unique n'aurait pas permise, conformément à l'expression consacrée de Glaser « all is data ».

Comme l'explique H. Becker dans « Quelques ficelles du métier » (2000, p. 157), il est essentiel que les chercheurs mettent à l'épreuve de nombreuses généralisations et c'est justement le but que cette méthode de va-et-vient a poursuivi. Ce travail a donc été constitué à travers la formulation d'hypothèses provisoires successivement confirmées, infirmées ou souvent raffinées à travers leur réinsertion, ou leur mise à l'épreuve dans le terrain. Cela a notamment été réalisé grâce à des « contre-exemples », comme celui d'un jeune rappeur indépendant interviewé, dans le contexte d'une scène musicale majoritairement homogène et industrialisée. La réalisation de cet entretien qui « ne s'intégrait pas dans la généralisation, [a pourtant permis] de trouver de nouvelles variables, ou de nouveaux aspects du phénomène » (Becker, 2000, p. 155). Le but poursuivi à travers l'utilisation de ces contre-exemples et la reformulation des généralisations étant « d'améliorer l'image d'ensemble – de proposer, en fin de compte, une représentation convaincante de [la] complexité et de [la] diversité [du sujet] » (Becker, 2000, p. 157).

Ce travail s'appuie en outre sur la conception de H. Becker sur les mondes de l'art (2017) publiée pour la première fois en 1982. Selon lui, toute œuvre artistique suppose la coopération de tous ceux dont l'activité a quelque chose à voir avec le résultat final, aussi bien les personnes qui produisent les matériaux, les instruments et les outils, que ceux qui créent les conditions matérielles qui rendent cette œuvre possible ; ceux qui s'occupent de la diffuser, ceux qui ont produit la tradition formelle, génétique et stylistique à l'intérieur de laquelle, l'artiste s'inscrit, et le public qui la découvre. (Becker, 1999, p. 79). Cette conception sera d'ailleurs essentielle à la compréhension de la dimension artistique dans l'industrie de la K-pop.

Ce travail considère aussi l'approche de T. Adorno et M. Horkheimer (1976 [1944]) sur « l'industrie culturelle » qu'ils développent dans « Dialectique de la Raison ». Ainsi, la deuxième partie d'analyse revient sur le processus de commodification et de standardisation de la musique coréenne à travers son industrialisation. Néanmoins, il prend aussi en considération et dépasse les limites de la conception d'Adorno et Horkheimer dans ce qu'elle comprend de déterminisme économique et d'une forme d'élitisme culturel (Lee, 2013, p. 2). Ainsi, cette étude appréhende certaines formes de réappropriation et de réinterprétation des productions musicales coréennes contemporaines.

Bien que s'inspirant de la Grounded theory, cette étude se distancie aussi en partie de celle-ci, dans le sens où elle a fait le choix d'allier les données du terrain à celle d'une littérature plus théorique, bien que cette dernière soit intervenue dans un deuxième temps. Cette décision a été influencée par le constat de la nécessité d'approfondir certaines thématiques ou sujets évoqués par les acteurs, mais aussi pour mieux théoriser et comprendre les enjeux ressortis de l'analyse. Autrement dit, la littérature théorique a elle aussi une place importante dans ce travail, bien qu'elle ait été initialement filtrée par le terrain. En outre, ce choix méthodologique s'appuie sur le constat d'une certaine limitation de la théorie ancrée. Comme l'explique J.-C. Kauffman (2011) : « la seule formulation d'hypothèses trop exclusivement et étroitement subordonnées au matériau, risque fort de déboucher sur une théorie très faible et une accumulation pauvre, ne dégageant aucune vision d'ensemble renouvelée. Le danger réside alors dans une fétichisation du terrain, qui peut se transformer en frein à l'avancée de la connaissance ». Ainsi, toujours selon lui : « Le chercheur doit apprendre à se libérer de la seule induction, et d'une induction trop puriste, pour la combiner avec des propositions théoriques établies, cependant soumises à l'épreuve du terrain » (p. 92). De ce fait, cette étude ne conçoit pas le recours à la littérature scientifique comme fondamentalement opposé à la grounded theory, mais comme un outil d'élargissement ou d'approfondissement du terrain, à la précaution près que cet usage ne soit pas priorisé pour les raisons préalablement mentionnées.

Ainsi, ce premier pas dans le terrain a permis d'approcher cette littérature d'une façon ciblée, mais aussi critique. Autrement dit, cela a permis de remettre en question les théorisations sur le sujet en les comparant aux données actuelles recueillies et aux théorisations que l'analyse de celles-ci avait créées. C'est d'ailleurs cette « mise à l'épreuve » de la littérature scientifique qui a mis en lumière le manque d'approches compréhensives et centrées sur les individus dans l'étude de la K-pop, malgré leur énorme potentiel explicatif. De la même manière, cette logique inductive soutenue dans un deuxième temps par une lecture critique ou « éclairée » des théories sur le sujet a aussi permis de mettre en évidence la richesse d'une considération d'éléments microsociologiques trop souvent absents des théorisations et travaux macro-centrés actuels, mais aussi et surtout l'importance et la richesse de la cumulation de ces deux niveaux. Une autre particularité de ce travail est donc qu'il prend en compte à la fois des éléments macro et micro sociologiques, en s'interrogeant sur le sens que les divers acteurs donnent à leurs rapports à la K-pop. L'approche de ces deux niveaux d'analyse s'est avérée

essentielle, notamment parce qu'ils se complètent mutuellement. Par exemple, les entretiens réalisés ont permis de voir si certains facteurs macrosociologiques se retrouvaient bel et bien dans le discours des acteurs de ce phénomène, ainsi que dans l'importance ou encore le sens donné à ces facteurs. L'originalité méthodologique de ce travail réside donc notamment dans le dialogue entre différents niveaux de compréhension de la société qu'il étudie, logique relativement peu présente dans la littérature actuelle.

D'une manière générale, les données progressivement recueillies ainsi que la problématique de ce travail ont démontré l'importance de ne pas se limiter à un paradigme, un type de données ou une approche. De la même façon, cette étude se réclame partiellement d'une approche constructiviste dans le sens où elle dépasse une opposition entre structure et agentivité, ou holisme et individualisme que les données recueillies et leur analyse ont su démentir. Au contraire, la place accordée au sens donné par les acteurs a montré que s'ils influencent les structures dans lesquelles ils évoluent, ces mêmes structures ont, elles aussi, un impact sur le champ de la musique populaire coréenne et les individus qui la composent. Ce travail vise donc la compréhension de cette forme de « cycle » d'influences mutuelles et appréhende la K-pop comme un processus en perpétuelle co-construction.

En outre, parce qu'elle s'interroge sur le sens donné par les individus, mais aussi du fait de sa problématique consistant à appréhender les enjeux de la société coréenne à travers le phénomène de la K-pop, cette étude s'inscrit ainsi en partie dans une perspective d'interactionnisme symbolique. En effet, le propre de cette dernière est que « l'objet n'est jamais saisi purement, directement, sans équivoque pour ce qu'il est mais à travers le sens qu'il revêt pour le témoin, dans les contextes qui sont les siens et ceux de sa société, sa culture » (Paillé & Mucchielli, 2016, p. 65). En d'autres termes, son discours, son rapport et sa vision de la K-pop reflètent le contexte social coréen dans lequel il évolue. C'est d'ailleurs cela qui permet de légitimer la K-pop comme un outil de compréhension de la société coréenne, au travers des éléments intériorisés par les individus comme des traductions, ou l'expression subjective du mode de développement du pays.

Sur la base de ces éléments, cette étude a été structurée en trois parties et se développe de façon chronologique. Elle débute donc par une contextualisation approfondie et critique de la

musique populaire coréenne, en revenant sur ses évolutions de la fin du 19^{ème} siècle jusqu'aux débuts de la K-pop dans les années 1990.

La deuxième partie de ce mémoire analyse le processus d'industrialisation de la musique populaire, en revenant autant sur son contexte que les modes de production de K-pop. Elle aborde pour ce faire le rôle de valeurs néo-confucéennes dans ce processus.

La troisième et dernière partie d'analyse traite, elle, à la fois de l'attrait pour une carrière d'*idol* au regard du système d'éducation coréen et des rôles que la K-pop semble jouer auprès de ses publics.

Méthodologie

Le choix de la méthode utilisée, soit principalement des entretiens non-directifs, s'est imposé relativement rapidement. Il a tout d'abord été initié par une volonté de réflexion sur le sens donné par les différents agents de l'industrie du divertissement sur le phénomène qu'est la K-pop. Cet intérêt étant lui-même dépendant d'une immersion relativement longue dans le pays, et par là de l'accumulation d'un bagage qualitatif relativement riche qu'il faisait sens de mettre à profit. En outre, la K-pop est souvent abordée à travers une approche économiciste dans les médias coréens, mais a jusqu'à aujourd'hui rarement fait l'objet d'une étude compréhensive, autant au niveau journalistique que scientifique. Pour ces raisons, une analyse d'ordre quantitatif a rapidement été écartée au profit d'une analyse qualitative.

Ce travail repose donc sur la réalisation et l'analyse de cinq entretiens, un questionnaire en ligne à questions majoritairement ouvertes remplis par des fans coréens de K-pop, des discussions avec des informateurs privilégiés durant le temps passé dans le pays, mais aussi de nombreuses observations parfois participantes, ainsi que la tenue d'un cahier pour y noter mes réflexions. Néanmoins, en accord avec la posture théorique précédemment explicitée, une étude de la littérature scientifique sur le sujet, ou touchant à différents domaines tels que l'histoire, l'économie, ou encore à la « culture » coréenne a aussi été effectuée et intégrée aux analyses.

L'échantillonnage

Le choix des personnes interrogées a été principalement influencé par la possibilité d'accès à ces dernières. En effet, le domaine de la K-pop faisant partie du show-business, il est par exemple quasiment impossible d'obtenir un entretien avec une idole. De « simples » interviews journalistiques étant déjà extrêmement limitées et réservées à des médias s'étant fait un nom. L'image des idoles étant en outre continuellement travaillée et contrôlée, il aurait été très compliqué d'obtenir un discours autre « qu'officiel » ou lissé pouvant finalement être obtenu plus facilement par d'autres moyens. Dans les maisons de divertissement, la question du secret professionnel reste très présente, car elles ne souhaitent ni divulguer leurs méthodes de fonctionnement à la concurrence, ni s'exposer à un potentiel scandale médiatique. Face à la difficulté d'accès au terrain, l'échantillon utilisé pour cette étude a résulté d'une sélection partiellement aléatoire et dépendante du succès de la mobilisation de différents contacts et réseaux à disposition.

Malgré tout, ce mode de sélection a toutefois permis d'obtenir une relative diversité d'acteurs du champ de la K-pop et cinq entretiens ont ainsi pu être réalisés : Deux auprès d'employées d'une maison de divertissement faisant partie des cinq plus importantes du pays, renommée N Entertainment. Ces personnes sont respectivement, responsable de la formation des apprentis *idol* (ou *trainees*), et responsable de l'équipe de planning et marketing de l'entreprise. Un troisième entretien a été réalisé auprès d'un employé d'une petite maison de divertissement, et le quatrième, auprès d'un ancien idol actuellement rappeur indépendant et compositeur de K-popo freelance. Le dernier entretien quant à lui a été fait avec un candidat aux auditions libres des deux plus grandes maisons de divertissement du pays. Ces entretiens ont donc été réalisés auprès de personnes externes et internes aux maisons de divertissement, et se positionnant à différentes « phases » du processus de production, proposant ainsi une relative diversité des profils, malgré son nombre restreint.

Dans le cas du questionnaire, celui-ci ont été réalisés en ligne, n'étant plus en Corée à ce moment. Il a donc été posté sur les réseaux sociaux et notamment ceux de certains groupes de K-pop ou fans clubs, mais le succès de cette technique a été relativement minime. En revanche, après avoir été posté sur la page d'un site communautaire⁵ utilisé par la majorité

⁵ Koreapas. (2019). Accès <https://www.koreapas.com/bbs/main.php>

des étudiants de mon université coréenne, de nombreuses personnes s’y sont intéressées, puisque 150 personnes ont débuté le questionnaire. Pour autant, celui-ci était relativement long étant donné le choix de questions ouvertes, et finalement seulement 13 personnes l’ont entièrement rempli. Cela n’a pourtant pas été détrimentaire, puisqu’il avait été conçu explicitement pour permettre une analyse qualitative plutôt que quantitative. Toutefois, il convient de mentionner que cette façon de récolter ces réponses a constitué un biais, puisque la plupart des répondants étaient de ce fait des étudiants universitaires.

La question de la traduction dans des entretiens non directifs

Afin de ne pas induire certaines réponses ou thématiques, des entretiens non-directifs ont été réalisés. Autrement dit, il a s’agit de débiter par une question relativement générale comme par exemple : « pouvez-vous me parler un peu de ce que vous faites ou de vous ? », puis de les relancer sur la base des propos précédemment exprimés. Cela a permis aux personnes interrogées de choisir ce qu’elles souhaitaient mettre en avant ou comment elles voulaient organiser leur discours.

Ces entretiens ont aussi la particularité d’avoir été réalisés en coréen, à l’exception de l’un d’entre eux. Mon niveau de coréen n’étant pas suffisant pour réaliser cela par moi-même, il a été nécessaire de faire appel à une interprète. Concrètement, je posais les questions en anglais qu’elle traduisait en coréen. Puis, la personne répondait en coréen avant que l’interprète ne me résume brièvement les propos tenus afin que je puisse la relancer. Par la suite, les entretiens enregistrés ont été retranscrits en anglais. Afin de considérer les biais que cette méthode a constitué, les traductions in vivo de l’interprète ont aussi été incluses dans la retranscription. Malgré les craintes initiales sur les biais de traductions, ceux-ci se sont avérés être plus limités qu’initialement supposé. Le fait que cette interprète soit aussi étudiante en sociologie s’est ainsi avéré être un choix essentiel et judicieux afin de limiter sa « marge d’interprétation ». En sus, les traductions qu’elles a effectuées sur le moment pour me permettre de rebondir ont quasi toujours été très précises et proche du discours initial.

Dans ce même contexte, le choix a été fait de ne pas traduire une deuxième fois les citations d’entretiens dans la partie d’analyse. En effet, ces éléments étant déjà des traductions du coréen, les inclure en français aurait largement limité la qualité des propos tenus.

Plus généralement, le choix de l'interprète a donc revêtu une grande importance étant donné son influence sur la qualité des entretiens à différents niveaux. Outre ses compétences en coréen et ses connaissances en sociologie, j'ai donc aussi choisi une personne possédant un statut relativement similaire au mien dans le contexte coréen. Mon interprète était donc une étudiante de master en sociologie à l'Université Nationale de Séoul, d'origine américaine et d'âge similaire. Ce choix a notamment été justifié par le fait que la présence d'une interprète coréenne aurait pu rendre les personnes plus « craintives » ou plus prudentes dans leurs discours, en abordant par exemple des questions liées aux normes sociales. De nombreux coréens m'ont d'ailleurs confirmé la pertinence de ce choix, expliquant que parler à des étrangers est souvent perçu comme un environnement plus libre, car relativement détaché des normes et codifications régissant les interactions entre coréens. De la même manière, le sens visé par les acteurs dans leurs discours a donc aussi été analysé en prenant en compte la présence de deux femmes notamment étrangères et universitaires pendant les entretiens.

Contextes de réalisation des entretiens

Dans la même logique compréhensive, il convient d'explicitier quelque peu les contextes de réalisation de ces entretiens. En effet, la prise en considération de ceux-ci a passablement participé à affiner les analyses effectuées.

Malgré les difficultés d'accès aux maisons de divertissement, comme mentionné précédemment, deux entretiens ont toutefois pu être réalisés auprès de deux employées de l'une de ces entreprises. Cet accès dans le cadre d'une étude sociologique est ainsi une occasion relativement rare et a été permise grâce à un contexte bien particulier et très représentatif de la hiérarchie et codification sociale en Corée, qu'il semble pertinent d'explicitier.

En Corée du sud, les rapports et interactions entre personnes sont largement définis par leur position hiérarchique. Il existe par exemple sept niveaux de politesse et un total de quatorze variations possibles, bien qu'ils puissent être catégorisés en trois catégories : allant du formel à l'informel. L'âge, le niveau d'éducation ou encore la position professionnelle d'une personne sont les principaux déterminants des formes que prennent ces rapports. Autrement dit, la hiérarchie sociale est au cœur des interactions et du fonctionnement de la société coréenne.

Connaitre et respecter ou jouer de ces codes est donc essentiel à tout individu pour évoluer efficacement dans le pays.

De plus ces codifications se retrouvent à tous les niveaux de la société, des rapports familiaux à professionnels en passant par l'interaction avec de simples inconnus dans la rue. Cela est notamment le cas dans les universités ou les anciens élèves, une fois intégrés dans la vie professionnelle organisent et jouent le rôle « d'agence de recrutement ». Cela est d'ailleurs d'autant plus fortement le cas dans les trois meilleures universités du pays communément appelées « SKY Universities », en référence à leurs initiales, et pouvant être comparée à l'IVY League américaine locale. Les anciens élèves ont une forme d'obligation envers les générations suivantes, qui trouve sa source dans la persistance de valeurs confucéennes dans le pays, comme cela sera développé plus tard. Ainsi, ils organisent régulièrement des rendez-vous ou événements durant lesquels ils se chargent de présenter et recommander les récents diplômés à leurs employeurs, souvent de grands conglomérats.

Ainsi, avoir été étudiante dans l'une de ces trois universités et vivant depuis plusieurs mois dans le pays lors de la recherche d'entretiens, m'a permis de bénéficier de ce type de rapports. J'ai donc sollicité mon entourage, notamment à travers mes activités extra-professionnelles, pour rentrer en contact avec des personnes en lien avec l'industrie musicale, en leur expliquant ma démarche et son inclusion dans mes études. C'est ainsi que j'ai pu obtenir le soutien actif et engagé de M. Park, un ancien élève de la même université que moi. Grâce à ce « simple » passage commun dans cette université et même à des années de différences, ce quinquagénaire avec qui je suivais des cours de Yoga et réalisais des marches a pris la peine de faire jouer ses contacts et m'a permis de réaliser deux entretiens dans l'une des cinq plus grandes maisons de divertissement du pays.

Accéder à ces personnes ne s'est pourtant pas fait directement, mais à travers l'intermédiaire d'un autre « ancien » de mon université. Aidée de M. Park, j'ai ainsi rencontré cet intermédiaire et ai dû me conformer aux règles et codifications relatives à ma position de *hoobae* (후배, novice ou personne ayant moins d'expérience). Je me suis donc présentée avec un cadeau pour cette personne, puis j'ai participé à un souper pour lequel il avait aussi convié personnes. J'ai en outre dû accepter qu'il me serve de l'alcool, boire après lui et parler de manière respectueuse. Ainsi, en ayant montré du respect envers cette personne, celui-ci a

décidé d'accepter de me recommander à sa connaissance travaillant dans une maison de divertissement. Autrement dit, le fait qu'il m'ait permis d'obtenir ces entretiens n'a pas reposé sur mes compétences académiques, ou la particularité de mon travail par exemple, mais sur mon degré de respect des codes et rapports hiérarchiques. L'explicitation de ce contexte d'accès à ces premiers entretiens montre ainsi la force de ces rapports et des connections en fonction de son appartenance universitaire en Corée.

De façon complémentaire, l'entretien avec un ancien idol, aujourd'hui rappeur indépendant et compositeur de K-pop freelance a été obtenu en mobilisant un réseau très différent. Lors d'une rencontre avec une femme française expatriée, je lui ai fait part de ma recherche et il s'est avéré que son époux travaillait avec le père de cet ancien idol.

L'entretien réalisé avec ce dernier a en sus eu lieu dans une ambiance beaucoup plus détendue et horizontale, faisant écho au discours qu'il a tenu. Attiré par le rap américain depuis son adolescence, il s'est largement rattaché à une identité « occidentale » et à la valorisation de rapports d'amitié dans ses interactions. Le fait que mon interprète soit américaine, que je sois européenne et que nous ayons tous le même âge semble ainsi avoir participé à ce discours et à ce type de rapports plus détendus. De ce fait, ces éléments ont été pris en compte lors de l'analyse du discours de cette personne.

Le dernier entretien, effectué auprès d'un candidat aux auditions de deux maisons de divertissement, a lui aussi été l'objet d'un rapport enquêtrice-enquêté particulier. En effet, durant l'entretien il nous a régulièrement interpellées pour nous demander « conseils » par rapport aux sujets abordés. Il est d'ailleurs apparu passablement impressionné par nos statuts d'étudiantes au sein de deux universités d'élite du pays. L'entretien qui s'est déroulé dans les espaces libre d'une de ces deux universités, semble avoir aussi revêtu un caractère intimidant pour lui, qui s'est exprimé autant à travers des remarques directes que dans sa gestuelle. Ces éléments d'observations, ainsi que certaines particularités de son statut socio-économique ont donc été pris en compte lors de l'analyse de l'entretien et ont permis de mettre en évidence l'inscription de son discours dans une réflexion sur son identité, ainsi que des doutes et une certaine insécurité quant à son statut social.

Ce retour sur les conditions de réalisation de ces entretiens a mis en évidence l'importance de l'identité perçue ou attendue de l'enquêtrice (et de son interprète), qui n'est donc jamais neutre et se doit d'être intégrée de façon réflexive dans l'analyse des discours obtenus. Il montre aussi que mon identité d'étrangère ayant pourtant vécu dans le pays et connaissant ses codes sociaux a été largement favorable à l'accès au terrain et la récolte de données. Savoir « jouer » de cela en fonction des contextes c'est donc avéré déterminant autant pour obtenir des entretiens chez N Entertainment, que durant les entretiens eux-mêmes. Autrement dit, et pour reprendre le propos d'O'Connell et Layder (1994) sur les pratiques d'entretiens, il n'existe pas « une » méthode par excellence d'approche du terrain, le plus important étant notre capacité d'adaptation et de sensibilité au terrain, afin de mobiliser les outils les plus adaptés à des situations uniques (p. 147)

Immersion dans le pays et observations

Outre ces cinq entretiens et un questionnaire en ligne, cette étude est aussi enrichie de connaissances acquises à travers deux séjours relativement longs dans le pays, de respectivement un an, puis 8 mois et de prises de notes régulières durant ce laps de temps. Durant ces périodes, j'ai été intégrée dans une université coréenne où j'ai étudié et vécu au quotidien dans le pays. Cette immersion a donc été une source d'information inestimable qui a largement participé à l'affinage des analyses réalisées. Ce contexte a aussi permis de réaliser de nombreuses observations, tant de manière active qu'indirecte. Je me suis ainsi rendue sur les lieux de deux auditions afin d'observer comment elles sont organisées et qui se candidate par exemple, ou j'ai encore visité la tour « Sm Town », un bâtiment entièrement dédié à l'entreprise et à ses artistes sous la forme d'un parc à thème. Mais j'ai aussi pu récolter de nombreuses données et impressions de façon plus indirecte. Ainsi par exemple j'ai pu assister à un concert de K-pop en me rendant au festival de mon université, assister à des événements proportionnels d'artistes dans des lieux publics, ou encore assister à des spectacles ou shows d'artistes inconnus en me promenant dans les rues de Hongdae avec des amis. En outre, mon intégration dans le tissu social coréen a été l'occasion de très nombreuses discussions avec autant d'informateurs privilégiés.

Lors de mes études dans le pays, j'ai aussi suivi divers cours qui m'ont permis de développer mes connaissances sur des aspects plus historiques ou économiques du pays. Être une universitaire dans le pays à aussi été l'occasion de vivre de l'intérieur la prégnance des rapports de pouvoir et hiérarchiques qui la compose. D'une manière générale, ce temps passé en Corée a donc été extrêmement profitable, puisqu'il m'a permis d'acquérir nombre de connaissances autant théoriques qu'empiriques qui se sont avérées essentielle à une compréhension fine de mon sujet d'étude.

I) La musique populaire coréenne comme révélateur social, une mise en contexte analytique

Comme explicité en introduction, comprendre la K-pop d'aujourd'hui ne peut se faire sans la réintégrer dans le contexte historique dans lequel elle a pris naissance. Cette contextualisation vise donc à expliciter, exemplifier et justifier le postulat de l'interconnexion entre la musique populaire et la société dans laquelle elle évolue.

De plus, ce retour historique met en avant le caractère fondamentalement processuel, soit en perpétuelle modification de la musique populaire coréenne de façon co-dépendante des enjeux sociaux, économiques et sociétaux. Par exemple durant la dynastie de Joseon (1392-1892) la musique populaire chez les *yangban* (les nobles) n'est pas la même que pour la masse populaire. Il existe ainsi, des formes musicales perçues comme plus « distinguées » ; plus « légitimes » ou plus « nobles » que d'autres (Bourdieu P. , 1979). Ces formes musicales sont d'ailleurs directement influencées par des pratiques « religieuses » au sens large, comme le shamanisme ou le confucianisme. Dès la deuxième partie du 19^{ème} siècle, ce système de classes, bien qu'initialement hermétique, en vient à subir un certain nombre de changements, rendant ses frontières plus floues. Or, ces mutations sociales se retrouvent directement dans la musique de l'époque, puisque la musique de la classe dominante intègre progressivement des éléments propres à la musique populaire.

Dans la même logique, il est singulier de noter que toute l'écriture du contexte historique de la musique populaire coréenne coïncide finalement avec la mise en exergue des principaux éléments historiques de cette même société. Ainsi, après la destruction du système traditionnel de classes à la suite de la colonisation du pays, la musique populaire s'est modifiée et largement inspirée du Enka japonais. À la suite de la guerre du Pacifique, cette dernière devient caractérisée par les shows « à l'occidentale » pour les camps militaires américains. Et dès les années 1960, la musique coréenne devient le pantin faussement paisible du régime autoritaire en place, malgré les quelques tentatives d'opposition. En d'autres termes, durant toute la période moderne de la Corée, la musique populaire a incarné les enjeux de pouvoir et de domination à l'œuvre dans le pays. Mais malgré la prédominance de genres musicaux conformistes dans la Corée autoritaire des années 1960 à 1980, cette mise en contexte critique aborde aussi un certain nombre « contre-exemples » (Becker, 2000, p. 157), comme le développement du *troutok* ou du *folk*, pour développer ses propos.

Au tournant du millénaire, le pays est entré dans une phase de rupture vis-à-vis de son ancien système politico-économique autoritaire, en entamant un processus de démocratisation. Les modes de développements du pays ont donc changé, mais la pertinence de lire le monde social par la musique, elle, est demeurée une fois de plus intacte. De fait, cet outil que représente la musique populaire semble être aujourd'hui plus pertinent que jamais, puisque les gouvernements contemporains ont fait du développement des industries culturelles leur cheval de bataille.

Finalement, ce retour historique joue aussi un rôle de contextualisation des enjeux et problématiques propres aux pays qu'ils convient de maîtriser pour mieux comprendre le fonctionnement de la société coréenne contemporaine qui est l'objet de ce travail.

De par le fait que cette première partie étudie des éléments du passé, il n'a pas été possible de s'appuyer sur des données de première main pour l'élaborer. Cette mise en contexte analytique s'est donc basée sur la littérature scientifique, dont il convient d'introduire brièvement les références principales afin d'explicitier leurs apports ou leurs limites.

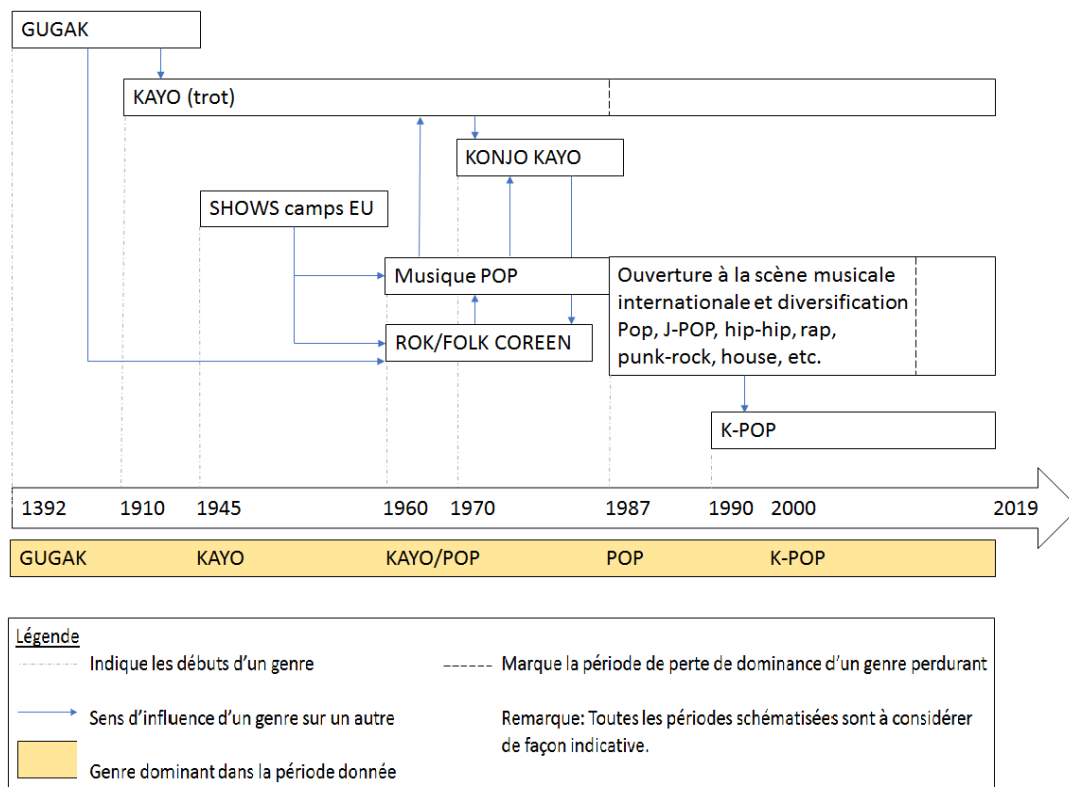
John Lie, dans son article intitulé « What is the K in K-pop? South Korean Popular music in the culture industry and Nationality » revient sur l'histoire musicale du pays. Il conclut en statuant que la K-pop est une forme de « naked capitalism » (capitalisme « nu » ou « vide »). Il se borne de ce fait à une appréhension économique, n'intégrant pas les logiques de globalisation, soit

de réutilisation et de réappropriation à l'œuvre et inextricables des processus de formation de la K-pop.

Néanmoins, la première partie de son travail apporte un bon éclairage des différentes « phases » et de l'évolution graduelle de la musique coréenne, et ce de façon intelligemment intégrée dans le contexte social, économique et politique de la Corée. Ces éléments sont aussi essentiels pour comprendre les enjeux constituant la musique populaire coréenne, puisque ceux-ci se révèlent être centraux à la création et la pérennisation de la musique coréenne industrielle, progressivement renommée « K-Pop » à la fin des années 1990. La présente introduction revient donc en partie sur les apports de son travail tout en se distanciant de ses conclusions.

Cette contextualisation historique intègre aussi le travail de Pil Ho Kim et Hyunjoon Shin (2010) « The Birth of "Rok": Cultural Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Glocalization of Rock Music in South Korea, 1964–1975 » qui, à travers l'histoire du rock coréen, met en relief les enjeux socio-politiques inextricables à l'histoire de la musique coréenne moderne qui a vu naître la K-pop. Ils abordent en outre leur sujet à travers une approche compréhensive, allant au-delà de visions trop simplistes qui se limiteraient à aborder le rock en Corée comme de l'impérialisme culturel. L'angle d'approche de Kim et Shin est donc similaire à celui de ce travail qui déconstruit le sujet de la K-pop pour deux raisons : Premièrement, tous deux reviennent sur les contextes historiques, socio-politiques, puis économiques de création de ce genre musical. En outre, ils s'appuient sur une approche non déterministe, considérant à la fois les « les dynamiques politiques de globalisation et d'agency locale » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 202).

Frise temporelle représentant les principaux genres musicaux de l'histoire moderne de la Corée



Cette frise temporelle est pensée de manière à apporter une aide à la schématisation des principaux genres musicaux présents en Corée, de la fin de la dynastie Joseon à aujourd'hui. Elle met aussi en évidence certaines influences inter-genres qui se retrouvent dans l'analyse qui suit. Toutefois, il convient de ne pas considérer les dates exprimées comme absolues, ni les rapports d'influences (flèches) comme exhaustifs. En effet, en accord avec la définition des « mondes de l'art » développée par Howard Becker (2017), ceux-ci sont en perpétuelle co-construction par les différents et nombreux acteurs de ce champ. Ainsi, le caractère processuel intrinsèque au monde de la musique populaire rend vain toute volonté de délimitation temporelle stricte d'un genre.

Les genres musicaux explicités ici renvoient d'ailleurs tous à un ensemble de productions possédant des caractéristiques singulières, mais possèdent toutefois suffisamment de similitudes pour être regroupés. Il est donc nécessaire de considérer ce schéma comme une aide à une vision d'ensemble, plutôt qu'une traduction temporellement rigide de l'évolution de la musique populaire coréenne.

Une musique « confucéenne » pour l'élite et « shamanique » pour le peuple durant la dynastie de Joseon

Durant la dynastie de Joseon (조선) de 1392 à 1897, le pays est principalement divisé en deux groupes sociaux : L'élite et le peuple⁶. La culture des élites est « dominée par une monarchie baignant dans le confucianisme, influencée par la Chine et la classe dirigeante des « *Yangban* » (Lie, 2012, p. 341). En d'autres termes, les valeurs centrales de ces élites sont « le respect des aînés et des ancêtres, la hiérarchie et le patriarcat, la tradition et l'ordre » (Lie, 2012, p. 341). Ces valeurs sont opposées à celles des masses, influencées par le shamanisme et ses rites expressifs et émotionnels. Ainsi, il existe une distinction entre les élites où l'ordre, l'harmonie et le calme prédominent et les masses, bien plus égalitaires, mais aussi désordonnées, énergétiques et chaotiques (Lie, 2012, p. 341). Ces différences se retrouvent clairement dans les performances et représentations musicales. En effet, la musique produite par les élites avait pour but « d'élever les dispositions des publics, améliorer la moralité et le sens éthique, et de s'édifier socialement et politiquement » (Hwang, 2019, p. 4). Les types d'instruments utilisés, sont eux aussi représentatifs de ces deux sensibilités. Les uns utilisant des instruments souvent d'inspiration chinoise comme le *Geomungo* (거문고), les autres privilégiant les

⁶ Comme l'explique Hagen Koo dans « The Korean stratification System : Continuity and Changes », « durant les dynasties de Joseon et Yi (1392-1910) la stratification sociale repose principalement sur un système héréditaire et juridiquement ordonné de statuts basés sur une philosophie confucéenne ». Il existe quatre classes, les *Yangban* (양반), les *Chungmin* (중인), les *Sangmin* (상민) et les *cheonmin* (천민) par ordre décroissant dans leur statut. Les deux classes les plus importantes sont les *Yangban* en termes de pouvoir et les *Sangmin* en nombre. Cette dernière est constituée principalement de paysans et dans une moindre proportion des marchands et artisans.

Les *chungmin* et les *cheonmin* quant à elles, sont deux classes minoritaires. La classe *chungmin*, en dessous des *Yangban*, est constituée des fonctionnaires du gouvernement, de spécialistes comme des médecins, interprètes ou astronomes. Les *cheonmin* quant à eux sont la classe inférieure de la société, composée des esclaves, servants, bouchers ou encore des shamans par exemple.

Pour comprendre la nature de ce système de stratification mais aussi la production musicale à cette période, il est nécessaire de comprendre la classe dominante des *Yangban*, soit l'aristocratie coréenne, comme l'explique Koo. Cette classe supérieure est composée de lettrés, de représentants du gouvernement et de propriétaires terriens, bien que ces rôles soient souvent incarnés par une seule et même personne. Ce statut supérieur n'était toutefois pas uniquement défini par leur richesse. En effet, il était essentiel que les descendants de ces membres passent à leur tour l'examen de la fonction publique nationale (*Gwageo* – 과거) qui permettait de recevoir des postes d'officiels et des terres. Il était donc essentiel pour cette classe de démontrer son éducation et ses mérites intellectuels, mais aussi de respecter des codes d'éthiques élaborés, dérivés de principes confucéens. En outre, ils devaient faire montre de comportements moralement respectables, comme suivre à la lettre des rituels élaborés concernant le culte des ancêtres, des mariages ou des rites funéraires par exemple. Ils se devaient aussi d'être « généreux et bons envers les classes les plus basses. La réciprocité étant une norme sociale. Les *yangban* devaient [donc] assurer protection et fournir une autorité morale aux individus des classes basses en retour de leur respect et de leur soumission » (Koo, 2007, pp. 37-38).

tambours et les mélodies ou chants Folkloriques. Un certain nombre de similarités existent pourtant, comme leur système pentatonique (échelle à cinq tons).

Toutefois, dès le milieu du 19^{ème} siècle, la Corée assiste au déclin de la classe dominante *yangban*. Celle-ci perd progressivement ses statuts notamment suite au nombre croissant de marchands se revendiquant *yangban*, de familles nobles appauvries, ainsi que de la corruption croissante des administrations et de l'exploitation du peuple. À la fin du 19^{ème} siècle, les *yangban* perdent en sus leur légitimité politique et sociale, n'ayant pu protéger le pays contre l'intrusion du Japon impérial (Koo, 2007, p. 39). Ainsi, au début du 20^{ème} siècle les frontières sociales deviennent plus floues et amènent au niveau musical un plus grand mélange de ces deux influences shamaniques et confucéennes.

Comme l'explique John Lie, certains éléments, comme par exemple le *Pansori* (판소리) – récit chanté accompagné par un tambour – initialement un genre populaire et chanté par des artistes accompagnants les shamans, finit par être apprécié et intégré dans la tradition des classes supérieures (Lie, 2012, p. 341).

Le style de chant dominant quant à lui met l'accent sur une sorte de « lamentation », de « sanglots émotifs » et des expressions mélismatiques (plusieurs notes chantées sur une syllabe) (Lie, 2012, p. 341). La danse quant à elle, même si existante autant à la cour que dans le pays, est placée en dehors des frontières de la musique, contrairement à son inclusion centrale dans les productions contemporaines. « D'une manière générale, les chanteurs restaient immobiles pendant leurs performances vocales. [...] Le chanteur immobile et au corps couvert, exprimait un message spirituel sérieux, à travers des paroles moralisatrices, tels que l'amour parental et familial. La sensibilité de la musique coréenne était à ce moment, en harmonie avec la sensibilité culturelle d'une Corée confucéenne » (Lie, 2012, pp. 341-342).

De façon contemporaine, la musique produite pendant cette période est d'ailleurs appelée *Gugak* (국악), signifiant « musique du pays » ou « musique nationale », sans distinction des différentes formes qu'elle inclut. Ce terme possédant au passage un fort pouvoir de recréation d'un passé commun et homogène à la nation coréenne.

La période coloniale japonaise et les débuts du Trot

L'arrivée dans le 20^{ème} siècle est marquée par une ouverture du pays aux genres musicaux japonais et occidentaux. Cela ne se fait pourtant que sur une période relativement longue et initialement indirecte (à travers la musique japonaise), de par la situation politique du pays pendant ce siècle. En outre, ces genres sont intégrés dans le cadre musical préexistant et donnent lieu à de nouveaux styles musicaux résultants de plusieurs influences.

Depuis la fin du 19^{ème} siècle, le Japon se fait de plus en plus présent en Corée et le pays est officiellement annexé en 1910, jusqu'en 1945 à la chute de l'empire. Musicalement, cela se traduit par une relative transition d'une musique dite « traditionnelle » vers des styles plus « modernes ». Durant cette période coloniale, le Japon entreprend de moderniser la Corée, largement utilisée comme subsidiaire à l'effort de guerre nippon et à son développement. C'est dans cette mouvance que la Corée va être exposée et commencera à être musicalement influencée par les musiques occidentales, qu'il soit question de musique « classique » ou encore de musiques plus « populaires » comme les *ballades* ou les *chansons* (Lie, 2012, p. 342). Néanmoins, les technologies de diffusion de masse n'existent pas encore et cette influence se fait largement par la transformation des musiques occidentales en les adaptant, modifiant de façon à ce qu'elles « s'adaptent aux sensibilités locales » (Lie, 2012, p. 342). Comme le développe d'ailleurs J. Lie (2012): « la musique occidentale n'était pas simplement imitée au Japon ou en Corée. [...] L'échelle pentatonique était toujours dominante, en contradiction avec la musique occidentale diatonique, et les paroles étaient traduites, adaptées et créées » (p. 342).

En d'autres termes, le Japon en plein développement économique libéral, inspiré de l'occident, accède en parallèle à ses formes musicales. Cette source d'influence nationale se développe dans un deuxième temps en Corée à travers le filtre du colonisateur nippon. Le système d'éducation coréen étant dirigé par le Japon, la formation musicale en Corée était donc elle aussi largement influencée par celui-ci. Ainsi, l'Empire du soleil levant a eu une profonde influence sur la musique coréenne et cela se retrouve aujourd'hui encore dans les productions de musiques de K-pop et l'apparence des idoles. En outre, cette période coloniale amène un processus de redéfinition et de mouvance dans les classes sociales, permettant plus de flexibilité dans l'acceptation de nouveaux styles musicaux par ces dernières.

L'une des musiques les plus importantes qui se développent à l'époque est le *trot* (트로트) un sous genre de la musique *kayo*, vraisemblablement influencé par le *enka* Japonais. Il devient la musique « populaire » dominante par excellence, le terme « populaire » faisant ici référence à un produit de l'industrie culturelle plutôt que l'équivalent du Folk jusqu'alors (Lie, 2012, p. 342). Même si le trot va largement se modifier tout au long du 20^{ème} siècle, ses évolutions sont très représentatives des influences occidentales et des modifications à l'œuvre dans la musique populaire coréenne. Si l'échelle reste (en principe) pentatonique par exemple, les thématiques retrouvées dans les paroles s'éloignent des messages spirituels et moralisateurs prêchant la piété filiale et l'« ordre traditionnel », pour aborder des thématiques comme l'amour et la nostalgie (longing) (Lie, 2012, p. 344).

Pour illustrer cette influence et l'évolution progressive de la nouvelle musique populaire en Corée, « Eloge de la Mort » de Yun Sim-deok (1926)⁷ et « Mon frère est un musicien de rue » de Park Hyang-Rim (1938)⁸ sont deux exemples tout à fait pertinents. Yun Sim-deok est la première coréenne à étudier à l'Ecole de Musique de Tokyo avant de retourner en Corée où elle fait ses débuts en 1923. En 1926 elle produit « Eloge de la Mort » enregistré à Osaka, Japon dont la mélodie est inspirée des « Flots du Danube » de Iosif Ivanovici, une valse de 1880. Son parcours et ses choix musicaux démontrent bien de l'influence Japonaise dans l'instauration de nouvelles normes musicales occidentalo-centrées. Cette chanson est aussi extrêmement significative étant donné le contexte dans lequel elle s'inscrit. En effet, ses paroles abordent la futilité de la vie et de rechercher le bonheur dans celle-ci, le titre, « Eloge de ma Mort » étant d'ailleurs explicite en soi. En outre, la même année Yun Sim-deok se donne la mort avec son amant, un homme marié qu'elle a connu pendant ses études au Japon, en se jetant à la mer depuis le ponton d'un bateau. Cette chanson est donc en soi un hymne parfait au Romantisme Allemand de la fin du 18^{ème}, répandu en Europe jusque dans la fin du 19^{ème} et adapté à l'environnement de la Corée colonisée, démontrant lui aussi des multiples influences qui se retrouvent dans la musique dit « coréenne » au début du 20^{ème} siècle. Malgré ces influences occidentales, l'échelle est, elle, restée pentatonique, s'adaptant ainsi à la tradition musicale coréenne jusqu'alors.

⁷ Spy0907. (2011). *윤심덕 사의 찬미 반도의 봄, 1941 中* [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bJvC6FNuRE8&t=117s>

⁸ wyjam. (2011). *박향림 - 오빠는 풍각쟁이* [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i6-ag88VdtQ>

Dans, « Mon frère est un musicien de rue » il n'est aussi plus question de thématiques confucéennes, mais de sujets plus « légers » du quotidien, les paroles relatant la relation entre un frère et une sœur, cette dernière se plaignant gentiment de son comportement. Les paroles restent toutefois passablement significatives des rapports de genre à l'œuvre en Corée à cette époque, bien que cela ne soit pas le but initial de cette chanson. En outre, au niveau instrumental l'influence du Jazz des années folles aux Etats-Unis est indéniable. Finalement, même si le trot se développe sous l'empire colonial et le pays s'ouvre aux sons occidentaux, la musique « traditionnelle » continue de dominer.

Shows pour les bases américaines et modernisation dans l'après-guerre du Pacifique

À la suite de la guerre de Corée (1950-1953), la société se reconstruit et il en va de même pour les classes sociales. Grâce à la réforme agraire menée entre 1945 et 1950 dépossédant les propriétaires de leurs terres pour les redistribuer, le précédent système de classe ne peut se réimplanter dans la Corée du Sud (ci-après Corée) d'après-guerre. Comme l'explique Koo H. (2007), à travers les décennies qui suivent « la structure de classes en Corée du Sud s'est rapidement transformée d'un système de stratification préindustriel relativement simple, vers un système de classes ressemblant à ceux des sociétés industrielles avancées » (p. 46). Bien évidemment, comme il le précise « le caractère social de chaque classe et la nature des relations entre ces classes [...] diffèrent significativement de ceux des autres sociétés industrielles, car la structure de classe et les relations de classes dans une société données sont le produit de l'histoire, formée par l'interaction de l'économie, des politiques et de la culture au cours de l'évolution historique de cette société » (p. 46). Néanmoins, ces changements apportent la fin de l'ancien système de classe, la redéfinition progressive des critères d'appartenance à une classe et avec elle une période de très grande mobilité sociale. En outre, cette réorganisation laisse place à une certaine occidentalisation du pays, comme au niveau vestimentaire par exemple où les habits « traditionnels » tels que le *hanbok* [한복] sont graduellement remplacés par le costard ou la mode occidentale, pour ne pas dire américaine. Au niveau musical, un autre genre trouve ainsi la place de se développer en parallèle du trot d'inspiration Japonaise. Il s'agit de la *pop music* directement influencée des

Etats-Unis, nouveau partenaire privilégié qui cherche à imposer son influence libérale dans un contexte de guerre froide et de tensions géopolitiques.

A la libération, comme l'explique J. Lie (2012) : « la période de dominance japonaise [fait donc] place à la dominance des Etats-Unis. L'occupation par les américains et ses conséquences amènent la musique populaire américaine : pas seulement le jazz et le blues, mais aussi la pop et le rock via les radios et les télévisions des forces armées, les bars et les dance halls des bases américaines et les cinémas qui projetaient nombre de films hollywoodiens » (p. 343). Culturellement et économiquement parlant, la Corée devient largement influencée par les Etats-Unis, vus comme un modèle de réussite et de modernisation. Cet attrait est d'ailleurs toujours présent dans une certaine mesure dans la Corée contemporaine.

Au cours des décennies qui suivent la guerre, le pays connaît aussi un incroyable développement économique à travers les réformes et plans quinquennaux mis en place par les régimes autoritaires qui contrôleront le pays jusqu'en 1988. Néanmoins, cela se fait au prix d'un fort contrôle social et de peu de libertés. En ce sens, le développement économique de la Corée se distingue de son référent états-unien, puisque cela se fera à travers une politique autoritaire et développementale, au détriment des valeurs démocratiques prônées par les Etats-Unis. Or, cet environnement a un impact direct sur le développement du pays au niveau musical. Les formes que prennent la *Pop* et le *rock* (ou *Rok*) coréen, ainsi que leurs rapports au trot sont ainsi tout à fait pertinents pour rendre compte de la scène musicale en Corée de 1945 à l'arrivée de la démocratie en 1988.

La *pop music* trouve ses racines dans la période immédiate d'après-guerre. Pour satisfaire les troupes américaines installées sur le territoire coréen, de nombreuses « troupes musicales » locales, formées aux genres et hits américains se développent. Celles-ci reproduisaient les classiques à la mode dans le pays d'origine des soldats. Néanmoins, il existait une très grande compétition et pour s'assurer de satisfaire leurs audiences, ces petites troupes n'avaient de cesse de se réinventer et de faire montre d'un très grand professionnalisme. En outre, elles devaient s'adapter aux genres musicaux de prédilection des troupes militaires diversifiées. Par exemple, elles performaient « les Beatles ou les Beach Boys pour les G.I's blancs, de la *musique country* pour les sous-officiers blancs, ou de la *soul musique* de The Temptations dans les clubs noirs » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 204). Cet éclectisme des styles se retrouve d'ailleurs dans les musiques des groupes de K-pop d'aujourd'hui comme cela sera explicité plus tard. Néanmoins,

avec la diminution des camps américains dans les années soixante, ces troupes doivent se tourner vers un public local et cela se fait de deux façons différentes : les groupes instrumentaux peuvent facilement se reconvertir en orchestres pour les quelques compagnies de radio ou télédiffusion existantes et en expansion. Les groupes « vocaux » quant à eux n'ont pas cette chance, étant donné que le marché reste dominé par la musique trot et ses chanteurs solos populaires. Ces groupes s'orientent donc vers des cafés, puis salons musicaux du centre de Séoul où ils se produisent la journée (Kim & Shin, 2010, pp. 212-213). Ce sont ces mêmes groupes vocaux qui se modifient ensuite pour devenir des groupes de rock, ou Rok (록) comme l'appellent Kim P. et Shin H. (2010, p. 203) pour rendre compte de son caractère hybride. Ces groupes resteront toutefois à la périphérie de la musique populaire dominante. Avec le Folk coréen, ils représenteront néanmoins une contre-culture vis-à-vis de laquelle le régime luttera activement, comme cela sera abordé plus loin.

La domination du trot et de la pop dans la musique populaire

D'une manière générale, le trot, puis la Pop sont les genres qui dominent et s'imposent sur le champ musical durant toute la période autoritaire de la Corée d'après-guerre. Pour autant, le développement de la pop se fait de manière plus tardive et dans les zones urbaines. Les campagnes elles, restent les bastions de la musique trot, vue comme « traditionnelle », malgré ses influences autant japonaises qu'occidentales comme mentionné précédemment. En outre, il est pertinent de comprendre que les acteurs musicaux de cette époque touchaient souvent à tous les répertoires, afin soit de se maintenir au top des ventes, soit de façon plus humble de se ménager des revenus réguliers et de pouvoir en parallèle créer et se produire plus librement en fonction de leurs affinités musicales propres.

Shin Joong Hyun est certainement un très bon exemple de cette diversification. Il est un chanteur et auteur compositeur né en 1938 dans la Corée colonisée, formé musicalement en se produisant dans les camps militaires américains, passionné de rock et largement porteur de celui-ci ainsi que de sa tournure psychédélique dans les années 60 et 70. Néanmoins, il est aussi le compositeur et directeur musical des Pearl Sisters, une formation musicale qui mélange à la fois la soul américaine et la musique kayo coréenne. Cette hybridation est d'ailleurs un énorme succès et annonce le début d'un mélange de plus en plus grand du trot

et de la pop coréenne. Cette présence de mêmes acteurs sur plusieurs scènes musicales est d'ailleurs responsable de la diversification et des processus d'hybridation que connaît la musique populaire de la 2^{ème} moitié du 20^{ème} siècle. Dans le cas de Shin Joong Hyun, cela lui a permis d'offrir une certaine popularité au Rock coréen en l'intégrant dans les genres populaires.

Ainsi, au fil des années le trot et d'une façon générale la musique kayo connaissent de grandes mutations. La musique trot intègre des rythmes plus rapides, des sons plus pop, rock, puis même des synthétiseurs dans les années 1970, tout en maintenant ses tons pentatoniques et ses mélismes, reflétant ainsi des influences mutuelles entre la musique kayo, ou post-kayo plus précisément, et la *pop* coréenne. Les émissions télévisées se développent et démontrent elles aussi ce mélange, qui maintient toutefois un formalisme clair et une forte respectabilité. Ainsi les airs deviennent plus *pop*, mais les chanteurs restent statiques et le costume, de rigueur (Bae, 1969) ⁹.

Ces deux genres populaires bien qu'en concurrence en théorie partagent d'autres similitudes. Ils « établissent [...] un ton doux et modéré dans la musique populaire » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 212) alors que la réalité est celle d'un régime autoritaire limitant fortement la liberté et la diversité de création au sein de la musique populaire. Kim P. et Shin H (2010), justifient cet intérêt musical par le fait que « la culture populaire était en général vue comme un véhicule pour le message de réconciliation que les coréens acceptaient avidement après être passé par une guerre, une révolution et un coup militaire traumatisant » (pp. 211-212). Bien que cet argument possède certainement un certain degré de pertinence, un autre semble néanmoins plus empiriquement fondé. Il s'agit du large contrôle de la scène musicale et plus généralement culturelle par le régime.

Instrumentalisation de la musique populaire

Le gouvernement coréen, tout-à-fait conscient de l'influence de la musique sur ses publiques, s'assure dans un premier temps que les chansons diffusées se focalisent sur les thématiques non politiques ou « légères », comme l'amour par exemple. Puis, dans un deuxième temps, il

⁹ 좋은하루. (2015). *기적 슬픈 새벽길(울면서 떠나리) 배호 배호노래* [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNqdwZIU9S0>

va se doter de divers outils, comme par exemple le « comité d'éthique d'art et de culture coréen » pour influencer directement sur la production musicale. Les buts des responsables des politiques culturelles sont clairs : Il s'agit de créer une population fière et travailleuse en accord avec l'idéologie nationaliste et moderniste du pays. Néanmoins, il y a aussi lieu de contrer toutes influences contraires et néfastes telles que l'individualisme, souvent promu dans la *pop culture* occidentale (Maliangkay, 2003, p. 171), mais aussi les influences de l'ancien colonisateur japonais, et encore et surtout toutes formes de propagande procommuniste.

Cela se fait à travers une « purge » active, bien que parfois aléatoire, de toutes paroles non cautionnées par le régime, sans que les justifications ne soient jamais clairement explicitées. Le régime utilise aussi la musique populaire comme un outil de propagande direct de son idéologie nationaliste et moderniste. Il entreprend cela de deux façons : en ne laissant pas de place à une musique alternative et potentiellement dangereuse, comme le Rok ou plus clairement le Folk par exemple, et en faisant produire et diffusant largement des chansons soutenant le régime. « La plupart d'entre-elles avançant soit des intentions progouvernementales claires, soit dessinant un tableau idyllique de la société et de la nation » (Kim & Shin, 2010, pp. 216-217).

Pour ce faire, la « nouvelle association de chant » est créée en 1972. Cette association compose et produit « de nombreuses chansons ayant pour but précis de promouvoir une certaine éthique et morale » (Maliangkay, 2003, p. 173). Concrètement, ces chansons, principalement chantées par des artistes « sans nom », « prônaient les bonnes mœurs et le nationalisme ou encourageaient simplement les jeunes à étudier et les travailleurs à travailler » (Maliangkay, 2003, p. 174). Il est pertinent de noter ici, que ce nationalisme se revendique d'une tradition confucéenne, vue comme « inhérente à la nation coréenne » et qui influencera très fortement la population jusqu'à aujourd'hui, bien qu'il soit en réalité question de néoconfucianisme.

Ces chansons de propagandes, appelées *Konjo Kayo* (« chansons saines »), sont largement diffusées durant les années 1970 et 1980. Cette diffusion se fera notamment à la radio, pour compenser la diffusion « d'albums *pop* potentiellement subversifs et les programmes des DJ's radios diffusés tard dans la nuit » (Maliangkay, 2003, p. 173), mais aussi dans les établissements scolaires. En effet, « jusqu'à la fin des années 1980, [ces musiques] sont [...] un matériel obligatoire pour l'enseignement de la musique dans les écoles » (Maliangkay, 2003, p. 173). Finalement, l'état instaure aussi nombre de restrictions à l'importation des

biens culturels japonais, limitant l'influence musicale de ce voisin jusqu'à la démocratisation du pays. Cela apportera d'ailleurs une forme de retour en force de la musique japonaise dans la musique populaire coréenne durant la période de transition démocratique, soit dès les débuts de la K-pop.

Rok et folk, une contreculture face au nationalisme, deux « cas négatifs »

Les « groupes » vocaux qui se sont développés en groupes de Rok lors de la diminution des camps américains dans les années soixante ne sont toutefois pas en reste. En parallèle de la musique populaire contrôlée par le régime, le Rok (rock coréen) devient progressivement populaire et connaît ses heures de gloire auprès d'une population de niche jeune et urbaine de 1964 à 1975. Comme l'expliquent Kim P. et Shin H. (2010), ce genre directement inspiré des Etats-Unis se développe progressivement et en 1971 la Corée du Sud vit son propre Woodstock et le « Summer of Love ». « La contreculture de la jeunesse globale était arrivée en Corée : cheveux longs, clochettes, usage récréatif de drogues, et attitudes anti-autorité » (p. 215).

Ces groupes restent pourtant à la périphérie de la musique populaire dominante. Car avec le Folk coréen, ils représentent une contre-culture contre laquelle le régime lutte activement. Ainsi, l'entrée dans les années septante amène un durcissement du régime qui instaure des polices de « répression des cheveux longs » ou de contrôle vestimentaire. En 1971, le président Park Chung Hee « réélu » instaure la constitution de Yushin, régime nationaliste autoritaire. Le « comité d'éthique d'art et de culture coréen » est créé, dotant le nouveau président-à-vie d'un outil d'application d'une propagande nationaliste et de censure vaguement justifiée. La musique Rok, accusée d'être décadente et dissidente est ainsi de plus en plus censurée et les artistes se replient dans des bars de nuit dansants. Ironiquement, cela forcera ses adeptes à braver le couvre-feu de la loi martiale, créant par la même occasion une forme de prophétie auto-réalisatrice (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 219). Finalement en 1975, Shin et quatre autres groupes, « grands noms » du Rok coréen sont emprisonnés pour consommation de marijuana, qui n'était d'ailleurs par encore illégale lors de leur condamnation (Kim & Shin, 2010, pp. 221-222). L'emprisonnement des acteurs principaux de la scène Rok sera toutefois suffisant pour « finalement défaire le mouvement de contreculture des années 1960 et 1970 »

(p. 221). Il semble aussi pertinent de noter que les chansons de Shin, très souvent censurées « ne contenaient rien de vraiment controversé : pas de message politique, pas de critique sociale, et pas de langage sexuellement explicite » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 221). Seule l'association du genre Rok à une contre-culture suffisait donc pour être censuré.

Entre la fin des années 1970 et le début des années 1980, une deuxième génération de musiciens de Rok voit le jour. Néanmoins, leur origine diffère puisqu'ils sont souvent issus des collèges, écoles ou universités du pays, contrairement à la première génération issue des spectacles pour les bases militaires américaines. Ainsi, « [c]es étudiants [...] [profitent] d'un statut social privilégié dans la hiérarchie sociale [néo]confucéenne, donnant une respectabilité instantanée à leur musique » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 226), à l'inverse des premiers musiciens de Rok. Comme Kim P. H. et Shin H. l'expliquent, ils semblent aussi avoir appris de cette première génération, puisque leur musique s'est détachée de son caractère subversif ou de contre-culture. Cette seconde génération de Rok se rapproche même d'une musique nationaliste, puisqu'un « certain nombre d'entre eux [cherchent] à instiller une « coréanité » dans leur musique. Certains écrivent des paroles dans le format de l'ancienne poésie coréenne, [et d'autres] chantent des thèmes patriotiques qui auraient rendus fiers les doctrinaires de la culture nationale » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 226). La deuxième génération de Rok est donc vidée de son caractère de contre-culture et accède même à une certaine popularité dans la musique dominante, au prix d'une neutralisation politique voir d'une certaine reconversion nationaliste.

Cette contextualisation montre que le Rok et ses développements sont largement liés à l'histoire du pays. Sans les bases américaines, ni le régime autoritaire de Park, puis de Chun Doo-hwan, il ne se serait certainement pas développé de la même façon et aurait pris d'autres formes. Il démontre aussi de la très forte politisation de la scène musicale coréenne durant la deuxième moitié du 20^{ème} siècle. En outre, la mise à la marge de ce style musical pour les raisons qui viennent d'être explicitées a aussi eu un impact sur la K-pop contemporaine, dans le sens où le Rok n'a pas pu proposer une alternative forte à l'essor hip-hop qui a pu, lui, fortement influencer le style de la K-pop.

Le Folk coréen, quant à lui, se développe en étroite proximité du Rok dans les années 1960 et sera à son apogée dans les années 1973-74 avant que ses principaux artistes ne soient censurés par le régime, comme ce fut le cas des artistes de Rok (il s'agissait d'ailleurs parfois

des mêmes artistes évoluant sur les deux scènes). Il est lui aussi fortement influencé par la musique des Etats-Unis puisqu'il se développe dans la continuité de la musique Folk américaine et du mouvement hippie portés par des grands noms tels que Bob Dylan (à ses débuts) et Joan Baez. Musicalement parlant, le Folk coréen et son parent états-unien sont très semblables, guitare acoustique et harmonica étant à la base de nombreux morceaux. En outre, les artistes coréens phare de ce genre sont très souvent formés dans le même environnement musical « occidentalisé » que les artistes Rok. Han Dae Soo (한대수), l'un des artistes de Folk coréen les plus importants a d'ailleurs grandi aux États-Unis où il était membre de petits groupes de rock, avant de faire ses débuts à 20 ans en Corée du Sud. Ces artistes ont donc une très grande connaissance de la musique occidentale, ainsi que du rôle de contre-culture et des valeurs rattachées au Folk, telles que le refus de l'ordre établi, l'anticonformisme ou la critique de la société de consommation.

Ce genre musical se développe dans un contexte de montée en force de l'opposition aux régimes autoritaires à travers le mouvement *Minjung* (민중), mouvement « du peuple » luttant pour la démocratisation du pays (le terme « minjung » incluant toute personne politiquement ou socialement discriminée). Les étudiants, qui font partie des groupements protestataires principaux, s'emparent progressivement du Folk coréen et de nombreuses chansons finissent par être utilisées comme des hymnes (noraе undong - 노래운동) chantés durant les manifestations, comme « Passe-moi l'eau, s'te plait » (물 줌 주소) de Han Dae Soo¹⁰ (1974). Ainsi, la musique Folk coréenne est largement associée à la musique protestataire. De ce fait, le terme « Folk » n'est pas synonyme de musique « populaire » au sens de « dominante », puisqu'elle reste attachée à une population jeune « de gauche » et donc à la marge de la musique populaire largement contrôlée par un régime « de droite ». Néanmoins, cette musique partage avec celle « de droite » une approche commune. Comme le mentionne J. Lie (2012) : « même plus que la musique populaire mainstream, la musique « populaire »

¹⁰ joon keanu. (2019). 물 줌 주소 (1974) - 한대수 / 한글가사 [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wSRmkItrLd0>

風の音. (2019). 한대수 Hahn Dae-Soo - 고무신 (Rubber Shoes) [1975] [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJl6huKpLWI&list=RDoJl6huKpLWI&start_radio=1&t=540

pour la gauche était marquée par le sérieux moral et l'engagement politique » (p. 347). La musique des années 60 à 80 est donc marquée par une très forte politisation et un moralisme certain, autant par l'opposition que par le régime. C'est donc ce contexte de politisation musicale qui marque profondément les générations à la veille de l'arrivée de la K-Pop.

Il est d'ailleurs pertinent de mentionner ici l'ambivalence du terme « populaire », celui-ci renvoyant à différentes catégories de personnes. Il peut désigner la population dans son ensemble lorsqu'il revoit au latin *populus*, indiquant par là qu'il « plait au plus grand nombre » (Robert, P. (Ed.), 2007), au « grand public ». Mais il peut aussi désigner une catégorie inférieure du peuple (du latin *plebs*), faisant référence par exemple aux « classes populaires », soit au « petit peuple » ou à la « populace ».

Dans le cas du Folk coréen, celui-ci s'apparente à une forme de musique minoritaire ou du moins dominée dans la société, à laquelle s'identifie la jeunesse « de gauche » se distanciant ainsi de la musique dominante. Néanmoins, bien que prônant des valeurs pro-démocratiques, cette opposition ne propose toutefois pas une contestation subversive de l'ordre établi, puisqu'elle partage avec le régime des formes musicales où le sérieux moral prédomine malgré leurs différences idéologiques.

Retour sur la musique populaire avant le tournant démocratique : victoires et limites du régime nationaliste

Il semble donc indéniable que les régimes autoritaires en place jusqu'en 1988 ont eu un rôle considérable dans l'évolution de la musique populaire coréenne que ce soit en filtrant, censurant ou même créant des sous-genres musicaux largement imposés et diffusés.

Néanmoins, ces régimes ont aussi été confrontés à un certain nombre de limites propres au caractère hybride de la musique Kayo et de la *pop* coréenne. Par exemple, suite à l'annonce du traité de normalisation entre le Japon et la Corée, le régime de Park fait face à des protestations de masse, mettant à mal son idéologie nationaliste ainsi que sa légitimité¹¹. C'est

¹¹ En 1965 le traité de normalisation des relations diplomatiques entre la Corée et le Japon, fait émerger des protestations de masse, car la population est largement défavorable à ce qu'elle voit comme un oubli des atrocités commises par l'empire colonial japonais 20 ans plus tôt. Dans un contexte de guerre du Vietnam, les Etats-Unis poussent toutefois à l'acceptation de ce traité pour améliorer les relations entre ses deux alliés. Le gouvernement coréen accepte ainsi de signer, mais cela « porte un coup dur à la légitimité et aux références

dans ce contexte que Park décide de s'attaquer à la musique Kayo dans le but de la « purger » de ses influences japonaises et par la même occasion de regagner en légitimité. Néanmoins, le caractère fondamentalement hybride et « glocal »¹² de ce genre musical, comme vu précédemment, rendent ces réformes extrêmement dures à appliquer et largement vaines. Comme le justifient de façon tout à fait pertinente Kim P. et Shin H (2010) « cet effort était voué à l'échec, puisque le langage musical transnational avait déjà été fermement enraciné dans la musique Kayo » (p. 224). Autrement dit, si influence japonaise il y a bel et bien dans la musique Kayo, celle-ci a été suffisamment transformée par les acteurs locaux pour finalement la rendre indigène et de ce fait inextricable du genre, peu importe les efforts politiques mis en place.

En outre, bien que le gouvernement soit conscient de l'influence néfaste des potentielles valeurs individualistes promues à travers la musique pop américaine également diffusée, le pays s'appuie aussi fortement sur les États-Unis pour se légitimer sur la scène internationale, ainsi que pour financer son développement économique. En outre, la lutte contre le communisme, perçu comme l'un des plus grands dangers par le régime, a été un facteur déterminant dans l'acceptation de l'influence musicale américaine. Comme l'explique Min-Jung Son (2006):

Dans le but d'éradiquer les valeurs idéologiques du communisme le plus profondément possible, les administrations sud-coréennes essayèrent de manipuler les productions culturelles populaires. Le résultat musical direct fut l'occidentalisation du [trot], ainsi qu'une popularité sans précédent des chansons populaires américaines dans les années 1970. La logique simple était que la culture américaine était considérée comme la valeur opposée au communisme, gage de sécurité dans le

nationalistes du régime de Park » (Kim & Shin, 2010, p. 212). Pour regagner cette légitimité, Park tente de mettre en place des réformes culturelles visant à purger la musique Kayo de ces influences japonaises.

Cette volonté du pouvoir a en outre pour conséquence indirecte d'apporter une plus grande « occidentalisation » de la musique kayo, la *pop* étant désormais privilégiée face à ce qui pouvait être vu comme une influence « japonaise ». Le développement de la *pop* dans la musique populaire coréenne est donc partiellement au moins, due aux processus de contrôle culturel du gouvernement coréen en place.

¹² Ce terme, développé par R. Robertson (1992) en 1980, fait référence à la co-présence d'éléments globaux et locaux dans un même phénomène. Ceux-ci font par exemple tous deux partie intégrante de la musique kayo, comme développé dans les propos suivants.

contexte sud-coréen, en particulier depuis les années 1950 jusqu'aux années 1970. (p. 58)

Toutefois, d'une manière générale, le gouvernement semble avoir été relativement victorieux dans sa volonté de « vider » la musique populaire de tout caractère subversif. Durant toute la période d'après-guerre et ce jusqu'en 1988, les formes musicales ayant un quelconque potentiel anti-autoritaire ou politique, comme le Rok ou le Folk seront maintenues à la marge de la musique populaire. Seules les formes « épurées » de toutes revendications réussiront à s'implanter dans ce groupe relativement fermé. Cela ne veut pas dire pour autant que la musique coréenne était apolitique durant cette période, bien au contraire. En effet, dès le début des années 1970 l'état s'est créé un propre sub-genre politisé, le *konjo kayo*, pour diffuser ses idéaux et jouit du canal de la musique populaire, ainsi qu'institutionnel pour le propager. L'opposition, bien que maintenue dans des positions périphériques et largement censurée existe néanmoins, à travers le Folk dont les chansons seront largement reprises dans les manifestations estudiantines et de masse contre le régime, ainsi que le Rok dans une certaine mesure par ce qu'il a pu incarner de contre-culture.

Les deux décennies précédant celle de l'arrivée de K-pop sont donc fondamentalement marquées par une très forte politisation de la musique.

Démocratie naissante et premier pas de la K-pop

Finalement, l'année 1987 annonce un tournant pour le pays. Le général Roh Tae-woo (노태우, 1987-1993), candidat soutenu par le président sortant, est élu président, mais à la suite d'élections et non pas à la suite d'un coup d'état militaire, comme ce fut le cas pour les précédents régimes. De plus, les mobilisations massives et la forte attention internationale posée sur le pays dans un climat de chute des régimes autoritaires force le président sortant à un changement politique. Bien que la corruption reste très forte durant cette république, cette élection ouvre la voie à une transition démocratique. Elle permet aussi la libération de milliers de prisonniers politiques, le développement de ses relations diplomatiques, notamment avec la Chine et l'URSS et le pays accueille même en 1988 les Jeux Olympiques. Musicalement parlant, les changements sont tout aussi clairs. La limitation de l'importation des biens culturels notamment japonais, ainsi que la censure sont progressivement levés (bien

que cette dernière soit toujours en partie présente). Le pays s'ouvre alors à une offre et une diversité culturelle à laquelle il n'avait pas pu avoir accès durant les quarante dernières années. Les technologies d'écoute ou de reproduction se sont aussi largement développées et généralisées, comme avec l'apparition du Walkman Sony dans les années 1970 (Lie, 2012, p. 349), Les productions musicales de la scène populaire coréenne sont dès lors le reflet de cette ouverture et des influences de la scène musicale internationale, notamment américaine mais aussi japonaise où la J-pop bat son plein et reste jusque-là difficilement accessible. La musique populaire n'est désormais plus le trot, qui restera à la marge de cette nouvelle scène et deviendra synonyme de la musique des anciennes générations.

Les sons changent, les tons pentatoniques laissent place à des échelles diatoniques et les mélismes sont remplacés par des styles syllabiques. A la fin des années quatre-vingt les ballades se mélangent aux musiques *pop house* parfois très proches de morceaux états-uniens, la loi sur le copyright étant très rarement appliquée en Corée à cette époque. D'une manière générale, la musique populaire devient passablement influencée par les styles américains contemporains dominants, bien que les paroles restent en coréen. Les habillements eux aussi changent, et le costume est abandonné au profit de styles libres influencés par les modes et les genres musicaux. L'entrée dans les années 1990 est marquée par l'arrivée du rap et du hip-hop dans la musique populaire coréenne. Quid du développement des clips-vidéos, et parce qu'ils introduisent la danse dans leurs productions, ces styles jouissent d'une grande popularité et ont une très forte influence sur les musiques populaires des années 1990. Les chorégraphies de K-pop sont d'ailleurs toujours marquées par cette influence du Hip-hop initialement « américain ». En outre, la scène musicale populaire qui n'a pas encore été industrialisée est marquée par une très grande diversité et créativité, malgré un côté « brut » ou peu policé, par opposition aux productions post-industrialisation.

Pour rendre compte de ce changement de paradigme musical, nombre de chercheurs mettent en avant le groupe de « Seo Taiji and Boys »¹³ (서태지와 아이들) (1992), comme étant les pionniers de la K-pop, pour avoir été les premiers à inclure des sons importés des Etats-Unis et danses chorégraphiées dans leur musique. Si le but n'est pas ici d'établir formellement cette affirmation, ils n'en sont pas moins très représentatifs des productions musicales de cette

¹³Seotaiji. (2012). 서태지와 아이들 (Seotaiji and Boys) - 난 알아요 (I Know) M/V [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OEDHEzs5kyk>

période et de cette scène musicale populaire en pleine transformation, de par la diversité de leurs productions. En outre, contrairement aux futurs groupes de K-pop ils n'hésitent pas à critiquer directement la société coréenne dont l'ouverture « démocratique » reste plus économique que sociale. La sphère politique reste passablement embourbée dans la corruption et le conservatisme pendant que les syndicats s'insurgent massivement et sont encore réprimés par la force (Dayez-Burgeon, 2012, pp. 276-277). Leur chanson intitulée « Come back home »¹⁴ (컴백홈) sortie en 1995 est d'ailleurs très explicite comme en témoigne cet extrait :

Ma rage envers cette société
Est en train de devenir de plus en plus forte
Finalement, cela s'est transformé en dégoût
Les vérités disparaissent sur le bout de la langue.

Seo Taiji and Boys (1995)

Dans la deuxième partie des années 1990, un certain nombre de formations musicales se créent, composées de jeunes artistes au physique avantageux, à la fois chanteurs et danseurs formés par des maisons de divertissement inspirées par l'usage de chorégraphies par les artistes du moment. Dans la très vaste majorité, ces groupes sont composés d'artistes du même sexe, les groupes mixtes jouissant d'un succès limité. À la différence des chanteurs de Rok ou Folk des décennies précédentes ou des artistes engagés du début des années 1990, tels que « Seo taiji and Boys », ces groupes ne sont que rarement auteurs ou compositeurs des musiques qu'ils performent et leurs chansons ne touchent pas au politique. Ainsi, naissent les premiers groupes de K-pop qui connaîtront un succès fulgurant sur la scène populaire coréenne, puis internationale, mais limiteront en même temps le développement d'une musique plus contestataire dans la scène dominante. En effet, les méthodes de production analysées dans la partie suivante amèneront une forte homogénéisation de la musique coréenne, et ne laisseront que très peu de place à des genres minoritaires ou alternatifs (Shin & Kim, 2013, pp. 268-271).

¹⁴ Seotaiji. (2012). *서태지와 아이들 (Seotaiji and Boys) – 컴백홈 (COME BACK HOME) M/V* [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q3xy4p2JTfU>

II) Développement de la pop industrielle en Corée du Sud

Ces boys et girls bands des années 1990 seront les premiers membres de la musique populaire coréenne sous sa forme contemporaine, renommée K-pop, pour *Korean pop* (pop coréenne). Dans la littérature scientifique, ce genre ou plus généralement la *Hallyu wave* (vague coréenne)¹⁵ sont aussi au bénéfice d'un certain engouement et d'une volonté d'explication de leur succès, notamment suite au constat de leur intérêt populaire grandissant. Toutefois, la majorité des recherches et travaux sur la K-pop l'abordent à travers une seule discipline, un seul paradigme et dans le but ultime de déterminer les causes de ce succès. Autrement dit, nombre de travaux cherchent à démontrer la supériorité d'un facteur, comme le rôle de l'état par exemple, par rapport à d'autres. Dans la même logique, ces travaux utilisent souvent une approche macro-logique pour aborder leur objet d'étude.

Le présent travail se distancie de ces travaux, dans le sens où il n'a pas vocation à déterminer « la » raison de ce succès, mais plutôt de proposer une approche compréhensive pluridisciplinaire permettant d'appréhender la K-pop dans un système d'interactions multidirectionnel et dimensionnel. Ainsi, ce phénomène est approché dans une logique processuelle, puisqu'il fait l'objet d'une co-construction ou redéfinition constante par les acteurs de ce champ.

Sur la base de cette posture théorique initiale, "Organizing K-Pop : Emergence and Market Making of Large Entertainment Houses, 1980-2010" de S. I. Shin et L. Kim (2013) s'est imposé comme l'un des articles prépondérants de la littérature scientifique utilisée pour ce travail. Les auteurs développent leur recherche à travers une approche organisationnelle et en s'inspirant des études sur les intermédiaires du marché, mettant en avant le rôle central joué par les maisons de divertissement non seulement dans le succès, mais aussi dans le développement de la K-pop. Pour ce faire, les auteurs reviennent sur les débuts de ces maisons, leurs modes de production si particuliers, ainsi que les conséquences, notamment en termes d'homogénéisation, de la scène musicale coréenne. Ce choix d'une approche organisationnelle est appuyé par le constat que les trois autres explications

¹⁵ La Hallyu wave désigne le succès de toute une série de produits des industries culturelles coréennes, tels que la K-pop, les *dramas* (séries télévisées), le cinéma ou encore les émissions télévisuelles coréennes. En sus, le gouvernement coréen a progressivement travaillé à étendre cette liste à d'autres éléments tels que la cosmétique, la cuisine, la mode vestimentaire coréennes ou encore certaines coutumes « culturelles » afin de créer une sorte de *package* de promotion économique du pays.

conventionnellement proposées, à savoir les facteurs culturels, le soutien gouvernemental et le développement des technologies, sont insatisfaisantes. Comme ils le justifient, il ne remettent pas en cause l'absence de ces facteurs dans la création de la K-pop, mais estiment que « ces perspectives n'apportent qu'une explication partielle » (pp. 257-258). Ce mémoire se construit partiellement dans la même veine, puisque l'étude empirique menée sur le terrain a permis d'établir l'importance centrale de ces maisons de divertissement dans la création de la K-pop, bien qu'il revienne toutefois aussi brièvement sur ces autres facteurs.

Cet article est en outre en concordance avec le présent mémoire, car au contraire de J. Lie (2012) les auteurs sont contre l'idée de ce dernier qu'il n'y aurait rien d'intrinsèquement ou traditionnellement « coréen » dans la K-pop et que celle-ci serait fondamentalement « étrangère ou occidentale » (Shin & Kim, 2013, pp. 256-258). Pour les auteurs et comme cela sera démontré dans ce travail, la K-Pop est fondamentalement coréenne. Pour reprendre leurs propos : « malgré les influences occidentales qui ont transformé la musique populaire coréenne en une expression non reconnaissable du point de vu de la musique traditionnelle, la K-pop a indéniablement des origines claires, qui ne sont nulle part ailleurs que dans la Corée contemporaine » (Shin & Kim, 2013, p. 258). Cette « coréanité » s'exprime d'ailleurs parfaitement dans les stratégies de production de la K-pop qui sont le produit direct du contexte historico-économique coréen des années 1990 et s'inscrivent dans l'héritage des modèles économiques des années 1960. Ainsi les auteurs ont démonté la nécessité de ne pas appréhender la K-pop purement comme un « simple » genre musical, mais comme une phénomène social inscrit et influencé par le contexte national dans lequel il a pris naissance et évolue. Ce travail se distingue toutefois de S. I. Shin et L. Kim, pour plusieurs raisons : l'importance du contexte historique qu'il partage avec J. Lie (2012), malgré les limitations claires de son approche quelque peu essentialiste, a permis de mettre en avant le contexte politico-économique sous-jacent à la naissance de la K-pop. Autrement dit, sans ce contexte et ces enjeux particuliers à la Corée, les maisons de divertissement ne se seraient pas développées comme et quand elles l'ont fait, d'où la nécessité de comprendre le contexte politico-économique qui a constitué un terrain favorable à l'émergence de ces maisons.

Pour appréhender l'industrialisation de la musique populaire coréenne qui est l'objet de cette partie d'analyse, il est donc en premier lieu question d'explicitier ce contexte politico-économique.

Transition d'une économie protectionniste à néolibérale

Comme mentionné plus tôt, en 1987 la Corée du Sud entre dans un processus de démocratisation apportant avec lui une transition économique qui va profondément transformer une fois de plus la scène musicale coréenne. Durant toute la période autoritaire, soit des années 1960 à la fin des années 1980, le gouvernement coréen a poursuivi une politique développementaliste à travers plusieurs plans quinquennaux ayant pour but l'industrialisation et le développement économique du pays. Cela se fait à grande échelle et sur fond de nationalisme mobilisateur afin d'obtenir le soutien et la dévotion de la population à l'effort national. Malgré les coûts humain et social d'une telle entreprise, la Corée du Sud a réalisé l'exploit de transformer un pays dévasté par la guerre, en une nation prospère en seulement une quarantaine d'années. D'un état clientéliste jusque dans les années soixante, la Corée a dès lors entrepris un développement économique sans précédent, devenant membre de l'Organisation de coopération et de développement économiques (OCDE) en décembre 1996 et étant aujourd'hui l'un des pays les plus développés, riches et modernes du monde. Ces plans quinquennaux, les mesures protectionnistes et le contexte autoritaire qui ont caractérisé cette expansion économique ont été rendus possible par un contexte politique particulier. Les Etats-Unis, alliés et partenaires privilégiés de la Corée depuis la chute de l'empire colonial japonais et la Guerre de Corée, ont accepté de laisser s'installer un gouvernement autoritaire, qui a su se légitimer à travers ses succès économiques. En effet, à l'arrivée de Park Chung-hee (박정희), les Etats-Unis (et le monde) sont en pleine Guerre Froide et il est essentiel, comme durant la guerre de 1950-1953, de maintenir un gouvernement pro-capitaliste en Corée, et par là d'éviter la propagation du communisme au Japon, nouvel allié libéral et modernisé. Pourtant, dans les années 1960 les Etats-Unis, en pleine Guerre du Vietnam, ont besoin de recentrer leurs forces et diminuent leurs aides vers la Corée. Le Général Park a ainsi pu trouver un moyen de légitimer sa place à la tête du pouvoir sur la scène internationale à travers la mise en place d'une économie de marché et de politiques économiques pro-capitalistes. Les Etats-Unis ayant accepté un compromis non démocratique au profit de la sécurisation d'une économie capitaliste en Corée.

Sur le plan musical, jusqu'en 1987, les politiques culturelles ne sont pas considérées par le régime comme un secteur à potentiel économique, mais plutôt comme un outil à la dissémination des valeurs du régime, comme le dur labeur, la dévotion à la nation pour une

économie prospère ou encore la lutte contre toute forme de communisme, notamment à travers le *Konjo Kayo*. La scène musicale n'a donc pas fait l'objet d'une industrialisation, comme cela a été le cas de nombreux autres secteurs. C'est donc seulement à travers le processus de démocratisation que la scène musicale coréenne va commencer à se développer de façon importante.

Dans les années 1990, la scène musicale coréenne est extrêmement représentative de cette ouverture à la démocratie. Les formes musicales se développent et se détachent des productions même *pop* ou *rock* passablement aseptisées et représentatives de la période de fin du régime. Cette décennie voit donc l'éclosion de très nombreux styles et productions musicales, mais aussi la diversification des acteurs de ce champ. En effet, la scène populaire n'est plus limitée à quelques artistes s'étant fait un nom ou chanteurs du régime, et une nouvelle génération de jeunes attirés par ces nouvelles formes musicales internationales désormais accessibles voit le jour. Cela donne lieu à des productions très variées, d'autant plus que la scène n'a pas encore été transformée en une industrie, laissant un accès relativement ouvert aux nouveaux venus. Musicalement parlant, les productions sont très diverses. Certaines s'inscrivent dans la continuité directe des musiques pouvant être entendues à l'étranger, mais la plupart n'hésitent pas à mélanger les genres, dépassant certaines oppositions symboliques présentes dans leurs pays « d'origine ». Par exemple, « Seo Taiji and Boys », n'hésite pas à combiner *rap* et guitares électriques généralement associées aux musiques *rock*.

En définitive, si les systèmes musicaux sont devenus diatoniques, abandonnant les traditionnelles gammes pentatoniques et les mélismes caractéristiques de la musique « traditionnelle » coréenne, la réinterprétation et réutilisation de genres initialement externes, fait des productions de cette époque des hybrides toutefois totalement « coréens » de par leur contexte de production. Autrement dit, en se réappropriant ces genres, les artistes coréens ont procédé à une modification de certaines « règles implicites » sur ce qui « peut ou ne peut pas être fait » avec un genre, ou entre certains d'entre eux. Cette ouverture musicale à l'international et cette réappropriation par de nouveaux acteurs ont donc apporté à la scène coréenne un souffle nouveau, une grande diversification, ainsi qu'une très forte créativité.

La K-pop comme symbole de sécurité sociale et économique

A la fin des années 90 et au début des années 2000, la scène musicale populaire est de plus en plus marquée par le succès de boys ou girls bands et des chansons apolitiques, traitant principalement de sujet comme l'amour sur fond de sons pop, hip-hop, house, R&B, musique électronique ou encore de rap. Il est pourtant essentiel de noter que la réutilisation et l'adaptation de ces styles dans la K-pop sont marquées par une épuration de tout caractère subversif qu'ils pouvaient initialement contenir.

Les années 1990 ne manquent pourtant pas de chansons socialement engagées comme Honey Family (허니패밀리) en 1999 avec son titre « Corée du Sud » (대한민국) qui traite des conséquences sociales de la crise économique de 1997¹⁶. Le groupe *punk-rock* Crying Nut (크라잉 넛) produit lui aussi de nombreuses chansons peu révérencieuses et anticonformistes. Malgré le succès relatif de certains groupes punk rock, rappeurs ou groupes de métal coréens, surtout dans les années 1990, ils sont pourtant rapidement devancés par la K-pop sur la scène dominante. Ainsi, bien que la démocratisation du pays ait permis l'arrivée de nombreuses influences musicales en Corée du Sud, certains genres sont largement restés des musiques de niches malgré quelques succès initiaux, alors que la K-pop, elle, a connu un succès sans équivoque. Une question s'impose alors : *Pourquoi un tel attrait pour la K-pop et désaveux populaire d'autres genres, plus anticonformistes ou subversifs au tournant du millénaire ?*

Le contexte historique développé précédemment permet d'apporter des clefs de réponse à cette question. Comme expliqué, les vingt années précédentes ont été marquées par une très forte politisation de la musique (autant par la droite que la gauche) et de la société d'une manière plus générale. Comme J. Lie (2012) le mentionne, il semble donc pertinent de considérer la volonté des nouvelles générations de se détacher de cette « pression du politique » dans la vie de tous les jours, et d'accéder à des formes musicales plus « joyeuses » et libres, en accord avec la dynamique de démocratisation du pays. Toujours selon lui : « Au début des années 1990, la Corée du Sud démocratique, post-jeux olympiques de Séoul, avait commencé à se vider de sa surpolitisation de la vie de tous les jours, y compris de la musique

¹⁶phddb. (2010). *허니패밀리 (honey family) - 1999 대한민국* [Vidéo en ligne]. Accès <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lp7fAY17wSA>

populaire. [...] « Seo Taiji and the Boys » [...] a touché à une corde politique sensible pour les jeunes de plus en plus aisés, libérés des demandes de politiques anti-gouvernementales ». La K-pop semble donc répondre à un besoin des nouvelles générations de se distancier de la musique politisée de leurs parents, profondément liée à une période plus sombre de l'histoire du pays et en contraste clair avec la nouvelle Corée qui se veut démocratique, ouverte à l'international et à priori économiquement prometteuse (malgré le choc de la crise économique de 1997 quelques années plus tard). En résumé, le nouveau climat politique et cette volonté de rompre avec les générations précédentes, qui avaient déjà largement mobilisé la musique contestataire dans leurs revendications politiques, offre une alternative très séduisante pour cette nouvelle génération.

De façon complémentaire à cette explication, la classe sociale apporte aussi des éléments de réponse à cet attrait pour la K-pop. Comme précédemment expliqué, à la suite de la guerre de Corée, l'ancienne structure de classes finit d'être abolie au profit d'un processus de réorganisation similaire à celle des sociétés industrielles avancées. Or, lors de l'arrivée de la K-pop, le capital économique est l'un des marqueurs principaux du statut social, bien que d'une façon propre au contexte coréen. Se procurer ou consommer de la K-pop, peut donc être vu comme un marqueur de son appartenance à la classe moyenne. Par imitation du style de vie de la classe moyenne américaine, l'accès à un certain confort matériel et aux loisirs permet ainsi d'attester de son niveau social (Koo, 2007, p. 54). Autrement dit, en acquérant de la K-pop on achète aussi l'idée d'un environnement brillant, joyeux, heureux, beau, sans pauvreté, ni précarité et on s'y apparente. La K-pop est donc un bien qui permet de se rapprocher d'un idéal ou des valeurs promues par la démocratisation du pays et auxquelles cette jeune génération aspire.

Cette conception est d'ailleurs corroborée par les propos de Hagen Koo et son étude du système de stratification coréen (2007). Avec le délitement puis la dissolution de l'ancien système de classes existant jusque dans la période coloniale, la stratification du pays a vécu une période d'ouverture et de flexibilité avant de se cristalliser progressivement à travers une structure de classes proche de celles d'autres sociétés industrielles avancées incluant « les capitalistes, la classe moyenne et la classe ouvrière » comme précédemment explicité (p. 61). Or, comme il le développe : « il n'y a pas de frontières claires séparant les classes moyennes des classes inférieures ou supérieures, et il n'y a pas de critère faisant consensus pour dessiner ces frontières. C'est cette insécurité d'identité ou ambiguïté des frontières de classes qui

pousse les gens à une consommation ostentatoire ». Ainsi, il montre en citant Hart (1993) que « les possessions matérielles et le besoin de consommation ont créé et définit la classe moyenne coréenne, faisant ainsi d'elle un groupe qui n'existerait pas ou ne peut pas s'identifier vis-à-vis des autres groupes sans les produits de la production de masse » (Koo, 2007). Autrement dit, se rendre à un concert ou soutenir un groupe de K-pop est un moyen de se distinguer en s'appropriant des biens autres que de première nécessité, ayant dépassé cette situation de précarité et par là de marquer son appartenance à la classe moyenne. W. Jang et Y. Kim (2013, p. 96) abondent d'ailleurs dans le même sens lorsqu'ils expliquent que la société coréenne est marquée par une recherche excessive de cosmopolisme (excessive cosmopolitan striving). En 1997, malgré la crise économique, cette logique d'ascension sociale par la consommation continue de faire sens et s'en trouve même renforcée, puisque se permettre ce type de dépenses même en période difficile est une preuve complémentaire de son statut.

Arrivée des maisons de divertissements sur la scène musicale

Au milieu des années 1990 le secteur culturel semble donc prometteur et certains acteurs de la scène musicale décident d'investir dans celui-ci comme l'expliquent Shin & Kim (2013) dans leur article qui revient sur les débuts des fondateurs des actuelles plus grandes maisons de divertissement du pays. C'est notamment le cas de Lee Soo Man, lui-même chanteur, présentateur TV et Dj's radio dans les années 1970. L'environnement politique étant peu favorable à la scène musicale pendant cette période, il part aux Etats-Unis pendant les années 1980 pour continuer ses études. Il revient néanmoins en Corée en 1985 et se réimplique dans le monde du divertissement pendant quelques années avant de fonder en 1988 SM Studio, un petit studio qui deviendra SM Entertainment en 1995, actuellement la plus grande maison de divertissement de Corée. Il retire De ces cinq années passées aux États-Unis une forte inspiration, notamment de la « révolution » MTV et de l'importance croissante des clips-vidéos dans la promotion d'un artiste. Plus généralement, les productions qui suivront démontreront de l'importance grandissante de l'image (au sens large) des artistes, devenant progressivement toute aussi centrale que leur musique.

Comme Shin et Kim (2013) l'explicitent, il rompt avec l'organisation des studios coréens jusque-là. Pour se faire, il investit dans « un équipement digital importé de producteurs japonais leaders du marché, embauche des compositeurs intéressés par la musique basée sur des synthétiseurs [et] les oriente sur comment créer de la musique électronique (*electronic dance music*) » (p. 263). Un tel investissement était pourtant un pari sans assurance de succès et qui n'a pas directement porté ses fruits. Toutefois, « ce qui a finalement fait la différence a été l'expérimentation continue du studio avec leurs artistes et ses efforts pour apprendre des expériences passées » (p. 263). Autrement dit, la particularité de SM studio est qu'il « a développé un système pour recréer le petit nombre de succès initiaux plutôt accidentels à travers l'incorporation de diverses stratégies de production dans son système de production de star » (p. 263), plutôt que de se focaliser sur un élément ou style et tenter de le populariser. Par exemple Hyun Jin Young, l'un des premiers chanteurs et danseur de SM Studio n'a initialement pas eu de succès à ces débuts en 1990. Mais plutôt que d'abandonner, son style a continué d'être adapté en réaction à ce flop initial afin de répondre aux attentes du public. Ainsi, Lee a expérimenté différents styles jusqu'à trouver celui qui a eu finalement eu du succès. Cela s'est avéré être un habillement plus « baggy » et plus « hip-hop », un tempo musical plus rapide et une touche plus rap (M. J. Russell (2009) cité par S. I. Shin et L. Kim (2013), p. 263). Finalement, après ces essais répétés et premiers ratés les albums suivants de Hyun Jin Young ont connu un succès grandissant. Ainsi, « Le succès de cette expérience a mené le studio à prendre conscience de la valeur de « produire » systématiquement les artistes plutôt que de soutenir uniquement les fonctions minimales d'enregistrement et de contrats » (p. 264). Cette idée de production d'artistes dès leurs débuts et de les modeler afin d'optimiser leur succès, plutôt que de signer des artistes déjà « accomplis » ou de se limiter à un rôle d'enregistrement n'est pas nouvelle dans le monde de la musique. Néanmoins, les formes que cette systématisation prendra, son intensité et son succès dans la durée sont indéniablement propres et nouvelles à la Corée. En outre, cette idée de « production de star » est le modèle sur lequel la K-pop s'est construite et continuera de se baser.

À la suite de ce constat sur l'importance de la production complète des artistes, Sm Studio a mis en place de nombreuses auditions à travers la Corée, les Etats-Unis et le Japon, développé son système de recruteurs et mis en place des études de marché auprès d'adolescentes pour déterminer leurs attentes (p. 264). Ce sont finalement dans les années 1995 que les premiers

groupes musicaux largement façonnés par une maison de divertissement sont apparus sur la scène coréenne, notamment avec le boys band « H.O.T », premier grand succès de la K-pop. Le milieu des années 1990 est aussi marqué par l'arrivée de deux autres maisons de divertissement qui vont se développer en adoptant et systématisant les mêmes stratégies de production. En 1996, un ancien membre du Groupe Seo Taiji and Boys, Yang Hyun-Suk crée « YG Entertainment » et en 1997 c'est Park Jin-Young, chanteur ayant débuté en 1994 qui fonde à son tour « JYP Entertainment ». Ces trois maisons, appelées « Big3 » seront jusqu'à tout récemment les plus influentes du pays et principales responsables du développement de la K-pop, la musique pop coréenne industrielle. En 2019, un scandale de corruption et de prostitution éclate pourtant, mettant à mal « YG Entertainment » au profit de « Big Hit Entertainment », propulsée sur le devant de la scène depuis l'énorme succès de son groupe BTS. Ces deux événements réorganisent ainsi la hiérarchie jusque-là très stable des maisons de divertissement du pays démontrant au passage l'importance de l'image publique pour ces entreprises. En parallèle des Big3, il existe de nombreuses maisons de divertissement (plus d'une soixantaine), de différentes tailles et parfois liées entre elles.

Des fabriques de stars fondées par des privés

Contrairement à ce que certains auteurs tels que S.H Kwon et J. Kim (2013) ou R. Woongjae et Y.J. Dal (2018) avancent, ce mémoire s'oppose donc à l'idée que les débuts et le succès de la K-pop soient inférés au rôle actif et central de l'Etat, et avance qu'ils sont plutôt le résultat de l'arrivée d'acteurs privés et de la réorganisation des modes de production musicale. Ainsi, même si certaines mesures mises en place par l'état ont pu avoir un impact positif sur le développement de la K-pop, elles ne s'inscrivent pas dans une politique claire et voulue de transformation de ce secteur par le gouvernement. Si ce dernier se repositionne plus directement pour soutenir cette industrie par la suite, cela se fera une fois que la K-pop aura déjà démontré un succès prometteur et que ses modes de fonctionnements caractéristiques auront déjà été constitués.

Le contexte politico-économique de cette période soutient d'ailleurs ce positionnement. En effet, comme explicité plus tôt, jusqu'à la démocratisation du pays, la scène musicale n'est pas vue comme un secteur à développer pour accroître la croissance économique du pays,

mais comme un outil de transmission des valeurs du régime. Après 1987, la scène s'ouvre aux influences internationales, mais reste relativement peu organisée ou professionnalisée et n'est toujours pas considérée comme un secteur à haut potentiel par l'état. Ce sont donc des privés déjà « dans le milieu » qui commencent à développer l'industrie. En outre, en 1997 la Corée du Sud subit de plein fouet la crise asiatique initiée en Thaïlande, après que le gouvernement ait dû se résoudre à laisser flotter sa monnaie. Comme P. Dayez-Burgeon (2012) le rapporte, à cette époque l'état, les entreprises coréennes, et principalement les plus grandes entreprises du pays, les « Chaebols »¹⁷ (재벌) se sont largement endettés afin de relancer la croissance qui s'était tassée et ce en grande partie à court terme. La crise économique frappe donc d'autant plus fortement le pays :

« En quelques semaines, le crédit vient à manquer et le won à se déprécier. A la mi-novembre, c'est la panique. Le won a perdu 55% de sa valeur et les réserves de change ont fondu comme neige au soleil. [...] La Corée doit plus de cent milliards dont 60% sont dus à court terme. Le pays est pratiquement en cessation de paiement. Le 21 [novembre 1997], Séoul n'a d'autre choix que d'appeler à l'aide le Fond Monétaire International (FMI) » (p. 297) .

Le FMI accepte, mais cela ne se fait pas sans négocier son soutien avec les candidats à l'élection présidentielle. « Les prêts garantis sont donc assortis de conditions structurelles draconiennes : restrictions budgétaires, libéralisation du marché bancaire, réorganisation des chaebol, flexibilité accrue du marché du travail, hausse des taux d'intérêt pour séduire de nouveaux investisseurs internationaux [...] En somme, le FMI mettait la politique économique coréenne sous tutelle. » (pp. 298-299).

¹⁷ Les Chaebols sont des conglomérats d'importance majeure dans l'économie coréennes. Samsung, Hyundai, LG, CJ, SK Holdings ou encore Lotte représentant les plus connus d'entre eux. Ils se sont développés durant la période de boom économique de la Corée à la suite de la guerre de 1950-53. Pour mettre en place ses plans d'industrialisation à grande échelle du pays, le gouvernement coréen octroie à certaines entreprises des privilèges et nombreux avantages (fiscaux, prêts préférentiels, etc.) rendus possibles grâce à des politiques protectionnistes, des accords et des liens étroits avec le gouvernement, en contrepartie d'un soutien aux plans de développement et d'industrialisation du pays. Ces groupes sont possédés encore aujourd'hui par quelques familles dont les différents membres se retrouvent aux positions dirigeantes des entreprises subsidiaires, afin de s'assurer de leur contrôle. Le pouvoir de ces entreprises s'est ainsi accru jusqu'à posséder un rôle central dans l'économie coréenne jusqu'à aujourd'hui, bien que la crise économique de 1997 ait amené à des réformes profondes de leur modèles économiques et modes de fonctionnement, notamment en limitant leurs affiliations par « copinage » avec les politiciens du pays et les forçant à se concentrer sur la rentabilité économique (Dayez-Burgeon, 2012, p. 314).

Cette crise marque donc un tournant pour l'économie coréenne, jusqu'alors développementaliste, vers un modèle plus néolibéral. Les compagnies se recentrent sur leurs activités principales et lucratives et l'état se voit imposé des mesures qui limitent son implication dans l'économie du pays. C'est aussi l'occasion d'une réorganisation des rapports entre politiciens et entreprises, soit de tourner la page sur l'économie de « copinage » qui prévalait jusqu'alors. Même s'ils ne disparaîtront pas complètement, ces rapports seront néanmoins profondément transformés à la suite de cette crise. Ainsi, il est relativement clair qu'en pleine période de réorganisation sur fond de crise et de limitation de son rôle, l'état coréen n'a eu que très peu de possibilité de s'inscrire comme un acteur central au développement d'un nouveau secteur, qui plus est au succès encore non assuré. Il en va de même pour les Chaebols, qui en d'autres temps auraient sans nul doute été les acteurs privilégiés pour prendre en charge le développement des industries culturelles. En d'autres termes, cette crise a apporté un assouplissement temporaire du marché coréen jusque-là hautement concentré.

Le développement de la musique coréenne a donc été pris en charge par des nouveaux venus privés, plutôt que par un état qui ne pouvait plus se permettre une implication et un guidage direct de son économie. En plus, cette implication d'acteurs non-étatiques a néanmoins elle aussi été influencée par la tendance vers une économie libérale, puis néo-libérale dans le pays depuis 1987. Si la focale sur le développement ne change pas, la prise en charge de ce dernier par des individus plutôt que par l'état est une nouveauté. Sur cette base, il convient donc de se pencher sur les maisons de divertissement afin d'appréhender le processus d'industrialisation de la scène musicale coréenne.

Industrialisation de la musique populaire et stratégies de production

L'analyse des entretiens effectués notamment auprès de personnes travaillant pour des maisons de divertissement coréennes a permis d'appréhender la structure de ces entreprises, ainsi que leurs modes de fonctionnement. Ainsi, cette partie d'analyse revient les rapports de pouvoir qui traversent cette industrie en étudiant les stratégies de sélection, formation et production des idoles, ainsi que d'optimisation de l'entièreté du processus.

A la suite de premiers essais progressivement fructueux et de cette volonté de construction complète des artistes par les maisons de divertissement, la période de 1996 à 2005 est donc caractérisée par la recherche de nouveaux systèmes de production et de management des artistes afin d'optimiser leur succès et ainsi leur rentabilité. Pour ce faire, « les agences expérimentent divers styles de musiques, de chanteurs et de modèles de production et définissent graduellement leurs stratégies » (Shin & Kim, 2013, p. 264). D'une manière générale, les stratégies actuelles de production de stars se raffinent et se stabilisent dans les années 2010. Elles sont marquées par des stratégies de recrutement et de formation leur permettant de gagner en contrôle des artistes, leur assurant des profits plus continus et une domination locale puis globale du marché. Ces logiques et étapes de production sont d'ailleurs largement répandues à l'ensemble des compagnies de divertissement de taille moyenne à grande, comme les différentes données recueillies l'ont mis en lumière. La responsable du marketing et de la planification d'une des cinq plus grandes maisons de divertissement du pays renommée « N Entertainment » tient d'ailleurs un discours qui abonde dans ce sens :

Basically they [the other companies] train the trainees, they train them, they'll have them debut, and they'll decide on album concepts, these types of year-round things, the processing of them is all exactly the same. The working process. But they are of course differences in the details. [...] Big companies are almost the same.

La structure interne de ces compagnies a aussi été pensée de manière à optimiser la production de produits à haute valeur ajoutée et de limiter les coûts. Il est donc essentiel de l'explicitier dans un premier temps avant de l'étudier plus en profondeur. Dans le cas de N Entertainment, elle est composée de la façon suivante :

- Une équipe de production en charge de prendre les décisions majeures. Elle est à la tête de l'entreprise.
- Une équipe de planning et marketing, qui analyse le marché et réfléchi aux concepts, à l'image de l'entreprise et de ses artistes, que ce soit une identité « principale », ou pour un nouvel album. Elle communique principalement avec l'équipe de producteurs et l'équipe « artistes et répertoire ». C'est aussi elle qui est en contact avec les compagnies de production pour des rôles dans des séries (*dramas*), des émissions de

variété, des chanteurs, etc. Elle réalise aussi des profils de leurs artistes/trainees qu'elle transmet aux entreprises ayant potentiellement besoin d'eux.

- L'équipe « artistes et répertoire », est en charge de tout ce qui est en lien avec les chansons, de l'écoute de démos à la production, en passant par l'enregistrement. Les ingénieurs du son font aussi dans cette équipe.
- L'équipe en charge des performances, qui a la responsabilité de créer des chorégraphies et de les enseigner aux groupes.
- L'équipe du management : Elle est composée des managers rattachés à chaque groupe. Ce sont eux qui prennent en charge l'emploi du temps des idoles et servent souvent de lien de communication entre ces derniers et l'entreprise.
- L'équipe de formation de artistes : elle prend en charge toute l'éducation pour devenir une idole. Les apprentis (ci-après trainees) sont formés au chant, à la danse, mais aussi en langues qui seront utiles à leur carrière, au jeu d'acteur, ou encore certaines « étiquettes » ou manières propres au métier. etc. Cette équipe inclut les personnes en charge des castings, les enseignants employés pour former les trainees à des domaines spécifiques et des personnes en charge de contrôler le processus de formation, de suivre les trainees, comme c'est le rôle d'une des personnes interviewées.
- L'équipe internationale : a pour but de prendre en charge tous ce qui a trait à l'étranger, pour autant que ce ne soit pas un pays dans lequel l'entreprise a déjà une branche sur place. Elle s'occupe typiquement de l'organisation de concerts, tournées musicales, de promotions d'albums ou de rendez-vous avec les fans à l'étranger.
- L'équipe de marketing des fans. Elle est comparée par l'employé de N Entertainment à un service des consommateurs. Elle interagit directement avec les fans. Elle les rencontre sur les lieux où se produisent des événements de promotion et communique directement avec eux, notamment lorsqu'ils envoient des plaintes ou commentaires par email, afin de leur répondre. Ils s'occupent aussi des réseaux sociaux. En somme, ils sont responsables de tous ce qui est en lien avec les fans, soit les consommateurs, de façon réactive.
- L'équipe de promotion auprès des médias, comme son nom l'indique est en contact avec la presse, les médias ou reporters et émet des communiqués officiels en accord avec les positionnements de l'entreprise.

- L'équipe vidéo, produit les clips-vidéo et autres contenus audio-visuels diffusés principalement sur les médias sociaux.
- L'équipe photo, suit les groupes dans leur quotidien et publie régulièrement des clichés sur les réseaux sociaux.
- L'équipe de stylistes a pour responsabilité d'habiller les groupes conformément à l'image ou le concept voulu par l'entreprise. Ils ont aussi pour but de distinguer les artistes qui se doivent d'être des précurseurs ou au top de la mode.

Cette liste n'est pas exhaustive et d'autres équipes ou sous-équipes existent encore. Mais elle donne toutefois une bonne image générale de la composition d'une maison de divertissement de grande taille, ainsi que sa focale sur son image et son rapport aux publiques consommateurs. En outre, l'explicitation de ces différentes équipes donne déjà le ton du mode de fonctionnement des maisons de divertissement. Contrairement à de « strictes » maisons de disques, se limitant à la production d'albums et leur distribution en fonction des choix et volontés d'un artiste, les compagnies de divertissement coréenne s'impliquent dans tout le processus « musical ». Autrement dit, ces maisons prennent en charge autant la production d'un album, que le recrutement de futurs artistes, en passant par la composition des paroles, de la musique et finalement la production des artistes mêmes, jusqu'à la couleur des cheveux d'un membre pour le prochain album. Ainsi, le produit qui est vendu par ces entreprises n'est plus « seulement » la musique, mais plutôt les stars qui ont le rôle de la performer. Contrairement aux Konjo Kayo souvent chantés par des artistes « sans nom », la focale a ainsi progressivement été transférée vers l'artiste devenu « sujet ».

Cette structure permet un système de production régulier dont la finalité n'est pas l'œuvre ou le produit qui en résulte, mais plutôt le gain financier qu'il permet. Autrement dit, du Folk à vocation politique et de la scène nouvellement démocratique et peu professionnalisée, la Corée est passée à une musique populaire industrielle et très largement commodifiée par les maisons de divertissement en une dizaine d'années. Cette focale de ces entreprises sur le gain financier se retrouve notamment dans le discours de la Responsable de l'équipe de formation des *trainees*.

[...] The reason being that we think that the period in which the kids [the trainees] could learn and show us their abilities/skills is around 2 to 3 years, and so. We think of it as

an investment? An investment, so that's the span of the first contract that we sign with them. [...] We think that's the amount of time that it takes for them to somewhat learn and be able to show us something [...] But in cases where we are evaluating them, and we see that that their abilities [laughs] are too slow for our development speed or maybe 'late' we do sometimes cancel their contract and let them go.

Cet exemple démontre de la rationalisation du processus de formation des aspirants idoles. L'entreprise dépense de l'argent pour les entraîner et si, selon ses critères, elle estime qu'ils ne seront pas à la hauteur, soit qu'ils ne permettront pas un retour sur investissement suffisant, leurs contrats sont révoqués. En ce sens, cette logique s'inscrit dans un fonctionnement néo-libéral d'évaluation et de rentabilité temporellement définie qui s'inscrit dans une gestion financière néo-managériale de l'entreprise que A. Bevort (2013) explicite ainsi : « Les entreprises procèdent à une sophistication toujours plus grande des techniques de l'organisation du travail dans un esprit néo-productiviste (Askenazy, 2004) poussant toujours plus loin l'optimisation du processus productif. Ce « néo-productivisme » multiplie les nouvelles formes de rationalisation, qui allient polyvalence, travail en équipes, juste à temps, qualité totale, informatisation, évaluation » (pp. 43-44).

L'existence d'une équipe de « marketing des fans » et sa comparaison avec un service des consommateurs centré sur la satisfaction du client-fan est un élément complémentaire confirmant la construction de ses maisons comme des entreprises centrées sur la vente de produits plutôt que la création musicale en tant que telle. Cette primauté de la vente sur la musique produite va d'ailleurs plus loin. En effet, comme leur nom l'indique, elles ne sont pas des maisons de disques ou musicales, mais des maisons de « divertissement ». Or, lorsqu'un groupe sort un nouveau morceau, le produit vendu ne se limite pas à quelques minutes de musique, mais il comprend en même temps, une image, un concept, le physique des membres du groupe, un style vestimentaire, une chorégraphie, une vidéo, des tutoriels vidéo pour reproduire la chorégraphie, et bien d'autres encore. Les produits de ces entreprises reflètent eux aussi une image néolibérale à travers des idoles aux look et style globalisés, chantant partiellement en anglais et apparaissant comme pleinement investis et dévoués à leur rôle.

Pour autant, les structures néolibérales de la K-pop fonctionnent sur des valeurs néo-confucéennes et des modes de productions largement inspirés du développement

économique des années 1960 et 1970. Cela se retrouve en premier lieu dans le mode de développement des maisons de divertissement coréenne. Comme le met en avant G. Kim (2017) dans « K-pop female idols - Culture industry, neoliberal social policy, and governmentality in Korea »: « [L]es traits caractéristiques de la K-pop, qui sont esthétiquement influencés par la culture populaire occidentale, ont été rendus possibles par une reproduction agressive par l'industrie de la K-pop des stratégies d'entreprise traditionnelles utilisées par les conglomerats manufacturiers coréens à forte intensité de main-d'œuvre initiés durant le Miracle des années 60 et 70 » (p. 522).

L'industrie de la K-pop est ainsi composée de trois entreprises dominant largement le marché, suivies de quelques entreprises de taille moyennes et de nombreuses petites entreprises qui tentent de reproduire les modes de fonctionnement des plus importantes. Ce marché est donc similaire à celui des industries légères et lourdes, développées successivement dans les décennies d'après-guerre. Ces dernières étaient centrées autour de quelques entreprises, les Chaebols de demain, privilégiées et soutenues par l'état dans leur développement, puisque profitant aussi à l'économie générale du pays et permettant un contrôle plus direct de celle-ci. Ce type de marché hautement concentré se retrouve aujourd'hui aussi dans l'industrie de la K-pop, puisqu'une minorité d'entreprises possède la majorité des parts du marché. En outre, s'il a été difficile pour le gouvernement de soutenir directement ces entreprises durant la crise de 1997, il redevient un acteur important de la scène une fois l'économie à nouveau stabilisée. Ainsi, à partir des années 2000, le gouvernement coréen met en place ou révoque certaines politiques dans le but de favoriser l'expansion des industries culturelles, nouvelle focale des plans de développement du pays. Une fois la crise passée, le gouvernement continue donc une forme d'économie développementaliste, bien qu'appliquée à un contexte néo-libéral.

Comme pour les industries précédentes, les maisons de divertissement optent pour un modèle de production de masse, mais de « bonne qualité » afin d'être compétitif et de séduire un public international. De façon similaire, l'idée est donc d'arroser les autres pays à travers une production de masse et compétitive avec les productions des pays visés. Fondamentalement, les logiques de substitution de l'importation, d'industrialisation à grand échelle, de promotion de l'exportation et de volonté de domination du marché, au centre des

plans quinquennaux de développement durant le boom économique du pays, sont exactement les mêmes que celles guidant l'industrie de la K-pop¹⁸ (Moon, 2014).

Pour mettre en place ces lignes directrices, les maisons de divertissement ont donc élaboré un système de (re)production d'idoles à grande échelle. Si dans les années 1960 les entreprises ont pu bénéficier d'une main d'œuvre abondante, relativement bien formée et à bas prix, l'industrie de la K-pop mise elle aussi sur la masse énorme de talents potentiels que le pays offre. En outre, elle se base sur une idéologie néolibérale et de la sur-compétition rampante pour les attirer et les former de manière à correspondre parfaitement aux attentes des maisons en termes de « produit fini ». La partie qui suit analyse donc les processus de sélection et de formation des trainees. Puis, la troisième et dernière partie de ce mémoire revient sur les raisons qui poussent et attirent les jeunes vers cette voie professionnelle malgré la dureté de la formation.

La sélection des trainees : centrée sur le marché, le visuel et la malléabilité

D'une manière générale, le principe au cœur de toutes les méthodes de recrutement semble viser un but bien précis : ratisser large et s'assurer de ne pas perdre la potentielle perle de demain. Toutes les entreprises utilisent une forme ou une autre d'audition pour sélectionner leurs artistes, qu'elles aient les moyens de les former ou qu'il s'agisse de « récupération » d'artistes pour les plus petites entreprises. Les manières de trouver ces talents sont aussi variées, comme le confirme une des employées de N Entertainment : auditions publiques, internationales, recrutement direct dans les académies, ou même simplement dans la rue sont utilisés. Le quartier de Hongdae à Seoul est d'ailleurs le théâtre de nombreux shows ou compétitions plus ou moins organisés, où les personnes espérant être recrutées pour devenir idoles se produisent. Ces spectacles de rue sont aussi prisés par la foule qui se rend parfois directement sur ces lieux dans le but d'y assister.

¹⁸ (Moon, H., document non publié [polycopié], 2014).



Performance de rue à Eoulmadang-ro (어울마당로), Hongdae, Seoul¹⁹

Le moyen de recrutement le plus développé reste néanmoins les auditions. Dans le cas des entreprises de taille moyenne ou des « Big3 », cela prend des proportions gigantesques. Comme l'explique l'employée en charge de l'équipe de formation des trainees de N Entertainment :

“In a year, if we see a lot of people it will be in the thousands, the number of people that casting directors, the people who pick people see. And of those the number of people we pick [pause] thirty to forty people? Maybe 20 to 30 people ».

Lors des deux sessions d'observation sur les lieux d'audition de Sm Entertainment et de JYP Entertainment, le nombre de participants était lui aussi élevé. Pour SM, 269 candidats se sont présentés, et plus d'une centaine dans le cas de son concurrent, bien que les auditions soient respectivement hebdomadaires et bimensuelles pour les deux entreprises. Pour autant, entre 12h et 14 heures environ la totalité des candidats de SM Entertainment avaient été vus. En parallèle des auditions nationales hebdomadaires, l'entreprise recrute en outre de façon mensuelle en Chine, au Japon et aux USA²⁰. Ces méthodes de recrutement sont ainsi caractérisées par deux éléments centraux : la massification des auditions et leur rapidité. En effet, elles s'apparentent à une sorte de « pêche au gros », permise grâce à l'engouement

¹⁹ Daily Travel Pill (2019). *Sans titre*. [Photo] Accès <https://dailytravelpill.com/things-to-do-hongdae-seoul/>

²⁰ SMTOWN. (2019). *Audition*. Accès <https://www.smtown.com/audition/global>

existant pour la K-pop auprès des jeunes. Ce système permet aux compagnies de s'assurer d'avoir dans leur entreprise les « meilleurs talents » et de maintenir leur position dominante dans l'industrie. Pour autant, pour pouvoir auditionner autant de personnes, le système a été largement systématisé et optimisé. Les candidats sont parfois numérotés, entendus par groupe de 3 à 6, l'un après l'autre, chacun durant environ 30 secondes, parfois sans indication ou invitation de la part des juges. Pour réussir à prendre une décision dans un laps de temps aussi restreint, les critères de sélection ne sont pas uniquement basés sur les compétences « artistiques » des candidats, mais aussi sur des critères plus visuels et subjectifs. En fait, ces derniers éléments semblent même être les plus importants selon l'employée en charge de l'équipe de formation des trainees, qui est d'ailleurs composée des directeurs de castings :

(Laughs) Well it's a job that you have to show yourself to a lot of people, and so when a lot of people look at that person and see they're special, like, uh, what do I call it [long pause], sometimes we pick people by like when you look at them you see a likable charm, or really, if when passing by them the glitter of their eyes is really pretty, or they're cool. Or if their visuals, or physical are good, that that person could be a model or an actor, or there's mmmm that feeling? (laughs) the first feeling [you get from them].

Elle mentionne ensuite un autre élément complémentaire :

During regular auditions or open auditions, people who overflow with passion or power [said in English] or if they have a lot of confidence in themselves, because when they're on site or on stage where there are a lot of people they can't [waver], so we think of people who can show those kinds of attributes as a priority when we cast or pick people.

Lorsqu'interrogée sur les éléments « les plus importants » pour sélectionner un candidat, elle a ainsi largement mis en avant des critères d'apparence physique ou liés à l'image d'un candidat, plutôt que des compétences en chant hors du commun par exemple. Les futurs trainees sont donc principalement choisis pour leur potentiel en tant qu'« image », plutôt que de musiciens ou d'« artistes ». Pour autant, les compétences musicales ou artistiques sont considérées, mais différemment :

Ah if we have a project, like male idol, female idol, or band, if we're in the process of preparing one of those things we do look for those who fit, those who we can set into those projects as a higher priority. So, among those, we do pick out people who can dance well, those who can sing really well, or those who are just exceptional at singing, and train them. Otherwise, generally even if we don't have those kinds of projects we're looking for people with ability, or talent (kiki) who can later go into something like that. [...] and if there are people who fit with a concept, or if there are people who have ability, those who have potential, we find them and cast them and train them. Because initially we don't know what field they'll be in, what role they'll have, we consider those types of things, their visual or their capabilities and pick them and initially train them.

En d'autres termes, même si une performance hors du commun reste un bon moyen d'être sélectionné, il n'est pas essentiel pour les candidats de posséder un haut niveau de compétences musicales dès le départ, car celles-ci seront enseignées durant leur formation et en fonction des attentes précises de l'entreprise. Ce qui semble central en revanche est leur physique, ainsi que leur motivation qui leur sera essentielle pour tenir et supporter des années de formation. Deuxièmement, ce système de sélection repose aussi sur une recherche de candidats en fonction de critères ou « concepts » préétablis par l'entreprise, soit en fonction de l'évolution supposée du marché par les équipes de planning et marketing. Les entreprises ne cherchent donc pas des personnes avec un style unique qui leur est propre, mais plutôt des personnes jeunes et malléables en fonction des besoins du marché et des choix de stratégies de production de l'entreprise. Ces « capacités » mentionnées à de nombreuses reprises durant les entretiens, semblent donc signifier un physique de base avantageux, ainsi que de bonnes prédispositions musicales sans pour autant que ce potentiel ait déjà été développé. Il incombera à l'entreprise d'exploiter ce potentiel et de le former en fonction de ses besoins, et ce au détriment d'individus au caractère ou à l'image déjà trop construite, qui ne collerait pas nécessairement à celle voulue par l'entreprise. Cela explique aussi la moyenne d'âge relativement basse des candidats, les chances d'être sélectionné étant en partie dépendantes de ce facteur. Lors des observations effectuées, elle se situait entre 15 et 20 ans, bien qu'un certain nombre d'enfants d'à peine une dizaine d'années et accompagnés d'un parent aient

aussi été présents. Finalement, c'est une grande malléabilité de leurs futurs trainees que recherchent et filtrent les maisons de divertissement à travers leurs critères de sélection.

Le but de ces recrutements de masse est donc de constituer des pools de talents dans lesquels l'entreprise peut se servir en fonction de l'évolution du marché. Dans une logique similaire, les auditions internationales, elles, permettent de viser de nouveaux marchés. En effet, posséder un membre d'origine japonaise dans un groupe par exemple est un très bon moyen de séduire et communiquer avec le public nippon lors d'activités promotionnelles (Shin & Kim, 2013, p. 267).

Formation des futures idoles

Si les chances d'être sélectionné pendant ces auditions sont minces, réussir à passer cette étape ne signifie pas que cette personne deviendra effectivement une idole. Au contraire, cela représente plutôt le début d'un long parcours de formation, autant physique que psychique, de plusieurs années sans certitude que cela débouche un jour sur une carrière.

Comme cité précédemment, la formation de base chez N Entertainment dure environ deux ou trois ans, même si dans les faits, cette durée varie passablement. Pendant ces années, les élèves s'entraînent environ neuf heures par jour, weekends inclus, pour ceux qui ont fini leurs études, et de la fin des cours à 22 heures pour ceux qui étudient encore. Ils sont formés à différentes disciplines à travers ce que les employées appellent un « programme de base », tout en se spécialisant en parallèle dans la ou les disciplines où ils se distinguent. La formation est donc composée de répétitions individuelles et de cours de danse, de chant, de rap, de théâtre, de langue, de « comportement » et éventuellement de composition et de pratique d'un instrument.

Si les employées interrogées semblent sincèrement attachées à ces jeunes, en formation ou déjà idoles, les terminologies utilisées démontrent néanmoins d'un environnement de travail où contrôle, exigence et obéissance dominant. Les trainees sont ainsi « cultivés » et évalués régulièrement par la maison de divertissement. Ils sont sans cesse « poussés » à « développer leur compétences », « s'ajuster » et « s'améliorer » pour réussir à « se réaliser » faire « exploser » leur niveau, et même après leur début les entraînements continueront. La formation des futures idoles est ainsi totalement structurée et gouvernée par des logiques

néo-managériales d'investissement total, de contrôle et d'amélioration constante du soi. Au-delà des exigences en termes de capacités, les maisons de divertissement évaluent aussi officieusement leur investissement ou leur dévotion pour devenir une idole. Cet élément est d'ailleurs central à tous les niveaux de la formation et même après leur éventuel début.

[...] but even if we pick those people, there are times where they can be trouble too. Like for example, we picked them because they have something (word said in English), but after having this person train for a year or more we see that they aren't dependable, or it doesn't seem like they're really trying that hard...if these kinds of things happen, there are times that we take care of it—we fire them.

Et à l'inverse :

But then on the other hand there are people who we picked them thinking they were kind of ordinary, but when they do training they work themselves to death training on their own and will shoot up this much [motions with hands] and will totally take us by surprise. Because that first impression doesn't always show us completely everything.

Sérieux, diligence et dur labeur sont donc les maîtres mots pour pouvoir espérer continuer et sont attendus par l'entreprise. En effet, bien que visant des buts inspirés d'une économie néo-libérale, les interactions et les rapports employeur-employé au sein des entreprises fonctionnent sur des rapports hiérarchiques forts et autoritaires, directement inscrits dans la continuité du modèle de gestion d'entreprise néo-confucéen utilisé dans les années 1960 pour promouvoir l'investissement et la productivité (Jang & Kim, 2013, p. 99).

Comme l'expriment A. E. Kim et Choi Joon-sik (2015) le confucianisme « a exercé l'influence la plus profonde en façonnant les comportements sociaux coréens et les modèles d'interaction » (p. 71). En effet, jusqu'à la fin de la dynastie de Joseon, le confucianisme et ses valeurs organisaient les modes de vie et la structure sociale coréenne. À l'origine, le confucianisme repose sur des valeurs telles que la piété familiale, le respect des aînés et le culte des ancêtres, mais s'appuie aussi fortement sur la hiérarchie, le patriarcat, la primogéniture, la perfectibilité de l'homme dans ce monde et l'éducation. Ainsi les classiques de Confucius étaient basés sur « l'éducation et des paroles de sagesse sur les vertus, un mode

de vie droit et une vie sociale ordonnée » (Kim & Choi, 2015, p. 78). Malgré l'effondrement du système de classes à la suite de l'invasion japonaise et de la guerre de Corée, ces valeurs confucéennes ont continué de perdurer. Plus encore, elles ont subi un véritable renouveau et une généralisation à la population toute entière sous le régime autoritaire de Park Chung-hee, afin de mobiliser la population à l'effort plus que conséquent de l'industrialisation du pays. Une forme de néoconfucianisme a ainsi vu le jour sur fond de nationalisme, après plus d'un demi-siècle de colonisation et de dépendance à des puissances étrangères. Aujourd'hui encore, le fonctionnement de la plupart des entreprises coréennes continue de reposer sur ce système néo-confucéen et les maisons de divertissement n'y font par exception.

Pour autant, le confucianisme n'est traditionnellement pas centré sur la richesse et l'appât du gain, passablement mal vus, et s'oriente vers de plus « hautes vertus ». Comme le 4^{ème} chapitre des Analectes de Confucius le stipule : « Un homme décent prend du plaisir à voir la droiture publique prévaloir, alors qu'un homme mesquin a ses yeux fixés sur les profits personnels ». Paradoxalement, cette frugalité a été favorable au développement économique de la Corée du Sud et notamment aux maisons de divertissement de façon plus contemporaine. Cette utilité doit se comprendre à deux niveaux : premièrement, la centralité des valeurs confucéenne dans la culture coréenne a permis au gouvernement développementaliste et autoritaire de Park d'être soutenu par la population. En effet, l'attente d'une gouvernance méritocratique, une certaine disposition à des règles autoritaires, une diligence au travail, une frugalité dans la consommation et une implication dans la stabilité sociale sont tous des éléments qui ont permis au gouvernement de bénéficier d'une main d'œuvre diligente et tranquille pour soutenir le développement économique, puisqu'ils trouvaient une résonance et se référaient à des éléments confucéens tels que le respect de la hiérarchie et le dévouement social (Fields, 2007, pp. 115-116). Bien que les logiques sous-jacentes ne soient pas les mêmes, c'est d'ailleurs pour ces raisons que le confucianisme est comparé par de nombreux auteurs asiatiques comme « une « alternative orientale » à l'éthique protestante de Weber en tant que facteur central au succès capitaliste en Asie de l'Est » (p. 115).

Le deuxième élément à considérer pour comprendre le rôle joué par le confucianisme dans l'économie coréenne et l'industrie musicale concerne le transfert d'éléments tels que la piété filiale de la sphère familiale, à celle du travail ou de l'entreprise. L'un des principes centraux de cette piété est caractérisé par la dévotion du fils à son père. Autrement dit, le fils doit déférence, obéissance et obligation envers son père. « En conséquence, le fils doit [...] obéir à

tout ce que son père lui dit. Le fils n'a pas d'autonomie : le père décide de tout ce qui concerne sa vie. Le fils ne doit pas contester l'autorité de son père, et ne doit pas non plus émettre d'objection contre son père, même si celui-ci dit ou fait quelque chose d'incorrect » (Kim & Choi, 2015, p. 79). En outre, les enseignements de Mencius, considéré comme le disciple par excellence de Confucius, expliquent par exemple que « le devoir personnel du fils envers son père [doit] prévaloir sur tout sens de justice sociale » (p. 79). En retour, le père s'occupe de son fils, de la même façon que les hommes étaient formellement responsables de la prospérité familiale et le bien-être général de ses membres, soit en étant intégré et réussissant leur vie dans la société (Kim Y. E., 1998, p. 176). Lors du développement industriel du pays dans les années 1960, ce rôle de père a été transféré à Park Chung-Hee, qui s'est vu doté de la responsabilité, mais aussi de l'autorité de mener le pays et sa population. La dévotion de la population à cette autorité s'est ainsi notamment caractérisée par son dur labeur en entreprise dans le but de rendre la société prospère et par l'acceptation d'un mode de gouvernance autoritaire. De la même façon, ce rapport patriarcal a aussi été transposé à l'organisation des entreprises, suivant une logique pyramidale top down, où le « chef » est responsable des décisions et de l'avenir du groupe en échange d'une dévotion totale des employés. Si le néoconfucianisme a ainsi servi de toile de fond permettant la réalisation du boom économique coréen, il est aussi au centre du fonctionnement interne des maisons de divertissement et se retrouve directement dans la formation des trainees. Les propos de la responsable d'équipe qui les prend en charge reflètent particulièrement ces attentes de dur labeur, de dévotion et d'obéissance au cœur du système de formation :

[...] and so they continuously go through this training process, but that doesn't have a set time period. Maybe it'll be after two years, three years. Or maybe it'll be five years, sometimes it's necessary to have more time, and so they go through it and are patient and endure and those who have done training and overcome it can do it, can debut. [...]
And it's not only one's ability, but your mentality or mind[set] that has to be good.

S'ils veulent réussir, les apprentis ne doivent donc pas compter leur temps et rester disponibles jusqu'à ce que l'entreprise décide qu'il est temps pour eux de « débiter ». Le respect de ces rapports de pouvoir autoritaires et de ses codes font donc partie intégrante de la formation des futures idoles. Ainsi, cette formation ne se limite pas à l'acquisition de compétences en danse ou en chant par exemple, mais est aussi centrée sur une « formation

de l'esprit ». Outre l'emphase sur le respect de ces rapports hiérarchiques, l'entreprise met d'ailleurs directement en place des cours très explicitement nommés « mind control » (contrôle de l'esprit) ou « character education » (éducation de la personnalité) par l'une des employées. En ce sens, les rapports de travail d'inspiration néo-confucéenne participent parallèlement à la construction de sois dévoués et obéissants que les maisons de divertissement veulent obtenir. Leur commerce reposant en effet sur des artistes policés, respectueux et ne faisant pas de « vague ».

[...] the work I do is on the first level which makes sure that when they debut, so that they can be shown to the public, so we build the foundation for them to go to the next level [...]

They can't just go off and do whatever they want, they always have to be together with their manager. And when they do something, they have to live checking with the company if they can do things certain ways... they're cautious.

Cette hiérarchie influencée des rapports de piété familiale confucéens se reflète aussi dans la manière dont les employées nomment les apprentis idoles :

[...] they (the training managers) will check on the schedule of the kids when they come everyday and get feedback or interact with teachers on how the kids' lessons are going, and give them feedback or advice about that kind of direction for the kids. And they will check if they are doing the homework that they have from lessons and those kinds of things...

Les apprentis sont donc appelés « les enfants » indépendamment de leur âge. Bien que certains soient effectivement non majeurs, cela n'est pas le cas de tous. Ce terme, a priori affectueux permet en réalité l'inscription des apprentis dans un rapport de domination paternaliste. Les maintenir dans ce rôle infantilisant, permet de les exclure des prises de décisions quant à leur formation et de légitimer les choix que l'entreprise impose à ces personnes. En outre, cette forme de domination n'est pas explicitée par les employées de N

Entertainment comme quelque chose de forcé ou imposé, mais largement exprimée sous forme de « conseils » ou « soutien ». Cela se retrouve notamment dans le choix du « style » des apprentis :

Well basically, uhm. [pause]. There is, broadly, an orientation that the company wants, and so in accordance with this orientation the kids will make a style for themselves, and during the period where they are practicing what they've learned we kind of – because the direction that the kids go in has to be in line with what the company is also expecting – so we take the direction that the kid wants to go in and the direction of the company and we kind of adjust based on that and help them. Like give them advice. So, like, the songs that the kids will sing if there are songs that are congruous the with the feeling, or the concept, that the company is considering, we will help them by giving them opinions on the songs to practice or choreography to practice or thoughts, mindsets. Or we ask teachers to coach them that way, and we will check in on them from time to time and adjust accordingly. And if there is a situation where the kid is going along in that direction but every once and a while we are like 'hm, maybe not?' we communicate with them and work together to find the direction.

Malgré que le discours de la formatrice de N entertainment se veuille axé sur l'écoute des volontés ou envies des apprentis, cet extrait ainsi que le reste de l'entretien, montrent clairement la priorité des choix de l'entreprise quant au style ou autres décisions concernant les trainees. Plus précisément, ces rapports hiérarchiques peuvent être assimilés à du « paternalisme bienveillant » (benevolent paternalism) dans le sens où le contrôle et la domination de l'entreprise sont légitimés par l'idée qu'elle fait cela « pour leur bien » et que ses décisions éclairées leur seront bénéfiques. Conformément à la notion de piété familiale, les « enfants » se doivent ainsi d'accepter les décisions de leur supérieur, puisque ce dernier aurait de son côté la responsabilité et les compétences pour les guider correctement.

D'une manière générale, l'application de ce modèle managérial d'inspiration néo-confucéenne initié dans les années 60 s'adapte particulièrement bien à l'idéologie néolibérale contemporaine guidant les maisons de divertissement. Cela leur permet de jouir d'une autorité légitime et d'obtenir à travers elle obéissance et dévotion de la part de leurs employés.

Comme l'explique très directement G. Kim (2017) dans "K-pop femal idols: culture industry, neoliberal social policy and governmentality in Korea" : "En tant qu'ethos national, la rethorique socio-culturelle a incessamment et efficacement mobilisé les femmes non-mariées des zones rurales comme une main d'œuvre obéissante, docile, bon marché, disponible dans les sweatshops des usines de textiles. Maintenant, le même ethos est spectaculairement et sensationnellement déployé dans la Corée néolibérale post-FMI à travers l'industrie de la K-pop » (p. 533). Si sa remarque concerne la main d'œuvre féminine, elle peut facilement être transposée aux jeunes coréens (des pré-adolescents aux jeunes adultes) tous genres confondus.

Ce manque de possibilité de prise de décision, ainsi que le large contrôle de l'entreprise se retrouve tout au long de la formation et même après leur début, les artistes étant toujours soumis à ces mêmes rapports de pouvoir. Pourtant, si cette domination permet un contrôle précis du produit fini, cela se fait au détriment des conditions de vie des trainees. L'une des conséquences directes de cette autorité absolue des maisons de divertissement est sans doute l'incertitude et la précarité constante avec laquelle les trainees doivent composer. Par exemple, il n'existe pas de date exacte de la fin de leur contrat d'apprenti, ni d'assurance de début, celui-ci dépendant des besoins de l'entreprise en fonction de l'évolution du marché :

in the remaining period, uhm, so the point that someone debuts is never like 'it's now!' but we have to look at the surrounding circumstances and the market so that's the period where [unintelligible] or in instances where they may be a little lacking after two or three years, it's a period where we can help them grow a little more. It's not like that period is exactly [claps softly] 5 years, but in case there is a really good opportunity for someone to debut that trainee contract ends then and from that point the exclusive contract, album—what I talked about earlier—is written up. When they really debut or shoot a work, appear in a drama, that's the point when their contract is changed. So in the first half of the period they can always, uhm, kind of go back and forth.

L'entreprise jouit ainsi d'une main d'œuvre directement disponible si besoin. De leur côté, les trainees n'ont d'autre choix que de continuer à s'entraîner et espérer être sélectionnés pour débiter. Or, pendant toute cette période ils n'ont aucun revenu. La totalité de leurs frais

quotidiens, comme leur alimentations, logement, etc. sont donc pris en charge par leurs parents dont ils sont totalement dépendants, n'ayant pas le temps de travailler en parallèle et ce pour une période jamais déterminée. Cette dépendance persiste d'ailleurs parfois même lorsqu'une personne a débuté et est devenue une idole comme ce fut le cas de l'ancien idol interrogé :

For starters, I was young, so I got an allowance from my mom. And a place to stay, food, that was provided by the company. The rest... I got an allowance and used it for that. That's about it.

Les frais de formation quant à eux, tels que les cours de chants, danse, etc. sont pris en charge par les maisons de divertissement. Toutefois, celle-ci est relative, puisque les trainees accumulent une dette qu'ils devront rembourser s'ils finissent par débiter. Comme le mentionne l'employée de N entertainment en charge de la formation :

training, activities, make up, hair, cost, production fees needed to make the album, album processing costs, video costs, there is of course going to be a long list of these kinds of things, so if they release an album and the money they make off of the album, the money that comes in, if they appear on a broadcast, if they shoot a [unintelligible], if they shoot a movie, the costs of all those things will be..uh, summed. And so it'll be like matching up those things. So this is minus, because it's money that's been used, and when they make something and sell it, it's a plus and so we match those up and take this out of the full amount [...]

Finalement, sauf si un trainee abandonne et quitte l'entreprise, cette dernière n'assumera donc pas les coûts de formation des futures idoles. Ce sont les apprentis qui, après avoir débuté, et ayant finalement des rentrées d'argent devront rembourser la maison de divertissement créancière et prestataire de services. En sus, pour rembourser cette dette les artistes ne peuvent dépendre que d'un certain pourcentage des recettes.

we add all those things up and the income is divided up at distribution ratio that was negotiated in the contract.

Les comptes sont en outre pris en charge par les maisons de divertissement qui informent environ quatre fois par an seulement les idoles ou trainees de l'état de leurs finances. Ces

derniers n'ont donc que peu de contrôle sur elles ou sur la gestion des coûts, puisque l'entreprise décide de tout le processus de production et de formation. Ces éléments expliquent donc pourquoi de nombreuses idoles ayant eu une carrière relativement courte n'en retirent au final souvent que peu de bénéfice :

Ancien idol

[...] And money, it didn't make any money. While in [name of the group], I made 0 won.

Interprète

I'm sorry?

Ancien idol

In the 3, 2 or so years of doing that I earned 0 won. I earned no money during that. We were all tired so we kind of said, 'let's call it quits' and that's how it happened.

Qu'il soit question de la formation ou encore des bénéfices une fois devenu idoles, les apprentis n'ont donc que très peu de liberté dans leur choix ou de pouvoir sur l'ensemble du processus. De plus, ce contrôle total de la part de l'entreprise maintient ces apprentis dans une forme d'insécurité et précarité de longue durée, puisqu'il est très difficile pour eux de savoir s'ils débiteront, ni quand. Puis, même s'ils finissent par devenir une figure publique, ils restent économiquement dépendants de l'entreprise, n'ayant pas d'accès directe à la gestion de leurs finances.

De leur côté, les maisons de divertissement, elles, réussissent donc un double tour de force : à travers l'utilisation et la naturalisation de rapports hiérarchiques néo-confucéens, elles bénéficient d'une main d'œuvre dévouée, travailleuse, malléable et disponible, pour répondre et s'adapter facilement au marché, tout en limitant drastiquement ses coûts de production et s'assurant par là d'une très bonne compétitivité.

Optimisation de la rentabilité des idoles

D'une manière générale, l'entièreté du processus de production et de diffusion est prise en charge et contrôlée par les maisons de divertissement. S. Shin et L. Kim les décrivent d'ailleurs comme des usines fabriquant les produits de A à Z (*start-to-finish manufacture*) plutôt que

prenant en compte ce que les artistes ont déjà à offrir (Shin & Kim, 2013, p. 266). Sans exclure toute possibilité de prise de décision ou d'agency des trainees et des idoles, ces maisons peu importe leur taille semblent toutes reposer sur une logique top-down guidée par des logiques néolibérales d'optimisation des coûts et des bénéfices à travers le développement et perfectionnement d'un système de production à la chaîne de produits à haute valeur ajoutée. Cela se retrouve d'ailleurs dans l'apprentissage des langues étrangères qui a pour but de communiquer avec les fans internationaux :

It's a required course for trainees lessons: English, Chinese, Japanese. Those are the foundation. Like how they take dance lessons.

Cet enseignement est d'ailleurs un bon exemple de l'esprit néo-productiviste au cœur de l'industrie comme mentionné précédemment (Bevort, 2013). Celui-ci étant pensé dans une volonté de produire des artistes à la fois polyvalents et de « haute qualité », tout en visant une réactivité accrue et constante au marché :

But recently, for people debuting recently there have been a lot of activities in South America, so Spanish was added as well [...] Just so if they go to Brazil or Mexico that person can speak.

Tout en optimisant le processus de production grâce notamment au travail en équipe :

In the beginning we make trainees do all of them. They do all of them, and then if there are people who distinguish themselves in certain areas then we kind of push them to focus on those things. Like if we teach them three languages and they are doing sooo well with English, and if they are doing sooo poorly with Chinese, we'll tell them not to waste their time there and nudge them to focus on English. And so when that person debuts they become the English member

Même une fois qu'un trainee a réussi à débiter, ces logiques persistent et se retrouvent par exemple dans le type de formations lancées sur le marché par les compagnies. En effet, si cela n'est pas exclu, il est très rare que des artistes débutent une carrière solo. Les nouveaux

artistes sont donc intégrés dans un groupe composé d'autres débutants de l'entreprise qu'elle s'est chargée de sélectionner. Les avantages d'un groupe sur un artiste unique étant multiples : premièrement, ils sont choisis en fonction de leur complémentarité. Autrement dit, si une personne est très bonne en danse, mais moins en rap par exemple, elle sera associée à une personne qui pourra compenser cette faiblesse, comme dans le cas des langues étrangères. Ce modèle cherche ainsi à créer un groupe « parfait » dans le sens où grâce à la cumulation de compétences particulières des différents membres, il peut proposer un tout à priori « sans faille ». Le fait de produire des groupes plutôt que des chanteurs « solo » est donc une stratégie de l'industrie afin d'obtenir un produit fini de haute qualité et ainsi de gagner en compétitivité autant au niveau national que face aux industries étrangères.

Les groupes possèdent en outre tout un tas d'autres avantages. Par exemple, si un des membres venait à ne plus vouloir ou pouvoir en faire partie, cela laisse à l'entreprise la possibilité de le remplacer par un autre individu sans que cela cause la disparition du groupe et des parts de marché qu'il représentait, comme cela serait le cas avec un artiste solo. Cette méthode est d'ailleurs régulière dans l'industrie où le nom du groupe semble dominer sur la composition de ses membres. Le groupe « Super Junior » par exemple, fondé en 2009 et initialement composé de 12 personnes, en a intégré une 13^{ème}, puis s'est séparé de deux autres artistes (sur fond de procès pour mauvaises conditions de travail) avant de connaître sa composition actuelle depuis 2015. « Wonder Girls », un autre grand nom de la K-pop, n'a quant à lui plus qu'une seule des artistes qu'il comptait initialement. Quatre des cinq membres ayant quitté le groupe avant que trois autres trainees de JYP entertainment ne les remplacent. En outre, cette notion de complémentarité joue aussi au niveau de leur « personnalité » ou plus précisément des caractéristiques que l'entreprise souhaite mettre en avant dans chaque membre. La majorité des groupes de K-pop étant structurés de façon similaire : une personne est généralement en charge d'être le leader du groupe, un autre « le visage » du groupe, étant supposément le plus beau, un autre encore aura le rôle de « Mankae », soit de plus jeune membre et ainsi de suite. Chaque position impliquant un certain comportement ou certaines responsabilités souvent très stéréotypées comme devoir agir de façon « mignonne » ou « naïve » dans le cas du cadet. Ainsi, si les formateurs attendent de la part des futures idoles qu'ils développent leur « propre personnalité », celle-là n'a de sens et ne se conçoit que dans l'intégration à une entité plus grande, celle du groupe :

The period in which we do basic training is one year and the year or two after that are a period when you take those basics and turn them into something of your own, you realize yourself, show your own style. And if the beginning is when you have to hone your abilities by yourself, after some time you need time to make a team, to do it together, together with a team, so that's why I think they need that amount of time.

Outre la reproduction d'une hiérarchie interne au groupe qui organise et aide à la cohésion du groupe, ces distinctions d'image permettent aux maisons de divertissement de toucher un plus large public. Ainsi, pour un même groupe certaines personnes pourront s'identifier ou apprécier le « mankae », alors que d'autres seront plus attirées par les caractéristiques du « leader », augmentant au passage d'autant plus la taille des publics potentiels et donc des consommateurs par la même occasion. Le fait de produire des groupes possède aussi un avantage au niveau de la disponibilité pour les événements promotionnels, puisque les membres peuvent se séparer les tâches et être présents à différents lieux au même moment. Finalement, le coût de production de plusieurs artistes quant à lui n'est pas forcément plus élevé, puisque les répétitions des chorégraphies par exemple ont généralement lieu en groupe. En outre, même après avoir débuté les artistes vivent souvent tous ensemble dans un même appartement mis à disposition par la maison de divertissement. Ainsi en définitive, bien que certains frais puissent être parfois plus élevés, ce système de production permet généralement une économie d'échelle significative en sus des avantages qui viennent d'être mentionnés.

Externalisation de la « créativité »

Toujours dans cette logique de sophistication de l'organisation du travail et d'optimisation du processus productif néo-productiviste (Bevort, 2013, pp. 43-44), les maisons de divertissement ont ainsi largement segmenté leur processus de production. Ainsi par exemple, les idoles ne sont que très rarement, pour ne pas dire jamais auteurs ni compositeurs des musiques qu'ils performent. Dans le but de gagner en qualité et compétitivité ces aspects du processus sont pris en charge par des équipes de composition, ou d'« artistes et répertoire » dans le cas de N entertainment. Les employés de cette équipe sont les personnes en charge de produire ou sélectionner les morceaux musicaux et les paroles qui seront performés par

les idoles. De la même façon que pour les auditions des futurs trainees, ces personnes cherchent et reçoivent de très nombreuses « démos » musicales qu'ils ont la responsabilité d'écouter et de sélectionner. Comme pour les directeurs de casting à la recherche du « talent de demain » les employés de l'équipe de production sont en quête du prochain son ou hit musical. Le marché étant passablement saturé, les entreprises font face à une grande compétitivité et doivent donc ratisser le plus large possible. Toutefois, pour limiter les coûts de production elles ont recours à un système de sous-traitance que Gil-Sung Park (2013) nomme pertinemment « externalisation de la créativité » (out-sourcing creativity). Ainsi, comme mentionné précédemment, l'entreprise reçoit énormément de démos

« de compositeurs étrangers, nationaux et même des chansons que les artistes écrivent, en plus de ce qui est produit à l'interne. Lorsqu'il est temps de sortir un album ils choisissent parmi elles. Les milliers de démos arrivent, et ils les organisent ou choisissent des choses qui semblent aller avec un certain [groupe], et ensuite nous travaillons avec ce qu'ils ont organisé ».

Les équipes internes sont donc en charge d'un processus en « entonnoir », qui permet de choisir parmi de très nombreuses options, celles qu'ils estiment être les plus prometteuses et en accord avec les besoins de l'entreprise. Ce processus permet de limiter les coûts de production, mais de toutefois s'assurer un accès à une grande diversité créative et par là de gagner en compétitivité. Ces produits musicaux proviennent d'origines très diverses. Les maisons faisant parfois appel à des compositeurs étrangers, autant qu'à des compositeurs coréens indépendants, ou « musiciens ordinaires » pour reprendre les termes de M. Perrenoud (2007), qui obtiennent ainsi un revenu substantiel leur permettant de continuer une activité musicale comme dans le cas de l'ancien idole interrogé.

Les compositeurs freelances reçoivent en principe quelques lignes directrices générales et sont ensuite libres de produire ce qu'ils souhaitent.

This... I'll show you. What this is [e] This is email A&R manager give me [k] and if you look at it, what's written is... [e] this is album concept. Album concept is [k] 'Breakup, fear, sadness, new beginning'. 'destiny' 'star-crossed love'. Like the overall concept for

the album. And next, title song. Title song concept. And then, reference songs. If I call them reference songs do you understand...

Si les employées de la maison commanditaire sélectionnent les morceaux envoyés par un producteur indépendant, elles les retouchent souvent par la suite afin de correspondre le plus précisément possible aux concepts voulus pour l'album par exemple et ce, en accords constant avec la direction. Ils doivent aussi être pensés en fonction de la chorégraphie, mais aussi du vidéo-clip qui l'accompagneront la plupart du temps, et finalement de l'ensemble du package qui sera lancé sur le marché. La plupart des équipes de N entertainment fonctionnent d'ailleurs sur cette logique d'externalisation :

Simply put, when a certain singer is trying to put out a new album... the very first thing we do decide is how we're going to [show] that singer to the public, what kind of image, what kind of concept. And so according to that concept we will shoot album jacket photos, by hiring a photographer, shoot music videos, by hiring music video directors, design the album package design, by hiring a designer. On the promotion and marketing side of things they are thinking about in order to best to deliver this concept to the masses, what kind of 'contents' do we have to make, how they're going to access them. Content planning. Like with the concept, like an example from right now if we want to show the members' sexiness, then we plan contents where you can really feel that kind of sexiness. [...] That's generally how it goes. Through multiple channels, we could hire like youtubers, we do a collaboration with movie theaters, and recently we've even worked with a webtoon author, it's diverse. If a concept is decided upon, in order to promote this concept the best we can we work in collaboration with these kinds of people, or organizations, or businesses in order to do our marketing, in general.

Dans la même ligne que la production de groupes plutôt que d'artistes solo, cette externalisation des aspects créatifs a le double avantage de limiter les coûts tout en retirant les avantages de l'accès à un large bassin d'idées et donc d'assurer leur compétitivité sur le marché.

A l'opposé les petites entreprises, bien qu'ayant aussi accès à des moyens de diffusion à grande échelle tels que YouTube, que le développement des technologies a permis, ne

possèdent néanmoins que peu de chance de succès et encore moins de répétition de celui-ci. Si elles se structurent souvent sur le même modèle des grandes maisons de divertissement dont elles imitent le fonctionnement, elles ne peuvent que rarement espérer compéter avec elles. En effet, les maisons de petite taille n'ont généralement pas la capacité financière, ou en termes de main d'œuvre d'effectuer des auditions à grande échelle et encore moins le processus de tri qui l'accompagne. En sus, elles n'ont parfois pas les moyens de former des apprentis et se contentent de « reprendre » des artistes n'ayant pu renouveler leur contrat avec leur précédente maison. C'est d'ailleurs le cas dans la petite entreprise pour laquelle travaille une des personnes interrogées :

No trainees. They they all debued, and uhm.. they had varying degrees of success as far as like the media exposure [incomprehensible]. Euh yes. No trainees

Pour autant, la structure hiérarchique de l'entreprise perdure, démontrant au passage la prégnance d'un modèle néo-confucéen de travail dans les entreprises coréennes. La focale sur la promotion de l'image des idoles est elle aussi présente, mais ne peut se concrétiser aussi efficacement que dans les grandes entreprises. Ainsi, bien que faisant aussi appel à des entreprises ou producteurs externes, la sélection de ceux-ci reste relativement aléatoire. Le processus de sélection des créations musicales étant dans le cas de la petite entreprise étudié, largement pris en charge par le directeur et ce de façon peu professionnalisée ou systématisée.

Employé

I mean, I think most of like the big pictures slash planning comes from the guy, like the, my Boss, the head of the company. Because, a lot of [inaudible] directions he.. is.. very stubborn about that?

Enquêtrice

stubborn? (light laugh)

Employé

Yeah, yeah! He was like "I want this specific concept. I think it works. I think this is very marketable, I think this can be successful". So uhm, yeah! A lot of that actually comes from the top of him head. And then.. I will try to use, either his guidelines, whether

something that I came up with to make it work. So, in a sense that the traits of direction, those, uhmm... what's the word I'm looking for? Not so democratic.

Le discours de l'employé d'une petite maison de divertissement semble ainsi corroborer la littérature scientifique (Shin & Kim, 2013). Tous deux mettent en effet en avant l'imitation des stratégies de production des plus grandes, sans toutefois réussir à les égaler. En effet, le manque d'accès à une diversité de talents ou de produits musicaux variés, faute de moyens financiers, ainsi que l'absence de systématisation et de professionnalisation des choix réalisés, semblent donc ne laisser que peu de chance de succès à une entreprise de petite taille et ce d'autant plus dans un marché déjà saturé. En ce sens, le rôle des petites maisons de divertissement semble limité à une sorte de périphérie, contrairement à d'autres pays où elles jouent un rôle bien plus central et avant-gardiste comme en France par exemple.

III) Espace socio-économique symbolique de la pop industrielle Coréenne

L'attrait pour une carrière d'idole à la lumière d'une société surcompétitive

Comme cela a été développé dans le chapitre précédent, l'entièreté du processus de production d'idoles est extrêmement concurrentielle, physiquement et mentalement exigeante, largement contrôlée et hiérarchisée et les chances de réussite restent très faibles. Pourquoi alors, tant de jeunes sont-ils prêts à s'engager dans une voie aussi difficile ? Si l'attrait pour le succès et la célébrité que cette vie promet reste un facteur évident, d'autres logiques sont aussi essentielles à la compréhension de cet attrait et relèvent des particularités du contexte coréen.

Bien que de nombreux pays soient aujourd'hui marqués par une économie néo-libérale et un environnement profondément compétitif, la Corée du Sud est sans doute l'un de ceux où ce mode de fonctionnement est le plus extrême. Comme précédemment explicité, dès les années 1960, le pays est entré dans un processus d'industrialisation et de développement

économique à grande échelle. Cela a été facilité par la réutilisation et l'adaptation de valeurs confucéennes par le régime afin d'obtenir la participation de la population. Ce néo-confucianisme allié à une propagande nationaliste autoritaire a ainsi permis d'obtenir une main d'œuvre docile et travailleuse malgré la difficulté des conditions de travail. En outre, cette période d'industrialisation a coïncidé avec une transformation du système de classe et de stratification sociale. Ces systèmes se sont ainsi progressivement reconstruits sur des valeurs matérialistes semblables à celles des sociétés industrielles avancées (Koo, 2007, p. 46). En un sens, le régime de Park et son succès économique, qui ont permis d'augmenter drastiquement le niveau de vie dans le pays, ont largement participé à la valorisation de valeurs matérialistes et consuméristes comme nouveau marqueur de position sociale. Les anciens titres de noblesse ayant été en parallèle abolis ou étant entachés d'une image de collaborateurs avec le colonisateur japonais, les possessions matérielles et le pouvoir de consommation sont ainsi progressivement devenus le marqueur d'appartenance sociale par excellence.

Dans ce contexte, l'éducation est devenue le moyen le plus sûr d'accéder à des emplois de fonctionnaires ou d'experts pour le gouvernement, gages de sécurité financière et de conditions de travail bien meilleurs que dans les usines. En effet, dès le début des plans d'industrialisation le gouvernement avait misé sur l'éducation de la population afin d'améliorer les compétences de la main d'œuvre et par là, la qualité de la production²¹. En outre, le gouvernement ayant accédé au pouvoir à travers un coup d'état et étant essentiellement composé de militaire, il a largement cherché à employer des diplômés d'universités prestigieuses aux postes bureaucratiques afin de légitimer sa gouvernance (Jang & Kim, 2013, p. 94). Cette emphase sur l'éducation s'inscrit pleinement dans la tradition confucéenne, cette dernière valorisant l'apprentissage au plus haut point et le considérant comme l'élément central au développement d'une bonne personnalité (Kim & Choi, 2015, p. 89). Jusqu'à la fin de la dynastie Joseon, l'accès à l'éducation était donc réservé aux plus hautes classes de la société dont la légitimité dépendait notamment de la réussite de l'examen de la fonction publique nationale (*Gwageo* – 과거). Ainsi, l'éducation a largement été associée au prestige social. Afin d'augmenter les chances de succès, les parents ont donc largement investi dans l'éducation de leurs enfants.

²¹ (Moon, H., document non publié [polycopié], 2014).

De ce fait, l'accès à l'université est aujourd'hui un passage quasi obligé pour obtenir un emploi, environ 70% de la population coréenne y accédant. En fait, comme le mentionne A. Kim et J.S. Choi (2015), l'éducation en Corée est bien plus qu'une question personnelle, mais représente aussi une affaire sociale et un enjeu de qualité de vie, puisqu'elle influence plus fortement encore que dans les pays occidentaux le choix et les possibilités de mariage, ainsi que le statut social (pp. 182, 185). D'une façon similaire, la liberté sociale et familiale semble souvent s'obtenir au prix de l'accession à une certaine forme de prestige social reconnue par tous et incontestée. Le discours d'une des employées travaillant pour N Entertainment exemplifie d'ailleurs cela :

Employée

To be honest, more than and idol, I thought that I would be making music all my life with my friends from the band when I was young. Hahah. [...] Of course my parents did oppose, and I really only started studying from the time I was in high school. And so, I studied in high school and went to college, and they said that, 'if you start studying now and go to a good university, mmm once you're there we don't care whatever it is you do. [...] And so, honestly, I thought to myself 'well then I've got to go to Seoul National or Korea University' hahahaha [...] If I do that then they'll acknowledge me. And so, my aim was just that. And so, because of that studying was meaningless... because from the beginning I wanted to live, doing the things I wanted to do. So yeah. It worked out well. Hahaha. [...]

Enquêtrice

[...]

Employée

This is all only possible because I got into Korea university, hahaha

Enquêtrice

[...]

Employée

And so they don't complain about anything else in my life. Nothing. [e] nothing.

Inversement, étant donné qu'il n'existe pas de système d'apprentissage ou de formation par l'emploi, ceux qui ne peuvent y accéder à l'université sont généralement voués à des postes non-qualifiés et une discrimination sociale fréquente (Kim & Choi, 2015, p. 184). En outre, la concurrence est extrêmement forte et les élèves sont poussés à leurs limites dès leur jeune âge. En effet, si quasi tout le monde accède désormais à l'université, le seul moyen de se distinguer est d'entrer dans l'une des trois meilleures universités du pays. Ces écoles représentent le meilleur moyen d'ascension sociale, grâce au soutien des pairs et d'anciens élèves dans le processus de recrutement comme mentionné précédemment et ce, indépendamment des capacités intrinsèques des candidats (Kim & Choi, p. 187). Les anciens élèves de ces « SKY universities », qui ne représentent pourtant que 2% des diplômés du pays ou d'universités étrangères, sont ainsi surreprésentés dans les postes dirigeants des plus grandes et prestigieuses entreprises du pays, ainsi que dans le domaine légal et politique (Kim & Choi, 2015, p. 186). Dans la même logique, de nombreux élèves choisissent d'étudier des sujets qui ne les intéressent pas mais qui sont plus facilement accessibles dans une université prestigieuse, plutôt que de se diriger vers leur discipline de prédilection dans une université moins reconnue (p. 187).

Au-delà de la scolarité, l'économie coréenne repose largement sur un nombre restreint d'énormes conglomérats, les chaebols, le reste étant majoritairement composé de petites entreprises. Ainsi, si la volonté d'ascension sociale est extrêmement marquée, seule une minorité pourra effectivement y accéder. La compétition est d'autant plus féroce et dès l'école secondaire, les étudiants sont poussés à des routines de travail draconiennes. Après l'école obligatoire, la grande majorité d'entre eux se rendent donc dans des hagwons (학원), sortes d'écoles du soir privées, avant de terminer leur journée par quelques heures de travail individuel supplémentaires. Ce rythme s'intensifie d'autant qu'il approche de la date de l'examen national d'entrée à l'université. Celui-ci est en effet considéré comme l'élément qui déterminera le reste de leur vie et leur niveau social et peut facilement être vu comme l'un des « rites de passage » les plus importants dans le pays. Ainsi, les gymnasiens (high-schoolers) passent en moyenne 14 heures à étudier chaque jour et dorment 5 heures et 27 minutes, la norme recommandée étant de 8.5 à 9.25 heures par nuit (Kim & Choi, 2015, pp. 192-13; 198). Puisque seule une minorité de la totalité des étudiants sera sélectionnée et pourra accéder à

l'une de ces prestigieuses universités, ils se doivent de s'imposer durant plusieurs années une rigueur et une pression souvent très dures à supporter pour des enfants ou des adolescents. Triste constat de cette compétition, le taux de suicide chez les jeunes coréens est l'un des plus élevés de l'OCDE depuis de nombreuses années déjà et a triplé durant les 25 dernières années (Kim & Choi, 2015, p. 200). Une récente étude publiée en juillet 2019 par l'institut national de la jeunesse coréen (National Youth Policy Institute) indique d'ailleurs que plus de 33% des jeunes, entre l'école obligatoire et le gymnase, ont déjà pensé à se suicider mettant principalement en cause la pression académique et des doutes concernant leur avenir professionnel (Kim J.-H. , 2019). En outre, le modèle d'éducation repose lui aussi sur un système autoritaire et hiérarchique favorisant l'apprentissage par cœur, plutôt que le développement d'un esprit critique (Kim & Choi, p. 191).

En fait, ce système est particulièrement aliénant puisque malgré tous leurs efforts, les résultats peinent souvent à se faire sentir. Cela étant dû à ce que W. Jang et Y Kim (2013) nomment métaphoriquement « la Course de la Reine de Cœur » (*The Red Queen's Race*). Comme ils l'expliquent, dans un passage du roman d'Alice au Pays de Merveille, celle-ci court sans cesse, mais se retrouve toujours à la même place. La reine lui indique alors « si tu veux arriver quelque part d'autre, il va te falloir courir au moins deux fois plus vite que cela » (Carroll 1872, p.145 cité par Jang & Kim, p.94). Or « cette situation est celle dans laquelle la plupart des étudiants coréens se trouvent. Ils travaillent dur mais leur classement au test reste le même, puisque tous les autres travaillent aussi dur » (Jang & Kim, 2013, p. 94).

En résumé, le système d'éducation coréen est marqué par une rigueur et une compétition extrêmement fortes. Ce système faussement méritocratique impose une énorme pression aux jeunes ainsi qu'à leur famille, notamment en termes de soutien et d'investissement financier et sans assurance de succès. Or, ne pas pouvoir accéder à ces quelques universités prestigieuses signifie quasi certainement la perte de possibilité d'ascension sociale, mais aussi le maintien dans une position sociale inférieure à sa vie durant, comme cela s'est retrouvé dans de très nombreux discours.

But unfortunately, currently in this society, [pause] in this society, there is a strong [e] mind [k] if you don't study you can't live, or like it's forming those kind of thoughts, but rather than say that that's anyone's fault, but we were living so poorly and then all of the sudden became a rich nation, [...]

Dans ce contexte, il devient beaucoup plus simple de comprendre pourquoi autant de jeunes sont prêts à endurer des formations aussi rigoureuses et autoritaires au sein des maisons de divertissement. Car au final, elles ne constituent pas une alternative beaucoup plus « coûteuse » en termes d'investissement, de dur labeur et de soumission à l'autorité. Ainsi, conscients des difficultés du système d'éducation nationale et du niveau de compétitivité, de très nombreux jeunes coréens sont prêts à tenter leur chance dans une industrie qui leur vend finalement un monde idéal fait de beauté, succès, bonheur et de liberté.

Maybe I began to like them because they are living a life that I want to live. Because to me, my artists are my other life.

Entre quête identitaire et idolâtrie : la K-pop comme accès à la norme dominante

Ces mêmes jeunes pris au corps par cette compétition exacerbée s'avèrent être aussi les principaux publics et consommateurs de K-pop. L'angle d'approche de ce mémoire étant la compréhension des enjeux de la société coréenne au regard de la musique populaire, il s'est avéré pertinent de s'intéresser aux publics coréens et à leur attrait pour le groupe de K-pop qu'ils suivent. Leurs réponses ont ainsi mis en évidence un certain nombre d'éléments intériorisés, qui ont été appréhendés comme des expressions subjectives du mode de développement du pays. Bien que le nombre de personnes ayant répondu à ce questionnaire ne soit pas suffisant pour jouir d'une quelconque représentativité, il trouve néanmoins sa place en tant que complément d'analyse. Dans ce contexte, il permet un premier éclairage sur les publics coréens de K-pop, à travers le sens qu'ils donnent à leurs intérêts et pratiques. Leur étude met ainsi en avant certaines hypothèses quant aux rôles que la K-pop joue, au regard des particularités de la société coréenne et ce, en conformité avec les éléments d'analyse précédemment explicités.

Tout d'abord, ce qui est ressorti le plus clairement des questionnaires est la perception d'aides et de soutiens apportée par les groupes qu'ils suivent dans les moments difficiles :

Question 25

Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?

Répondante 13

When I am sad or going through something difficulty, I am able to cheer up by listening to their comforting lyrics. They became the driving force of my life and make me happy. On the day of the college entrance exam I listened to their music and took the test and was able to not be nervous. They help me make friends. I tend to be awkward around people that I am meeting for the first time, but if I talk about the group that I like those nerves go away and I feel close to people. They helped me rethink my direction. They help me want to be a better person.

Question 23

Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?

Répondante 6

[Yes]. They are a joy in my hard-knock life.

Question 25

Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?

Répondante 6

Very important. If this group did not exist, my life would be like a desert.

Ainsi, ces idoles sont perçues comme ayant aidé à se sentir mieux ou gérer plus efficacement certaines situations. Les principales difficultés perçues à travers leurs réponses semblent être d'ordre relationnel, comme des sentiments de solitude, d'isolation ou d'exclusion, ou encore d'ordre psychologique. Un certain nombre de personnes ont d'ailleurs mis en avant le rôle que leur groupe a joué selon elles pour les aider à sortir d'un état dépressif. Ces éléments font écho aux conséquences négatives de cette course à la formation et à l'excellence en termes d'aptitudes sociales, degré de satisfaction et de santé mentale invoqué par A. Kim & J.-S. Choi (2015, pp. 198-202).

Les répondants ont donc largement mis en avant le bonheur que leur groupe de K-pop leur procure. Il semble leur offrir une sorte de « bulle » de plaisir, un environnement au-delà du

stress et de la dureté de leur quotidien. Toutefois, cette joie ne provient pas uniquement de l'écoute de leur musique. La majorité des répondants suivent en effet régulièrement leurs idoles sur les réseaux sociaux, dans les émissions de télé-réalité ou variété, ou tous autres moyens leur permettant d'en apprendre sur eux ou d'obtenir des actualités.

Question 25

Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?

Répondant 7

It's important. When I am tired and worn out if I watch videos of them when they appear on variety shows or on the radio, I just start to laugh naturally. When I see that, I feel that it's healing on a mental level as well.

Question 8.a

For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?

Répondante 13

Because you are able to see a different side to the members that you like.

Question 13 et 13.c

Do you possess any object related to the group ?

What do they represent to you ?

Répondante 13

[Yes. ... I bought an] Official cheering stick – I haven't had a chance to formally use it, but I'm currently using it as mood lighting. [I also bought some] Related books – I liked them because I can learn more deeply about the group that I like. [...]

Ainsi, autant les idoles elles-mêmes, leurs apparences publiques que les produits dérivés font partie du produit consommé, qui ne se limite pas à la « simple » écoute de leur musique. Dans cette même logique, ce questionnaire a mis en avant une volonté largement partagée parmi les répondants de se rapprocher de leurs idoles et ce, à travers des moyens divers. Suivre leurs idoles dans leur quotidien semble ainsi être un moyen utilisé pour renforcer un sentiment de proximité vis-à-vis d'elles. Celui-ci favorise une impression d'inclusion, alors que beaucoup de répondants ont montré avoir des difficultés à s'intégrer dans la société coréenne ou à répondre aux attentes extrêmement exigeantes de celle-ci.

Ces éléments mettent aussi en avant la pertinence pour les maisons d'avoir autant privilégié et travaillé sur l'image et la promotion des idoles à travers une grande diversité des médias. Les rencontres avec les fans, les photos et vidéos des artistes dans leur quotidien postées quasiment en temps réel sur les réseaux sociaux, ou encore les postes directs et réguliers des idoles sur ceux-ci, sont autant d'éléments activement utilisés par les fans pour renforcer ce sentiment de proximité. Par exemple, plusieurs répondants ont mis en avant le fait de regarder des émissions de variété ou de télé-réalité afin de pouvoir connaître la « vraie » personnalité ou les aspects humains de leurs idoles.

Question 7.A

If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows?

Répondante 4

Because you can see their natural and human state

Question 12.b

Which advantages do you get from being a member [of their official fan club]?

Répondant 5

All types of news comes up, and you can look that things that the members wrote themselves.

De façon intéressante, cette volonté d'accéder à une sorte d'intimité des idoles ou à leur identité « derrière le masque » de star, n'exclut pas la conscience que leur groupe est le produit d'une industrie.

Question 22

Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?

Répondant 5

In the music industry, being well-rounded and being exceptional visually [ie pretty] is of course important. In the end, because [they are] a kind of product, because [the people] want better things.

Question 13.B

Why did you buy [these items related to the group]?

Répondante 6

When I look that them, my mood gets better. It contributes to the members' income.

Pour autant, la reconnaissance de leur appartenance à une industrie et leur inclusion dans un système de production « commerciale » ne semble pas rédhitoire. En un sens, cela paraît même aider à renforcer leur sentiment de proximité avec les idoles.

Question 21

Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.

Répondant 8

[...] Earnest: Watching them excel through the all of the arduous schedule that K-pop singers have makes me think they are earnest.

En fait, le fait que ces idoles soient le produit de l'industrie du divertissement implique en même temps qu'elles évoluent dans un environnement connu pour sa compétition et un rythme de vie très exigeant. Autrement dit, ces stars vivent d'une certaine manière un quotidien similaire aux répondants en termes de pressions et d'attentes de la part d'autrui, et cela peut ainsi paradoxalement favoriser un sentiment de proximité et augmenter le degré d'identification possible à ces artistes.

De la même façon, les critères utilisés pour justifier de leur intérêt pour leurs idoles ou pour les évaluer, reposent sur les mêmes attentes néo-confucéennes présentes autant dans l'industrie du divertissement que dans le système éducatif coréen et plus généralement dans la société coréenne. Outre la beauté des idoles, les répondants mettent ainsi largement en avant des éléments de responsabilité, diligence, gentillesse, respect, et d'effort continu ou de sincérité. (Il est d'ailleurs important de noter ici que le terme coréen « *성실* » traduit par « sincère » possède plusieurs significations et peut aussi vouloir dire : diligent, honnête ou travailleur). Autrement dit, la transgression de normes par exemple n'est ressortie ni dans les attentes des fans, ni dans les comportements perçus de leurs idoles. Cela est singulier puisque si tant de répondants semblent être en position d'aliénation dans leur société, l'hypothèse

d'un souhait de transgression de celle-ci aurait légitimement pu être émise, mais ne s'est pourtant par retrouvée dans les réponses obtenues.

Question 18

What do you like in this group?

Répondante 13

That they are ceaselessly putting in effort and growing; that they are able to do their own lyrics, composition, and producing; that they cherish their fans; [...] that there are a lot of things that I connect to in their lyrics; that they know how to overcome pain; that they are honest people

Question 23

Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?

Répondante 13

- 1. Good influence – I think this is important as a member of society.*
- 2. Clear goals – It's important. Because goals are the most important thing in live.*
- 3. Skilled – I think that if you want to contribute to society skills are important as well.*
- 4. Respectable – I think that if your actions are good and true then you will be respected.*
- 5. Attractive – It's not important. Because I think what's inside a person is more important than their outside.*

Question 23

Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?

Répondant 8

I think it is important in life. Why I began to like Red Velvet is in part because of the music genre, but also because of the way of life that they exhibit. Seeing them being responsible, kind, and diligent, and the members caring for one another made me feel at ease and envious. I'm a kind of person that looks for things that I can learn from the people around me, and I think that Red Velvet has a lot of aspects that I want to emulate as well.

Les discours des répondants sont donc souvent marqués par l'attrait pour le respect des normes établies. En outre, lorsque ces caractéristiques sont invoquées, les répondants expliquent que leur groupe « excelle » dans celles-ci. Ce que les fans mettent en avant semble être la capacité de ces artistes à avoir « réussi » à répondre à ces attentes normatives, malgré le niveau d'exigence de l'industrie. L'idolâtrie de ces stars semble donc provenir de la capacité des artistes à s'imposer dans un tel environnement. Pour ces raisons, ces idoles sont ainsi investies d'un rôle de modèle que les fans tentent d'émuler dans leur propre quotidien.

Question 23

Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?

Répondante 12

Manly and respectable. The reason being that the perfect synchronicity of dance with multiple people can't be achieved through only a little bit of practice, the compatibility between people is very important.

Question 29

Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.

Répondant 7

There are a few members in Lovelyz that are the same age as me, and watching them put in so much effort to perfect their performances and bettering themselves everyday has become a motivator for me in trying harder than I am at any give current moment. Whenever I see people who have succeeded in the area that I want to pursue, members of this group Lovelyz that I like, who are my age, growing day by day, became a bigger motivation for me. Also, in order for me to not regret being a fan, I think that I have to achieve something big while being a fan. Because only then do I think I won't regret this period spent as a fan later on.

En outre, même lorsque certains répondants ont invoqué des caractéristiques « artistiques » ou musicales des idoles, celles-ci étaient elles aussi décrites comme « hors du commun » ou « excellentes ». Peu importe le but, ce qui domine dans les réponses obtenues c'est la capacité

de réussir dans ce domaine. Cela démontre ainsi au passage la force de la pression sociale sur ces individus. Comme le relève très pertinemment la 2^{ème} répondante au questionnaire :

Doing well [잘 하다]: The most important thing in contemporary society. No matter what other factors there are, doing well is a must.

Cette pression à l'excellence à tous les niveaux et la compétition qu'elle suppose a d'ailleurs été particulièrement bien explicitée par l'un des informateurs privilégiés coréens ; ici, tout le monde est en concurrence constante et pour tout. Même lorsque les gens vont faire du camping ils sont en compétition. Je suis allée camper le weekend passé et c'était à qui avait l'équipement le plus complet et professionnel. La tente, l'habillement, le matériel, etc. Même s'ils ne sont que des campeurs occasionnels ou veulent juste faire une sortie en famille, ils font ça et se comparent entre eux.

Autrement dit, si l'obsession des coréens pour l'éducation est sans doute l'exemple le plus criant d'une société extrêmement compétitive, celle-ci se retrouve littéralement à tous les niveaux et au quotidien et s'avère souvent difficile à gérer pour nombre de personnes. De la même façon les individus qui réussissent à se maintenir dans les positions socialement valorisées apparaissent comme d'autant plus doués et méritants.

Les idoles semblent donc servir de référentiels ou d'exemples à suivre par les fans pour réussir dans leur environnement ou dans la société en général.

Question 27

Do you think the adjectives (characteristics describing the group) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?

Répondante 13

[Yes.] They became people that I could respect and want to resemble.

Question 26

Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?

Répondante 4

Has an influence – It makes me think that I want to model myself [after them].

Question 27

Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?

Répondante 4

Good at singing, charming – not important, because these are thing that can't be changed much after being born [ie: these are innate traits]

Sincere, deep thinking – Because I think that I can grow as a person.

En ce sens la K-pop, à travers ses idoles, semble jouer un rôle autant de soutien, que de modèle à suivre en termes de comportements face à l'environnement néo-libéral et surcompétitif dans lequel les répondants sont intégrés. Ou pour reprendre les propos de G. Kim (2017) : « à cet égard, les idoles de K-pop, qui sont des modèles de références pour les fans, sont un efficace outil de conditionnement de la pensée et des comportements, produisant des sois auto-régulés et s'auto-corrigeant qui sont libres mais réalisent les idéaux néolibéraux d'individus rationnels auto-responsables, compétitifs, d'employés flexibles et de consommateurs s'auto-évaluant » (p. 531).

Question 26

Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?

Répondant 10

That's right. Because if I listen to them when I am having a difficult time it gives energy.

Question 16

A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?

Répondante 13

I think that being a fan means being a person that looks at those people and can endlessly reflect [on oneself]. I think that I am a fan because I endlessly think about whether my actions will be a stain on the members' names, or if they will hurt the members.

Pour ceux qui ont mis en avant l'importance d'être membres de leur fan club, des logiques similaires en sont aussi ressorties. Par exemple, se ressentir comme « membre du groupe » des fans de leurs idoles s'est avéré un bon moyen de se sentir inclus et de pouvoir se valoriser. En un sens, maîtriser les manières d'être un fan s'apparente à avoir « réussi » à s'intégrer dans un groupe, donnant par là un sens tout particulier à leur investissement pour leurs idoles. De façon similaire, la compétition est aussi présente au sein de ces groupes de fan où il importe d'être toujours au fait des dernières nouvelles sur leurs membres et il semble être un devoir de soutenir financièrement ses idoles.

Question 16.0

[Why] are you [not] fan of another group?

Répondant 7

If you want to be a fan you have to acquire a lot of information about the group's members names, birthdays, hometowns, personalities, etc etc, and in order to do so, I have to make an effort, but the only group that made breaking that barrier to entry worth it was Lovelyz

Question 13.B

Why did you buy them [objects related to the group]?

Répondante 9

[...] The official cheering instrument because of unity between fans, and the hand towel I bought as a souvenir for a concert. The photobook and magazine I bought for some reason out of a kind of sense of duty. [...]

Question 13.C

What do they represent to you? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)

Répondante 9

I think that the albums and official cheering instruments are the single indicators by which one can prove they are a fan, so they are very important.

Question 14.a

Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?

Répondante 13

Because they are legal products. Because part of the profits from official merchandise goes back to the members.

Question 15.b

Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?

Répondante 13

Because I think that paying a proper price is the right thing. Because not using the legal route is not is unfair to the group.

Les normes de références des fans clubs mises en avant par le discours des répondants reposent ainsi sur les mêmes valeurs néo-confucéennes et attentes néo-libérales. Autrement dit, les fans clubs apparaissent comme une reproduction des différents environnements dans lesquels les répondants évoluent, mais possèdent ici de meilleures ressources pour s'intégrer et devenir un membre légitime. Ils sont ainsi une forme de succès ou de valorisation potentiellement plus accessible. Ce sentiment d'appartenance semble en outre s'obtenir à travers la consommation de produits dérivés des artistes, telle que du merchandising, mais aussi par le dur labeur et le perfectionnement constant pour connaître toujours au mieux leur artiste dans la même ligne que les propos de G. Kim (2017) susmentionnés. En outre, puisque les valeurs ayant cours au sein de ces groupes de fans reposent sur les mêmes que celles présentes dans la société coréenne plus générale, soutenir son groupe favori apparaît ainsi comme un moyen de se réintégrer dans une société coréenne néo-libérale, autant par affiliation avec l'imaginaire de succès et de perfection dont jouissent les idoles à travers leur imitation, que par leur rôle de consommateurs assidus.

Finalement, à défaut de posséder un caractère représentatif, ce questionnaire peut être considéré comme une sorte de pré-enquête ou enquête exploratoire sur les publics nationaux de K-pop. Dans ce contexte, il propose des observations en concordance aux rôles que la (pop) musique a pu revêtir dans d'autres temporalités et d'autres lieux auprès des jeunes. Autrement dit, qu'il soit question de la musique psychédélique issue du Flower Power dans

les années 60 et 70 aux Etats-Unis, du rock ou folk coréen à la même époque, ou même de la musique punk durant la récession économique et les années Thatcher en Angleterre, tous ces genres ont apporté un soutien ou une échappatoire à des jeunes en position d'aliénation dans leur société. En ce sens, au regard des premiers résultats obtenus, la K-pop ne paraît pas faire exception à cela.

En revanche, une hypothèse plus particulière a aussi été mise en lumière. En effet, si la K-pop répond à un besoin d'intégration ou de soutien auprès de personnes éprouvant des difficultés à s'inclure dans la société coréenne et les normes qu'elle présuppose, elle semble pourtant ne valoriser ou n'impliquer aucune forme de contre-culture, contestation ou subversion de l'ordre établi. Au contraire, la K-pop et sa consommation s'avèrent être un outil particulièrement efficace pour des individus en quête de (ré)intégration dans la norme dominante. En ce sens, la K-pop et sa consommation semblent promouvoir la reproduction de l'ordre établi plutôt que toute forme de déviance.

Conclusion

Ce mémoire, ainsi que les propos qu'il développe et analyse, ont permis de revenir tour à tour sur les caractéristiques centrales de la transformation de la musique populaire coréenne, des prémices de son histoire moderne à aujourd'hui.

Autant dans les années d'avant-guerre que de façon contemporaine, la musique populaire coréenne a profondément été constituée d'influences diverses. Dès le début du 20^{ème} siècle le trot est ainsi inspiré du Enka japonais durant la colonisation nipponne. Après la guerre de Corée, le pays découvre la diversité des genres musicaux américains qui sont reproduits dans des spectacles pour les soldats états-uniens. Ce nouvel accès aux musiques et aux mouvements sociaux qui les accompagnent outre-mer sera d'ailleurs une énorme source d'inspiration, autant pour les mouvements alternatifs tels que le rock ou le folk coréen que pour le Konjo Kayo, la musique dominante contrôlée par le régime en place. Ce gouvernement nationaliste et autoritaire cherchera en effet activement à instiller une tonalité pop américaine dans ses chansons, dans une tentative de contrer toute influence communiste ou japonaise.

Pour ces raisons, postuler que le mélange d'inspirations musicales qui à court dans la K-pop contemporaine est un phénomène « nouveau » serait erroné. Il serait d'ailleurs également incorrect d'en déduire que la K-pop ou les musiques populaires précédentes ne seraient que des copies ou des imitations de genres occidentaux. En effet, ce travail a su montrer, tout au long de son développement, le caractère hybride de la musique coréenne et irréductible à ses influences initiales. Ainsi le rok alliait par exemple guitare électrique et sonorités rappelant les instruments musicaux coréens « traditionnels ». Le folk, porteur du mouvement de contestation au régime en place, était à la fois caractérisé par les mêmes harmonicas et guitares acoustiques que son homologue américain, mais était pourtant investi d'un moralisme certain. Le konjo kayo du gouvernement, lui-même, n'a pu être « vidé » de son influence japonaise, démontrant ici encore le processus d'assimilation et de réinterprétation de ces genres musicaux initialement exogènes. De la même manière, la K-pop est elle aussi issue de genres musicaux multiples, mais reste bel et bien un produit « coréen ». En effet, comme la deuxième partie d'analyse de ce mémoire s'est appliquée à le mettre en évidence, la K-pop est largement le fruit autant d'un contexte politico-économique, que d'un système de production reposant sur des valeurs néo-confucéennes dont le sens et l'application restent propres à la Corée. Autrement dit, puisque ces influences externes sont réinsérées et adaptées au contexte du pays, la K-pop ne peut ainsi être définie en dehors de la Corée contemporaine.

La structure de ce mémoire a aussi permis de mettre un avant un certain nombre de ressemblances dans les rôles que jouent le konjo kayo et la K-pop. Tous deux apparaissent en effet comme un outil de prédilection à la valorisation et au maintien des normes dominantes. Durant les années du boom économique, le Konjo Kayo a largement été utilisé par le gouvernement pour promouvoir le dur labeur et la dévotion de la part de la population dans l'effort économique national et ce notamment à travers l'instigation d'une certaine éthique morale d'inspiration confucéenne. De la même manière, mais dans un contexte néo-productiviste, la K-pop participe à reproduire et aide à la légitimation des normes dominantes actuelles en s'inspirant des mêmes valeurs néo-confucéennes utilisée par le régime de Park. Du dur labeur et d'un tableau idyllique de la société, à la persévérance et une pop pétillante et joyeuse, la distinction des thématiques apparaît particulièrement ténue entre les deux genres musicaux. De ce fait, bien que le konjo kayo n'ait pas été inscrit dans un processus

d'industrialisation, il a tout comme la K-pop été profondément inscrit dans les modes de promotion et de développement économique du pays.

En sus, tous deux ont participé à la limitation d'une scène musicale alternative et potentiellement subversive. Pour le Konjo Kayo, cela a été possible grâce à la censure et à la limitation de l'accès à la scène dominante par le gouvernement. Dans le cas de la K-pop, cela a été réalisé à travers des stratégies économiques de domination du marché et un environnement socio-politique favorable. Ainsi donc, bien que se développant dans des temporalités différentes, ces deux genres musicaux partagent un nombre notable de similitudes. D'une manière plus générale, ces ressemblances ont permis de mettre en lumière la persistance de valeurs néo-confucéennes adaptées au besoin dans la société coréenne et ce, malgré le changement de paradigme idéologique de son économie.

Cette étude a aussi analysé plus profondément le système de production des idoles de K-pop. Cela a permis d'appréhender les manières dont ces valeurs néo-confucéennes sont réutilisées aujourd'hui pour répondre au besoin d'une économie néo-libérale. Pour ce faire, il a été question de considérer les modalités de sélection des candidats souhaitant devenir des idoles. Celles-ci se sont avérées être largement axées sur leur beauté physique et leur malléabilité afin de pouvoir les adapter au mieux aux volontés des maisons de divertissement et à l'évolution du marché, au détriment d'individus au « style » trop défini. Le jeune âge de ces aspirants permet ainsi d'obtenir une meilleure obéissance et acceptation de leur formation exigeante. Cette dernière est caractérisée par une pression à l'excellence, à l'amélioration de soi constante et contrôlée par des évaluations régulières, des rapports hiérarchiques naturalisés sous une forme de « paternalisme bienveillant », leur maintien dans une incertitude quant à leur futur, mais encore une dépendance financière renforçant leur nécessité d'investissement total pour espérer gagner en indépendance.

Une fois devenus idoles, d'autres méthodes d'optimisation s'ajoutent à ce système néo-productiviste, telles que la formation de groupe plutôt que des artistes solos. Cette pluralité des membres apporte ainsi une plus grande complémentarité, autant en termes de compétences et par là de qualité du produit fini, que dans la diversité des identités des membres, permettant de séduire un plus large public. Cette pluralité des membres apporte aussi la possibilité de remplacer certaines personnes sans que cela ne cause la disparition du

groupe et des parts de marché qu'il représentait. Finalement, cela offre aussi une plus grande disponibilité pour des activités promotionnelles, un groupe pouvant être aisément divisé.

L'externalisation du processus de création mise en évidence et analysée est elle aussi un exemple de cette logique dominante au sein des maisons de divertissement qui peut ainsi gagner en compétitivité en diminuant ses coups de production, et s'assurant en même temps d'un accès à une grande diversité créative. Cette externalisation met aussi en avant la priorité accordée à la marchandisation de produits musicaux, plutôt qu'à des considérations plus artistiques du processus de création musical.

Autrement dit, les maisons de divertissement coréennes sont non seulement profondément inscrites dans une idéologie néolibérale, mais ont en sus largement réussi à optimiser leur processus productif à travers l'utilisation et la naturalisation de rapports hiérarchiques néo-confucéens. Elles bénéficient ainsi d'une main d'œuvre dévouée, travailleuse, malléable et disponible, pour répondre et s'adapter facilement au marché, tout en limitant drastiquement ses coûts de production et s'assurant par là d'une très bonne compétitivité.

La troisième partie d'analyse quant à elle, a montré comment ce système bénéficie aussi du manque d'alternative à la norme dominante dans le pays. Puisqu'il n'existe que très peu de voies possibles de succès, la compétition est d'autant plus féroce. La carrière d'idole étant l'une des rares alternatives existantes face à un système d'éducation extrêmement compétitif et exigeant, l'industrie du divertissement profite de ce fait d'un vaste pool de talents potentiels prêts à de nombreux sacrifices et à accepter un environnement de travail difficile. En dernier lieu, ce mémoire s'est penché sur les fans coréens de K-pop et les raisons de leur intérêt. D'une manière générale, l'analyse par questionnaire de ces publics s'est inscrite en complément aux entretiens réalisés et a permis de renforcer et d'affiner certains propos. Elle a ainsi fait ressorti la centralité et la prégnance de la sur-compétition dans les vies des répondants, autant dans le système éducatif que dans leur vie quotidienne. Solitude, isolation et exclusion sont apparues comme des conditions récurrentes chez ces personnes, pour qui la consommation de K-pop s'est avérée être d'une aide et d'un soutien significatif. Les idoles sont en effet vues par ces répondants comme des exemples à suivre, puisqu'elles sont perçues comme ayant réussi à exceller dans une industrie extrêmement exigeante et compétitive et donc relativement similaire à leur environnement personnel.

En outre, l'affiliation à un groupe de fans, notamment grâce à des logiques de consommation, s'est avéré apporter un sentiment d'inclusion grandement recherché par ces répondants. En ce sens, la K-pop, à travers ses idoles, semble jouer un rôle autant de soutien que de modèle à suivre en termes de comportements face à l'environnement néo-libéral et surcompétitif dans lequel les répondants sont intégrés. Pour autant, elle semble ne valoriser ou n'impliquer aucune forme de contre-culture, contestation ou subversion de l'ordre établi. Au contraire, la K-pop et sa consommation s'avèrent être un outil particulièrement efficace pour des individus en quête de (ré)intégration dans la norme dominante. En ce sens, la K-pop et sa consommation semblent promouvoir la reproduction de l'ordre établi plutôt que toute forme de déviance.

D'une manière générale ce travail a permis de mettre en lumière les éléments de surcompétition, de limitation des alternatives à la culture dominante, ou encore de tensions identitaires régnant dans la société coréenne contemporaine. En d'autres termes, il a fait ressortir « les significations les plus valorisée » au sein de la société coréenne, à travers l'étude de sa musique populaire comme un « symbolisateur nodal ou un point privilégié d'un réseau symbolique » comme postulé en introduction (Passeron, 1992 cité par Karsenti, 1994, p.94). Finalement, ce mémoire ne saurait nier la présence de ces mêmes caractéristiques dans d'autres sociétés néo-libérales. Toutefois, la Corée semble néanmoins se distinguer par la puissance de cette surcompétition et sa généralisation à l'ensemble des rapports organisant la société, en prenant largement appui sur la persistance et la réutilisation de valeurs confucéennes.

Limites et ouvertures

Si cette étude a permis de mettre en lumière les particularités les plus saillantes de la K-pop et de la société coréenne à travers elle, elle ne saurait bien évidemment être exhaustive et comporte un certain nombre de limites. En effet, ce mémoire est inscrit dans certaines contraintes de temps, d'accès au terrain et de moyens, qui n'ont par exemple pas permis de réaliser plus d'entretiens, ou d'obtenir plus de répondants au questionnaire en ligne.

La dernière partie de ce travail a ainsi proposé un certain nombre d'hypothèses sur la K-pop en tant qu'agent de reproduction des normes dominantes et d'une idéologie néolibérale. Elle

offre de ce fait une première forme d'ouverture sur la base des conclusions établies dans les analyses précédentes.

Néanmoins la taille de l'échantillon obtenu pour cette pré-enquête n'est pas suffisante pour pouvoir revêtir un caractère représentatif et par là significatif. Or, plusieurs travaux scientifiques (Kim G., 2017 ; Shin & Kim, 2013) sur la K-pop mettent en avant la nécessité de développer des études empiriques sur les rapports entre cette musique et ses publics, cela ayant encore été peu étudié. Le développement d'analyses et de travaux empiriques complémentaires sur les publics présente ainsi donc de très intéressantes perspectives qui mériteraient d'être explorées plus profondément.

En sus, les données récoltées pour ce travail ont toutefois exprimé la pluralité de ces publics. En effet, si la pré-enquête effectuée s'est centrée sur une population majoritairement jeune et en études (voir Annexe 1), cela est dû au type d'échantillon obtenu qui est en partie le résultat d'un biais méthodologique. Il existe pourtant une pluralité de publics notamment d'âges et de nationalités variées. S'intéresser à ces différents groupes pourrait donc aussi représenter une nouvelle piste d'analyse.

En conclusion, ce mémoire s'est volontairement centré sur l'environnement et les agents de la K-pop dans un contexte national. Si ce choix est justifié par la problématique de cette étude, la résonance de la K-pop à l'international pourrait aussi participer à la compréhension de ce phénomène socio-musical dans une dimension plus globale. En effet, le succès de la K-pop s'est progressivement développé à l'international, initialement dans certains pays arabo-musulmans, d'Amérique latine et plus récemment aux Etats-Unis et en Europe, offrant autant de nouvelles perspectives d'analyse prometteuses de ce phénomène.

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Annexes

Annexe 1 - Statistiques sur les résultats du questionnaire en ligne

Quick statistics

Survey 942332 'K-POP fans and their perceptions on their favorite band.'

Results

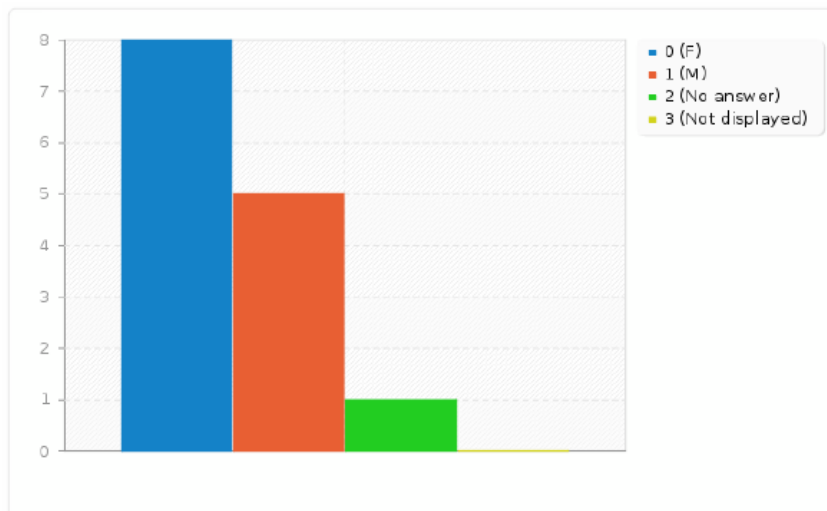
Survey 942332

Number of records in this query:	14
Total records in survey:	14
Percentage of total:	100.00%

Summary for Q29Gender

A.

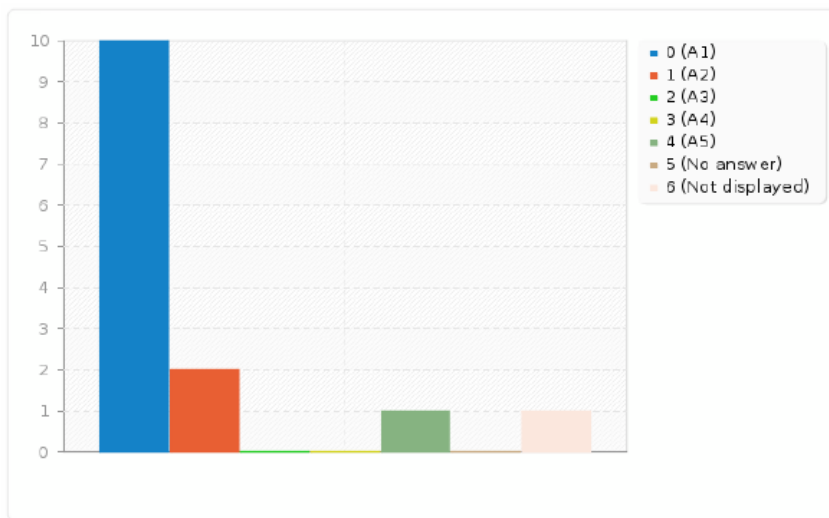
Answer	Count	Percentage
Female (F)	8	57.14%
Male (M)	5	35.71%
No answer	1	7.14%
Not displayed	0	0.00%



Summary for Q31status

C. What is your current status?

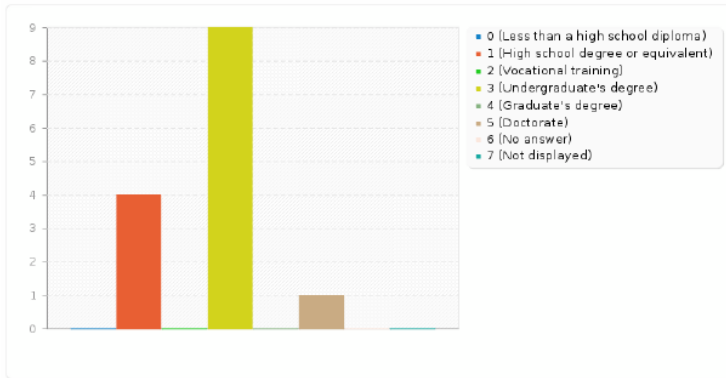
Answer	Count	Percentage
Student (A1)	10	71.43%
Worker (A2)	2	14.29%
Self-employed (A3)	0	0.00%
Homemaker (A4)	0	0.00%
Retired (A5)	1	7.14%
No answer	0	0.00%
Not displayed	1	7.14%



Summary for Q32

D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?

Answer	Count	Percentage
Less than a high school diploma (A1)	0	0.00%
High school degree or equivalent (A2)	4	28.57%
Vocational training (A3)	0	0.00%
Undergraduate's degree (A4)	9	64.29%
Graduate's degree (A5)	0	0.00%
Doctorate (A6)	1	7.14%
No answer	0	0.00%
Not displayed	0	0.00%



Summary for Q4

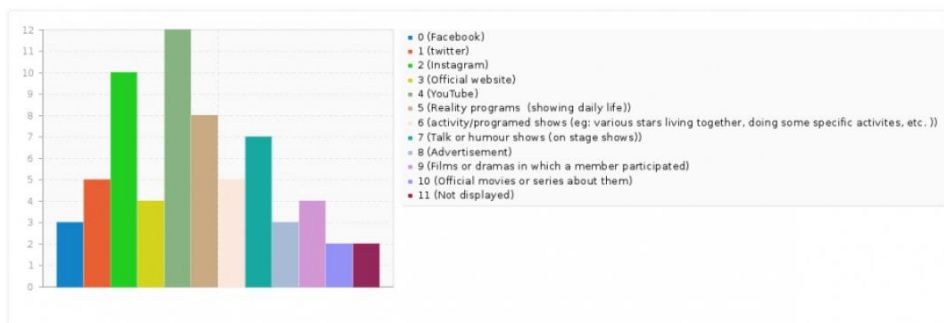
4. Do you follow or watch them online?

Answer	Count	Percentage
Yes (A1)	12	85.71%
No (A2)	2	14.29%
No answer	0	0.00%
Not displayed	0	0.00%

Summary for Q4A

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online?

Answer	Count	Percentage
Facebook (SQ001)	3	21.43%
twitter (SQ002)	5	35.71%
Instagram (SQ003)	10	71.43%
Official website (SQ004)	4	28.57%
YouTube (SQ005)	12	85.71%
Reality programs (showing daily life) (SQ006)	8	57.14%
activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.) (SQ007)	5	35.71%
Talk or humour shows (on stage shows) (SQ008)	7	50.00%
Advertisement (SQ009)	3	21.43%
Films or dramas in which a member participated (SQ010)	4	28.57%
Official movies or series about them (SQ011)	2	14.29%
Not displayed	2	14.29%



Annexe 2 - Réponses au questionnaire en ligne traduites en anglais

Survey response 1	
Response ID	5
Date submitted	2018-12-04 04:35:28
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	2117100892
Date started	2018-12-03 19:13:03
Date last action	2018-12-04 04:35:28
Referrer URL	
A.	N/A
B. What is your date of birth?	1994-10-06 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	French Language & Literature
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	High school degree or equivalent
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	600,000 Won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Seoul Geumcheon-gu, since age 9
H. Where are you originally from?	Cheongju
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Seoul Geumcheon-gu
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Nurse's aide
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Daejeon
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Real estate broker
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	OH MY GIRL
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	2016
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I learned about them through their music video for their début song « Cupid »
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	. I don't do any specific activity.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	I have not posted or commented on posts.
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows ?	Because it is a fun opportunity to see the members' candid selves and their chemistry [with one another].
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	No
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	They do almost no acting.

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Because I am a fan that mainly enjoys content [put out by artists] I have not done activities directly involved with the group.
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Somewhat not important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	

12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	Because I am a fan that mainly enjoys content [put out by artists] I have not done activities directly involved with the group.
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	No
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	
13.B Why did you buy them?	
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	Because I am a fan that mainly enjoys content [put out by artists] I have not tried to purchase [things] in particular.
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Somewhat not important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Because the method in which one expresses affection for the group is different for each person, the method [one chooses] is not important.
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	No
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	Because I hardly do any off-line activities for the group.
Q. Are you fan of another group?	Yes
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	I'm closer to being a what people often call a <i>japdeok</i> ²² , or a fan of varied groups who make

²² 'japdeok' (잡덕) is a neologism which means '잡다한 것을 좋아하는 덕후', or 'a fan/maniac who enjoys miscellaneous things'

	good music. I like the groups Red Velvet, IZ*ONE, and Lovelyz, etc. Because I think they make good music.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	Because I am a person who enjoys idol culture and has affection for particular groups.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	Because I felt drawn to the content—music and music videos—that they make.
18. What do you like in this group?	The music and the chemistry between members.
19. How is this group different from others for you?	The amount of affection for the members
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Fairy tale, innocence, lyricism/sentimentalism
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Because OH MY GIRL is group which generally makes music in which the lyrics are sentimental
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	They are important. It's necessary for groups to have an identity of their own that isn't swayed only by popularity, and so OH MY GIRL's character simultaneously conveys a uniqueness as well as meaningful sentiments.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	Fairy tale: Not that important. Innocence: Not that important. Lyricism: Important. A lyrical sensitivity is one [of multiple] important elements for humans.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Arin, because the role of <i>makne</i> ²³ fits her well.
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	It is not that important, but I support them.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	It does not have an influence.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I think that lyricism is important. A sensitivity, that can comfort me in my life at a time in which I have lost some of my literary sensibilities, is important
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes

²³ Like in broader society, *makne*, or 'junior' denotes the youngest member of a group. Beyond just age, it generally has implications for how they act towards other members.

28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	Independent publications on subject of idol culture (music reviews), watching music videos, poster design
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	As I grew to like idol groups I grew intrigued by the music that they made, and began to listen to music in a more focused way. One of my hobbies is writing, and so by writing reviews about albums I began making an independent publication on the subject of idols.
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	I hope that through a process of self-purification by fans a positive idol culture can be healthily achieved.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	jjhzzon@naver.com
Total time	33746.6
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	91.75
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	27430.5
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	6224.28
Question time: Q29email	

Survey response 2	
Response ID	8
Date submitted	2018-12-10 12:28:08
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	1106460807
Date started	2018-12-10 11:21:46
Date last action	2018-12-10 12:28:08
Referrer URL	
A.	Female
B. What is your date of birth?	1993-08-08 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Other
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	

D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	1,200,000 Won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Seongbuk-gu, Seoul. Since 2017.
H. Where are you originally from?	Bucheon, Gyeonggi-do
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Mokpo, Jeollanam-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Currently she is a homemaker, but she worked for over 30 years at the Korean Electric Power Corporation Honam thermal power station.
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Buan, Jeollabuk-do
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Currently he is working as the head of the Korean Midland Power Co.
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	FTIsland
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	May 2007
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I first learned of them through a pre-debut broadcast program after finishing my midterm exams my second year of middle school, and first listened to their debut song through a friend at my <i>hagwon</i> .
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	Yes

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	Yes
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	Check news about the group, purchase items related to the group, listen for updates through members' SNS, post comments on posts, post about participation in relevant offline events, interact with other fans, check in on what kind of issues are being discussed between fans, etc.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	I tend to write in detail my reviews/impressions of offline events (concerts or fan-meetings, etc) that I attend. In the case of comments, I will leave comments empathizing with members' posts or comments sharing similar opinions with fans.
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	The biggest reason I watch is that I'm curious if they will tell some story that I don't know while on the TV show. Also, you never know if they'll sing, and if they reference that TV show at an offline event, I can't [/don't want to] be the only one who doesn't understand. Also, because they always give us new looks with different hair and make-up and I don't want to miss a single one. I have to watch it just because they are on it.
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	If I don't watch them, I don't have much to converse about with fans, and, for starters, I want to watch it so much just because they are on it. I really don't want there to be anything that I miss, or at least, I want to know everything that I can about this group.
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	Yes

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	Video viewing sessions with fans, regular get-togethers with fans.
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Yes
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	I have organized an event to eat together with fans at a concert in Japan, and served to deliver various support goods.
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Very important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	Yes
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	I think that the sense of belonging that the official fan club gives you is the biggest, and besides that, I continued being a part of it because of pre-sales for the official fan club, and offline events you can participate in only if you are in the official fan club.
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	I think the pre-sales are the biggest advantage.

12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	Official cheering instruments (glow stick, ‘pentastick’ ²⁴), blanket, grip-tok ²⁵ phone case, albums, t-shirts, key-ring, ‘slogan’ ²⁶ , postcards, notebooks, folders, photo-cards, coloring book, company newsletter, [non-electric handheld] fan, DVD, pillow, name tag, balloon, ring, bracelet, socks, towel, large photo/poster, water bottle, hand mirror, raincoat (There are so many that I only wrote what I could remember. The official cheering instruments and ‘slogan’, or the large photo/posters and photocards and etc that have the members faces on them are about a 4, and the other stationary-type things are about a 2.
13.B Why did you buy them?	Sense of belonging. Because you use them at performances. Because their faces are on them. In truth, I don’t want to miss anything so I will buy things even though I know I won’t use them. Even while I’m buying them, I know that they’ll become pretty garbage.
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	Because the official cheering instruments and ‘slogans’ form a sense of belonging at concerts, they’re very meaningful. Besides those, the goods that have [members’] faces on them are things that are left over from a time, an event and so they take on meaning in that way. As for the rest of things, the reason that I buy things knowing that I won’t use them (I really feel like I can’t miss [having] it, but in reality they aren’t that useful) is because I want to remember the place, time, and event where I got these objects, and also out of a thought of wanting to return to those times again, I want to bring home with me and hold onto the things that I cherished in those moments.
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	

²⁴펜타스틱.

²⁵ These are those stickers you can put on phones so that it’s easier to grip/stand on its side.

14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Buying official merchandise means that money goes to the group that I like, so even if they aren't that pretty or useful, I can't help but buy them.
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	Concerts, merch, fan club entrance fee, album, products that they are the advertising model for, products that they use, brands that they are the 'maker' ²⁷ for.
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	A hope that the money I spend will go into the pockets of the group (a hope that they can work little and earn a lot), a hope that this can become the seed-money so that they can make all the music that I like. Besides this, for concerts and other things, if it's so that I can see them, I can pay any amount. And my own satisfaction is of course, a part of it.
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	Not once since I started liking them in 2007 have I asked my parents for money. This is strictly at my own expense. Currently, I think I am spending around 1,500,000 to 1,800,000 Won a year. If I go to a concert abroad than it will be over 2,000,000 won.
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	1) Tutoring 2) Part-time job
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	Yes
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	NCT, Astro, because the lines you feel when they dance are the prettiest, and because they are good at performing on stage
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	Because the biggest joy in [my] life is begotten from liking them. No matter how depressed I may be one day, if they are happy then I am happy with them.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	

²⁷ As far as I can understand, a 'maker' is basically a creator. So in this case, I think they mean brands that were founded by members.

16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	In the beginning, I was shocked because they sang so well. It felt like my heart was going to fall. Following that, my fondness for them could have faded, but when I was suffering from depression and wanting to give up on life, when I asked myself ‘will it be okay for me to miss listening to the songs that this person sings?’ and realized that I couldn’t let that happen, I started to think that the life that I’m currently living is something that they gave me and so I like them even more.
18. What do you like in this group?	Their songs are good and, at the very least, because they are people that I like, I think I have a lot to learn from them in terms of character as well.
19. How is this group different from others for you?	Rank 0 in my life. An absolutely necessary existence in my living in the world. If they did not exist, neither would I, and so this group to me is just ‘life’ itself.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Free, honest, do well ²⁸
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Free: The spectrum of the music that they make isn’t narrow, and it’s like they’re just flying while they’re on stage. Honest: They know how to package the emotions that they feel into their music. And so I empathize with it more. Do well: What more is there to say. They are the are the best on the stage and the most brilliant.
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	I think that being honest and being free are very important from the perspective of someone who makes music. I think that if freedom and honesty aren’t ensured when an artist is making their music, the music’s quality suffers. Also, because doing well raises the overall quality of the music industry, it is important.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	Free: I think that it is a question of whether one can live one’s life by one’s own will. It’s very important. If you could become a person who is genuinely free in this world thesedays where we tend to be occupied with what others think of us, your life would be happy [no matter what you do] Honest: It goes along with what I said above. Isn’t it important to live a life honest about my

²⁸ This is « 잘 하다 » which is like « do well/be good at _____ » but not quite the same thing as ‘talent’.

	<p>emotions? Though of course, in social life being overly honest could actually ruin your life, I think that honesty within bounds is important for others as well as yourself.</p> <p>Doing well: The most important thing in contemporary society. No matter what other factors there are, doing well is a must.</p>
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Lee Hong-gi. He sings sooooooo well. And during performances and in videos of their private life, the things he says in conversation with people he knows are never base, and give me hope in my life. The songs that he writes based on those things are a big source of strength in my life as well.
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	Very important. They are the singular reason that I was able to keep living, when I could have never made it to today.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	I think it has an influence to a certain extent. Because there have been occasional instances in which I mull over or think about acting like them whenever they act freely and put out music that is free.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	<p>Free: Living a life in which I don't care what others think of me and really focus on myself is important to me as well. Because it is a method of surviving social pressures.</p> <p>Honest: It's important because I think that if I cannot be honest with myself, I cannot make a life which I can my own.</p> <p>Doing well: Insomuch as I want to do well in everything, this is important in my life as well.</p>
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	<p>Past: Drum lessons, theater/play production (high school), movie production (1st and 2nd year of university)</p> <p>Currently: Design (Magazines, portfolio), dance</p>
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	Yes. When an artist I liked majored in theater and film I became interested in it, and because this artist was in a band I wanted to learn the drums or guitar. Currently, I've learned design to draw attention to artists. And though I was originally really interested in it, when artists started dancing in the way that only extremely talented people can, it made me more interested in it.

28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	Artists are the most important thing in my life. Through answering these questions I realize that my values in life as well correspond with artists. Maybe that's a matter of course. Maybe I began to like them because they are living a life that I want to live. Because to me, my artists are my other life.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	sonhj808@naver.com
Total time	3817.98
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	125.41
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	2500.1
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	1192.47
Question time: Q29email	

Survey response 3	
Response ID	17
Date submitted	2019-01-11 09:59:17
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	1994595884
Date started	2019-01-11 09:35:08
Date last action	2019-01-11 09:59:17
Referrer URL	
A.	Male
B. What is your date of birth?	1990-06-13 00:00:00

C. What is your current status?	Worker
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	Quality management engineer, quality assurance manager
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	2,600,000 Won
F. What is your nationality?	Korea
G. Where do you live and since when?	Hwaseong
H. Where are you originally from?	Anyang
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Yesan-gun, Chungcheong-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	National Agricultural Cooperative Federation unionist
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Mungyeong, Gyeongsang-do
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Administrator of a small-to-midsize business
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	OH MY GIRL
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	March 2016
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I learned about it because my friend's younger sister is a member of it.
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	N/A

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activities, etc.)]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	N/A
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	They don't have SNS that is worth following. I search for things to watch. For example, news.
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	News about the group, watch programs about the group : dramas, variety shows, etc.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	Empty
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes

7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	Because the group that I like is participating in it. The programs themselves are fun as well.
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Because the group that I like is participating in it. The programs themselves are fun as well.
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	

9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	I want to support them indirectly
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	I want to support them indirectly
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not important at all
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	I want to support them indirectly
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	My friend gave me an album as a gift so I have it (1)
13.B Why did you buy them?	I received it as a gift
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	I don't give it that much meaning.
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	

14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Not important at all
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Merchandise is just a commodification of the group so I think that it is meaningless.
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	No
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	I want to support them spiritually/mentally.
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	I don't want to care about another group.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	No
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	I support them spiritually/mentally, so when I talk to others it's hard to say if I'm a fan.
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	Supporting the group
17. Why did you start to like this group?	I became interested because my friend's younger sister is a member of the group.

18. What do you like in this group?	They are a cheerful group with beautiful smiles.
19. How is this group different from others for you?	It does not feel like their constant smiling is put on.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Warm, Cheerful, Cute
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Warm – they make me warm with their smiles Cheerful – They’re always overflowing with energy. Cute – They always look cute
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	Not important
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	I don’t think that way.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	No
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	I like them all
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	I think that this very much has no influence.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	They do not have an influence
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	Only somewhat
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	In middle and high school I drew pictures. Watercolors and landscapes, that level.

28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	There aren't any activities which I became interested in.
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	Overall, I think that the content of the questions require you to answer in absolutes or kind of pressure you. You're connecting sections which aren't related and it looks forced. I think that this survey needs to be modified.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	jnc613@naver.com
Total time	1450.55
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	273.31
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	614.06
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	563.18
Question time: Q29email	

Survey response 4	
Response ID	17
Date submitted	2019-01-11 09:59:17
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	1994595884

Date started	2019-01-11 09:35:08
Date last action	2019-01-11 09:59:17
Referrer URL	
A.	Male
B. What is your date of birth?	1990-06-13 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Worker
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	Quality management engineer, quality assurance manager
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	2,600,000 Won
F. What is your nationality?	Korea
G. Where do you live and since when?	Hwaseong
H. Where are you originally from?	Anyang
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Yesan-gun, Chungcheong-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	National Agricultural Cooperative Federation unionist
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Mungyeong, Gyeongsang-do
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Administrator of a small-to-midsize business
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	OH MY GIRL
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	March 2016

3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I learned about it because my friend's younger sister is a member of it.
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	N/A
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	N/A
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	They don't have SNS that is worth following. I search for things to watch. For example, news.

5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	News about the group, watch programs about the group : dramas, variety shows, etc.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	Empty
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	Because the group that I like is participating in it. The programs themselves are fun as well.
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Because the group that I like is participating in it. The programs themselves are fun as well.
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	I want to support them indirectly
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	I want to support them indirectly
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not important at all
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	I want to support them indirectly
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes

13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	My friend gave me an album as a gift so I have it (1)
13.B Why did you buy them?	I received it as a gift
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	I don't give it that much meaning.
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Not important at all
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Merchandise is just a commodification of the group so I think that it is meaningless.
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	No
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	I want to support them spiritually/mentally.
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	I don't want to care about another group.

16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	No
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	I support them spiritually/mentally, so when I talk to others it's hard to say if I'm a fan.
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	Supporting the group
17. Why did you start to like this group?	I became interested because my friend's younger sister is a member of the group.
18. What do you like in this group?	They are a cheerful group with beautiful smiles.
19. How is this group different from others for you?	It does not feel like their constant smiling is put on.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Warm, Cheerful, Cute
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Warm – they make me warm with their smiles Cheerful – They're always overflowing with energy. Cute – They always look cute
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	Not important
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	I don't think that way.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	No
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	I like them all
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	I think that this very much has no influence.

26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	They do not have an influence
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	Only somewhat
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	In middle and high school I drew pictures. Watercolors and landscapes, that level.
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	There aren't any activities which I became interested in.
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	Overall, I think that the content of the questions require you to answer in absolutes or kind of pressure you. You're connecting sections which aren't related and it looks forced. I think that this survey needs to be modified.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	jinc613@naver.com
Total time	1450.55
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	273.31
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	614.06
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	563.18
Question time: Q29email	

Survey response 5	
Response ID	34
Date submitted	2019-01-11 10:26:50
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	834082579
Date started	2019-01-11 10:13:51
Date last action	2019-01-11 10:26:50
Referrer URL	https://www.koreapas.com/bbs/view.php?id=tiger&page=1&sn1=&divpage=56&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=297735
A.	Male
B. What is your date of birth?	1994-11-04 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Electrical engineering
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approx.?	1,500,000 won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Songpa-gu, Seoul Since December 2012
H. Where are you originally from?	Mapo-gu, Seoul

I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Haenam, Jeolla-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	She was a mathematics teacher
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Mapo-gu, Seoul
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Office worker
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	IZ*ONE
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	31 August 2018
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I learned about them while watching <i>Produce 48</i> ²⁹
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online?	Yes

²⁹ This is a reality competition TV show

[Reality programs (showing daily life)]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? Official movies or series about them	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I check news about the group. I look at pictures.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	I don't leave comments.
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows ?	In order to see the members.

7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	No
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	They have not been in a movie/drama. If they do, I think I will watch them.
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	Because the competition is too fierce and it costs too much money.
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Yes
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	A while ago when I was planning performances for [my?] rock band I organized the venue, managed practice schedules, and took the lead with managing general affairs.
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Somewhat important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	Yes
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	In order to learn information about the group through the fan club.
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	All types of news comes up, and you can look that things that the members wrote themselves.
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ?(such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes

13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	CD(1), Poster(2), Phone case(3)
13.B Why did you buy them?	Because I hope it will help the group.
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	If I buy official merchandise, I think that it will help support the group a little more so I feel good about it.
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	If I buy official merchandise, I think that it will help support the group .
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	I spend money on CDs and merchandise.
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	If I buy official merchandise, I think that it will help support the group .
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	30,000 won per month
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them?	Labor cost [/salary] (1), Allowance (2)

and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	There aren't other groups I feel anything for.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	It's hard to say the reason, I think it's because I like them.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	I began supporting them after watching <i>Produce 48</i>
18. What do you like in this group?	Chemistry between members
19. How is this group different from others for you?	There a difference in the amount that I like them and I want to see them.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Well-rounded, Pretty, Animated
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Well-rounded : Each member makes up well for ther other members' shortcomings. Pretty – pretty Animated – if you watch programs they are very animated
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	In the music industry, being well-rounded and being exceptional visually [ie pretty] is of course important. In the end, because [they are] a kind of product, because [the people] want better things.

23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	I think that these would help in life in general as well.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Miyawaki Sakura – she’s pretty
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	Important. Looking up pictures of IZ*ONE every morning is the joy in my life
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	It does not have an influence.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I don't think that they are that important.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	Rock band activities
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, + how.	no
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	Nothing to add
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially	x

contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	
Total time	779.53
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	90.04
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	369.11
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the gro	320.38
Question time: Q29email	

Survey response 6	
Response ID	34
Date submitted	2019-01-11 10:26:50
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	834082579
Date started	2019-01-11 10:13:51
Date last action	2019-01-11 10:26:50
Referrer URL	https://www.koreapas.com/bbs/view.php?tid=tiger&page=1&sn1=&divpage=56&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=297735
A.	Male
B. What is your date of birth?	1994-11-04 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Electrical engineering

C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approx.?	1,500,000 won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Songpa-gu, Seoul Since December 2012
H. Where are you originally from?	Mapo-gu, Seoul
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Haenam, Jeolla-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	She was a mathematics teacher
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Mapo-gu, Seoul
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Office worker
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	IZ*ONE
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	31 August 2018
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I learned about them while watching <i>Produce 48</i> ³⁰
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No

³⁰ This is a reality competition TV show

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? No [twitter]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? Yes [Instagram]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? No [Official website]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? Yes [YouTube]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? Yes [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? No [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? Yes [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? No [Advertisement]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? No [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? Official movies or series about them	No

4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I check news about the group. I look at pictures.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	I don't leave comments.
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	In order to see the members.
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	No
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	They have not been in a movie/drama. If they do, I think I will watch them.
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	Because the competition is too fierce and it costs too much money.
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Yes
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	A while ago when I was planning performances for [my?] rock band I organized the venue, managed practice schedules, and took the lead with managing general affairs.
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	

11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Somewhat important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	Yes
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	In order to learn information about the group through the fan club.
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	All types of news comes up, and you can look that things that the members wrote themselves.
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	CD(1), Poster(2), Phone case(3)
13.B Why did you buy them?	Because I hope it will help the group.
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	If I buy official merchandise, I think that it will help support the group a little more so I feel good about it.
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Important

14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	If I buy official merchandise, I think that it will help support the group .
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	I spend money on CDs and merchandise.
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	If I buy official merchandise, I think that it will help support the group .
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	30,000 won per month
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	Labor cost [/salary] (1), Allowance (2)
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	There aren't other groups I feel anything for.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	It's hard to say the reason, I think it's because I like them.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	

16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	I began supporting them after watching <i>Produce 48</i>
18. What do you like in this group?	Chemistry between members
19. How is this group different from others for you?	There a difference in the amount that I like them and I want to see them.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Well-rounded, Pretty, Animated
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Well-rounded : Each member makes up well for ther other members' shortcomings. Pretty – pretty Animated – if you watch programs they are very animated
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	In the music industry, being well-rounded and being exceptional visually [ie pretty] is of course important. In the end, because [they are] a kind of product, because [the people] want better things.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	I think that these would help in life in general as well.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Miyawaki Sakura – she's pretty
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	Important. Looking up pictures of IZ*ONE every morning is the joy in my life
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	It does not have an influence.

27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I don't think that they are that important.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	Rock band activities
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, + how.	no
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	Nothing to add
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	x
Total time	779.53
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	90.04
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	369.11
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the gro	320.38
Question time: Q29email	

Survey response 7	
Response ID	45
Date submitted	2019-01-11 11:35:42
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	513222938
Date started	2019-01-11 10:52:03
Date last action	2019-01-11 11:35:42
Referrer URL	https://www.koreapas.com/bbs/view.php?id=tiger&page=1&sn1=&divpage=56&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=297735
A.	Male
B. What is your date of birth?	1993-05-14 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Management
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g. receive from your parents) per month approximately?	1,000,000 Won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean

G. Where do you live and since when?	Seongbuk-gu, Seoul (Jan~Dec 2012) (Feb 2015~now)
H. Where are you originally from?	Yeongyang-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Uljin-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Homemaker (does house work without any other career)
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Yeongyang-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Excavator (hydraulic shovel) driver
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	Lovelyz
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	November 2014
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I saw a lot of articles saying that they were debuting on the main page of a portal site.
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch	No

them online? [Official website]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	

5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I check news about the group. (Comeback plans or concert schedules, etc) I look at pictures and videos uploaded by members of the group or that the company they belong to upload. (Post links will come up or they'll often put up photos that they take themselves on instagram). Sometimes I will leave a comment of support on their posts.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	So pretty...ㅠㅠ Fighting !
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	Because I'm curious about what kinds of things they'll talk about when they're on TV and also because just watching it makes me feel good.
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	When I watch them acting, just watching it is fun. Seeing them in different roles is fun, and seeing them in unexpected roles is surprising, just by watching it I get happier.
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting /No waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	Participation in a showcase (If they put out a new record they do a simple event on a stage to advertise)

9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Yes
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	It's nothing big, but something small that I did was when they were doing their comeback fans would post promotional posts on certain [online] communities. And so, I have been a part of these types of acts where we will give feedback on those poses and try to get the word spread as much as we can so we will click "suggest [/upvote]" or leave comments so that the most about of people will see these promotional posts.
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not important at all
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	It costs about 40,000 to 50,000 won per year, and so for a university student without any income like me it can be quite a burdensome amount of money to shoulder, and so because I don't think that for that amount I will really get any rewards, I haven't joined.

<p>13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)</p>	<p>Yes</p>
<p>13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.</p>	<p>All the albums they have released so far (1), Concert Blu-ray and DVD (1), Season's greetings (calendar and diary etc) (3), [handheld non-electric] fan made by fans (6), photo cards and other merch shared/given by different fans (6), poster (4), polaroid picture (1)</p>
<p>13.B Why did you buy them?</p>	<p>The albums, to listen to.</p> <p>The concert blu-ray and DVD because I can re-watch the performances that I have gone to or freshly watch the performances I couldn't go to when I want to watch them.</p> <p>The Seasons Greetings, because even though it's not very useful as a calendar, if I leave it open on my desk or something there are really good, pretty pictures, so it's useful in its ability to decorate my room</p> <p>(And posters come with the album)</p>
<p>13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)</p>	<p>All the albums they have released so far (1) : They're kind of like a physical symbol of my being a real fan of this singer. Even if I quit being a fan, even if just to listen to the music, they are worth holding onto because while also being, in some sense, the easiest merch to find, they are also the merch with the most significance.</p> <p>Concert Blu-ray and DVD (1) : I can feel a lot of emotions while watching the videos, merchandise which is as or more significant as the music albums.</p> <p>Season's greetings (calendar and diary etc) (3) : One comes out every year and it's just a piece of merch that consistently makes you realize that you're a fan</p> <p>[handheld non electric] fan made by fans (6), photo cards and other merch shared/given by different fans (6), poster (4), polaroid picture (1) : I got this merch from winning a radio event, and it's a picture I took of them myself and so from the standpoint of rarity, it's my most important merch, and not only are these just pieces of merchandise, but they're</p>

	<p>merch that make me remember the feelings of having won the event, remember my happiest moments as a fan.</p> <p>Overall meaning : To be honest, I try not to be overly attached to material things and so more than objects I think that each of the feelings that I had while being a fan are important. And so whenever I look at the albums or Blu-ray or polaroid picture I think they bring back those precious emotions, and so though they may not be important, if looked at from a different angle, from the standpoint that they are a medium which brings back those emotions, I think they are important.</p>
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Somewhat not important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Objects are just objects. Because I think what's important is how you feel. I think there is no reason to be obsessed with material things.
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	Buying tickets for concerts, buying albums, buying the things that I referenced in answers above.
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	Because I judge the benefit that I get from spending money to have that amount of value.

15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	Money that I spend myself: around 500,000 Won per year
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	My bank account where I save the money that I get for a stipend or money left over from scholarships after paying for my tuition.
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	Because, when it comes to hobbies, I have the type of personality where my interest is narrow and dive deeply into it, if I get into one thing then other things hardly interest me. If you want to be a fan you have to acquire a lot of information about the group's members names, birthdays, hometowns, personalities, etc etc, and in order to do so, I have to make an effort, but the only group that made breaking that barrier to entry worth it was Lovelyz.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	Because when I see Lovelyz benefiting and being happy, even though there is not a single clear benefit for myself, I get happy. From that standpoint, I think that it's right to consider myself a fan.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	Their songs are good. And the members are passion when they perform, and they seem kind and innocent in their everyday lives, and I really liked seeing those kinds of things.

18. What do you like in this group?	Musicality and cool choreography. Unlike most other K-pop girl groups their songs are lyrical while also having a clear distinctive dreaminess/sentimentality belonging only to Lovelyz
19. How is this group different from others for you?	They seem to seek musical creativity more so than other groups.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Lovely, sentimental, bright
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	<p>Lovely: Not only is the group's name is Lovelyz, they also have a long of songs about one-sided love.</p> <p>Sentimental: Because they have a lot of songs related to one-sided love, their melodies are bright, but if you study their lyrics closely, they have a lot of lyrics which are sentimental, and in general they are famous for being sentimental.</p> <p>Bright: Though sentimental, if you listen without focusing on the lyrics, the choreography and music videos give you a bright atmosphere.</p>
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	I don't think that it's important. In the music industry, groups that give you a strong girl-crush or sexy image seem to more easily get attention than groups with different concepts.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	It's important. When people are in one-sided love they taste happiness and endure hardships. And so the sentimental yet bright characteristics that Lovelyz exhibits expresses well the various emotions you feel when in love.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Jeong Yein, the <i>maknae</i> of the group, is really goofy while also being cute. And she dances well and is pretty. Personally, her singing style is also my type so I like her.

24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	It's important. When I am tired and worn out if I watch videos of them when they appear on variety shows or on the radio, I just start to laugh naturally. When I see that, I feel that it's healing on a mental level as well.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	It does not have an influence. Because I had established my own values and the like a long time ago, I don't think that I have changed in a significant way by liking Lovelyz as a hobby.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	Not important to me yet. Because I'm not in a one-sided love, or in love.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	No
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	Since I was young I never had any talent for music or art, and because I did not have talent, I also didn't like it that much.
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	There are a few members in Lovelyz that are the same age as me, and watching them put in so much effort to perfect their performances and bettering themselves everyday has become a motivator for me in trying harder than I am at any give current moment. Whenever I see people who have succeeded in the area that I want to pursue, members of this group Lovelyz that I like, who are my age, growing day by day, became a bigger motivation for me. Also, in order for me to not regret being a fan, I think

	that I have to achieve something big while being a fan. Because only then do I think I won't regret this period spent as a fan later on.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	zeratul3604@naver.com
Total time	2620.49
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	158.29
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	1559.69
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	902.51

Survey response 8	
Response ID	48
Date submitted	2019-01-11 11:43:12
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	1292671095
Date started	2019-01-11 11:08:22
Date last action	2019-01-11 11:43:12
Referrer URL	
A.	Male

B. What is your date of birth?	1996-01-16 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Sociology, International Relations
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	High school degree or equivalent
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	700,000 won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Songpa-gu, Seoul Since January 2018
H. Where are you originally from?	Busan
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Busan
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Homemaker
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Seongbuk-gu, Seoul
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Office worker
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	Red Velvet
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	July 2016
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	Through music programs while serving in the military.
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I press "like" on the posts that they make on Instagram
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	

7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	No
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	The cumbersomeness of keeping up with things, because the important parts are uploaded on YouTube, Instagram and other SNS
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	No
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Because I watch dramas/movies on the basis of how much they interest [/engage] me.
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the	No

group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	Because of the cumbersomeness of having to arrange my schedule. Once it becomes something burdensome, I think it will cross into an territory where I can no longer enjoy it.
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Because I'm not particularly interested in fandom activities and think that liking them personally is enough.
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not really important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	Because I thought that I could enjoy it as a hobby enough on my own.

13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	Albums (3)
13.B Why did you buy them?	Because I liked the pictures [usually there is a booklet of pictures taken for the album]
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	A token of remembrance when they helped me through hard times in the military.
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Somewhat not important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Because even if I don't buy goods, I can enjoy the singers that I like as part of my hobby.
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	No
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	

15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	Because of the burden the cost of living and other expenses
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	Because after leaving the army I had fewer chances to become interested in K-pop
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	Because I've followed their albums for a comparatively long time and during that time I felt a lot of comfort psychologically because of that.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	Their ability to command the stage and the management agency's concept as well as the uniqueness of the producing.
18. What do you like in this group?	Their sound and concept are extremely experimental, and I think that the members express this well.
19. How is this group different from others for you?	That irrespective of age they give off a responsible and mature appearance.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Unique, kind, earnest, skilled, responsible.
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	<p>Unique: In comparison with that of other K-pop bands and their music, Red Velvet's music is fuller and their diverse and sensory lyrics are distinctive.</p> <p>Kind: they have no members with difficult personalities so it's nice to see them care for each other and achieve things together as a team.</p>

	<p>Earnest: Watching them excel through the all of the arduous schedule that K-pop singers have makes me think they are earnest.</p> <p>Skilled: The members' timbre and singing ability are exceptional, so when I listen to their songs I don't dislike it.</p> <p>Responsible: Seeing them taking care of their fans as not just simple singers, but as idol singers makes me think they are responsible.</p>
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	I think that being unique and diligent are important in the music industry. And especially since the music industry reaches foreign viewers and listeners via YouTube and other various mediums, I think the ability to consistently produce differentiated digital tracks is necessary.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	I think it is important in life. Why I began to like Red Velvet is in part because of the music genre, but also because of the way of life that they exhibit. Seeing them being responsible, kind, and diligent, and the members caring for one another made me feel at ease and envious. I'm a kind of person that looks for things that I can learn from the people around me, and I think that Red Velvet has a lot of aspects that I want to emulate as well.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Seulgi's tone is unique and she is gentle and diligent while also having the charisma to command the stage.
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	I think that it's a scrap of a memory that has lasted from life in the military. The psychological comfort that I got while liking this one group was not insubstantial, and I grew attached to them as well I think.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	I tend to like people that I want to emulate. And the members of Red Velvet have a lot of traits that I want to emulate so I think that's why I became even more of a

	fan. At the same time I wanted to model myself after them showing affection to one another as a team and caring for one another, and so I think that it has had some sort of influence on my personality as well.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I think that it is important. The life that I am aiming for is one in which I enjoy human relationships while also thoroughly doing the work that is given to me. I think from this aspect Red Velvet is setting a good example and that is why I grew to like them as a group.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	Taking pictures: observing my surroundings while taking pictures of still lifes and landscapes with my camera. Longboarding: riding my longboard on at the Han river park and enjoying the fresh air.
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	No effect
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	pureskw@korea.ac.kr
Total time	2092.23
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	118.86
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	544.45
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	1428.92

Survey response 9	
Response ID	63
Date submitted	2019-01-11 12:54:03
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	159803734
Date started	2019-01-11 12:08:10
Date last action	2019-01-11 12:54:03
Referrer URL	
A.	Female
B. What is your date of birth?	1995-12-08 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Management / Statistics (double major)
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	High school degree or equivalent
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	500,000 Won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Yongin, Gyeonggi-do (since 2011)
H. Where are you originally from?	Suwon, Gyeonggi-do
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Sangju, Gyeongsang-do

J2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Reading and writing teacher (rhetoric?)
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Daegu
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Office Worker
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	FTISLAND
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	October 2007
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	I heard of them when looking at what my friends liked.
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	No

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	Check news about the group, interact with other fans, look at the everyday life that the group shares (on Instagram)
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	N/A
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	I am curious about what kinds of stories they will tell or I just watch it simply because they appear on them. (In order to see their faces or performances)
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	I end up watching them because I am curious about their acting abilities. But if I grow uninterested in the drama then I will either stop watching or watch clip videos which edit together the just scenes that the members appear in.
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	

10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Not only do I not have any specific content worth planning, I am short on finances and manpower
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Somewhat important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	Yes
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	They have the benefit of priority when it comes to concert ticket reservations or tickets to music broadcast [live performances that are broadcast]
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	It's possible to get pre-sale tickets for concerts, and they have priority admission when you apply to watch their broadcasts. You are given the ability to participate in events restricted to only the official fan club (fan meeting).
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	Poster (2) [handheld non-electric] fan with picture printed on it (5) Official cheering instrument (1) CD/Albums (1) Photobook (2) Pictures (4) Stickers (5) Concert souvenir hand towel with slogan printed on it (1)
13.B Why did you buy them?	I purchased the albums because I like the music (posters are given for free). The official cheering instrument because of unity between fans, and the hand towel I bought as a souvenir for a concert. The photobook and magazine I bought for some reason out of a kind of sense of duty. The rest I received at concerts and offline events for free.
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	I think that the albums and official cheering instruments are the single indicators by which one can prove they are a fan, so they are very important. Because when FTISLAND first debuted the merchandise market was not

	all that active, so I could buy all the merchandise that they released without financial issues. (The frequency of releases was far between and types of things released were few) But as the idol market grew so did the merchandise market, and merchandise began to be released indiscriminately, and after it became that way I stopped buying things unless they were to commemorate something specific (I think they don't have that much meaning)
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Somewhat important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	I think that they are important, but only limited to the official cheering instruments. I think of it as special because we have a distinguishing cheering instrument (flag) that differentiates us from other fandoms, and I like it because it gives a sense of unity when cheering.
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	Concerts, buying albums
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	I spend money in order to see the group perform in person.
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	In a single year I spend about 180,000 won myself. Fee for admittance into the official fan club (20,000 won), albums (20,000 ~30,000 won), concert (100,000 won), other celebration events (birthdays, fan meetings, Nth year anniversary)
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	Allowance (1), Part-time job(2)

15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	I don't have the leisure to (financially, time problems). I can't afford to spend the money every time a new album comes out or they have a concert, and I don't have the time to keep track of another group's activities. Moreover, it's been difficult to find a worthy group.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	I think I am a fan because I consume the group's content.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	I don't remember that well, but I liked their songs.
18. What do you like in this group?	Music genre, [physical] appearance, fellowship with fans
19. How is this group different from others for you?	A spirit of challenge unconcerned with popularity
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Carefree, a treasure island ..
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Carefree: Unlike other idols they are free from the views of others. A treasure island: FTISLAND (Five Treasure Island) meaning itself
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	I think they are important. They are useful in expressing the group's identity and leaving an impression on people.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	I think that it is slightly important. It is good for expressing the group's identity.

24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Lee Jaejin, Voice (tone), appearance
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	Somewhat important. It occupied 90% of my time as a student (middle and high school). When I listen to the group's music, memories from that time come back to me.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	I think they have a slight influence. When I attend concerts I can carry on a conversation with people I don't know without hesitation.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I don't think that they are important. Because the group and I are separate entities. (We each have different identities so I don't think they have an effect on me).
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	No
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	I don't have the financial leisure or time, and I haven't found an activity that interests me.
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	It was difficult for me to respond to questions 21, 23, and 27. Additionally, I am sorry for not filling this survey out in honorifics.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	polarstar326@naver.com
Total time	2755.22
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	156.15

Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	1664.26
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	934.81

Survey response 10	
Response ID	66
Date submitted	2019-01-11 12:37:40
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	1278007213
Date started	2019-01-11 12:19:01
Date last action	2019-01-11 12:37:40
Referrer URL	https://www.koreapas.com/m/view.php?id=tiger&back=1&tagkeyword=&no=297735&page=1
A.	Male
B. What is your date of birth?	1987-01-29 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Life sciences
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree

E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	1,600,000 won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Seongbuk-gu, Seoul from 2006 onward Gwanak-gu, Seoul from 2011 onward
H. Where are you originally from?	Daejeon
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Busan
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Homemaker
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Buyeo
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Office worker
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	YB (Yoon Do-Hyun band)
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	Around 2000
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	A friend played me an mp3 of their song
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I only check the newsfeed
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	I don't leave comments.
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programed shows or talk/humour shows ?	I can see their everyday views on music. I can affirm their human side, not that show in concerts

7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	No
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	I don't think they are the kind of musician to appear in a movie. To be more precise, I think they were in a documentary once, but I heard that it failed. I watch reality programs.
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	No

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	It does not seem like there are opportunities for regular people to participate
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not really important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	I've never checked to see if they have an official homepage.
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	Concert poster (3), CD (1)

13.B Why did you buy them?	To listen to music + for the purpose of owning
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	The symbolic meaning is large. Even if I don't use them in real life, that little bit of profit becomes a benefit to their musical life
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Somewhat important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	It's an object intended to make profit.
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	Record/ CD
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	The currency flows within capitalist societies encompasses everything including collectibles and things with actual uses.
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	About 15,000 won every time they come out with an album.
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	Salary (1)
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	Yes
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	If you like the music you're a fan

16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	The quality of their songs and performances are very superb
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	When I started singing along with them because I liked the music
18. What do you like in this group?	The live-band sound with powerful vocals but emotional voices
19. How is this group different from others for you?	Despite music from bands not being common in Korea they continue to be active with the same members.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Hope, passion, companionship, vigor, comfort
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Theses straight and narrow guys living to the beat of their own drum, singing songs with hopeful messages, comparable to rockers of foreign countries
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	Songs, ultimately, must touch you emotionally.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	A person without the above stated characteristics would have a [typo—narrowminded?] life
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Yoon Do-hyun, the frontman. He's a person who relays messages with his real voice
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	

25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	The band's identity starts with his name ³¹
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	That's right. Because if I listen to them when I am having a difficult time it gives energy.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I don't have enough of those so it's difficult for me. I have to make up for these inadequacies everyday, periodically.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	Singing at coin <i>noraebang</i> , watching live performances on YouTube. Going to concerts.
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	There is a great amount of fundamental change in social life. My access to concerts has increased since moving to Seoul, YouTube is becoming more active and the number of coin <i>noraebang</i> are increasing.
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	Have a nice day
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	gamemecahaha@naver.com
Total time	1120.39
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	115.46
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	544.81
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	460.12

³¹ I think this person misunderstood this question and a few others...

Survey response 11	
Response ID	72
Date submitted	2019-01-11 13:55:32
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	533428045
Date started	2019-01-11 13:29:17
Date last action	2019-01-11 13:55:32
Referrer URL	https://www.koreapas.com/bbs/view.php?id=tiger&page=1&sn1=&divpage=56&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=headnum&desc=asc&no=297735
A.	Female
B. What is your date of birth?	1991-09-20 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	History
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g. receive from your parents) per month approximately?	1,000,000 won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean

G. Where do you live and since when?	Songpa-gu, Seoul. Since 2007
H. Where are you originally from?	Yeongdeungpo-gu, Seoul
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Suncheon, Jeollanam-do
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Teacher
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Suncheon, Jeollanam-do
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Bank teller
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	Yoon Do-hyun Band
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	June 2002
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	They are the band that sang the most representative fight song during the 2002 KO-JP World Cup, and I learned about them through that
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch	No

them online? [Official website]	
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	

5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I watch videos about the group. (Because it has been a while since they first started making music they are not currently as active as idols nowadays) and occasionally leave comments
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	<p>-Even listening to this now it's such a good song!</p> <p>-When I listen to this songs I feel like I'm going back to my childhood</p> <p>-Why is it that nowadays we have so much mechanical music but can't make sensitive songs like this?</p> <p>-Still listening to you 10 years later!</p> <p>-Those were the days. It was more difficult economically, but our society was warmer.</p>
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	No
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	They haven't appeared on shows recently. Of course, I have watched those from the past.
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	No
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	

8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	They haven't appeared on shows recently. Of course, I have watched those from the past.
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting /No waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	No

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	I like this group but I do not enjoy going to places where there are a lot of people gathered. I can sufficiently enjoy them by watching them on TV and through the computer at my leisure, and listening to their music. In fact, doing so makes me happier.
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not really important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	

<p>12.C Why are you not part of their official website?</p>	<p>There are of course people that want to share the people that they like with other people, but I never really wanted to spend my time doing that. I like that group but, I of course have time to dedicate to that group. I feel that I am already investing enough time by watching them through media. But I never had the energy to join an official site and or write things there. And, honestly, I never felt the necessity of doing so either. I must be a person that enjoys things quietly by themselves.</p>
<p>13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)</p>	<p>Yes</p>
<p>13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.</p>	<p>Pictures (3), CD(3)</p>
<p>13.B Why did you buy them?</p>	<p>I have a lot of pictures in particular. Because I liked them when I was young, I couldn't buy expensive merch, but collected a lot of pictures that they sold in front of my school.</p>
<p>13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)</p>	<p>Pictures: It's a direct medium that brings back memories. On top of that, people no longer develop film into prints. But at that time, photos were almost the singular means by which young students could easily buy merchandise. Despite not being someone who collects merch, I can't throw these away. Because pictures also don't take up that much space.</p> <p>CD: To be honest, I have the CD somewhere at home but I'm not exactly sure where. I'm sure that some day, if I discover it in some box, I'll be happy. Because it's another medium that connects me to the past. Because nowadays especially, there aren't many people who buy CDs. Because the only CD I own one of their. I think, in the end, that merchandise is a medium which brings back memories of a group that I like, as well as the 'me' at the time that I was liked them most enthusiastically.</p>

13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Somewhat not important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	I think that having one or two or so is fine, but in the end they become baggage. On the internet we can easily find unimaginably old resources. I think it's better to store those kinds of things on a hard disk. Because more than being happy because I own an object, it's about liking the fact of [the band's] existence itself.
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	No
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	Because they no longer are making any merchandise!

Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	I think I no longer have the leisure to like something with so much vigor, both physically and mentally. Rather than liking a particular singer or group, I now like listening to and enjoying songs one by one.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	I like many of their songs, and I searched for and watched programs that they were on, and because I supported them.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	All of their songs were good. The vocalist's voice, the music's melody. I still can't forget the "Arirang" that they sang when I was in my 5 th year of elementary school.
18. What do you like in this group?	Vocalist's voice and the music's melody, lyrics.
19. How is this group different from others for you?	This group sang a lot of songs that were like the "Blue Whale" or the fight song for the World Cup. And, it's kind of hard to explain, but, there is a reverberation in the vocalist's voice. Even if they're songs about love, they don't just simply sing well, there's really something to their voice and songs that makes you feel the sadness.
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Youth, Love, Refreshing, Pure, Sincerity
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Youth: Today it could remind someone of being in their 20s or 30s, but also there are a lot of things in their songs which are relevant to young people Love: They have love songs that by ardently listening to them can make your heart ache Refreshing: The vocalist's voice when he shouts is refreshing, just like taking a sip of cold cider.

	<p>Pure: They make really pure music that doesn't put in any particular techniques or electric sounds.</p> <p>Sincerity: Each one of their songs touches my heart as if each of the members has put their whole heart into it.</p>
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	I don't know. I think that these characteristics are lacking in K-pop these days, but even doing so they are making money, so the companies [in charge of K-pop] must be making those kinds of songs, right? I think that those characteristics that I listed are treated as 'things of the past.' And so I don't think that they are considered important in the music industry.
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	Yes. I think that Korea's K-pop is busy making money. I am residing in Japan. Living in Japan is even more difficult than living in Korea. However, Japanese singers don't sing simple love songs or add a bunch of effects to their music, but rather sing songs that give the people strength. There are a lot of songs that when you listen to them make you say, 'Ah, I've got to stay strong, I've got to live, I can't give up now' and set your heart ablaze. I believe, very innocently, that Japan's suicide rate being lower than that of Korea's is because of these songs. So many of Korea's songs are not able to give consolation to Koreans. All they do is simply temporarily lift your spirits with an exciting melody. Korea is going to keep being a difficult country to live in in the future, little by little. Music has to give the Korean people strength.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	Yoon Do-hyun. Because he's the main vocalist singing the songs.
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	It is precious to me both because they occupy many good memories and because they sang songs that gave me strength.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	In the sense that when I am tired and about to collapse, they give me the strength to stand again, like a resolved spirit?..I think that's how they have influenced me.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question	They are important. More than anything, you need sincerity (<i>jinsim</i>) for everything in the world. It comes before technique. There are no cases in which sincerity can't be understood. In Japan I work in counselling.

20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	Because my language skills are a bit lacking I have had to ask the Japanese people what certain things mean on multiple occasions, but if you are sincere, you can share your heart with others beyond language. The same goes for songs. Love is important as well. Humans are beings who cannot exist without love. And I don't mean love between man and woman, necessarily. A love for others is the reason that humans exist. Youth is something precious because it is something that never comes back. We have to enjoy and savor these enthusiastic and young moments. Purity is important as well. At times, being able to look at the world with a pure vision free from misunderstanding or prejudice has beneficial effects on your mental health. Refreshing...seems important for relieving stress.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	No
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	Now I've started working full time, and because I use up all my energy everyday working, I don't really have the leisure of take up a hobby. That is, though I am trying to find something like that.
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	
Total time	1576.89
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	106.43
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	816.63

Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	653.83
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Survey response 12	
Response ID	90
Date submitted	2019-01-12 01:38:55
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	912294989
Date started	2019-01-12 01:16:37
Date last action	2019-01-12 01:38:55
Referrer URL	https://kpopfansurvey.limequery.com/942332?lang=ko
A.	Female
B. What is your date of birth?	1991-02-12 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Worker
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	Magazine editor
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	Undergraduate's degree
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	1,800,000 Won

F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Seongdong-gu, Seoul
H. Where are you originally from?	Seongdong-gu, Seoul
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Gimhae
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Art director
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Gangdong-gu, Seoul
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Lawyer
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	BTS
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	2017
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	While watching youtube, because they had become very hot [like viral].
4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	No

4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	No
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	
5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	I just press 'like' on things and share interesting things with my friends.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	I don't really write comments or posts
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programed shows or	Yes

talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	Because I want to know the personality of the member [that appears on the show]
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Because I want to see how they are at acting
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the	No

group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	It's tiresome [/I don't feel like it]
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	I don't have the time and it's tiresome
11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Not really important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	It's tiresome

<p>13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.</p>	
<p>13.B Why did you buy them?</p>	
<p>13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)</p>	
<p>13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?</p>	<p>Because I'm like, 'do I really need to spend money on this?'</p>
<p>14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []</p>	<p>Not important</p>
<p>14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?</p>	
<p>14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?</p>	<p>If it's something that I need then I'll get it, but if it's not then not really</p>
<p>15. Do you have any expense related to the group?</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?</p>	

15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	
15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	I haven't really had the chance
Q. Are you fan of another group?	Yes
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	I have multiple groups that I like and it's simply 'cause I like their songs or their performances
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	Because in any case, I listen to all their songs and look up their videos and am interested in them.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	Their songs are good and when I saw them on a talk show I liked the way they thought about things
18. What do you like in this group?	Because all of their songs are good and all of their performances are good
19. How is this group different from others for you?	Each of the member's are distinct and have individuality, and they're all charming.

20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Cool, manly, energetic
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	Because if you watch their performance they have a masculine beauty that is very manly.
22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?	They are important. If you have the right concept you can attract the female fans
23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?	Manly and respectable. The reason being that the perfect synchronicity of dance with multiple people can't be achieved through only a little bit of practice, the compatibility between people is very important.
24. Do you have a favorite group member?	Yes
24.A who is your favorite member and why?	I like Rapmonster the most. His personality is so good. Smart too, and manly.
24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	I just don't have any thoughts on this.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	I just don't have any thoughts on this.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	I don't have any thoughts on this.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	I do drawings, but not very seriously

28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	Not really...I'm just interested in them and pay close attention to what the group is doing
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	
29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	None.
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	I'm fine, thanks...
Total time	990.5
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	206.83
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	321.2
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	462.47

Survey response 13	
Response ID	104
Date submitted	2019-01-12 22:02:58
Last page	3
Start language	ko
Seed	667901544
Date started	2019-01-12 21:11:32

Date last action	2019-01-12 22:02:58
Referrer URL	
A.	Female
B. What is your date of birth?	2000-03-18 00:00:00
C. What is your current status?	Student
C.1 If you are a student, what is/are your major(s)?	Sociology
C.2 If you work(ed), what is/was your profession?	
D. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?	High school degree or equivalent
E. How much money do you make (yourself) or get (e.g receive from your parents) per month approximately?	600,000 won
F. What is your nationality?	Korean
G. Where do you live and since when?	Anyang, Gyeonggi-do. Since I was born
H. Where are you originally from?	Anyang, Gyeonggi-do
I1. Where is/was your mother from?	Wonju
I2. What is/was your mother's profession?	Elementary school teacher
J1. Where is/was your father from?	Chungcheong-do
J2. What is/was your father's profession?	Insurance agent
1. What is the name of your favorite Band?	BTS (Bangtan Boys)
2. When did you start to get to know about this band?	May 2015
3. How did you start to know about this group ?	In 2015 their song 'I need u' became popular and I heard their song and became aware of them.

4. Do you follow or watch them online?	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Facebook]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [twitter]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Instagram]	No
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official website]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [YouTube]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Reality programs (showing daily life)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [activity/programed shows (eg: various stars living together, doing some specific activites, etc.)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Talk or humour shows (on stage shows)]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Advertisement]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Films or dramas in which a member participated]	Yes
4.A Through which media do you follow or watch them online? [Official movies or series about them]	Yes
4.B Why don't you follow nor watch them online?	

5. Explain what you do on the group's related SNS?	1. Check pictures uploaded to the official account. 2. Look at posts and videos uploaded by people who like the same group [as me] 3. Check the <i>homma's</i> ³² (person who take's pictures) photos 4. Read news that is related to the group 6. Buy non-official merch 7. Explain or debate about various scandals.
6. If you write posts or comment posts, what are they usually about? (please give a few representative examples)	<p>Explanations to people who evoke scandals about the group I like. Ex. the National Liberation Day shirt incident.</p> <p>Newly changed styles or references to good performances, ex. Today they dyed their hair blue. Today this person in particular sang well.</p> <p>The influence and help that this group has been to me, ex. After beginning to like this group I overcame depression</p>
7. Do you watch reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows casting any member of the group?	Yes
7.A If yes, for which reasons do you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	Because I want to see the everyday appearance of the group's members. In order to see the members hanging out/messing around together.
7.B If no, Why don't you watch them on reality programs, activity/programmed shows or talk/humour shows ?	
8. Do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Yes
8.A For which reasons do you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	Because you are able to see a different side to the members that you like.
8.B Why don't you watch dramas or movies casting any member of the group?	
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Concert]	No

³² This stands for Home page Master, and I guess means the lead photographer of the group

9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Fan event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [University event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [school event]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Meeting with other fans]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [visiting / waiting for the group in front of their entertainment company]	No
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [None]	Yes
9. Have you even taken part in any offline activity related to the group? [Other]	
9.A Why haven't you taken part in any offline activity related to the group?	Because you have to break through unbelievable competition to get to go to sites [of events] Because it is a lot of money
10. Have you ever organised, or participated to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	No
10.A Please explain all the activities related to the group that you organised or participated to, as precisely as possible and your role in it.	
10.B Why didn't you organise, nor participate to the organisation of any activity related to the group?	Because I think people who are better than me will do it, because I feel that I am still inadequate

11. How important is it for you to be a member of their official fan club? []	Very important
12. Are you a member of their official fan club?	No
12.A Why did you become a member of their official fan club?	
12.B Which advantages do you get from being a member?	
12.C Why are you not part of their official website?	Because I had to focus on my entrance examination. When they were recruiting official members I was in my 3 rd year of high school and I remember thinking I had to focus more on my studies.
13. Do you possess any object related to the group ? (such as posters, fans with their picture, official light sticks, hat, phone case, pillow, t-shirt, bag, CDs, tumbler, pictures, key ring, emoticons, etc. for example?)	Yes
13.A Please write down all the objects that you have as precisely as possible, And then rate how valuable they are for you from a 6 to 1 scale.	Season's greetings (1), each albm (1), Official cheering stick (1), related books (1), Memories ³³ (1), character dolls (6), character pens (6), character stickers (5)
13.B Why did you buy them?	Because I wanted to have the official goods of the group that I like
13.C What do they represent to you ? (Please answer for each object if possible and then, for all of them globally)	Memories – Because it shows you all of what happened to the members during the course of a year it is necessary in order to preserve memories. Albums – possessing them has meaning and it's useful to look at the 'thanks to' section and pictures. Official cheering stick – I haven't had a chance to formally use it, but I'm currently using it as mood lighting.

³³ I guess this is a thing that BTS puts out each year. If you search for « BTS 메모리즈 » it should come up, but it seems like a binder with a photo book and some CDs and postcards

	<p>Related books – I liked them because I can learn more deeply about the group that I like</p> <p>Season’s greetings – it gives you the feeling of the new year with the diary or calendar</p> <p>Character doll – a character you can hang on your bag</p> <p>Pen – a character to have</p> <p>Sticker – collecting them</p> <p>Overall, there is nothing that is not precious among the merchandise related to the group.</p>
13.D Why don't you have any object related to the group?	
14. How important are the official merchandising products for you to have? []	Very important
14.A Why is it somewhat/very important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	Because they are legal products. Because part of the profits from official merchandise goes back to the members
14.B Why is it somewhat / really NOT important for you to have official merchandising products from the group?	
15. Do you have any expense related to the group?	Yes
15.A On which group's related things do you spend money?	Paid broadcasts, merchandise
15.B Why do you spend money on expenses related to the group?	Because I think that paying a proper price is the right thing. Because not using the legal route is not is unfair to the group.
15.C How much do you, or your parents, usually spend for it approximately?	I spend about 70,000 won in a month (both my and my parent’s money combined)
15.D Please explain where you get the money from to support them? and then rate the sources in terms of importance.	Part-time job (3) Money I saved up (1) Asking my mother (2)

15.E Why don't you have any expense related to the group?	
Q. Are you fan of another group?	No
Q. Are you fan of another group? [Comment]	Because liking the group that I like is more than enough for me.
16. Do you consider yourself as a fan?	Yes
16.A Why do you consider yourself as a fan?	I think that being a fan means being a person that looks at those people and can endlessly reflect [on oneself]. I think that I am a fan because I endlessly think about whether my actions will be a stain on the members' names, or if they will hurt the members.
16.B Why don't you consider yourself as a fan?	
16.C What would be being a fan to you?	
17. Why did you start to like this group?	Attractive faces and their good grades abroad. Most definitely, they make music that matches my taste
18. What do you like in this group?	That they are ceaselessly putting in effort and growing; that they are able to do their own lyrics, composition, and producing; that they cherish their fans; that they have deep thoughts about the past, present, and future; that there are a lot of things that I connect to in their lyrics; that they know how to overcome pain; that they are honest people
19. How is this group different from others for you?	I think that their orientation is different. From the beginning they have consistently told the stories of the marginalized in society and written their own youth in their lyrics, a comfort to innumerable young people
20. Please choose and write down 3 to 5 adjectives that you think describe the group the best.	Good influence, clear goals, skilled, respectable, attractive
21. Please explain why you choose each of these adjectives in the previous question.	

	<p>Good influence – their volunteer work and UNICEF campaign, their continued interest in marginalized people in society, volunteer work of the fans</p> <p>Clear goals – Starting with the group’s name, they’re saying that they’re going to protect their own musical values from oppression and prejudices. And they act in accordance with that</p> <p>Skilled – they are able to write lyrics, compose songs, and do producing, and their rap, vocal, and dance skills are excellent.</p> <p>Respectable – There are a lot of things to respect them for just person-to-person. Their personality and values and thoughts.</p> <p>Attractive – They’re physically attractive. I enjoy the fact that more than having a uniform look, each of them has their own look which expresses their individuality</p>
<p>22. Do you think that these characteristics (adjectives) that you chose are important in the music industry and why?</p>	<p>I think that in music, the story that they are trying to tell with that music is most important. BTS’s Sugar once said, “Stories that someone has to tell, but no one yet has. That’s where our music starts.” A story and lyrics are able to capture the sympathies of the masses are important. Also, I think that these kinds of stories and lyrics should be brought into action as well.</p>
<p>23. Do you think these characteristics (adjectives) you mentioned are important in life in general and why?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Good influence – I think this is important as a member of society. 2. Clear goals – It’s important. Because goals are the most important thing in live. 3. Skilled – I think that if you want to contribute to society skills are important as well. 4. Respectable – I think that if your actions are good and true then you will be respected. 5. Attractive – It’s not important. Because I think what’s inside a person is more important than their outside.
<p>24. Do you have a favorite group member?</p>	<p>No</p>
<p>24.A who is your favorite member and why?</p>	

24.B Why don't you have a favorite member?	Because they are all precious to me. Because they all have their own different charms that makes it difficult to like just one of them
25. Is the group important for you in your personal life and why?	When I am sad or going through something difficulty, I am able to cheer up by listening to their comforting lyrics. They became the driving force of my life and make me happy. On the day of the college entrance exam I listened to their music and took the test and was able to not be nervous. They help me make friends. I tend to be awkward around people that I am meeting for the first time, but if I talk about the group that I like those nerves go away and I feel close to people. They helped me rethink my direction. They help me want to be a better person.
26. Do they have an influence on you or your personality? and why?	They help me have positive personality. I was not of a personality that was kind to others, but I am making an effort to emulate the kind personalities of the members.
27. Do you think the adjectives (characteristics) you mentioned in question 20 to describe the group are important to you, in your life? and why?	They became people that I could respect and want to resemble.
28. Do you have/had any artistic activity or hobby?	Yes
28.A Please specify your artistic activity(-ies) or hobby(-ies).	I go to art exhibits. I listen to diverse genres of music
28.B Did your interest in the group made you interested in this/these activity(-ies)? If yes, please precise how.	At first I wasn't that interested in art, but after hearing that BTS's V liked the modern artist Jean Michel Basquiat I became curious. After that, I began studying art through books on art. Also, after hearing that the members like going to art exhibits on their breaks, I went to multiple exhibits. Normally I only listened to the popular music, but since listening to the pop songs that the members recommend I have been able to encounter more diverse music.
28.C Why don't you have any artistic activity or hobby?	

29. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or say? Please feel free to express yourself here.	
Please write a valid email address if you agree to be potentially contacted by the researcher regarding your answers.	han_eugene@naver.com
Total time	3086.78
Group time: Part 1 : Demographics	107.07
Group time: Part 2: On the activities and use of medias	1604.27
Group time: Part C: On your interests and perceptions of the group	1375.44

Annexe 3 – Retranscription de l’entretien avec la responsable de la formation des trainees chez N Entertainment³⁴

R: so mmm... ah do don't worry,

A: ahahahahaah

R: it's many questions but basically, I won't ask you all the questions because you're gonna talk a lot so many questions are going to be answered probably so ah okay

G: It looks like there are a lot of questions but don't be overwhelmed haha

A: hahahah

G: [K] And, just, she just wrote out questions in case she doesn't hear everything she wants to ask

All: mmmhm

R: So, um to begin gently um would you could you tell me about a bit about you for example your university or your path before coming to start starting to work here? Like about your life in general?

G: [K] So, we'll start simply with self-introduction, for example school, where you went to school, what your major was, how you got to be where you are now, how you came to have this kind of job

R: So, I can get to know a bit about you

G: so, she can get to know...

A: I attended a fashion technical school, I originally studied clothing, but idol..idol? haha but since I grew an interest in Japanese idols, I thought to myself 'how about working in entertainment?' and after that 'Wouldn't it be fun if I did the kind of work where made those kind of people?' and so I started to do this type of work and I grew an interest and while I had those thoughts I went to an academy which teaches you this kind of entertainment work and got my education there and then I started working at this type of company or this type of entertainment company. Hm. And originally, a different, before I came to FM I worked at a company that had singer Yunha and actor Kim Jiwon, and through a good opportunity I came to this company, the company I am working at now. And I have been here for around 5 years now. Hahahaha

G: hahahah So originally, she went to a technical college for fashion

R: ooh

G: and studied clothing,

R: nice!

A: hahah

G: and she was interested in Japanese idols first uhm and thought well what if I could do that? What if I could work in that kind of industry? And like what would it be like if I could work in that kind of industry so she became interested in that and entered an academy for this industry, kind of, to learn the ins and outs of it, and then she started working in entertainment and before coming to this company she worked at a different company that had Kim Jiwon and Yunha, the singer Yunha, and

³⁴ Le R fait référence à l'enquêtrice, la G à l'interprète et le A (B, C, D, E dans les prochaines retranscriptions) renvoient aux personnes interrogées.

through a good opportunity she was able to come to this company and she's been working here for about five years.

R: Hmm. You mentioned an academy that you joined to learn about uh well could you tell me a bit more about this academy?

G: [K] You mentioned that you attended an academy,

A: Yes, yes yes

G: [K] Could you speak a little more about this academy?

A: Ahhh, that was called SM academy and it was run by SM entertainment, and I don't think it is around anymore. In the beginning, it was an academy which had an 8-10-week program where it taught people who were interested in entertainment. And that place was, training, casting, media, new member, management, and record producing, operations, contract, just in general, a place which ran all of those programs. You could say you go there and be like 'oh this is what entertainment is like'.

G: So, it was called SM academy run by SM entertainment

R: mmhm I know

R & **A:** hahaha

G: so, it was like an 8 to 10 week course and it seems like that academy may no longer exist anymore, uhm, but there they did training, casting, media, management, legal, uhmmmm

A: contract?

G: ahh, yes contract, thank you

A: hahah

R: [unintelligible]

G: uh contract

R: Yup

G: and so, it was there that she became familiar with the entertainment industry it seems.

R: actually, this interview and also with Miss Kim afterwards it's going to be my first two interviews so I still have a lot to learn so it's very interesting to me

G: [K] The interviews [we] are doing today, this one now, and the following with Kim Eunji?

A: Kim Eunji team leader?

G: [K] ah yes Kim Eunji, the interview with her are actually the first two interviews of this research.

A: ahahahha

G: So

A: [continuous laughter]

R: [unintelligible]

G: [K] So, she's learning a lot, so

R: So, all the information is like super interesting

G: [K] so, it's very interesting, and we appreciate you telling us a lot

A: ahaha

R: So, there's some academies? Where you actually uhm learn how not to, not how to be an idol, but how to work in entertainment companies?

G: [K] Yes, so you are saying that there are academies not for becoming an idol but for working in entertainment companies?

A: Mmhm. Originally, that place, originally what they did was for people who want to become idols or singers, or actors. But where those kind of people gather there are also those who want to help them, and as people interested in doing that kind of work started to appear, they added that kind of academy. It wasn't that originally, ah no, it was an academy that tried to cultivate idols, but in order to cultivate idols you need people to help, so they said 'let's make that kind of program, let's gather those kind of people,' so it is a program at the academy.

G: [K] program at the academy?

A: yeah

G: hahaah

R: it's a lot of work for her

G: Ahh so originally it was an academy for people who wanted to become singers, idols, actors, or actresses, but if those people come together you also have the people who want to help those kind of people that ended up gathering so the academy was originally for idols, or like, people who wanted to become singers, idols, or actors, uhm, but because to make those kind of idols you need people to help those kind of idols, through managerial positions, uh, they made this program within the academy to educate about like those other things.

R: So originally it was really for the idols and you went to become an idol, or you already knew there was some specific training for helpers...kind of

G: [K] So, when you attended that kind of academy,

A: yes

G: [K] Did you attend it to become an idol? Or was it to become someone who does that type of managerial role?

A: Ah I wanted to become someone who managed, I wanted to make [one], really, an idol. I didn't want to do it myself, but I think I attended it with the thoughts like 'what about making this kind of idol?' or 'could I make someone and show them [to the world]?'

G: so, she didn't want to become an idol, err, so I didn't want to become an idol myself, but to be one of the people that made an idol, or I thought 'what would it be like to make an idol?'

A: aha

G: or to help from beside them, uhm, and it was with that thought that I think I went to that academy.

R: That's cool

All: [laughter]

G: [K] She says it's cool

R: So why didn't you want to become an idol, but you wanted to make the idols instead?

G: [K] So, why did you not want to become an idol,

A: Ahh me? I knew. I knew I wasn't pretty and that I didn't have enough talent [*kki, ㄱ*]: a talent or aptitude, especially for entertainment]?

G: [*K*] ability?

A: Or ability, and because I knew this I wanted to become someone who helped. Hahahahah

G: So [laughter] I knew from the beginning that I wasn't pretty enough, that I didn't have enough skill to become an idol

R: [unintelligible]

G: So, I have to be someone that can help from the side

R: Okay

A: It's really, I know that being an idol is very hard, it's not easy, and that there are too many people who want to become idols, so I thought maybe it was best if I became someone who made and help those kind of people, producing them

G: So, she, err, I knew that becoming an idol was not easy and that uhm there are a lot people who want to do it, so because of that I realized that maybe it was better to work on the production side of that.

R: Mmhm, Uhm, so uhm, gosh, two questions at the same time that I want to say. You mentioned that it's difficult to become and idol because many people want to be one and because you also went to some academies, because also your job you have a lot of experiences, do you think you could explain the difficulties or the process of someone wants to become an idol, like ah, what you have to do and things like that.

G: [*K*] Yes, uh, so you said that becoming an idol is not easy,

A: haha

G: [*K*] Uh, there are too many people and you need abilities and everything. And so, because of the job you work now, it seems like you will know just how difficult it is, could you possibly explain a bit more about that process of becoming an idol?

A: Mmm

G: [*K*] Or like difficulties?

A: Ahh, okay. It's very. Well to start, there are a lot people who are trying to do it, and from among these people we cast those who are decent. We cast, or they get casted, they get picked, we gather them and take them and [think about] projects that the company is trying to run later, girl group, guy group, or actor, singer-songwriter? To do those, in order to do those things, we need to cultivate the abilities that these people have. That is, they're at a stage where they like it and know a little bit and are learning, and so they come into the company, come into the entertainment industry we cultivate their musical side as a singer, or idol's, we cultivate their dance, or improve it, or, instruments, we teach them that. And then acting, we teach them things that they can actually use in real situations on the sites, and so they continuously go through this training process, but that doesn't have a set time period. Maybe it'll be after 2 years, three years. Or maybe it'll be 5 years, sometimes it's necessary to have more time, and so they go through it and are patient and endure and those who have done training and overcome it can do it, can debut. But debuting itself, it's something you have to be picked to do out of a lot people, and so it's difficult because you need that long amount of time. And it's not only one's ability, but your mentality or mind[set] that has to be good, so the person who makes it possible, the person who helps them from the side, the person who does that kind of work is me.

Hahah, I [unintelligible] with them, and work on the first level of, the work I do is on the first level which makes sure that when they debut, so that they can be shown to the public, so we build the foundation for them to go to the next level, your next interview, the management, Yoon-Soo? The work that Yoon-Soo does, production, planning, so they can grow there.

G: okay

A: ahahahahaha

G: hahaha, so

R: I understand a bit

G: So in general there are a lot of people that want to do it, er to become an idol, so first you have to cast, do casting of that initial group of people, so picking people out of that group that seem to have some kind of ability and then you take those people to a company and see where they fit in with the projects that they are trying to do at the company, so whether they're going to be a singer or like a singer-songwriter, in a girl group or boy group, uhm anything like that. And so, this first step is what Bo-mi, here, helps with. And it's helping them improve their skills, so they come in with some skills, but they need to be improved uhm obviously, they train, they help train them with singing or dancing or instruments, things that they will need for when they are debuted and like are doing acting classes. And so the training process doesn't happen it doesn't happen within a set time, it can be two years, it can be three years, it can even be five years, uhm, so the people who go through that process with a lot of patience and they just get through it uhm will, can debut but not all of them are, but not all of them end up debuting also, uhm, so once again they have to do cas—they have to do the picking out of the people who are going to debut. So not only do your skills, in terms of singing and dancing, have to be good, you have to have a good mentality and mindset to be able to do this, and so what I do is I am the person that is helping them alongside this process, uhm. So that they can show the public in the end, or so that they're ready for the public in the end of this first step. So people like Kim Eunji, who we're interviewing later,

R: Mhm, I understood that

G: Who work in planning and production is kind of the second step and will help them grow after this first initial step.

R: So Uhm, you mentioned that when a person [come?] and when you decide whether or not they're going to train or not uhm you have to see if they fit or not for the projects, so how does it work, doeslike the company usually have some projects or things they want to do and so they choose the person in function of that? Or, what's the logic of how they select the person?

G: [K] Yes, so, when you do casting, and the like, you said that you think about the projects that the company wants to do when you do casting, uhm, like, like, uhm...

A: Speak comfortably

G: [K] So, do you think about the projects that the company is doing first when you choose people, or could you speak a little bit about the logic of picking people?

A: Ah if we have a project, like male idol, female idol, or band, if we're in the process of preparing one of those things we do look for those who fit, those who we can set into those projects as a higher priority. So, among those, we do pick out people who can dance well, those who can sing really well, or those who are just exceptional at singing, and train them. Otherwise, generally even if we don't have those kinds of projects we're looking for people with ability, or talent (*kki*) who can later go into something like that. We do open auditions, or global auditions, or sometimes we go find them

ourselves at academies, or really sometimes just on the street, or broadcasting³⁵, and so those are how we find people and in accordance with the direction of the company, we report to the higher ups on 'how would this person be, how would that person be' and if there are people who fit with a concept, or if there are people who have ability, those who have potential, we find them and cast them and train them. Because initially we don't know what field they'll be in, what role they'll have, we consider those types of things, their visual or their capabilities and pick them and initially train them.

G: So uhm when they, ah, the company has a project, like they're looking for a male idol or a female idol or band, finding people for those positions is priority, so finding people who good at dancing or at singing, who have really good visuals, they'll pick those kind of people and then put them into training. But in instances where they don't, the company does not have a project, or a specific project in mind, they will still be looking for people who seem able, that have energy or passion, and they'll look for these kind of people through open auditions, global auditions, in the academies, even when like, when they're on TV or like passing them on the street and so they'll take them in and uhm if they're kind of in the direction that the company wants to go in and they'll show them to their superiors, and so they're looking for people that have a lot of possibility, and they'll put them into training, and since they don't know exactly what they're going to be doing uhm they just put them into training but they're looking for those kind of people all the time.

R: So, ah sorry,

A: ah it's ok

R: So I wonder kind of like which are the very important things, for example you see in some future artist, or just like people, and or what are like the characteristics, or elements, or good points that will make you think ohh we should take this person and train her. And I have another question but this one first.

G: [K] Yes, uhm, you said you could pick people from the street even,

A: yes, that happens,

G: [K] Uhm, so what are the most important elements, like for example, like when you pick someone who has potential, what is most important?

A: Ahahah it's all important

G: It's all important

R: I'm asking difficult questions

G: [K] I'm asking difficult questions

A: Hahaha, Well it's a job that you have to show yourself to a lot of people, and so when a lot of people look at that person and see they're special, like, uh, what do I call it [long pause], sometimes we pick people by like when you look at them you see a likable charm, or really, if when passing by them the glitter of their eyes [*nunbit*: The look someone has in their eyes] is really pretty, or they're cool. Or if their visuals, or physical are good, that that person could be a model or an actor, or there's mmmm that feeling? Hahahah the first feeling [you get from them].

G: hahah

A: When you see those things we pick them, later on the stage,

³⁵ I think here she is referring to online self-broadcasting, but I'm not sure. She says 'broadcasting' like in English, but that doesn't sound like something people use to refer to TV, now that I think about it.

In any case that person already, should I say bewitched? They've shown me their charm, so they've already shown me their charm

G: [K] convinced

A: convinced me, then later this person could probably show their charm to people bigger than me, to many more people, and so we uhh.. pick them. Otherwise, even if it's not broadcasting, during regular auditions or open auditions, people who overflow with passion or power³⁶ or if they have a lot of confidence in themselves, because when they're on site or on stage where there are a lot of people they can't [waver], so we think of people who can show those kinds of attributes as a priority when we cast or pick people.

G: So this is a job that means a lot of people are going to see them,

A: hahah

G: A lot of people are going to be looking at them, so an ideal candidate would have like just, just like a really likable charm to them or maybe they have like a really good look or like attitude in their eyes, or they have good physical or uhm they look good physically or uhm someone that looks good you could see them be like oh they could be a model or an actor, there's kind of like that first feeling that you have when you first see someone and when you feel that you realize they've already kind of charmed me so they could go in front of other people and charm other people, they've already kind of uhm what's that called, like shown me that they're like charming, so that would transfer to what happens in front of other people so uhm when they do auditions that uhm in other auditions though they look for people that have a lot of passion or a lot of confidence because in the end they're going to be standing on stage and they're going to be on the spot a lot and they can't be people who are going to falter in front of a crowd or audience so uhm those are the kind of people they look for.

R: Who are the person that usually select them? For example, in your company do you have a different persons that select them or anyone that maybe sees someone, I wonder.

G: [K] Uhm, who are the people who select these people with potential? Like within the company who—

A: Within the company? Our artist development team members, casting directors, and initially casting directors are the ones who find many people and the next stage is [unintelligible] professional,

G: [K] [unintelligible]?? [asking what the word she said was]

A: The higher ups. They will sort through people a bit more, for example if there are 10 people, they'll meet with them and have them sing, act, dance, and the higher ups will look at them and say 'that person has the kind of ability we want' or 'has the kind of potential we're looking for' and [unintelligible] pick them from that. The members of the team that I'm in have that kind of role.

G: [K] You said artist development team?

A: Yes, artist development.

G: [K] *shin in*?

A: yes, *shin in*

[she gives us her business card]

R: this is much easier

³⁶ She used English here, it sounded like

G: [K] So, you said people on the artist development and casting directors, correct?

A: yes

G: So, the people that will pick these people are people on the artist development team--

A: Or, at our company we call it this, but other places call it 'new member development team'

G: So, in different areas—or ah in different companies they could call it like uh, I guess in English it's similar, but it's just slightly different in Korean. So, it's the casting directors and the artist development team that will pick the people, so that's the team that she's in. Uhm. And then there will be people above this team, like at a higher position in the company that will look through people that have been picked maybe look at them see them dancing see them singing and um or acting and they'll decide whether or not they have the possibility of or like their probability of becoming a good idol for the company.

R: Mm. So are there many people, like, I really wonder about if there are just a few people who are taken to be trainees every year or many, just have no notion.

G: [K] Yes, so there's something I'm very curious about,

A: yes

G: [K] You said you take in a lot of trainees, uhm, how many would you say you pick in a year?

A: In a year, if we see a lot of people it will be in the thousands, the number of people that casting directors, the people who pick people see. And of those the number of people we pick [pause] thirty to forty people? Maybe 20 to 30 people.

G: [K] twenty to thirty?

A: Yes, so in a year we see a few thousand people, and of those people those who are picked and get a contract and do training are maybe only twenty to thirty people. But of those, there are those who will train for a year or six month and it doesn't work out, so sometimes we let them go, or sometimes there are people who say it's not right for them, it's difficult and quit. So out of so many people it really comes down to somewhere in the [tens/twenties/thirties]. Of these there are people who do training for a long time do training for two to three years, there are people who have just come into the company, people who have only been here for a few months, and these people continue to do training and later debut. After becoming a team.

G: [K] So uhm it's not a thousand or more people who are being trained, right?

A: No, it's not that. It's 20 to 30 people.

G: [K] 20-30

A: Of that huge group of people it's 20-30 people who get training from the company.

G: [K] ah I see thank you

A: Haha

G: So, in a year it could be a few thousand that they see but the

R: who they see

G: that they see, but people that go into training will probably be around 20-30 people, in a year. Uhm and even of those people there are people that will be there during training and they because they're not right with the company they'll have to send them somewhere else or there will be people who will quit so uhm or there will be people who will have to be in training for two to three years, but those 20

to 30 people are the one, err, so those 20 to 30 people per year is around how many that go into training, official training, to later debut.

R: So how do you finally decide whether this person is going to be like uhm so you have like first training, do you already have already some sort of contract or do you, when do you usually have like uhm, because, how do you say that haha, because usually uhm so you say you have 20 to 30 person but not everyone stays, so uhm what is the situation for them, do they have like a contract or do they get one just when it's sure they're going to stay until the end? Or...? You see what I'm...

G: [K] Mhm, so, uh, for those 20 to 30 people do you write up a contract from the point that they first start their training? Or uh, could you talk a bit more about the methods in which you do contracts?

A: For every company there is a trainee contract, and the length of it is different at each company: there are places where it is three years and places it's 5 years, yes, so there is a contract for receiving training, and while they do training, that's the contract that's maintained. And if they eventually debut we write a different exclusive contract. After that, it's different at different companies, but for us trainees sign a training, trainee contract, but there are companies that will sign an exclusive contract with people from the moment they start training.

G: So uhm it's a little different for different companies

R: mhm

G: there are some companies that will, or there's a thing called a trainee contract so at different companies it can be between three or five years and that's for while they're training and if they end up debuting they'll have a different contract that they'll have to sign. But there are some companies that will just have them sign the uhm the full-fledged uhm final contract from the time that they start doing training.

R: Oh so, when you start it's already sure you're going to debut?

G: Uhm for certain companies is what she said. [K] Certain companies think of debuting from the moment that they start training and have them sign an [K] exclu...

A: Exclusive contract

G: [K] exclusive contract, thank you, I'm also just a student so

A: But the exclusive contract's starting criteria is not the date, rather it's like the first mini album or acting...role, a play, that's how they do, they kind of decide on a point and write the contract based on that. Like even if they are to sign a contract on today's date, the point that they're allowed to enact that contract is like following the release of a mini album or album. Or, considering the amount of time it takes to release an album, releasing two albums, releasing three albums, like so on they consider that and...of course we write training contracts but depending on the company within those exclusive contracts they don't clearly state a period for training, you can think of it as including that kind of period.

R: We're making her work a lot haha

A: hahah

R: must be difficult sorry

G: Okay so, uhm that kind of I'm not sure exactly what *jeonsok gyeyakseo* (exclusive contract)

A: yes

G: I'm not sure how to explain it in English [pause] I'm not sure what the word for it is but it seems like the full, contract, so that even though some companies will sign it from the time that people are

trainees it doesn't really go into effect until maybe like they put out their first mini album or act in like a play or they do some acting, it's more like the company will decide kind of the right time for that kind of contract to go into effect uhm like maybe they'll have to put out a full album or two albums uhm so our company does have like the trainee contract and doesn't do it this way, but other companies will not have like a set time limit for their training uhm because uhm they don't have that kind of contract but there is kind of an expectation where you have to put out like an album or something like that.

R: Mmm but you depend on the company to know, it's the company that decides when you're ready and when they will make you start the mini album or something like this.

G: [K] So Mini-albums, or things like that, starting those...so when an artist begins an album or mini album, when that is started is decided by the company, correct?

A: yes, the company [decides]. Recently a single or a full album will generally have 7 to 10 songs, and mini albums are a bit small than that, they're an album with 3 songs to 5 songs, so about half. So, the company will look at the time period and plan, well these people when you show them to the public you're not sure how [unintelligible] so the amount of songs, they'll plan that and release them.

G: Yes, so it's the companies that will kind of plan this. So, a regular album will have between seven to ten songs on it and a mini album will have between like 3-5 songs, so about half of a regular album, and so the company will look at a group or something and say they're ready to show like 'this amount' to the public.

R: I see. So, because you're a team leader for the first part about training new persons you must be an expert! So, could you tell me like how it works like how it happens, so we take a new person and what do we do with this person, how we decide how we're going to train her, or which skills like that

G: [K] So, you're the team leader of the recruitment team, so you seem like you're an expert about this kind of training, so that's why I'm asking, but uhm, when a new person comes in [to the company] how do you decide how you're going to train them, and what field you're going to train them in, for example, um, singing, dancing? Like could you talk about the deciding process?

A: Uhm, first, [cough] when they first audition we kind of know the level that they're at, so when they come in we kind of consider whether they will come in as a singer or as an actor and kind of divide them on that, and people that are in the singers part, if they're somewhat adept at dancing we bring them into a class with some choreography, and for those who can't dance at all we bring them into basic training, basic dance, and teach them thoroughly so that they can improve. Next, for singing and [unintelligible] we hear them, but effectively we bring in singing coaches, teachers to test them. So, if you're someone who sings, we'll having you sing a song, or try to make sounds, to see if you have what it takes to sing well, or depending on the circumstance, we'll have you go to a recording studio and record, and see if you're able to develop your skills or if they can be improved. And depending on that we will either teach you singing or teach you other basics. Also, we, we have seen a lot [of things], but in reality, I can't really grasp [their ability] so we get feedback from professionals and teachers and based on that we see what level to put these people at so that they can best develop. That's what our company checks and helps with.

But we judge them and start based off that but depending on the situation there are people whose rate of progress is quite slow, and there are those who's progress is just astounding, so occasionally we see where people are at, and based on that we train them, and help them to make progress.

G: [K] Thank you. [E] So... when people first audition we can see what they're coming to do—if they're singing, if they're acting, and we can see kind of what level that they're at and they can be divided up by teams—err—not teams but they can be kind of divided up by those

R: categories?

G: yeah, yeah, categories I would say. Uhm, so people that can dance a little bit, they'll see them dance and they'll know where to put them in training for training, people who can't dance, like at all, they'll be put into this basic training where they'll be taught how to dance and whatnot, but uhm, for things like singing, though of course they hear them sing and they know whether or not they're good—err—whether they're decent or not, they will go to like a professional coach or trainer and have those professional coaches test them.

R: If you don't sing—if you don't know how to sing?

G: No, no, no, no, no, if just in terms of singing just like I think if that's what they're coming in for.

R: oh, I see

G: uhm so they'll see if they can sing or if they can hit certain pitches I think and even certain circumstances they'll take them to like a recording studio for testing and see what kind of training they'll need to do and so you, people like me can't, people that see people can't just judge people from the first moment we see them, we need to rely on these kind of professional teachers' and coaches' advice of so we can put them in the right stage to start their training. Uhm and in certain circumstances there will be people that are very fast at learning and there will be people who are very slow at learning and so every once and a while we'll kind of go through and check on them and make sure we're helping them get along at the right pace.

R: Is it like uhm, is there, is it important to be able to learn quickly? Or will you have enough time if you're contracted for like 2, 3, 4, 5 years or like I wonder the pace of the learning process. Speed? Pace, speed? How do you...

G: Speed? Yeah, [K] uhm so how important is the speed at which they train, or the speed at which they learn?

A: Ah, mm

G: [K] Like, if you have a contract as a trainee for around 2 to 3 years, the pace at which you...

A: Ah at our company this is what the contract period is like [shows number on hand]. The reason being that we think that the period in which the kids could learn and show us their abilities/skills is around 2 to 3 years, and so. We think of it as an investment? An investment, so that's the span of the first contract that we sign with them. And it is different for different kids, but we think that the amount of time that it takes for them to somewhat learn and be able to show us something, takes at least two to three, three to four or five? Years. But in cases where we are evaluating them, and we see that that their abilities [laughs] are too slow for our development speed or maybe 'late' we do sometimes cancel their contract and let them go. So, within a year if they are people who are exceptional and [doing well], there are also people who, after having difficulties with it will just shoot up in their abilities, so that period is difficult is always difficult for us as well. Because we have to judge whether this person can improve with a little more time or if they are stuck in the position that they're currently at, and, so, that's why I think it's at least two to three years. [pause] And also depending on the period, the kids sometimes get impatient. It's difficult to stay there longer, but the longer you stay the more you improve and are able to show it. But some people, mm, people who do well [are good at things] improve fast, but people who aren't as good [laughs] can take a while so that kind of time period is always difficult.

G: So uhm for our company the contract term is in five years, so we think it takes around two to three, maybe three to four years to help develop a person into what they need to be, and so our company thinks of that as an investment, we're investing in those people for those years. And so every once and a while there will be an assessment and if someone is going too slow or if they really can't keep up there are times where they'll have to, where we'll have to kind of send them off to other places or end their contract but you know there are always people who will go from having a really hard time to just

bounding p and doing great so it's always really hard thinking about this kind of finite term because you never know if someone is going to be like that.

R: Mmhm

G: But the people that are like, the trainees that are in this position you know they do seem to feel anxious about wanting to prove themselves because they know it's like, they know they have a limited time and they have to show their skills to people...

A: The period in which we do basic training is one year and the year or two after that are a period when you take those basics and turn them into something of your own, you realize yourself, show your own style. And if the beginning is when you have to hone your abilities by yourself, after some time you need time to make a team, to do it together, together with a team, so that's why I think they need that amount of time.

G: So the first year is kind of the initial basic training, uhm where you know you are working on your own skills, and the years after that are you take that basic training and you make it into your own you figure out what it is that makes you special kind of? You kind of establish who you are and so in the beginning, you could say in the beginning people working are working on their own skills maybe by themselves, the years after that is working together with other people.

R: So the third year is working together with other people? Sorry

G: Uh so the first year is kind of basic training and then after that, I think it's just the years after that, year two or three is working with other people.

R: And about developing your own style is like during second year? Or first, I'm sorry...

G: uh like second year.

R: And so, what about the fourth and fifth years?

G: Yes so

A: [unintelligible] hahahah

G: hahaha. [K] Uhm, so at this company

A: yes

G: [K] you said that the trainee contract is 5 years, so the first year is the basic training period, and if following that is when you take these basics and make them into your own and work with other people, what is..

A: the remaining period?

G: [K] the remaining period

A: in the remaining period, uhm, so the point that someone debuts is never like 'it's now!' but we have to look at the surrounding circumstances and the market so that's the period where [unintelligible] or in instances where they may be a little lacking after two or three years, it's a period where we can help them grow a little more. It's not like that period is exactly [claps softly] 5 years, but in case there is a really good opportunity for someone to debut that trainee contract ends then and from that point the exclusive contract, album—what I talked about earlier—is written up. When they really debut or shoot a work, appear in a drama, that's the point when their contract is changed. So in the first half of the period they can always, uhm, kind of go back and forth.

G: mmmmm

A: The training period. The reason being that even after debuting they will get training, whether it's because they feel they are inadequate, or just because of it being necessary for doing all the activity. So this is a period that was decided by us having thought about a lot of different things, not something that you have to exactly, fill out the rest of the time..for...

G: mmmm

A: hahahah

G: So the remainder of the time it's not like they will set like a date as a company that someone has to debut

R: mmhm so much pressure

G: you have to like look at the market

A: Ahahahah

G: You'll look at the uhm the situation and what's going on around and you have to be a bit flexible so it's not that the contract is like exactly five years. If there's like a good opportunity for someone to like debut like working in a drama or album or movie or something like that they will be a little bit more flexible and even if their training contract is up they'll just start the regular contract. Uhm and even after debuting there still will be some training that some people will need so it's a little bit flexible it seems like kind of waiting for the right time.

R: I see. You mention that sometimes there is an opportunity for example to start a drama uhm but how is it decided? is it the company or do you have other companies that you are working with? Because how do they know about the uhm the person you're training for example and if they will fit?

G: [K] Uhm, you said that sometimes there is a good opportunity, a good opportunity to debut, like for example appearing in a drama?

A: Mmhm

G: [K] How do you decide those kind of things? For example, are you--

A: Ahh we--

G: [K] --communicating with other companies?

A: So, we are contacted by other companies that do that kind of stuff, production companies, or appearance surveys, for example for acting parts, drama parts, variety shows, singers come into our management team. And then for those appearance surveys they'll contact our team that is cultivating the trainees, or they'll contact the team above us that manages the recruitment team and ask, 'so we're trying to make this project, do you have anyone who would fit here?' And if we do they'll tell us that they want to audition them or meet with them. And so we connect those who could meet them, or those who are ready, and they either do an audition or meet with them and the people over there are interested in or think one of our people will do well they will have an opportunity to appear in those kinds of things. So hahaha

G: So yes they'll be they'll get cont—ah, our company will get contacted by producing companies or there will be surveys, like uh, that will come into our management team for like singers or actors, uhm,[K] *chulhyeon subei*.. how do I explain this

A: hahahah

G: there uhhh,

A: [unintelligible] ?

G: Yeah there's like a probably like a casting list, like who they're kind of like looking for so the management team will contact us at our team here or our bosses and set up either an audition or meeting and see if there are people that are right for the roles that have come in.

R: So you mean that uhm you, the company has the list of the trainees and then some some company can look at them and can contact you and say 'oh we are interested in that person'?

G: [K] Ah so, at this company is there like a uh, what's the word. Like a document, a file that has all the trainees written on it...

A: Oh yes, we have that kind of thing,

G: [K] But other companies...

A: They won't have that, no.

G: [K] They won't see that, right? They'll send a survey to you—

A: So they'll contact us, and we'll look for someone who fits the conditions, like they'll ask 'it's a girl, it'd be nice if she were in her late teens, and this is the kind of role that she's going to play—she has to sing well, or she has to dance well—do you have anyone who can play this kind of role well?' And then the team that is in charge of that kind of contact will contact our team and ask if we have anyone that would be a good fit for the role that we want to have make an appearance? And we'll send them. Otherwise, for people that we can send to scenes we'll make a profile of them.

G: MMmmm

A: And if we send them out with that profile, and people will see that profile and say 'oh this person is at this company. We want to see them' and contact us. And that work of making profiles and sending them to the right people is something that's done by the management team...

G: Uhm So of course they'll have that kind of list for themselves but it's not something that other

R: Mmhm

G: or for ourselves, but it's not something that other companies will look at. We will get contacted by like a producing company and they'll be like 'we're looking for a' er they'll say their conditions, like, 'we're looking for a girl, maybe in her late teens, she's going to do this kind of role, she needs to be able to sing,' you know, etc etc, uhm, and that kind of contact will come into like our managing team and that managing team will contact us and be like 'so is there anyone you want to put in this position or is there someone you want to try out for this position or someone that would fit?' In other cases, uhm, when we have someone who is ready to go out and start working we will create a profile for them that we send out to other people.

R: mmm

G: so, we'll send that kind of thing out and then have other people contact us.

R: You anticipated my question!

G: hhahaha

A: hahaha

R: So, I'm curious about, let's say that person is ready, as you mentioned, how do you prepare them I guess you do some kind of promotion of the person? And how do you do that? Like how do you present the person?

[pause]

G: [K] Uhm, so there must be trainees who are prepared, uhmm how do you promote them? Uhm,

A: Uhh, that's something that Kim Eunji, will be able to tell you better...

G: Uhm she said, err the person that we're meeting with next is--

R: Is going to tell me. Okay. Yeah. Uhm. And so, do you perhaps know a bit about if you, if the company has to like to maintain some relations like uhm working connections with other companies? Or how does it usually work? Like with some uhm uhm producing companies, if they have like special relations.

G: [K] So, this company, does it have with other companies, for example producing companies, how do you, or, is there a special relationship you have with companies?

A: Oh, special relationship...?

G: [E] Like, what do you mean by special relation....?

R: Like how do you, like you know with which companies and uh how it happened that you guys that they got in contact, that they created this relations?

G: mm

R: or how they maintain them? Maybe that's better.

G: Ah okay. Uhm. [K] For example, how did you first start a relationship with production companies?

A: Ahahah uhm

G: [K] or like how do you continuously work together—cooperatively?

A: Yes, we need to work cooperatively because they make something, they are producing something, and they need people to be in those things, and we supply those people. There is role we play of making sure we can send those people where they're needed, and they are making something, they have projects, producing things, and so we need to interact. We need to be able to make thing also to send out and in order to make those kinds of things we need people. So, probably, we keep working together because we work well together? Hahah, and so they continue to make things, and though we do sometimes make things ourselves, making people that can go into those kinds of things [sniffs, unintelligible].

G: So they need like a lot of cooperative work with other companies because of course they need people and we have people and we need to send them off so they can do things so there is like a lot of interaction with other companies and uhm I think the reason we keep working together with other companies is just because it's been going well so of course we make things here too and we'll need people for that, but it's just kind of a cooperative process.

R: So, like should you work with the same production companies and maybe other companies than use work with other production companies that they personally know each other, something like this?

G: [K] mmm. So, does this company work continuously with the same production company or numerous different—

A: Yes, we work with numerous companies. And uhm, there are companies that we continuously work together with because we fit well together, and especially, we have affiliated/subsidiary companies that do production with us

G: [K] *jahoisa*...?

A: Yes, subsidiary companies,

G: Ahhh...

A: yes subsidiary, we will work with them, and we have companies that we work together with continuously, or otherwise we do work with other unaffiliated companies. Because making things isn't like, constantly producing them like a factory, there's kind of time periods we look at where it's like 'maybe we should make something like this at this point.' And so, depending on the time period the production companies that we work with can be different, and because of this we look at the time period and since it's work that's done by give and take between the companies we don't necessarily always go to the same place, we have ones we do to on occasion. I think it just depends on the circumstances.

G: So, they work with many different production companies, uhm, we work with many different production companies, uhm and there are production companies that we will work with together like on many projects uhm consistently. But uhm this kind of work a lot is dependent on just like the time, so you need to see the circumstances and the time for different project and so it requires working with multiple different companies. And of course, with certain companies we will you know, work for a long time together with them when it goes well.

R: Uhm, regarding about the trainees, because you mentioned about the training and you have to find their own style, so I wonder if the company helps them to find their own styles or if it's just them that can just decide by themselves? Uhm how is this managed?

G: [K] So, this is a question about trainees. You said that following the basic training period there is a time where trainees realize themselves, that they take what they learned and make it into their own, is that something that the company help with? Or is it something that the trainees themselves find the direction that they want to go in?

A: Well basically, uhm. [pause]. There is, broadly, an orientation that the company wants, and so in accordance with this orientation the kids will make a style for themselves, and during the period where they are practicing what they've learned we kind of – because the direction that the kids go in has to be in line with what the company is also expecting – so we take the direction that the kid wants to go in and the direction of the company and we kind of adjust based on that and help them. Like give them advice. So, like, the songs that the kids will sing if there are songs that are congruous the with the feeling, or the concept, that the company is considering, we will help them by giving them opinions on the songs to practice or choreography to practice or thoughts, mindsets. Or we ask teachers to coach them that way, and we will check in on them from time to time and adjust accordingly. And if there is a situation where the kid is going along in that direction but every once and a while we are like 'hm, maybe not?' we communicate with them and work together to find the direction.

[pause]

G: Sorry

R: hahaha. That's my fault for having so many questions, but it's helping me a lot so thank you

G: [K] I'm asking a lot of questions I'm sorry

A: Ah no it's fine.

G: [K] But she says it's very helpful

A: Oh well that's good hahaha

G: oh well then that's good. So of course there is a direction that our company wants to go and from the time that we have trainees come in we kind of share that direction with them and so uhm we will help them and give them advice towards that direction uhm and then like with singing, we'll have kind of like styles that we're looking for or songs, and so we'll try to fit them into that kind of style, by giving them uhm having their coaches practices them in certain kinds of practice songs, or practice styles.

Uhm. Kind of just like fostering this direction that we have as a company. Uhm, so we'll keep uhm watch over them as they're working and kind of make sure that they're, they're not uhm wandering too far from that general direction that we are looking towards as a company.

R: Is it, uhm, a style that the company decides because uhm uhm the company wants these styles, or do they do that also in function of the abilities and what they can see from the person.

G: [K] Uhm, then, you said that there is a style or orientation, is this something that the company just decides, or something that you look at each individual trainee and consider what kind of direction they are going to go in...?

A: Basically, we look at the kids and think about what kind of style or concept it is that they could do best. Like if the company is thinking about a BLACKPINK type project but when we go see the kids and they are pure and innocent we can't do that. So, after we see what they're like we think about what they are thinking, what the company is thinking, and when we say 'oh that would fit them' we look at that direction. Following that, we think about will this be good at the time that they're going to debut, in that kind of era or market? We consider things like, 'will this kind of thing be trending at the time they debut?' and judging on that we proceed. But first and foremost, we think about what they can do best, and then if the company can make that kind of thing well and whether or not those two things match, and judging off of that we proceed. But sometimes, depending on the situation, if the company is like 'we want to do something hip hop' there is also the method of kind of adapting the kids to that sort of direction. Like more than teaching them that kind of music, or like teaching them ballads, we teach them rap or hip, and that kind of choreography. So, we kind of umm... so that they can be not all innocent and pure, but [laughs] powerful. I think there are a lot of instances where we will kind of look at the situation and work off of that.

G: So of course, we think about what would be what these people are best at and what will be good for them. Like if we were thinking of like BLACKPINK but we see these people come in but they're too like, you know, pure, sweet innocent,

R: hahaha.

G: then it's not going to work obviously. So, we see them first, see what they're good at, what they can be good and and try to work with that, but also, we're looking at kind of the markets and what's going on in like the field and think about what will be trending at the point that they're ready. So, um we, uh, look at what they can do well and what we can help them do well with, but a lot of it kind of does depend on situation. For example, if we want to go in kind of a more hip-hop direction, there are times that we will push them more in the hip hop direction and train them in that, uhm. Yeah, there are a lot of instances like that, it seems.

R: So I guess for the physical look on outfits and things, is it also the same or is it the company that provides them clothes or things like this to look according to a certain style?

G: [K] So the clothes that trainees wear, the attire that aligns with that direction, is that something that the company decides, or is it something that [trainees] decide for themselves?

A: From that point, like effectively, I think in a bit Yoon-Soo will be able to tell you more about this, but essentially, rather than saying it's something that the kids do, with think of the songs, roles, that they can do and build a concept. We consider numerous [unintelligible] or this kind of visual aspects that they can show us, and based on that we decide on a direction.

G: So, the person coming after me will be able to tell you a little more about that, but uhm,

A: [giggle]

G: we kind of think as a company, of a concept for those people, and whether that's the songs that they sing or the clothes that they wear we can kind of consider that bigger concept and uhm kind of help create that concept for them. I think.

R: Yep. I see. Yeah

A: Ahahahah

R: So I wonder, because uhm correct me if I'm wrong, I think when this person start they're usually pretty young, so uhm where do they, are they like being paid to do the job, or how does it work, where do they live, how do they, uhm, sustain themselves?

G: Like as they're trainees?

R: Mhm, yes when they're trainees?

G: [K] Uhm, Yes. This is something that I think, but it may not be correct, when trainees first start their training period they are, trainees are probably quite young, in those instances, where do they live and how do they provide for themselves, or like economically, how do they [afford] to live?

A: They start at a young age and generally they live together with their families. So long as they aren't people who have come from overseas, they live with their family and they're only here for their training and practice, we don't do anything [laughter, unintelligible]. And regarding that financial part as well, seeing as they are young, the kids generally get allowances from their parents, and they kind of are dependent on their parents until they are able to earn money on their own. As far as I know, this is generally the case.

G: So yes, they start at a very young age, or they tend to start at a young age uhm, and generally they'll just be staying with their families, uhm, as so long as maybe they're not from overseas, they'll just be staying with their families. So they're just with us for training, or like education kind of stuff but they'll be with their families. Uhm, financially speaking, most likely because they're young they'll still be getting allowances from their parents and then you know because it's before they'll be starting to make their own money.

R: So, uh, they are really dependent on their parents for the two-three-five years that they're being trained?

G: [K] So while they are living as trainees, the two to five-year period, they generally are dependent on their parents?

A: Yes, as far as everyday life yes, they depend a lot on their parents. But because their education [training] is being supported by the company, they do not have to worry about those kinds of costs. What they're getting from their parents is stuff for living actual life, like buying snacks, buying clothes, transportation costs, all those kinds of things they have to get themselves or depend on their parents for. But beyond that, things that are happening within the company, like practice or [unintelligible] are being funded by the company they don't have to worry about those kinds of costs.

G: So in terms of like living costs, like clothes or like buying food or snacks and stuff, yes, they do depend on their family including like traffic, err, like bus [Korean] uh

R: yes, like transportation

G: yes, transportation fees, that's the word, but in terms of like education or training that's taken care of by the company.

R: And so, then they can, when do they start being paid? Is it when they start or like, when do they [unintelligible] change the contract to uhm after they debut? Or is it if they have some activities or?

G: [K] Then, from what point do trainees or artists begin to earn money? Is it from after they debut, or after they release an album?

A: Generally, at least as far as I know, I'm not in charge of those kinds of things so I can't say exactly, but after they debut and are publicly active and revenue is generated, or to put it more easily, when they earn money, like if they appear in something or if they release an album people are going to buy it, so when that kind of revenue is generated, we subtract the costs of doing those kinds of things and—like making an album or doing activities has its own cost, so they subtract the costs from the revenue and the company divides it, and that's when the artist begins to make money.

G: So, as far as I know, I'm not in charge of this so I can't say for certain—

R: yeah yeah yeah of course

G: but uhm, you know if they put out an album or if they're in, they act in something they of course will see money from that, but it's kind of uhm, let me clarify,

R: mmhm

G: [K] So, for example, if they release an album, the uh, uh,

A: production costs

G: [K] the production costs, are those funded by the company? Or...

A: Well when you first start at the company they do cover a lot of things but later the company balances accounts

G: mmmm, so then, ah I see. So uhm, of course there will be income from the album or whatever kind of activities that they do, but at the time, or for now, they like the costs that go into making like an album will be uhm maybe provided by the company, so later on there will be kind of like a what is that called *jeongsan*

R: list?

G: uhm, not a sum, but like a, kind of like yeah, a balance

R: a record? A record of... I don't know

G: [K] So, the balance that includes, that's a kind of record of the costs of like making an album? Or other activities?

A: Mmhm. Of course, like in a year there are points, for example like activities between January and March, or if they release a record the costs of making the record, or if they appeared on a show, we add all those things up and the income is divided up at distribution ratio that was negotiated in the contract.

G: Mmmm. Yes so it'll be like a list of like, you know if they're, if they've put out albums, or if they've put out, if they've been in shows or dramas or things like that, uhm, and kind of depending on their contract, the amount will be maybe slightly different.

R: Ahh, you mean you have like uh [sounds of drawing on paper] this is like debit and credit and then maybe uhm the company invested some money to pay for the training and then uhm this is like the money you make for like making the album, and then so you divide the how much they owe versus...

G: Yeah, let me just... [K] So for example, this is like

R: training

G: [K] training, releasing album costs

A: training, activities, make up, hair, cost, production fees needed to make the album, album processing costs, video costs, there is of course going to be a long list of these kinds of things, so if they release and album and

G: [K] the money that comes in

A: the money they make off of the album, the money that comes in,

G: [K] yes yes

A: if they appear on a broadcast, if they shoot a [unintelligible], if they shoot a movie, the costs of all those things will be..uh, summed. And so it'll be like matching up those things. So this is minus, because it's money that's been used,

G: [K] yes

A: and when they make something and sell it, it's a plus

G: [K] plus

A: and so we match those up and take this out of the full amount [unintelligible] [loud sound of something maybe dropping]

G: [K] Ahh thank you

[laughter]

G: Yes so essentially what you were saying was correct, there, this will be all of the debts that go into, like investment going into things and then uhm the return on that and then at the end it'll be kind of

R: the difference

G: Yep

R: And so is it like at the end of the contract that they check that or when do they,

G: [K] AH, so, this balancing of accounts, does it happen when the contract is completed or is it something that happens depending on the time?

A: Maybe 3 or 4 times a year? Like on a quarterly system? So like February to March, March to April, April to June

G: Ahhh...

A: Like at those kinds of intervals. Otherwise, like the breakdown of their activities between January and June of a year will be organized and will be done like. During their contract period.

G: So it'll be maybe three to four times a year, maybe quarters...

R: Ahh

G: Depending on contracts

R: I'm sorry, we're all—we'll be done soon.

[G: [K] We'll be done soon]

A: ahahaha

R: Even my butt [unintelligible]. Yeah uhm so I will check about the general questions I had so, mm. Uhm. Oh yeah, could you tell me like actually it's here, could you tell me for example, a typical day of a, let's say I'm a trainee, so uh, how my day will be? Or...

G: [K] So what is a trainee's typical day comprised of? For example, from morning to night.

A: From morning to night...

R: Or if a person specific she knows or something.

A: For those who are attending high school or college [unintelligible] it's different, but for them they will go to school and come here after school and from that point they will stay until 10 PM, doing training. After school. In that, in that time or that period, they are getting lessons, or practice by themselves, or eat. Those kinds of things are included in this time. For those who don't attend school they'll come here by 10—no, 1 PM and stay until 10 PM getting training, then they will go home. And during that time, just like the others, they will get singing lessons or dance lessons, or do individual practice, or eat. Those kinds of things are included in that time.

G: So it's a little different for people who are in high school or college, so they'll finish classes, finish their school, and then they'll come, depending on when that time is, and they'll stay till about ten at night. And during that time they'll get lessons, singing lessons, dancing lessons, and they'll eat, of course. Uhm,, and for people that aren't in school, it'll be, they'll come by one PM an they'll stay until ten PM and during that time they'll do the same, they'll get their lessons in different things, or they'll do individual practice, and they'll eat of course.

R: I see. How do you, that's a question I had like this. How do you decide if a person is going to work in a group or individually? Do you make people train together or...?

G: [K] Certain trainees... uhm. Is there something where like you have people work along with other people... ahhh sorry one moment. Hahah

R: Hahah

A: Like practice together? Or...?

G: [K] Or like, one individual... alone... one moment. [E] So are you asking like, if eventually they become just like a single idol or just in terms of like practicing?

R: yeah it's because basically sometimes we see that you have like groups or some times just individuals, so I wonder how this is decided, for example if they decide they know for sure this person is going to have a solo career or if they always make them work together and see how it goes and decide based on that. How they make these decisions, basically.

G: [K] Yes, so, you have boy groups and girl groups, as well as idols that work solo as well, how are those kinds of things decided? For example, is it from the time they are trainees, you tell a trainee 'you're going to continue to be solo' solo? 'you're going to work solo' or 'you're going to work in a group' how are those types of things decided?

A: If you want work solo you have to be just exceptional as a singer. Groups, groups of course have to be exceptional too, but if you're solo you're doing the music that 5-10 people do just by yourself. Hahah. That's not something that we decide right away, but after a certain amount of training, after watching them for one or two years, we think about whether if this person went out by themselves they could show that kind of charm, and that's when we start, making records or those kinds of things. And for groups as well, after we see whether these people can come together in this group, if they have a good atmosphere among them, if they have [cohesion], and that also is after watching them for a while, maybe a year or two. We don't tell them from the beginning 'you're in a group'.

G: So, it's not decided from the very beginning whether or not someone will be a solo, like work solo, or be in a group, but to work solo you have to be just exceptional in everything because you have to the work of a whole group just by yourself. So it's not—

R: Oh. [You're not special?]

G: So it's not decided, it's not decided right away, generally it's after a year or two you kind of see where they're going and if you see that they're really exceptional it can be decided then in terms of doing recordings and whatnot. And for groups, that's also not decided right away, it's another thing where takes a few years, kind of seeing how people work together and of course within groups you have to have like a good cohesion, they have to be able to work together and have a good atmosphere and so that also takes like a year or two to kind of see. But it's never from the beginning 'you're going to be doing this' or 'you're going to be doing this' it's always kind of wait and see.

R: Wait and see. So you work for, like, within a team, so you're team manager, so how many persons are in your team and how many persons, like how many trainees do they have in charge or... I wonder how, how they work together.

G: [K] So you are a team leader,

A: Yes.

G: [K] How many people are on the team you are in charge of... the team members?

A: My team members?

G: [K] Yes...

A: [long pause] One second...

G&R: [laughter]

A: 12 people?

G: [K] and these 12 people, are they interacting directly with the trainees?

A: Within this there are around 5 or 6 who do casting, and 3 are working really together with the kids that are training, and within this the like choreography teachers we need for training are included as well. But everyone does interact with the kids. The reason being, for casting the kids have to interact with them, and they have to train, and they have to interact with the teachers so they are, yes, interacting with them.

G: So there are about 12 people in the team that she's in charge of, err, that I'm in charge of, and maybe five to six work in casting and maybe 3 to 4 work within training of the trainees, and then there's the teachers, but of course everyone in the team works with the trainees, uhm, directly it seems.

R: So those who work for training the 3 or 4 ones, what do they do? Because I can figure out for like casting and teacher but can you explain maybe a bit more about like uhm give me maybe examples of what they would be in charge of doing?

G: [K] Yes, so within the team 5 to 6 people do casting, and this 3 to 4 people, it is excluding teachers, correct?

A: Yes.

G: [K] So what is it that these 3 to 4... you see I think I understand what the casting people will do and the teachers, but what do these three to—

A: These three, really what they do is like what I said earlier, they will check on the schedule of the kids when they come everyday and get feedback or interact with teachers on how the kids' lessons are going, and give them feedback or advice about that kind of direction for the kids. And they will check if they are doing the homework that they have from lessons and those kinds of things... And because

these are kids, we have to communicate with their parents as well. That's kind of the things that these 3 to 4 people are doing as well.

G: I see. So these three to four people, they're in charge of looking at this kind of schedule, making sure that people are showing up, if they're going to their lessons, and getting feedback from the professional coaches or teachers that are teaching them at these lessons. Uhm. They'll also give feedback and advice to the trainees in case they're feeling that maybe they're not going in the right direction or the direction that they planned to. They'll check that they're doing their lessons and their work, and also, of course, because these trainees are generally younger we need to be in contact with their parents, so these are the people that will be interacting with their parents.

R: Is it also them who decide the schedules of the trainees maybe? Probably?

G: [K] Yes so, these are the people that are deciding the schedules of training, correct?

A: Yes.

G: Yes.

R: Good. So just final questions and then we're done.

A: Ahaha

G: [K] Really the final questions...

A: Hahahha...

R: I'm sorry. So, it's just to talk a bit about you, so I was wondering if maybe your parents or other people in your family are also in a similar field or what they do or, in general.

G: [K] If we go back to more personal stories, are you parents working in a similar field at all? Or

A: My parents?

G: [K] Yes.

A: No, not at all. They're doing something completely different. They do business.

G: So, my parents are working totally different field. They work in, like, business.

R: Oh, do you, could you tell me, just for your parent's job, also if you have brothers and sisters?

A: My younger sibling also works in a different field.

G: [K] Is your younger sibling a brother?

A: Yes, a younger brother.

G: [K] How many years difference?

A: 3 years difference, but he's working in a different field. I..T...? He's working in IT.

G: Um so I have a younger brother three years younger than me, but he does something completely different, he works in IT.

R: Oooh, but there is a lot of like uh, it's easy to find a job, but I think, you know it's good for them economically. It's like an easy field these days, it's like developing a lot, I heard.

G: [K] Mmmm.. It's a developing field so it's good...

A: ahh, hahaha...

R: And so your parents, they're like doing, they have their own business?

G: [K] Do your parents have their own business?

A: Yes.

G: Yes, they have their own business.

R: May I ask in which field?

G: [K] Would it be alright if I asked what field their business is in?

A: Uh [reluctantly] they just sell things...

G: Ah yes, they just... like a store

R: Ahh nice nice. And are you originally from Seoul?

A: Yes.

R: Ah I see. No more private questions, I promise.

A: ahahha

R: It's just to get an idea, because, for example I was wondering if uhm people working for entertainment companies usually come from Seoul or if they come from somewhere else in Korea. This is kind of why I ask this questions.

G: [K] The reasons I ask these kind of questions is kind of to see if people working in entertainment generally came from Seoul or if they came from somewhere else

A: Among people working here there are also a lot of people who came from other areas of Korea. And there are a lot who came from Seoul as well. I think it just depends on the person.

G: Seems like it's kind of—there are a lot of people that have come from not Seoul to work here, and people that are from Seoul work here too. It just seems like it's different depending on person...

A: From abroad also... among people who work in those kinds of jobs related to abroad, there are a lot of people who came after living, or working, or studying abroad as well.

G: And those kind of working in the international part of the business, there are a lot of people that have been, like studied abroad and come back and work and stuff like that.

R: I see. Oh just last question, she said she went to like academic... you have the name in Korean

G: Yeah, SM Academy

R: Yeah, and uhm, is it like a uni, no it's just if you [unintelligible] ah so did you go to like another like a arts university or something?

G: Uhhhh...

R: Just my last question

G: Yeah yeah yeah, [K] Lastly, just did you attend an arts university?

A: No not an arts university, just a fashion...

R: Oh right! I'm sorry, bad memory.

G: [K] She didn't remember.

R: Thank you so much, I'm sorry it took so long. I hope you're not too thirsty, I don't have extra water.

A: Hahaha....

G: [K] I'm sorry it went on so long.

A: Oh no not a problem. I'm not sure if it's helpful at all.

G: Oh she's not sure if it will be helpful but...

R: Yes, it will.

G: [K] Of course, it will.

A: It's interesting, it's sociology that you're doing but, I kept thinking 'hmm she's thinking about that?' and, why, the among the things you asked me, like the relationship we have with production companies, or the relationship we have with trainees, I'm not sure if what I'm thinking is correct but those things are social, so maybe that's why she's asking them...

G: [K] Yes, that's exactly right. [E] So she's said it's interesting looking at it from a sociological point of view, she's like thinking about like relationships between like different companies and how that itself could be sociological... it's just an interesting kind of---

R: What I could do?

G: Oh no, no, no, it's just, the questions that you asked uhm are interesting because it's a new way of thinking about those kind of—

R: Ahhhh well thank you!

A: Ahahaha

G: [K] Thank you

A: Thank you

R: Thank you

A: She'll come soon, Yoon-Soo will come soon.

R: We'll rest a bit.

G: Aigoo

R: I'm sorry...

G: [K] Thank you for putting up with my inadequate Korean

A: Oh no not at all, I wish I could have done it directly. Thanks so much.

R: Drink a lot because it's very hot!

G: [K] It's very hot so drink a lot of water.

A: Thank you.

R: Tired. What about you?

G: I'm exhausted.

R: Yeah, I can't imagine. I'm sorry. I'll just...

G: So wait, how long was that?

R: Just two hours.

G: Just? Two. Okay...

R: No, one--

--end of recording--

Annexe 4 - Retranscription de l'entretien avec la responsable du planning et du marketing chez N Entertainment

R: So uhm, I think this [unintelligible, papers shuffling] Sorry, I'm talking a lot

B: Hahah

R: Yeah, I'm a chatty person, sorry! So uhm, I know that you're from Korea university originally, so but could you talk to me about a bit about you and like uhm what you studied and how come you came to have the job you have these days?

B: I [went to] *sabumdae*, do you know what *sabumbdae* means?

G: [k] *sabumdae*...uhm

B: I graduated from the geography department, so..

G: [k] Sorry, which department

B: Geography, [English] geography education, [Korean] so I studied there and graduated. Originally I should have become a teacher, hahaha, but I was very interested in music from the time that I was in university, and I had actually been in a band, so from middle school, uhmmm, [English] when I'm in middle school I played guitar, was a singer..

R: Oooohhh~

B: So [Korean]so [English] very interesting in music industry, so

R: Yep

B: Uhm I studied geography education in Korea University but I always doing somethings with music

R: I see I see

B: [Korean] So, whether it was planning things for festivals, like school festivals, university music festivals, performances, I continuously did planning for these kinds of events when I was in university. And so, since I was active in this kind of performance side of things moreso than studying hahah, And as I did those kinds of activities, as it happens—I like musicals a lot, and when the Lion King came to Korea, when I was in my third year of university, I saw an advertisement for it and thought to myself “I have to work with musicals.” And so I sought out a musical company and asked them to give me something to do, hahaha, and so I started doing that as a part time job, but then it turned into a living, so and,

G: Ah...

B: And while I was working at the musical company, some team leaders that saw how hard I worked and liked me asked what I thought about doing concerts, that they thought I would do really well working in concerts. So I went to my first company that plans concerts for singers after I graduated. And after I started working there, I worked there for quite a long time. Maybe one or two years? And so I would go around on concert tours as well, in the role of like tour manager, and because it was a performance planning company that I was at, I would have meeting with people who worked in places like I do now—artist agency—or directly with singers, directors, or those kinds of people. And so I as I got to know more people who worked in those kinds of fields, they suggested that I do it—that I try out working in the entertainment industry. They said they thought I would do well. And so it was kind of by chance I applied here, and this place was a company for ‘bands’, and because moreso than idols I can kind of understand bands, and so that’s how I came to work here, but ho I’ve worked here for so long...I don’t know. Hahahaha

G: Hahahahaa. Okay,

B: Oh it’s a lot

G: [K] Ah no, it’s okay! [E] So, I guess she already said a little bit but

R: Yeah you can check if she is saying it correctly, hahah

G: So she went to [K] is a *sabumdae* ... is that law school?

B: No no no no, it’s for teachers, education, [E] education

G: [e] Okay, okay. Uhm so she studied geography education at [Korea University] and was originally supposed to be a teacher haha, but always had an interest in music and would like was in her own band and from middle school she played, she played guitar and was like singing, and all throughout college uhm she was active in like a lot of festivals, planning festivals, and uhm, whether it was like a college festival --

R: So cool

G: -- or like other things, and so more than studying she was like very active and so she really like musicals and because of that when the , the Lion King came to Korea and did a performance in Korea and seeing that she applied to a musical company and first was working there just part time, but then the people working there like like PDs and directors saw her working very hard and suggested that maybe she do working on concerts. So she started to do that and it was through that that she started working at her first company for about two years or so and there she did like tour management and concerts, planning concerts

R: Was it this ...?

G: No a different, [K] It was a different company, right?

B: Yes

G: Uhm so during that time meeting with like a lot of other people in the industry she was able to you know interact with a lot of people and they suggested maybe working in the entertainment industry and so kind of by chance, but not exactly chance, she applied here because this is like a ‘band’ company

R: Mhm

G: And so she's familiar with bands, she understands them so it turned out well, and now she's here.

B: It's not really anything, hahah

G: [K] No, it's good information

R: SO why did you choose geography at the beginning if you were perhaps interested in singing and things like that?

B: Hmmmm. I did have very much interest in studying, and I was someone who really like activities...like I like exercising and travelling, and so, that department, singularly, is one where all-day, all throughout the semester, you're travelling. The department—what I majored in, geography education—travelling with the professors and friends in the department was studying.

G: [K] Oh really..?

B: So that's why I chose it, hahahah. To do the least amount of studying possible, hahahah.

G: Yes, hahaha

R: I think I understood her, haha

G: [e] Yeah, haha, Uhm. I was never one much for studying so, I always like being active, so

R: I understand you

G: and doing like exercising or traveling or just being active, and so the department itself, the whole idea of it was studying was through travelling, so throughout the semester you're just travelling with professors and your like, cohort.

R: What are we doing in sociology? We should have chosen geography, you know?

B: [hearty laughter]

R: I see, I see. SO you're already like travelling a lot so you chose it as an opportunity for you to enjoy

B: yeah, yeah

R: Because I think in Korea it's like, everyone goes to university right? But then you kind of choose something that you like, feel more comfortable—uhm, so you said you don't really want to study so did you choose geography so you could enjoy and have your part time activities?

B: Yeah

R: I see, I see. And uh, what about, do you have brother and sisters?

B: No

R: And what about your parents?

B: Uhm, [K] What my parents do?

G: [K] Yes, yes

B: like their job?

G: Yes, whether it's their job, or what they studied, [E] Like if they studied or what kind of work they do

B: My father, in college, what do I call this. Worker at a university? Not a professor, but he manages admissions and that kind of thing. And my mother is a therapist. Child therapist.

G: Ahh. So uhm, my father works at, ahh [K] Is he still working there?

B: A bit ago he retired

G: Ah, I see. [E] So he retired pretty recently but until then was working in the admissions department of a college. And my mother is a child psychologist.

R: Oh that's so cool!

B: Cool?

R: Yeah! Yeah.

B: And she's still doing that.

G: And she's still working there. Or doing that, I guess.

B: Very hardcore job.

R: So nice. So you told me you're like planning and marketing team manager, so could you explain me a bit more about what is being a planning and marketing team manager is like basically?

B: Is she asking what exactly my role is?

G: Yes—

B: Like what kind of work I do?

G: Yes, yes

B: Simply put, when a certain singer is trying to put out a new album... the very first thing we do decide is how we're going to [show] that singer to the public, what kind of image, what kind of concept. And so according to that concept we will shoot album jacket photos, by hiring a photographer, shoot music videos, by hiring music video directors, design the album package design, by hiring a designer. On the promotion and marketing side of things they are thinking about in order to best to deliver this concept to the masses, what kind of 'contents' do we have to make, how they're going to access them. Content planning. Like with the concept, like an example from right now if we want to show the members' sexiness, then we plan contents where you can really feel that kind of sexiness. And if we want to show a more friendly, cute concept to people with certain songs, we might make video contents that are cute or bright. That's generally how it goes. Through multiple channels, we could hire like youtubers, we do a collaboration with movie theaters, and recently we've even worked with a webtoon author, it's diverse. If a concept is decided upon, in order to promote this concept the best we can we work in collaboration with these kinds of people, or organizations, or businesses in order to do our marketing, in general.

G: Hahah. Sorry...

B: I was trying to say it simply but

G: No no no, Uhm [E] So simply put, when a singer's album's about to come out they think of how to like through what concept or what image we want that singer's album to come out with. So that includes like hiring photographers to do photo kits, or hiring directors for music videos, or like album design. And then on the promotion side, it's like what kind of content can they make to promote this album in this image or like uhm or like through this concept? And like how to you know, access the public, and make that uhm, like get the message across, or get the image or concept across, so like for example if they want to have like a sexy image, they'll have to make a whole image that's like goes along with that, or if they want to do more of a fun, cutesy, easy, approachable thing, they have to work with that concept and decide what kind of contents to make. And so with promotion they'll be working with like places like youtube or recent they worked with like a web toon author? Drawer? Artist? Uhm, and uhm, uhm, movie theaters as well and they'll do collaborations to promote those kinds of concepts or like a new album.

B: [E] And take care my artists

G: Take care of your artists

B: [E] Very important thing, hahaha..

G: Hahahah

R: So how do you uhm decide on the image that you, for example this person's going to have a new album, or first album, how do you decide on the image, that you want to give to that person or the album?

B: [K] So how you decide the artist's image?

G: [K] Yes how you decide on the artist's image. Or the image or concept of an album.

B: This is not something that follows a strict schedule. But generally, the title song comes out first. And when a good song comes out, we get that song and listen to it and interpret the song and its lyrics, and first we try to find things that visualize the things that we feel when we listen to the song. Whether it's an image or a video. And when we find something we think fits the best with that song after we put together what the image and video are going to be like, we brainstorm together a lot, and pick shared keywords that come out of that brainstorming, and through those we make a storytelling narrative. The subject we're trying to talk about with this concept. That's how we organize it.

G: So it's not necessarily like a strict order that this goes in, but first like a title song, or like a single [K] Is a title song the same as a single?

B: yes yes, that's right.

G: [E] Okay. So first a title, like a single will come out and she'll listen to it and interpret the the feeling of the song and the lyrics of the son and see what they feel, and find things that like visualize that feeling. And after that there's like a lot of brainstorming and you'll come up with a lot of keywords and then through those keywords uhm you kind of start like a storytelling process. [K] Right?

B: Yep

R: That's so interesting. I want to do this job too, hahah

B: But generally a title song will come out and we'll listen to it and interpret it, but sometimes, we start out with planning, and say like, 'for this group's next song we want to have this kind of feeling or this kind of lyrics. We want to do the album jacket this way and the music video this way' and so we'll tell that to a composer who we will work together with for the song. Completely the opposite.

G: So in certain circumstances, they'll do planning first and uhm like they'll listen to the title song but then for the next one they'll be like 'so I kind of want this feeling, or this kind of music video, or this kind of stuff' and then after that is when the song will be written, the lyrics will be written.

R: I see. So to make this create these images and concepts do you do that in function of what you want, or do you also consider the artist themselves? Do you choose which image will fit?

B: [K] Like do we work directly with artists for...?

G: [K]Uhm... Like. [e] so like

R: I wonder uhm, how much do you consider the look and the identity of the artists to choose the music and the concept?

B: yes of course. Because the identity is decided from the time that they debut, there is this idea of a team's orientation. When we decide on a concept as well, for example, if we were to take a team named SF9 (?), from the time that they debuted they were a team that's main role was performance. And so we are continually promoting them. And so if their main thing is performances, if they have a song come out that they can't perform, that doesn't make sense. So we start off with that kind of direction or orientation in mind and so when they put out a song, it's clear that it has to be something they can perform but the rest we kind of line up with the season, the situation that the song is going to be coming out in, and maybe will be like 'well this time we want a bit lighter of a song' or 'these people are already on stages so we want them to have more of a physical, a sexy feeling to them' we kind of decide those types of directions, so that they fit with the teams. Because in the end we can't just do with them whatever we want, as you said, we consider and decide depending on the artist's identity or the direction that the artist has to go in.

G: [e] Yes so of course from the time that an artist like debuts they have like their identity, like their direction. So if there were a group that were like really, like their main thing was performance, uhm, like they would work with them to like uhm kind of of course do things that were fit with that identity that they have, but then push them in maybe slightly different directions maybe a little bit of a more upbeat feeling or maybe push them more towards sexy, but of course you can't like push something onto their identity, like the artist's identity. You consider it first and build off of that.

R: MM. I see. So, I wonder, so, uhm, who makes the, you say that usually you'll listen to a song, and then you'll decide about an image or concept, so who makes the music? Is it that you have musicians, or like uh, music producers, or is it the artists that make the songs, I wonder?

B: Like who decides on the songs..?

G: [K] Yes so like, or like do the artists themselves compose the songs directly and make them? Or do other people who do music make the song first and uhm..

B: If we take them?

G: Yes

B: It really depends. It can be different, but first, in general all the artists do compose and write lyrics. Like FT Island or CM Blue, because they're bands they have been doing things themselves since they were young, so there are instances where we make things from the songs that artists make, but depending, depending on the season, we could use foreign composers. Foreign composers send us a lot of demos, and so we listen to them, and if there are ones that we think are really decent, there are instances that we take those and make them into something. And in certain cases, if an artist says they have a foreign composer that they really like, sometimes we'll have them work together by having that person come to Korea and make a collaborative song. There's a lot of ways it can happen.

G: [e] So it's different. There's a lot of different ways it can happen. So of course the artists can all, they can all write their own songs and write their own lyrics, and so there are a lot of times that the songs will come from the artists themselves. And in certain instances there will be like a foreign, like a

B: [E] composer

G: Yes composer, that'll send like a lot of demos, a lot of demos come in, and so if uhm, there are some like okay demos that come in sometimes they'll go in that direction with the songs. And in other instances, artists will work together with someone maybe that they know, like a composer maybe that they know and do like a collaborative project and uhm that'll be how a song comes about.

R: So the composers, they're also working in your company, or are they from outside?

B: Uhm. There are some composers within the company. The main producers are all composers. And there are times that they are the ones who do it, and sometimes we work with foreign composers as well. Because you have to do it that way in order for the songs to be more varied. So yeah, we don't make sure we do it all here or anything.

G: So there are composers within the company itself, and there are composers from abroad and y'know you work with multiple composers in order to have a diversity of songs, kind of.

R: And is it common that the artists want to write and compose their own songs, and if they do is it always possible for them to make it into a song? Or how is it discussed with the managers, I guess?

B: Uhm,

G: [K] So if the artists were to want to compose a song, is that something that is always will come out as a song? Does the company make those into songs? Or, are there case in which they don't get made? And maybe the reasons?

B: Ah, okay okay. Well first, they aren't all made, of course. The number of songs that the artist have written is massive. And so when it's time for them to put out an album we gather up all those songs and we have a meeting all together. The main producers, us, and the artist will all

meet and we'll say 'we want to go in this direction' or 'it's a situation where this kind of concept has to be put out' so we ask if these songs are right for that. There are times when we consider them in that way. Or sometimes, we ask 'if a lot of people listen to this song, will they like it?' hahahah, that's the most important thing. All together we'll discuss if 'is this song good or is it not' and if the we conclude that the song that they wrote is not good we drop it. But if it's good, then we could start working on it.

G: [E] Okay, so, of course not everything can be made finally into a song, because a lot of artists have like a lot of songs written, so when it's time for like an album to come out uhm the main producers and our, the planning team, and the artists themselves will meet together and we'll collect all the songs and go through them and we'll kind of pick out if certain songs are in the direction we want to go in, if it's like consistent with that direction or that style. And in other cases you'll just have to listen and be like 'is this even a good song?' and so in certain cases if it's not--

B: haha

R: Haha

G: You'll just kind of let it go, and in certain cases if it's good then you'll start working on it and it'll become a song.

B: Fundamentally, we are not trying to stop any of the artists' songs. They'll have the freedom to do so. And they'll participate in the composition and lyric writing of the songs...

G: So of course, we're not uhm trying to stop them from writing their own songs. They'll all, of course, write a lot of their own songs and they have the freedom to do so and they do a lot.

B: They have the freedom but the decision has to be objective (/cold), hahaha.

G: So they have the freedom to do it but we must be resolute in our judgement of them

R: So they have to be 'yeahhhhh maybeeee not this one' haha

B: hahah

G: hahah

R: I see, I see, haha. So, uhm, when do you I wonder about uhm how you decide when you're going to launch, for example, a new album for someone, like what are the factors that makes you decide now is time to make a new album or something like this.

G: [K] So, uhm, there are times when you think that a certain artist should come out with a new album, or I think there are times you probably think that, and so those kinds of decisions? How do you make those kinds of decisions?

B: Like the schedule?

G: Yes like the schedule.

B: Well, the circumstances of the artist are all really different. Certain singers, certain teams—our company has multiple teams—and certain teams, certain people do a lot of activities with Japan and China, and so they have to consider both of those situations and decide their schedule for a Korean album. So it's not something you just kind of do all of the sudden. To a certain extent there is a yearly schedule, yearly plan set in place. And that's how we work. It's

kind of broadly decided: who in January, who in February, who in March, who in April... And so we kind of adjust the scheduling based on that. But if we're planning to put something out then we have to already be working on it for a while, but when we get to that point and if we realize there aren't really any good songs, or if they don't really like the songs, it can get delayed as well. And so we kind of adjust.

G: [E] So, uhm. The situation that singers are in is very diverse, so it really depends on each different group or singer. So there are multiple teams within our company, some that are working in China and some in Japan, and so for those teams especially you kind of have to think about what's going on in those situations before you plan a Korean album for them. But at the beginning of the year there is kind of a schedule that is planned out. Like who's going to come out in January, who's going to come out in February, who's going to come out in March. But of course if while working on the album there are no good songs that are coming together or anything, it'll become delayed [unintelligible] and things will get readjusted.

R: Mhm, I see. You have some teams in Japan and China?

B: Yeah.

R: So they're like uh, like another branch of the company?

B: Yeah,

R: Ahh, and so they promote Chinese or Japanese signers or Korean ones?

B: Korean ones

R: OH, so they're like Korean people living in, I mean, how do they work on promoting them in China, for example, but the band or the person, themselves, are in Korea?

G: [K] Are the teams or bands in Korea and you just promote them in China or Japan? Or..

B: We release an album there. So they'll put out an album in Korea, and then those same Korean singers will, with our Japanese branch, in Japan release an album just for Japan, and be active in Japan. And so if their activities in Korea are done they will go to Japan and do activities there and performances there, and go to China and release an album there and do activities there.

G: Okay. So, Uhm, the teams are Korean and they will like maybe put an album in Korea but then go to Japan and be active there, put out a Japanese version of the album, and then do the same with China. Go to China, be active there and put out a Chinese album.

R: Chinese album?

G: Or like, [K] So when they are in China, the album that they put out in China is it, how is it different with the one they put out in Korea?

B: Uhm, usually, on the Chinese side, you can think of it as the Chinese version of the single/title song released in Korea. You can think of it as the lyrics being transferred (translated) to Chinese. And in Japan there is a Japanese version as well, but in the case of Japan, because their music market is so big, there are a lot of times where they make a completely new album only for Japan.

G: [K] Then do they do that in Japanese?

B: They either do it in Japanese or, but they'll do Japanese lyrics. But generally, we generally stick to English lyrics in Japan. For Japanese albums. Not Korean. There are times we put in Korean, but ... [trails off]

G: [E] So uhm, for the Chinese version of the album generally they'll take the title song and they'll just make a Chinese version. Just translate it over, just translate the lyrics

B: [E] Same song

G: Yeah, same song and everything, but. But then with Japan, it's a bit of different situation, because they have such a large recording? Recording market I guess you could say, so they will sometimes make just a whole new album, just with Japanese albums, but a lot of times they'll make a new album just with English lyrics. But yeah, sometimes there'll be some Korean in it, but definitely not the main, haha, language of the album.

R: So the idols or the, they have to, the artists, they have to speak Japanese or Chinese?

B: [E] Very fluently.

R: Oh, wow.

B: [K] There is a member in charge. If they go to Japan there is a Japanese speaker among the members, and if they go to China, there is a Chinese speaker member, and there is an English speaker member. In that way their management of those things is kind of split up. But in any case, because there are a ton of fans in Japan and China, members—from the time that they debut, from the time they are trainees, we teach them here.

G: Ah really

B: So basically, by the time they debut they are able to communicate in Japanese or Chinese.

R: So basically, within a group some members speak English, another member speaks Chinese, and...

B: [E] Main position but [K] in the cases of Chinese or Japanese

G: [E] Uh, yeah there are lots of fans in Japan and China so there will be times where, when they're trainees they'll be taught at least the basics of Chinese or Japanese so that, like all of the members, so that they'll be able to do at least some communication, because there's so many fans in these countries.

R: Yeah

B: Yeah

R: I See, but how do they learn the language? When and how? For example, when you're training, or, when do they learn the foreign languages?

B: [K] Is she asking who teaches the foreign languages?

G: [K] Yeah so, is Japanese and Chinese, are those taught from the time they do training—they are trainees?

B: From when their trainees

G: [K] Is it something the company teaches?

B: Yeah it's a required course.

G: Required course!

B: It's a required course for trainees lessons: English, Chinese, Japanese. Those are the foundation. Like how they take dance lessons. I mean, like Kim Eunji team leader probably told you, the training curriculum there is a basic program. Those three, the three languages, dance, vocal, rap, and for people who composing, composition, lessons, and then should I call it 'mind control'? Like character education. Those are required. There are a lot of required subjects. And so language is one of them.

G: [e] Yeah, so from the time that they're trainees, uhm, English, Japanese, and Chinese are required courses in their training. They're part of like the basic training, so, who we talked to earlier might have said a bit about it, but the training curriculum, the basic training curriculum, will have those three languages, vocal training, dance training, rap training, for those who do composition, composition, and then there's also like uhm character building? Kind of .

R: Is it mind control?

G: Yeah that was the mind control. A little bit, I would have to look it up to be sure but it's kind of...

B: [K] I should look it up, I'm not sure either..

G: *in seong kyo yuk*

B: Hmm what would you call it?

R: If you want some cookies just help yourself. You can have some too.

G: Oh noo

R: If you're hungry

G: I'm good

B: [E] Character education?

G: Character education? I was close

B: [K] You were right, haha.

G: Hahah.

R: So, that's a lot. How do they, do they have to do all of them? Or do they have to chose a few of them?

G: [K] Are these all required? Or can they choose the ones they want to do?

B: In the beginning we make trainees do all of them. They do all of them, and then if there are people who distinguish themselves in certain areas then we kind of push them to focus on those things. Like if we teach them three languages and they are doing sooo well with English, and if they are doing sooo poorly with Chinese, we'll tell them not to waste their time there and nudge them to focus on English. And so when that person debuts they become the English member. Hahah

G: [e] So in the beginning, they're all, they have to do everything. But then as time goes by you kind of see where people are at. And so if there is someone who is really good at English, or like, excelling at English, but is like really bad a Chinese, rather than having them waste their time on taking those lessons for Chinese, we'll push them, well like not push them, but like guide them--

B: haha, [E] Guide them

G: -- into the English courses—

R: Just be super good at English

G:--and uhm, then they'll become the person in charge of English in their group, kind of.

R: I see, I see, I see. Wow. If I had to have like rap lessons...can you imagine? Hahaha

B: But recently, for people debuting recently there have been a lot of activities in South America, so Spanish was added as well, hahaha Espanol was added. So they don't learn them all, but because they're doing activities, because they're going so much to South America, there was one person who spoke Spanish better than English so we taught them more Spanish. Just so if they go to Brazil or Mexico that person can speak. The basics, like greetings, we teach to all the members. Spanish has been added.

G: So recently there has been like a lot more activity, or like fans in like South America or Central America

R: I heard it, yeah.

G: So, yeah, recently Spanish has been added as one of the languages, of course not in the , to the same level as the other ones, but there are a few people who spoke Spanish so it was kind of guiding the people that spoke Spanish. [K] Correct?

B: Mmhm.

R: I can speak some Spanish. Hahah

G: But like in terms of like being able to say the greetings and stuff like that, everyone knows that.

R: yeah, yeah yeah yeah. I see. So, uhm, I feel like the fan are like important in terms of how you decide to what you decide to do, so what are the factors that make you decide oh maybe we should rather go to this country or this other country, and also maybe for the concept or image, is it also influen—like what are the factors that influence where you go and which kind of concept you have, things like that.

G: [K] So

R: [unintelligible]

G: [K] So recently it seems like fans are influencing how you decide on concepts and maybe where you will do activities, what do you think are important factors I the process of making those kinds of decisions? Or if what group will be active where...

B: They will go

G: Yeah where they will go, or when you're deciding concepts or directions

B: what kind of influence the fans have?

G: Or other factors...if there are others, which do you think are important.

B: For starters, like I said before, what's most important when we are deciding an album's concept is whether it fits well with the artist. IF it is the direction that we want to go in. That comes first. Besides that, when we're thinking about fashion, or styling, or contents, we try to put in factors that the fans can't help but like. Like, we don't just take whatever the fans like and make it into a concept, but in any case, if this team-- there are so many teams—so because we kind of have to distinguish them from the rest, that's something we have to lead ourselves. But besides that, for things like promotion and styling, we put in factors from the fans. For example, if a man, a good looking man came out with like a sexy concept, for Korean fans—Korean fans are really young, because they're so young, rather than liking things like excessive exposure, like if the *oppas* aren't wearing much, they have a tendency to like it when the *oppas* show just a little bit, show their charm. So when they're doing activities in Korea, we prefer them to wear clothes that don't show as much. But if these same people go to South America, the go tour in South America, fans in places like Brazil or Mexico like the more physical, the sexier stuff, so when they go there I will strip the clothes off them haha.. things that work with that feeling. Like they go there and the day is hot anyway, so they shouldn't be all wrapped up anyway....

G: hahah

B: We try to reflect those preferences. We look at a lot of comments. Youtube comments. And we really monitor a lot of the comments that fans leave and there are a lot that say like 'put up ___ kind of contents!' Like, 'we want to see them eat pizza!', 'I want to see them make a quesadilla!' and sometimes we see them and are like, oh that would be fun to do, and so sometimes we make them. We make a lot of them.

G: Oh really? [E] Okay so, haha

R: hahah

G: In terms of like the concept, you know it's important to find something that matches with the artist themselves, and like, the direction we want to go with them. But in terms of like what the artists wear, like their fashion, or the contents we put out, like online, we can't help but, or like we of course put in things that the fans can't help but like. So for example, like if there was kind of like a male idol with a kind of sexy concept, but the fans in Korea are like young, or something, rather than go too, too sexy too provocative, showing too much, they would like show just a little bit with their clothes--

R: so they kind of really [unintelligible]

G: Yeah, yeah. But with like the same kind of person, like the same 'sexy concept guy' if you're going to like south America, they really like the kind of more provocative, like –

R: Yeah [unintelligible]

G: --so you have to be like you know, pull a little of the clothes off a little bit more. And so she'll kind of go along with the preferences of the fans. Uhm. So like they of course listen to what the fans want a lot, and they'll look at things like comments left on youtube, and they

actually look a lot at the comments left on youtube, from like overseas and stuff, and they'll see these people be like 'we want to see them eat pizza!' or 'we want to see them make a quesadilla' or like 'we want to see them make—[interrupted, unintelligible]

R: And they do that

G: --and so sometimes if there's a fun one they'll actually make them, they've actually made a lot of those things based on comments from foreign fans.

B: [E] Actually I said to my artists before they go to South America, more pushup, more reps

G&R: Hahahaha

B: [E] Harder! Hahahah. Eat protein! [K] Those things. In order to satisfy the fans [unintelligible]. But because they really don't like those kinds of things in Korea, because they're middle and high schoolers, just teenagers, in generally we tell them to get rid of the muscles, before they come back to Korea. We make them stop lifting weights... make them slimmer.

G: [E] So like, before going to like south America, she'll be like, do more pushups! Eat more protein! Get more muscular! But because the fans in Korea are generally like middle to high schoolers, they're in their teens, it's a little too much, so before doing a comeback to Korea, they'll be like 'lay off the weights' or like, 'you can't do weights' kind of lose the muscles and just go for slim.

R: Oh. So you're trying to keep them not too muscular, is it because of--

[sound of music from phone]

B: Oh sorry!

R: Is it because of uhm, the Korean origins, because they are young? Or is it because in Korea it could look a bit too much? Is it in function of the audience?

G: [K] So the reason that you do this is for the sake of the fans, or because of the fans, or is it more about social perceptions?

B: Cultural differences?

G: Yes, yes, yes.

B: There is a cultural difference. And fandoms, like the audience for our marketing is clear, so we can't not consider it. Because in the direction that we're trying to pursue, if we see that they don't coincide—like in Korea, what Korean teenagers are expecting of their *oppas* is this kind of image [shows us video on phone]

G: [E] So this is kind of what Koreans want from their

B: Like sweet and, like this is the image that Korean teenagers are expecting from their *oppas* so we make a lot of things like this. Like considerate. More than manish—manly,

G: sweet

B: Yeah sweet and like

R: Like cutie-cutie

G: [e] Yeah kind of, so like, of course there are cultural differences, but they know precisely who their target audience is. They kind of have to consider that. So with Korea, that's the kind of image of the *oppa* that they want. It's like uhm, more like, less masculine, more sweet or considerate, kind of like a neighborhood *oppa* I would say. Uhm. So yeah, those are the kind of considerations that go into it.

R: I see. That's very funny because

B: [unintelligible, laughter]

R: No, just because before you arrived we were talking about clothes in Korea and we were saying that there are like different cultural differences. For example, today I'm showing this part [motions to shoulder] but uhm, sometimes I don't feel very very comfortable showing this in Korea because usually you have more sleeves right? But in Europe and the states it's very like, we can have cleavage, it's very, so there are like many differences.

B: Right, that's definitely a cultural difference.

G: Yeah. [Unintelligible]

R: Yeah, even when we arrived, especially for – you know, in Europe I don't know if it's in the states too, it's the other way around so uhm, woman they cannot really show their legs, but we can show cleavage it's totally okay, but in Korea it's totally the opposite.

B: that's right, hahah

R: Yeah, so, it's very interesting to see these elements.

B: Yeah you know precisely what I'm saying

G: [E] yeah

R: So uhm, you mentioned about the physical appearance of the persons, so how do you check on that. Do they have to come exercise everyday somewhere, or do they have to do it just by themselves?

G: [K] You talked about artists bodies...and it seems like you manage it a bit, how do you manage those kinds of things? Do they come here to the company and work out, or do they figure that out on their own?

B: There is a Personal Trainer in the company, so that person manages it. What I manage is like, if they come back to Korea, or if they're making an album, I have to make sure that they fit with the concept that's been decided on, so like if they're going to wear the clothes we picked out their bodies have to fit them. So I tell the trainer, 'we have to do the album jacket shoot by this or this date, so before we shoot that, it'd be nice if these people's shape was more of this type of feeling', or 'this time we're doing a sexy concept so it'd be good if you could make them look like this', or 'this time it's okay for them to be a little softer than last time' or 'it's a really light and cute concept so lose the muscle.' I give those kinds of guides.

G: [e] So there is a personal trainer that is like part of the company but what I do is I like, if a concept for an album is decided then I maybe, before we have to shoot like the jacket cover for the album, I'll talk to the trainer and kind of give direction. So it's like 'we're going for more of a kind of cutesy feel, so it's okay if they're more, a little bit, softer' haha or 'we're going for

like a harder feel, they can be more defined' or something, so that's how she directs them it seems like.

R: I see. So, you're the team leader for the marketing and planning right? So how is your team structured? Because I wonder who's in charge of doing what and things like that.

G: [K] So you're the team leader of marketing and planning, correct?

B: Yes.

G: So, what is the composition of your team like, and what kind of work they do, if you could talk about..

R: Yeah, it's to get an idea of the work that has to be done

G: [K] Yes, so it's like what kind of work you must do? Or like, could you explain what are the duties/work that you do?

B: Like I said at the very beginning what my team does is decide on album concepts and the make contents used for promotion. The structure of the team is kind of different. There are people who decide on that main concept and promotion, and in the team there is a 'fan marketing team' which interacts directly with the fans. You can think of them like CS—customer service. And they meet with fans at the sites of events, and if there are fan events they will communicate with fans, and if fans send [unintelligible] through email they will respond, they manage SNS, they do everything related to fans. Next, there is the video team. They is a subgroup that exists that makes videos. So if there's an idea that 'oh for *this* kind of concept, *this* kind of contents would be good to produce' the video production team will take that idea and shoot videos and make a completed product that we will upload on youtube. For general purposes that's about what we do.

G: [e] Okay, so uhm, in general what the team does is work on the concept, creating that concept and also the promotional content. And so in terms of like structure of the team there are those who work primarily on those two things, but then within the team there is also a fan marketing team, which you can think of as kind of customer service for the fans. So they actually directly interact with fans, whether it's online through comments or SNS, or if it's like at fan events, or like events for the artist. They are the people that are directly talking to their fans. And then there is the video team, and so they'll produce videos. So, if like I'm thinking of an idea or like a concept like a good idea for like a video, they'll send that idea to the video and they'll create like a finished—they'll shoot a video and edit it and create a finished product that will come out.

R: I see. And so, could you help me understand the structure of the company, to see like, for example, you're part of the planning and marketing team, and what are the other teams around and how you interact? So, I can get kind of...

B: [e] organize

R: Yeah exactly

B: There's our team. And basically, there is the Media/Publicity team that uhm, what do I call it...one second

G: *eollon hongbo*...media

B: Oh! Media is right.

G: promotion? [k] isn't *hongbo* promotion as well?

B: [k] yes so they talk with reporters. Media team

G: PR Team

B: Yeah you can think of them as the PR team. And there's uhm... international... international... international... division. So what they do is if there are activities abroad, they take care of those kinds of thing. Like concerts abroad. Fan meeting abroad. And like...South America... Like if there are requests from those places for interviews, they are the contact point. So if a request comes into that team they'll contact us and then they'll arrange things. Like with visitors, like billboard, those kinds of things. Foreign media. There's that kind of team. And, hmmm... I said before that the video team was part of my team.

G: yes

B: But there is a separate photo team in the company. They do everything... haha, they follow every movement of our artists, and we take those photos and upload them on SNS and use them to make contents for fans. And when they go abroad they also go with them. And then there's the A&R team

G: ANR?

B: A&R, and... Artist and Reference... is that right? Hahah

G: Artist and...

B: It's R&A and they, err R&R, I mean A&R and what that team does is, like what I just said about how we get so many demos, they're the team that collects demos. They'll obtain [demos] from foreign composers, domestic composers, even the songs that artists write, and when it's time to put out an album they pick through them. Thousands of demos will come in, and they'll organize things or collect things that seem to fit with a certain team, and so then we'll work with what they've organized. They are in charge of everything when it comes to songs, whether it's recording, and all the sound engineers are on this team as well. And there is a producer team, and the producer team, they work with us together when we decide title songs, they're the main, the important group that we work with for that. [pause] so there will be a bunch of grouped songs that A&R has collected, and they'll report to the producers, and the producers will examine those songs, and if they think that there is a decent song among them they'll talk with our team and say 'let's make a final decision' and so that's the kind of system there is.

R: That's a very good idea, I want to draw too

B&G: [laughter]

R: Because it helps to see the like

B: hahah

G: [K] Is that everything? All the teams

B: All of them? Well it's the most important ones.

G: [K] I'll do these first then

B: Yes explain these first

G: [e] So there's the planning team, yea

R: Planning team?

G: Yep, and there's the kind of PR team, like media relations, so those are the people that will deal with like reporters if they want to report on something, and those kind of things in general. And then there's the international, *buseo*

B: International...

G: Like uh,

B: International ... what is it? Part?

R: What do they...

G: Part? Well yeah like uh

B: International team?

G: [K] Yeah I think International team is good enough. [E] So what they do is they do everything related to like activities abroad, so whether it's like a fan meeting abroad or concerts abroad, uhm, interview requests from foreign media, or like dealing with billboard or other foreign medias, everything goes through them. Uhm...

R: What about the Chinese and Japanese...is there like another

B: [K] Oh it's only for English speaking countries. Because for Chinese and Japanese, we have our branches there. So our branches take care of all that.

G: So this is only for like English speaking nations.

R: MMM

B: [K] Or like South America

G: [E] Or, or uhm south America, because with Japan and China, they have like branch offices for those.

R: So they directly contact them?

G: Mhm,

R: Makes sense.

G: Uhm, then there's the photo team, so it's different from the video team from before. So the photo team will basically follow the artists around taking pictures of like everything that they do. Whether it's like abroad or just here and daily life. And then those pictures will go the [K] they show the planning team right? Oh I'm sorry... the pictures that the photo team takes they show to the planning team?

B: Yes, of course. We ask them to take all the photos, and we'll receive the pictures and put them out there.

G: [E] Okay, so the pictures that are taken by the photo team, sometimes they're requested by the planning team, but they'll be shown to the planning team, and then the planning team will work with them. And then there is the A&N team, Artists and refer...e...n...c..e..?

B: Reference.

G: Okay.

B: Ah, repertoire! [slightly mispronounced] Sorry

G: Repertory?

R: That's a crazy [unintelligible]

B: Artists and repertoire

G: I don't know how to spell. So basically these are the people that, she said before, or I said before that there are a lot of foreign demos that will come in or even domestically there will send in demos of songs and stuff and so people on this team will listen to those and kidnof organize them or maybe like divide them up and be like thinking 'maybe this will be good for one of our teams'

R: You mean for the auditions? Or..

G: No, so like demos are like demos of songs

R: I see.

G: So when like an album, when it's like time for an album to come out for an artist, uhm, they will bring like the organized kind of demos from like foreign composers or like domestic composers, just like, not within the company itself, and kind of match them with the team, and then show them to the producers who will work in tandem with the planning team to uhm, decide the title songs that will go on the album. But the producers will also look through all those demos and kind of pick out the ones that best fit. And then, for albums, the final decisions for what's going to be on the album is kind of a work between the planning team and the producing team. And then in terms of recording and everything, that all happens under this A&R team, like recording and sound engineering are all part of that. So these are like the main parts of the company, if you were kind of to think of like the very core of it.

R: What about the teachers and uhm, like singing teachers or dance teachers, or

B: Ahh, there is something I forgot to tell you. I didn't tell you about two groups, now that I think about it. There is a performance team

G: Performance?

B: Yeah, so this is where like the choreography teachers will be.

G: *anmu*?

B: Dance teacher [e] dance teacher

G: Ahh

B: That's that team. And there's also management. The managers. And these people.

R: Is this Eunji Kim's department? Miss Kim that I saw before? Is it her depart..her..

B: Performance?

R: She's in this team right? In the performance team probably?

G: Kim Eunji...?

B: Ah no no no no, Kim Eunji team leader is uhm... not performance team... what do we call that team? [E] trainee development part. Trainee development. So they [k] the teachers that teach lessons, like I said before the [e] English teacher, vocal trainer, dance trainer, [k] we hire them and have them teach lessons to the trainees and manage them. Checks on the trainees all happen within the team that Kim Eunji is in charge of. This performance team is choreographers within the company. Like... dance director team within the company... so if a song comes out, if a song is confirmed, we ask them to make a performance [for it].

G: Okay, so. [K] ah, and management?

B: Management is the managers. The managers live together with the artists [slight laughter] and manages the schedule for everything the artists do, condition checks. We're in the office, you know? But they're beside the artists, following them to every activity that they do, caring for them, managing everything for them. And they'll communicate with broadcasts—broadcast companies.

G: [e] Alright, so. The performance team when it's like a new song is about to come out, or like a new song has been decided to come out, they'll go to the performance team and the dance directors there will like create the performance for that song. And then the management team is comprised of managers for the artists. So the managers, while people on like this planning team work in the office, the managers themselves kind of live with the artists themselves and the managers are by their sides kind of always checking on their condition, and you know managing them, and there's those are the people that will be like in contact with broadcasting companies for like appearances and whatnot and then the team that uh the earlier Miss Kim

B: Kim Eunji

G: Kim Eunji was on was like the artist training team, and so they'll, they're the ones that will deal with like all the teachers that will do lessons for the artists, and survey the [K] you said they survey..?³⁷ You survey the teachers?

B: The teachers... yeah so we bring them in. The teachers aren't within the company itself, we occasionally change them.

G: So this time will be like the ones that will put out a search for the right *seongsengnim* errr teachers to come in

R: Hahaha

G: and uhm work with the trainees, because the teachers are not part of the company itself, they're brought in.

³⁷ Interview had used the work '*supwei*' which means recruit/hire, but I misheard it as 'survey'

R: I see. So the managers, like management team, they're like uhm, for example you have the artist and so the manager is in charge connecting the artist with all the other departments and checking so the artist can focus on the

B: [E] Right, right.

R: I see. Good good good.

B: [K] If a manager, er, if an artist has something that they're curious about in a different part of the company, or if a situation arises where they have something they have to request from them, they do all of that through the manager. They mediate and communicate with those parts of the company. That's right, what she said.

G: So what you said was correct, like if there is anything that an artist has like a question about or request from like a different part of the company it's the manager's role to kind of do that communication within the company for them.

[Roxane give out candies]

G: [weakly] thank you!

R: So uhm, let's uhm, sweet break.

B: Hahahha. But... Am I doing good? Hahaha

G: [K] Yes!! You're doing fine! [E] Am I doing okay? Hahahah, I said good.

R: [jokingly] mmmm... I'm kidding! Mini break.

B: mini break

R: I forgot to give this to you

B: [K] What is this?

R: I tried to find something green

B: Ahahahah

R: You said you like green, so

B: [E] You're so sweet... Hahahahahah [K] It's cute!

R: Uhm, because you say you don't like sweets,

B: Mm

R: That's me this morning take the chocolate Hahaha

B: ha-ha

R: Because you say that you don't really like sweets if your parents, they like uhm chocolate...

B: [E] yeah, thank you

R: These two, they are from my country and I think it's not possible to find them in Korea, because I put them illegally in my luggage Hahah

G: Hahaha

B: [E] thank you thank you

R: But, keep them in the fridge. Because it's so hot now.

B: Ah okay. [K] We have some contents that we made recently, that we went to Switzerland to make. So, we put it on YouTube. I should show it to you, I think you'll really like that.

G: [E] Ah they recently made some video contents in Switzerland and so

R: Oh cool!

G: And it recently went up on YouTube so she's going to try to find it

R: I'm curious. Hahah. It's like a mini break. [pause] I wonder what is shown about Switzerland.

G: [E] Yeah, it's going to be.... Alps...

R: I'm actually from the Alps

G: Oh yeah?

R: Well my grandpa and some...we often go there but...

R: Are you okay?

G: Oh yeah, I'm fine. Sorry I'm just spacing off

R: I keep--

[unintelligible, everyone talking over one another and laughing]

R: I gave you this--

G: [K] I'm spacing off

R: So, we can all have some sugar. Hahaha...

B: [K] So they went there, and they said that they loved it so much. Switzerland. The title itself is "Fall in Love with Switzerland" [E] Switzerland

R: Ooh~!

G: [E] They went there, and they just loved it so much.

B: There are soo many episodes. CM Blue.... Swiss

R: Oh, that's the--!

B: [E] Fall in love with Switzerland. So, for... episode

G: Oh, so there's [K] multiple episodes?

R: How do they get so many [?]

B: [E] So many episodes

R: Wait, the first one, the on the top here. It looks like they were—Can i?

B: Mmm

R: That's so shocking. That's the uh. I used to work for this company as a part time worker.

B: Hahaha

G: [K] She used to work there as a part time worker.

B: [E] Ah really??

R: Yeah, it's called, yeah yeah!

B: Hahahahah [unintelligible] market

R: Yeah! That's the supermarket where

B: Hahahahah

R: I know all their products if they have questions

B: Hahahaha [unintelligible]

R: Yeah, this is very good.

B: They all loved it so much. And they took the [*yongbrau?*] train,

R: Why were they in Switzerland? Why did they

B: [K] Ah this group, they were people that went traveling to Switzerland a lot, just individually. And just recently they went into the army. So, before they went into the army they wanted to go to Switzerland all together. And so, we didn't really want to just send them there, so because they were planning on going anyway, we said, we might as well shoot some video. So that's why they went.

G: [E] So they had all travelled to Switzerland before it seems like, but they recently had to go into the army, and so they were like 'before we go into the army, let's go to Switzerland.' But it's like they didn't really want to, the company didn't really want to just like send them to Switzerland without, y'know, like

R: Yeah, yeah

G: Doing anything, so they were like, while you're there, let's shoot some video, kind of.

R: Yeah. So why Switzerland?

B: [K] They like it.

G: Personally they just liked it.

B: [K] They frequently, like a few times—even before this [video] they travelled to Switzerland multiple times.

G: They went there multiple times before this ever.

R: I miss my country.

B: Hahah... The nature is so beautiful.

[lots of laughter as we watch video]

B: It's so beautiful. They took the train and ...

R: If they want to go again, you can ask me, and I can promote

B: Hahaha

R: No but it's true when you're a local you know about nice parts and not to ...

B: [K] That's true

R: Actually, Switzerland is pretty nice for artists because uhm, because of the culture. Even when you're a famous people, we don't treat them like famous people, so we will not bother them

B: Mmmm...

R: Do you know like Roger Federer? The tennis player Roger Federer?

G: Oh yeah yeah [K] the tennis player

B: Ah the tennis player.

R: And other like tennis players, some of them they live near the shop, the part time place where--

G: Ohhh...

R: --I used to work. And sometimes they'd come to my cashier, and so we'd just treat them like normal customers.

B: [K] Ahh so they're not [overwhelmed?]

R: Yeah. But that's funny because one of them even has the uhm, company card to get some like discounts. How do we say, fidelity...?

G: Uhm... [K] Points cards

B: [K] Ah they have supermarket points cards? Ahhahaha

R: So, you're like "okay!"

G: [K] They're so famous but they have points? Hahah

R: So, they save money. So yeah, Switzerland is nice because we—I know that in other countries if there is a celebrity you cannot really freely walk in the streets. But in Switzerland you really really can. Anyways...

B: Okay

R: Oh no no. I'm thinking about Switzerland.

B: [E] Homesick.

R: Yeah yeah yeah. I have to concentrate. Ahah. But in one month I will be back, so it's okay. Uhm, so for example in the videos, because uhm, these people that you show me in the video, they're actually singers, originally, or like a music band, but they also produce a lot of videos and also sometimes some people like singers will also go act, they'll be actors. How do you decide on... because I know I feel like it's very flexible, so I'm curious about the reasons.

B: [E] Right. [K] Is she asking why singers also do acting and things like that?

G: [K] Yes, like, these people, these artists, they'll take long videos and singers will act, and so why they do that, or like making those things possible...

B: [K] If the company is doing that?

G: [K] Yes.

B: [K] But foreign singers do that too. Will Smith is an actor and a singer. Uhm. But I guess, to start—ah, the training that I was talking about earlier, the required courses, the lessons that the trainees have to take. Among those is acting.

G: Ah

B: They have acting lessons. And I really think, myself, that it's something necessary for singers. The ability to express the song when you go on stage as a singer, those kinds of things naturally are raised when they do acting lessons. And so, they get a lot of those kinds of lessons from the time that they are trainees, and there are instances where will make them act first, where we'll have them act first. Before they're a singer. And there are also times where we will have them do that while being a singer. In the end, I think it's all part of the same context. If a singer is someone who, in that short time on stage, expresses the emotions of a song, and an actor is someone who expresses a situation, it's the same context. So, we don't really distinguish them. If there are some people who are good at acting among the singers, we could have them act. And so, surveys will come in, and they'll audition and hire them... If there are opportunities, we try to have them do a lot of activities.

R: Take your time.

B: [K] *hwaiting*

G: [e] Okay, so, hahah. Uhm so uh, one of the trainees like, or, I guess to start off, not just Korea, but like in foreign actors or like, people like Will Smith, he's an actor, he's a rapper, people do a lot of things, so it's not just like a... just Korea thing. But one of the required courses for trainees while they're doing their training is like an acting course, and so she finds that this like a very necessary for singers as well. Uh, because it helps them express the emotions that are in a song. Because when they're on a stage that's what their job is to do, is to express those. Uhm, so, uhm, she thinks of it as in the same context as like acting is, like, having like singers express their songs on the stage. So, those kinds of courses are very helpful for singers as well. And of course, there are times they just have, they have singers do acting first, or just even while they're also doing singing work, or music work, uhm. And you know if there's like a request or like they uhm get like a survey looking for someone they'll have some singers go on auditions for acting work as well, just kind of, goes hand in hand it seems.

R: I see. Because, no, I'm not sure, when you have the original auditions, you know for young boys and girls, uhm, so you can either apply for singing and acting all together or there is a distinction, and also with the training is different? Or like are they together or two different paths?

B: [E] Basically [K] It's split [E] Partly [K] when we do auditions, we divide the acting part and singing part and pick them, but in, in reality, cases where we pick them [based on their skills] overall. Generally, because the sky is the limit for these young people in terms of their

potential, it's hard to divide those up and see them. Basically, if they have *kki*³⁸, talent, [e] talent [k] in them, after they've passed [the audition] it's during the training that we uncover that. If we have this person act and they're – like the languages, we have them learn all the languages, but if they don't have a talent for it then they won't do it, and if we think they're okay at it we'll continue to push them.

G: So, when they do auditions, of course it's divided up like acting and singing, generally. But because the people that are coming to these auditions are so young, it's really hard to y'know, think of those two things as distinct because, y'know, they have limitless possibilities, because they can be encouraged through training to be able to do anything. So, they're looking a lot of time, in those auditions for people who have the spirit, have the energy that have the passion, and then it's in, during the training that they will kind of differentiate those different paths, similar with the languages. Like if there's a person that will excel in one field and not another, then that's the path that they'll generally go down.

R: Mm. I wonder, you mentioned, the spirit and passion, and I know it's not directly your field, but do you know a bit about... how to say that, the spirit and passion that are expected? Could you tell me a bit more about like, why you think it's important to choose these persons, and what do they mean exactly by spirit and passion?

G: [K] Yes, so this idea of having *kki* is repeatedly coming up, how much do you expect *kki* or passion, from the trainees? And why you think you pick people with those kinds of things, why it's important to pick people with those types of things? Why... thinking... it's important...

B: [K] For starters, this can be different for everyone, but for me, I really... think that artists, idols, singers, these kinds of celebrities... they really can't be normal. I don't think they should be normal. They can't be ordinary. They have to have a certain individuality, I think that they have to be certain of all that in order to go out there. Without that we, our company, can teach them everything one by one and raise them up, but in reality, I see that as having its limits as well. People that debut that way they don't have any of the basic things themselves, but just what they have been made into, the possibility for them to develop is just too little. So that's why we look at those types of things a lot. Because that's just something that a person is born with, it's something we can't make for them. It's like, if you come in with just that one thing, we can make all the rest of it for you. We have a ton of lesson courses, and the company... it has a lot of money, hahahah, and so because there are multiple ways in which we can support you, it kind of comes out of an idea that you just have to carry that one thing when you come here. It's important to try hard as well, but if you don't have *kki--kki*, you could say is just the talent that you're born with... without that it's kind of... even when those people debut, when they become artists, it can be difficult for them. So, I think that's why we look at those kinds of things a lot.

G: [E] So I mean it's different for different people but personally, when I see a singer, an actor, an entertainer, it's like they can't be just normal. Uhm, they have to like, definitely have like a personality, like uh, a confident, or like not confident but like [K] *hwakshilhan gaesung*...

B: [E] Unique... unique...

³⁸ This came up in the first interview as well. It is a near homophone of *ki*, which means spirit or energy/confidence, which is why I translated it as 'energy or passion'.

G: [E] Yeah like unique--

R: Uniqueness

G: --characteristic, yeah

R: Ahhh.

G: But like, kind of like, certain, like you have to have

R: Outstanding?

G: S...ure... more like, secure, I would say? Like it. Uhm.

R: But, I think I...

G: Yeah, I think you understand what I'm... I'm sorry. So, like, the company can really train like almost everything. There's lessons for everything, they have the money to support lessons for everything, but in terms of like what really, uhm, they're asking from these people that want to become artists is that they just have, they have that one thing. They have that energy, they have that innate ability, and we as the company will do the rest for you as long as you have that one thing. Because, uhm, it's important of course to work hard in uhm, for these people, but y'know, that innate ability is something that you have to see in them.

R: How do you see that?

B: Hahahaha... We talk about that a lot. Like really that's really just a something you sense. It's a sensible feeling, an intuitive feeling? If you just look at them ... well, to start, those people are different starting from their *nunbit* (light in their eyes). They're different from their *nunbit*, and they also are good at everything. To give you an example of one kid's case, they sing well, the dance well, and they're even handsome, and they're even tall, they're tall, but strangely it feels like...something is missing? There are times that we feel that way. That's kind of what that thing we talk about means. *Kki* doesn't mean like they're boisterous, but like [pause] something that you can see with your eyes. The energy?-type thing that you feel from them when you meet them. There are some people who are just, different from the rest. Some that you just *ttak* (emphasizing word—meaning instantaneously) see it in them, distinguished from the others. Like they're eyes look like they're shining, and it feels like I can't not pick this person. Because there are these kinds of people... it's something that's different for each person, but for me I consider those kinds of things a lot...

R: [unintelligible]

B: Hahahaha [K] It's too difficult, it's so hard hahahaha

R: Sorry, hahaha. Now I'm imagining you and you're like looking at people

B: Ahahaha

R: Like is there something? Hahah

B: Is there something

G: But yeah, it's just kind of like, an intuitive sense you get about someone, like a very uhm, *gamgakjeokin*... like sensi—

B: Sensuous? Haha

G: It's like you sense it, you feel it

R: You feel it yeah,

G: It's like almost tangible, if you just look at them you just see it kind of. You see something in their eyes, like a light in their eyes. There's a Korean word *nunbit*, it's a little hard to translate but it's like a light in their eyes.

R: Mmmmmm

G: There's something there. Uhm, so sometimes there will be someone that will come in that will just be good at everything, like great at dancing, they'll be great at singing, they'll be handsome, but something will feel like just a little bit off about them. And with those instances, it's generally, they're lacking that kind of thing. So it's just something that you can kind of see, but also something that you feel, it's something that really sets them apart is this kind of energy that they have, this *kki*—it's a word that keeps coming up—so it's different for different people, but personally those are the important, or that's like how I sense it.

R: Would it be wrong, tell me if it's correct or not, if they have like kind of a tiny bit more of a strong personality or something like this?

B: [E] Strong personality... [K] like they are strong-minded? What does this mean?

G: [K] ah so like

R: Or like active personality? Rather than passive?

B: [K] Like extroverted?

G: [K] Yeah extroverted or—

B: [K] No no, it's totally different from that. You could be an introverted person... like you could see it even a timid kid. It's kind of... a different objective point that's different... with personality [E] personality.

G: [E] SO it's something that people who are like very kind of shy can have. It's different from that kind of personality trait, it's more of an objective trait.

R: Yeah

B: [K] Do you understand?

R: [silly noise]

B: Hahah

R: It's complicated, yeah...

G: [K] It interesting, but a little difficult I think

B: [K] But we also continue to take auditions and it still difficult for us. We are just people too. Like there are people that just, you can just *ttak* see it in them, but even if we pick those people, there are times where they can be trouble too. Like for example, we picked them because they have [E] something [K], but after having this person train for a year or more we

see that they aren't dependable, or it doesn't seem like they're really trying that hard...if these kinds of things happen, there are times that we take care of it—we fire them. But then on the other hand there are people who we picked them thinking they were kind of ordinary, but when they do training they work themselves to death training on their own and will shoot up this much [motions with hands] and will totally take us by surprise. Because that first impression doesn't always show us completely everything.

G: [e] So, it's hard for like, they'll see like a lot of auditions and it's still like a difficult thing to pick out the right people, because even if there's someone who has that something, there'll be sometimes that there will be problems later. Like a year into training maybe they're not that hardworking, or they're not very dedicated, but then there will be people that will be working extremely hard throughout, really just kind of uhm,

R: Compensate

G: yeah, so it's something, oh and like, sometimes, the people that are like not working that hard but has that something, like, they'll have to be let go at certain points. But [pause] yes.

R & B: Hahahah

G: [K] I'm sorry.

B: [K] It's okay, just speak comfortably.

R: I think I get...

G: [E] I think that was about it, yeah. [K] It was about that right?

B: Yeah yeah.

R: Hm. So, once, so at first, you're a trainee and then you make your debut, and then so do you still have to train after when you're an artist, like when you're officially an artist. Do you still have to train a lot?

G: [K] A trainee debuts as an artist...

B: [K] after they...

G: [K] After they do that, do they do a lot of training, practice—training?

B: [K] Uhm, even after debuting, individual members of course will have to continue practicing. Because they need to develop themselves individually. Whether that's vocal practice, or lessons, they'll continuously do those things. They do it on their own, though, now. Though when they're trainees we kind of tightly taught and checked in on them, but after they debut they do it on their own, when they need it.

G: [e] So of course, members, after debuting, they will, they still have to like y'know, practice, and so they'll be practicing themselves. But the thing is they'll kind of do it on their own, they'll have to figure it out on their own. Whereas like when someone's a trainee, they're kind of monitored, or they have a tight course or regimen that they go through, when after debuting, it's kind of a personal, uhm, or like they'll have to figure it out on their own, kind of.

R: Is it maybe why you have a manager? So, your personal manager is going to help you, uh, organize your schedule and things like that?

G: [K] So is that why there are managers? They organize that schedule...

B: [K] That's right. That's not my field, so if an artist is like 'oh I need to get vocal lessons for this, so could you get a teacher, make a plan for a lesson?' that's what the manager will do

G: Yeah, so when a person is like, well, I need to do some like vocal lessons, the managers will be the ones to find the teachers and kind of make those schedules.

R: Ahh, so it's the artists asking like 'I think I need this or that' or Is it the other way around, like sometimes maybe the manager could say, 'maybe you should practice this or that'?

G: [K] So is it the artist that says 'oh I need to do this, I need to do vocal lessons or dance lessons'—like is that something they'll say to their managers, or is it the managers, or maybe someone else maybe in the company, that tells the artist 'you need to do this' ? Like which...

B: [K] It's both.

G: [E] So it can go both ways.

R: You need to exercise hahaha

B: Hahaha

R: You're going abroad you need muscles.

G: Hahaha

R: I see, I see. But so uhm, the manager, it's like just for one artist, or one group, one manager?

B: [K] For a group, there are generally, uhm... two to three people in charge of them. And it's different depending on the number of people within the group as well. Yeah.

G: [E] So there will be between like two or three people, managers, per group. And that can slightly vary depending on how many people are in the group as well.

R: Mmm, and if you just a solo, you have just one manager for you?

B: [K] That's right.

R: Oh, I see. So, the manager is decided by the company? So, your company say, oh this group is going to have this manager, or can the artist decide on their manager?

B: [E] Mm Company decide.

R: Mm, so the manager is also paid by the company?

B: [e] yeah

R: And what about extra? Because during the previous interview we talked about when they're training, so it's the company paying to train the person, but then once they're famous, is it them that has to pay for trainings or is it still the company.

B: [K] Mmmm, now and then there are those instances. So, the artist will be like 'I want to have this manager', and they'll request it of the company, and in those instances, the artists are the ones that pay for it. But overall, it's right to say that the company is the one paying them. But we work it out so that it will come from the income that they earn.

G: [K] I'm so sorry, could you explain that just one more time?

B: [K] Hahah. So, I said to her earlier question that the company is in charge of paying for the artists' managers. And then didn't she ask about if an artist points out a manager and bring them to the company?

G: [K] Ahhhh...

B: [K] Wasn't that her last question?

G: [K] Her last question... [E] Did you ask about uhm, managers or were you asking about the ... sorry...

R: My question is the, when, once you're an artist, when you're already famous, who pays for your expenses, for example training, or going to gym, or vocal...

B: Ahhhh

G: [K] Ah so after an artist has debuted... yes, the costs of lessons or costs of taking care of your body---

B: Ahhh [K] the costs that go into preparation for that kind of activity?

G: [K] who takes care of those costs?

B: [K] That's something that the company and the artist pay for together. Like if the total cost is 1,000,000 won, then there is a ratio that's [already] decided. Like if an artist used 1,000,000 won in a single month, for example the company will cover 70% of it and the artist will cover 30% of it. There are those types of ratios, so when we balance accounts we consider that.

G: [E] So, it'll be a bit of both, the company, and the artist. So, if there's like a thousand dollars or...hundred...

R: One hundred person, maybe?

G: Err if there's like let's say 10,000 dollars

B: [K] The amount that they spent

G: [e] yeah, however much they spent, there's like a ratio that's been decided, and it'll be with that ratio, say the company will pay like 70 and the artist will pay 30. And that's how they will do their calculations.

R: So, like, even the singing, vocal training, inside the company is like uhm paid a bit by the company but

B: Yeah

R: also, a bit by the singer or ... oH

B: [K] But that ratio is different for each artist, so...

G: [E] That ratio is different for each artist, how much they're paying with the company.

R: Does, uhm, on what does it depend? Does it depend on like the uhm if the artist is already very famous and have a lot of money or just not too much money or I don't know.

B: [K] Mmmm... it's not like that... the scale of the income that the artist makes, and the number of people [in a group], and, or, this... to put it simply, if there are 5 people in a single group, then 5 people are spending money in a month. But in some groups, they will split that money exactly the same like $1/n$, and in some cases, in some groups, just the amount that I, or, this member spent will be subtracted from that member's own balance, like they'll balance accounts individually by members. But because that's different depending on each team, all those ratios are different.

G: [E] Soooooo....

B: Hahahah

G: [K] I'm sorry, so

B: [K] No no

G: [K] The artist's income

B: [k] we consider the scale of the artists income as well and decide on the ratio as well, but what I just said, like if we three ate a meal together and it came out as 100,000 won, we could be like okay each of us pays 35,000, or, it could be like 'I ate 50,000 worth, and you two ate 20,000 worth each so let's do it like that' – the way they split this is different for each team, so..

G: [E] So it can be different because of the different sizes of income or money earned by the artist, but also in like teams with multiple people in them, sometimes there will be teams that will be like, if there's like five people in a team they'll just pay like a fifth of whatever that is, but then there are certain times you'll do it just like individually. So, like the example she gave just now was like if we went out to eat and spent like 100 dollars, we could say, we could each pay like 35 each, 33 each, but uhm, but if she were to eat something that was 50 dollars, it could be split up that way. Where she pays for what she pays for and then... the rest.

R: So, the food, like also, uhm, very practical questions. Haa

B: Haha

R: So, for example, clothes. Is it also them buying the clothes, for example, if they're taking photos with some clothes, who like buys their clothes or decides on their clothes. Can they decide 'I'm gonna wear this' or is it like... the company bringing it for them?

G: [k] so in the same case, like for example, if they do like a photo shoot? photo... if they do something like that, the clothes that they wear is it something they, the artists, decide on, or by whom is it... decided? And like clothes for daily life as well, do they get to decide on them after hearing opinions from the company, or do you totally respect their personal preferences? Or...

B: [K] Generally, because the style team, prepares clothing for them that goes with the album concept, the company almost entirely decides. And, before we decide for sure on those clothes we communicate with the artists, of course. We'll say 'we prepared these kinds of clothes for this kind of concept, what do you think?' if they say 'this or that' or for example, and this is a really [unintelligible, giggling] answer but, 'I want to wear short sleeves rather than long sleeves', if it's that kind of thing they we make [e] variation [k] for them. But in any

case, we have a concept that's been decided on, so we go for things that match with that concept.

G: [K] Is this for like albums... or

B: [K] Yeah during albums. Albums or when we shoot a Music Video, or in cases where we're shooting something related to what we're planning.

G: [E] So in like, when they do like shooting that are like planned by the company, so like, for the album or like a music video or any other kind of shooting like that, there's a style team that will kind of

R: Make them beautiful

G: [e] make the style, uhm, and they'll like pick out the clothes that will go along with the concept that they're trying to pursue. But like, before the clothes that they're going to wear for these shoots or like these music videos are decided, they'll talk, of course, with the artists and negotiate a little bit, like with their preferences, so if someone is like 'I don't really want to wear long sleeves, I want to wear something shorter' or like the opposite, those kinds of things are taken into consideration as well.

R: Mm. Yeah, that's true. I wonder because we were talking about maybe men, but what about women and uhm like having short skirts or how does it work?

B: [K] It's the same method. So if we pick out clothes that match the concept, we meet with the artists, and in just the same what if an artist is like 'oh this is too short', 'I'd be nice if this was a little bit longer' we of course will adjust for that.

G: [E] So it's the same, the same goes for women, so like when they pick out outfits that are within the concept, they'll like meet with artists and then like talk about the clothes and so if someone in the , one of the artists is like, 'well this is too short for me, I'd like it to be a little bit longer' then of course they'll go along, they'll fix things.

R: That's good. Hahah.

B: [k] But because there are companies that don't do that, there are times where it can become a problem.

G: [e] yeah, so there are of course companies that don't do that kind of stuff, so there can be problems because of that.

R: Ah you mean in other companies they're a bit more pushing.

B: [agreeing]

R: Yeah, that's, yeah. But they cannot really, yeah yeah yeah.

B: Hahah

R: So, in general, how controlled is the image of the artists? Because like when they are shooting, of course they have those clothes, but when they are just uhm, going out to just uh, go shopping or whatever, just for their personal things, do they have to wear certain clothes? Or, I wonder about how flexible or controlled the company is looking into their physical appearance and things like that.

G: [K] SO, hmm. The clothes that the artists wear...of course when they're shooting something are decided by the company, but out side of shooting and those things, in daily life

B: [K] In daily life

G: [K] the clothes that they wear and those types of things as well, are they decide by the company? Or uhm, how much they try to maintain the image of the artist, how much they enter into the daily lives of the artists?

B: [K] You're sure interested in clothing hahahaha. We also prepare clothes for them for everyday life. But the cases in which we will prepare those clothes are limited. So, there are times where for interviews they'll ask not to wear the album clothes, the clothes that they wear on stage, but just to 'come dressed comfortably'. And that's an official activity they're doing. It's business. So, for those things, we don't have them wear their own things, but a prepared 'casual' look. And, for example, like at the airport—they have to go abroad, they're going to catch a plane, but every time they go to the airport there are so many reporters, so, from a certain standpoint that's kind of a part of their work—it's within the realm of them working, so we will prepare clothes for them in those instances as well. Because they're going to get their pictures taken, and there will be articles about them, and it will be exposed to the public, and so we tend to prepare things for them, to a certain extent according to their personal styles. [pause] Beyond that, the clothes that they'll wear when like they're coming to the practice studio, they're practicing, they're just within the office area, or like going out with their parents, we of course they'll just clothe themselves in those cases.

G: [E] Okay. So, they do prepare some clothes for them to wear in kind of the daily life situation, --

R: Oh interesting

B: Hahahaha

G: --but it's uhm, only in certain circumstances, so like, sometimes artist will get requests for interviews from like a broadcasting company, and the broadcasting company will just be like, 'oh just dress however you want'. But of course, this is kind of a formal interview, and it's something that's part of the work that they're doing, so that is something that company will prepare clothes for for them, like a prepared casual look for the artists. Uhm. And, not only that, but when like artists maybe have to leave the country, they'll go to the airport, and at the airport there are a ton of reporters usually, and of course there will be pictures of them taken, and uhm write ups of them, uhm, or like news stories, so, from a certain point of view you can kind of see that that's kind of like a formal appearance as a celebrity, you're uhm. So, they'll kind of work with the members to pick out something that goes with their style, but like, is still like a casual look for them. But in terms of like when people go to see like their parents or are just coming into to use the practice rooms, or doing their own shopping, uhm, those kind of clothes are not decided by the company at all. Those are just, they, artists can figure them out for themselves.

R: I see.

B: [K] But among members there are some people who dress just so bad. Hahahaha. There are 'fashion terrorists.'

R: Hahaha are they bad?

B: [K] Because there those kinds of people. There are always two or three of them on a team. So, for those kinds of people we have to do like foundation building. Like, t-shirts, jeans, blouses, things that are right for your image... we'll sometimes buy those basics for them and give them to them. We'll get sponsorship from the style team and provide those things sometimes, with the idea that 'we wish you wouldn't dress like that anymore' hahahah. We'll provide those things sometimes. In cases where it's really bad.

G: [E] So in very extreme cases, there are some people that are just like horrible dressers.

B: Haha

R: That's what I thought haha

G: [E] She said like fashion terrorists.

B: hahaha

G: [E] There's always like one or two of those kind of people, or two or three of those kind of people----

R: Do they have like 24/7

G: And so, they don't dress them like 24/7, but they will give them like the basics. Like these the kind of t shirts you should wear, and here's some basic jeans, and please don't dress bad anymore.

B: Haha

G: So, they'll work with the style team to kind of get those kind of basics and give them to those extreme cases.

B: [K] [giggling throughout] This is just something to make you laugh, but one time, there was one person who would just *not* listen to me, and there was one thing of his that I really hated, but he wore it all the time. But that piece of clothes was just so wrong with his image, in the eyes of the public, it just was not becoming. And so, I've gone to where their staying and stolen that piece of clothing before, so they couldn't wear it anymore. Hhahahaha

G: Hahaha

B: [K] Just once.

G: [e] This is like a story, but

R: Yeah, but it was funny yea

G: There was one person who just had this like shirt that she hated. Like she hated. That it just didn't match with the image of the person, and it was kind just not good for this person to wear

R: What did you do with the t-shirt

G: So, she went to this person's house at night and took it out

B: [e] remove from his room hahahah

R: [shocked noise]

G: [e] Removed? Stole. Hahah

B: [e] Stole! Hahaha

R: Hahaha

G: Hahaha

R: Did he say something, like I couldn't find my t-shirt or

B: [e] oh I told him honestly.

G: [k] the next day

B: [e] I really hate this.

G: [e] He just wouldn't stop wearing it, so she just had to take it into her own hands.

R: But maybe it was his favorite t-shirt, you know like

B: Haha

G: [K] Was it not his most cherished thing?

B: [K] I had it for a bit and then gave it back to him, of course.

G: [e] Ah, she held onto it and gave it back to eventually.

B: [k] later. Hahaha, I hated it so much. [E] Awful, awful

G: [k] I'm so curious as to what it looked like [e] I'm so curious what it would have been like.

B: [k] It was like, really. It was like a really person who was really masculine, his body was good and everything, he was tall too. And [laughs] it was like, like, a jungle, or like what do you call it, a flower, flower print and really colorful. He was like this big, but his whole body was covered in flowers.

R: But it was his feminine top?

B: [k] It was over the top [e] too much?

R: Hahah

G: Hahaha, too much.

R: Yes. DO you know the movie Bridget Jones

G: Bridget Jones's..

B: [k] Bridget Jones's diary?

R: There is uhm an episode like uhm it's Christmas time and there is uhm

G: I've never seen this movie hahah

R: Oh, hah there is one guy and it's Christmas time and he has like such a horrible long sleeve uhm

G: [e] Sweater?

R: Sweater. And it had like uhm, a deer like this but like a red nose, like from ,

B: Haha

R: So, it really reminds me of this from uhm ugly t-shirts and everyone' s like 'no no no' haha. Yeah, I see. So, I was wondering if like personally, because you have like experience in the field, what do you think about uhm, if there are some positives, and then negative, but first positive aspects of when you're an idol or if you're an artist. So, I wonder about that. Maybe for your personal life or uhm, professional life, pros and cons in general.

G: [k] When you think, personally, what do you think are the pros and cons of the career of idol, or career of an artist?

B: [k] What do I think they are?

G: [K] Yes yes yes

B: [k] [sharp inhale] Hm. [pause]

R: Take your time.

B: [k] Personally, I [sharp inhale] think it's a really difficult career. Though every job is hard... The reason being that at such a young age [pause] that they give up so much of their ordinary life, and freedom, those type of aspects. And then they endure and endure through this education that they have to get, and they'll debut, and even after they debut it will be difficult [laugh]. Because it's difficult even after they debut, all throughout being active [as an artist], at this young age they always have to be careful because they're afraid that someone will take a picture that people will see, that the house that their meeting their family in will be exposed. And they have to live in this state of stress. And they have the feeling that they're living a life under surveillance, these young people. That their lives are different from their peers. I think maybe that would be the most difficult—that they have no freedom. They can't just go off and do whatever they want, they always have to be together with their manager. And when they do something, they have to live checking with the company if they can do things certain ways... they're cautious. It's a difficult part. But, the reason that they put up with it and debut, from a certain angle, the possibility of succeeding at a young age is very big for them. Get really famous, earn lots of money, be active all across the world. There are these kinds of pros. But in order to get that famous you need a lot of time, and even if you invest a lot of time, it could not work out in the end. Those aspects seem really difficult. [pause] that was too long! Ha...

G: [E] So, personally I think it's just like a very hard job. Because you start at such a young age and you have to give up so much. Just like things you would do in just your own life, your regular life. The liberties you would have. And you do that in order to debut as an artist, but even after you debut it's not easy. So long as you're active as an artist, you're always kind of worried about like if you go out are people going to take your picture, you kind of feel like people are watching you at all times, so especially the younger people will kind of feel a lot of anxiety about that kind of uhm, attention or like, the feeling of being watched. And the life that like idols or artists live, is just so different from their peers, especially in the sense that they don't have the liberties their peers do to just go out and do what they want to do. They're always with their manager, they always have to check in on if what they do is like okay with the company and stuff. But I think the reason that people do this, or like want to become this, or put up with that for so long, is there's always the possibility of succeeding early on in life,

from a young age. To become extremely famous and to earn a lot of money, and to be able to be active all across the world. But in order to do so, in order to become so famous, there needs to be a lot of time invested, and even if you invest a lot of time, it's not always certain that that will work out. So.

R: Yup. I see. Why do you, you mention it a bit, but what do you think are the reasons why the young boys and girls want to become an idol or famous person, like personally what do you think would be their reasons?

G: [K] You spoke a little about this, but what do you think the reason that young women and men want to become an idol is? When you think personally.

B: [pause]. To start, I think the biggest thing is because they're young, in their young hearts they see singers on TV and see cool and famous idols and think 'I could become that!' Because, first of all, they're not at an age where they know just how [unintelligible] that supposition is. I feel like the majority of people start from that simple thought. And also, the times have changed a lot in Korea. In the past it was just you've got to study, study, good university, go to a good university and get a good job. Whereas that was what teenagers were thinking before, now as the world changes, as it becomes a world in which people are like 'I want to be an idol' or 'I want to be a youtuber', [sharp inhale] it's kind of... maybe a change that happened because of the change of perceptions... about the entertainer field... [pause] In the past, if you asked Koreans what their future career was the majority would say 'a scientist!', like [laugh] or 'a teacher!', or 'a police officer!', but recently almost everyone says stuff like this: 'a singer'.

G: [e] So, first of all [small sigh] I think a lot of it comes from uhm just how young that they are. Like this young pure heart, they see like idols or singers on TV and think 'well I can do that.' Kind of. And so it's kind of that simple thought, or like that innocent thought that they have, that gives them their start uhm. They don't know the extent to which that will change—

R: Mmhm

G: --err, that will influence their everyday life.

R: They don't know where they're going, haha.

G: But on the other hand, the times have kind of changed in Korea. In the past, it was always about, y'know, you want your kid to, or like kids should study, study hard so that they can go to a good school, go to a good school and study hard so that they can get a good job. But now, uhm. The younger people, the youth, are like, 'I want to idols' or 'I want to be youtubers' the general social recognition-err-perception of this entertainment business has gotten a lot better in Korea it seems. Like in the past, when you'd ask kids what they wanted to be it was always like scientist, or like teacher, or like fireman, but now you have a lot of people that are going towards the entertainment industry and are saying, 'I want to be a singer, I want to be an actor, I want to be an idol.'

R: I see. So uhm, and then after uhm, I'm going from one point to another point, but. When you, so you, let's say you're an idol, uhm, then at some point, how do you consider like retirement, and like when you're getting old or how does it work? The future prospects for idols?

B: [K] When the finish their idol activities and retire...

G: [K] yes retire

B: [K] Like how they live?

G: [K] yes yes

B: [K] How they're going to live haha

G: [k] hahah she wasn't asking like that,

B: haha

G: [k] just how you manage those kinds of things, from the side of the company as well

B: how we plan for it

G: yes

B: Uhm, to be honest, we don't think about retirement from the start. Because, at first, making sure that they can have a long life, making sure in many ways that they can continue to be active for a long time and develop is our primary goal, our biggest goal. Retirement, we don't think of it as a member of the team leave—we don't think of it as a group breaking up. So, we don't consider it a lot. And so, as these people grow older, as this team is maintained, we generally just think a lot about the fields in which they'll do their individual work. Though they do team work, while they do team work, if we think 'oh this person stands out for acting—they're good at acting' we'll try putting them in a drama. If we say, 'oh this person sings ballads so well' then we'll maybe have them put out a solo ballad album. Or have them do a music. And that's how they'll find their individual work. Certain people will be tall—they'll be physically great and so we might make them try modelling. And certain people, actually, they'll say 'I really want to study.' It's not that they dislike working as an idol and want to study instead, but rather it's like the concept of casting. Like other people who will do individual work like acting, but this guy really wants to study. And so, depending on what kind of thing they want to study, if it's about the entertainment industry that they want to study later on, when they're older, or if they want to do go graduate school, and so in that way we can sometimes support them. If there is someone that has a lot of *kki*, that is entertaining, like a comedian or gag-man, that person may go in on the panels of variety shows, or we'll have them try be a reporter, or try to develop them into an MC, a bit. Like this. But this is definitely not something we think of as after their retirement, because we don't consider retirement. It's a plan we make under the assumption that this team will work together consistently for a long time.

G: [e] so, of course they don't really plan out someone's life after retirement or—

R: They do plan?

G: No, they don't.

R: Ah

G: Uhm. Cause their like first goal or like purpose is that, y'know, that they can have their artists do a varied amount of activities for many years uhm in addition to whatever their primary or, uhm, activity is. So, kind of when you think about maybe an aging group that's like done a lot of stuff together, maybe they'll start doing a little more personal projects. Like if someone really wants to get into acting they'll do acting, if someone is really good at singing

ballads have them put out like a solo album of ballads, or like if someone is like very fit or has a good appearance, they'll maybe try working as a model or something. But this is all done, generally speaking, in addition to them working as a group kind of. So, there are also people that just want to study. So, it's not that they want to give up working as an artist or anything. They want to study—maybe they want to study the entertainment industry, or maybe they want to go to grad school for, to study those kind of things. So, the company will also sort of support those kind of endeavors as well. Uhm. And then people that have, that energy, that something, maybe they're funny or charming like comedians or something, they'll have them go on the *yeneung* programs uhm

B: Va..variety.

G: Yeah! Variety shows or like maybe they'll have them y'know start working, do some MC work, and stuff like that. But of course, all these kinds of plans are not thinking about after retirement, it's thinking about the varied kind of activities that the people on these teams can do while they're still active.

R: Mmhm. Uhm, do they stop being active sometimes? Like I don't know, if they really want to... stop their career. I don't know. Do they keep forever or if you're like 50 years old

B: [laugh]

R: or sixty years old or. Can you usually try to find a new...?

G: [K] so uhm, more than say give up on their activities or career... it seems like there will be people who, after they finish that work, they do something different, for example an artist that's turned 50 or 60, if they don't want to act as an artist, they don't want to act as an artist or those types of things...how do you manage those types of things? Or are there those types of instances?

B: [k] You're not talking just about idols, but just in general, right?

G: [e] so not just idols in general artists? Or

R: If possible idols, but maybe it seems like idols they also change what they're originally doing. So, if possible idols...

G: [k] If possible, if you could talk about idols.

B: [k] idols

G: [k] But idols can start doing other activities as---err the fields in which they're active can be different---uhhh, they can change.

B: [k] like for example, if someone says they want to leave a team and do some other activities? Like when that kind of situation arises?

G: [k] yes

B: [k] how you deal with that?

G: [k] yes

B: Mmmmm. There still haven't been any instances like that at our company, but uhhhh [pause] mmmm. Recently there was one incident. One person left the group, the reason was

the reason I gave you earlier about why being an idol is hard. So, it was very difficult for them mentally, and because they were suffering, ultimately it ended with that person and the company have a good talk about it all, and that person dropping from the group. That person said that they wanted to get psychological treatment and live as a normal person, and so the company actually respected that opinion a lot, and yeah... And so yeah, there was a case where we let someone go out of consideration for the person. But the rest of the members continue to work together as a team. They're doing a lot of activities and making sure that they can continue to do these activities without any problem is another responsibility of the company. And yeah so, we once took care of a situation in that manner.

R: It's almost the end, I promise.

G: [k] We'll be finishing soon...

R: haha

G: [e] Uh so like in terms of like an idol leaving like leaving the group a group that they're in or kind of uhm, I don't want to say quitting but, uh, there haven't been really that many cases like that at this company, but there was one similar case recently where it's kind of I was talking about before with how it's hard to be an idol, it was just too much mentally that y'know we met together with that team, like group, and decided that leaving the group would be best, and he's, the person is continuing to get treatment for uhm themselves, and they just wanted to live as a normal person again. And of course, the company respects that choice of theirs, and that team that they were on before is still active and still working together, and the company has done their best to ensure that they can continue to be active without any problems, even without, even with the loss of that member.

R: Yeah. Yeah that's good for the person too. Yeah. I see. So, because you mention it's different in other companies. I know in your work for this company, but because you're in the field uhm, do you like see like some major differences in some different companies? Or are they usually as kind as yours? Or are there some differences in y'know how they work and how they treat the artists.

G: [k] Because you've worked a lot in this field, it seems like you'll know this type of thing. Different companies are all different, and so are there big differences in how they deal with idols---

B: [k] like about what we were just talking about

G: [k] yes yes yes. Or other aspects as well. If there are those types of things.

B: [sharp inhale] Mmmmm.... A lot... Basically they train the trainees, they train them, they'll have them debut, and they'll decide on album concepts, these type of year round things, the processing of them is all exactly the same. The working processing. But there of course are differences in the details. For example, like the clothes related portion I was talking about earlier. For example, whereas there are companies that will try to keep as much to the decided direction and concept as possible, but still meet with artists and make adjustments based on their preferences, there are places that will just on the day, tell an unsuspecting person, 'these are your clothes', and there are companies that will follow a schedule that they don't have their artist agree upon beforehand as well. Those are really mean examples, but... But generally, what we call planning companies' standards, places like us or big companies like YG

or SM, places with bands—band companies have the system set in place, the system by which they treat artists. Because they have good management in place. The cases that I just gave you are like really small companies, or bad companies. There will be those kind of cases, er, situations there. And honestly, because if a company really pushes an artist against their will the risks are too big. Those people are people to. They don't just accept those risks and push people like that. Just explain adequately beforehand 'there is this kind of thing. How is this kind of thing? We're going to do this, what are your thoughts.' But really you can't completely reflect all of the artist's thoughts in everything. There are so many people. So, we tend to adjust adequately, when we need it. Big companies will be almost the same.

G: [e] So in general, the process is similar in terms of

B: [k] I'm going to go to the bathroom

R: yeah yeah yeah

G: [e] uhm like having a *yeonseup* er like a trainee go through their training and then have them debut and have them work as an artist. But there are definitely differences in the details, of different uhm companies, so in terms of like clothing. Whereas some companies will like work with their artists to like y'know, they'll negotiate something beforehand and they'll kind of work on what their clothes are going to be like together and maybe give them like, not of too much of their way into their life, but

R: Here?

G: Just, she, I think she's talking about this company, but I think she's just saying in some

R: mmhm

G: companies it will be like that. Whereas in some companies they might just show up one day and be like 'well, here's your clothes' [laugh] and in some companies they'll also have the artists, they might like not tell the artist their schedule ahead of time or like, not negotiate, but just like uhm, *hapui*, like come to an agreement on like their schedule beforehand, they'll just give them their schedule. 'This is what you're doing.'

R: Imposing rather than

G: Yeah imposing rather than having them y'know participate in the process.

R: Mhm

G: But of course, this is just like in, these are bad cases. In the big companies like SM and YG, they have so much structure to them now, especially—maybe not now especially, but they have so much structure that uhm you don't see those kind of things happen there. It's generally the smaller companies that you'll see those kind of situations [in]. Because it's a big risk for the company to really be pushing their artists that much, uhm. To be imposing so much on the artist, and so it's not worth it for them to undergo that risk to, for those kind of things. But of course, you can't reflect an artist's personal opinion or preferences on everything, so there's a lot of like negotiation kind of, or like coming to agreement on things that needs to happen.

R: I see. We're almost done!

B: [k] Oh really!

G: [k] we're almost done!

R: yeah just I was wondering just a last question, because you told me you were uhm young when you started, you were already like playing the guitar, singing,

B: hahah

R: Yeah, so like, have you ever considered being yourself an artist? Rather than managing?

G: [k] you said that you were in a band since you were young, and so did you have any thoughts of becoming an idol, or was there every a time when you, rather than this uhm, business work, wanted to be an idol?

B: [k] If I ever thought about doing that when I was younger? To be honest, more than and idol, I thought that I would be making music all my life with my friends from the band when I was young. Hahah. I'll sing and play guitar and my friend will play drums. I thought that I'd stick together with that band and make music and we'd go to the same university together and we'd do music, and I thought that was how I would live my life. Definitely not like and idol, or debuting. I just thought it was fun and seemed nice, but as I lived on my own, I realized that that was not reality. Hahahah. that was not reality. Of course my parents did oppose, and I really only started studying from the time I was in high school. And so, I studied in high school and went to college, and they said that, 'if you start studying now and go to a good university, mmm once you're there we don't care whatever it is you do. Because for us' – more than the aim being university for my parents it was this: if you can just have one thing that you persisted with, one thing to show for it, then we can leave your life up to you. That's how they thought, that was the thought with which they said that. And so, honestly, I thought to myself 'well then I've got to go to Seoul National or Korea University' hahahaha

G: Hahah

B: If I do that then they'll acknowledge me. And so, my aim was just that. And so, because of that studying was meaningless... because from the beginning I wanted to live, doing the things I wanted to do. So yeah. It worked out well. Hahaha. It didn't think about being an idol.

G: [e] So rather than becoming an idol I thought I'd be playing with my band for the rest of my life.

R: Yass!

G: that I'd be playing guitar and singing, with my friend of the drums, and we'll go to the same school and we'll go to the same college, and we'll keep playing for the rest of our lives. But that didn't happen.

[all laugh]

R: [sadly] oh!

G: of course, my parents were uhm did kind of protest that, and I started more from high school. Uhm. And so, my parents said something along the lines of, 'if you study and get into a good school then you can live doing whatever you want.'

R: Mmm.

G: So rather than obsessing about a really good school or anything it was about finding the thing that I wanted to do, and using that to like, or like going through life with that. And so, I decided that rather than going to Seoul National I'd go to Korea university uhm I wanted to live doing what I wanted to do. And in the end, it all—it worked out. Kind of.

R: That's nice. So, you like what you're doing?

G: [k] Do you like the job that you have now?

B: [k] I'm just... going with the flow. Rather than say that I did this because I liked it a lot it's more like I'm doing because I've been doing it?

G: [e] Just going with the flow, kind of. Like rather than say I really like it. It's just kind going with it for now.

R: Do you have some prospect plans for the future? How do you see yourself in the future, for example?

G: [k] in the future are you going to do this same thing, or

B: [k] my plans?

G: [k] yes, plans.

B: [k] All of the sudden?! Hahaha

G: hahah [e] all of the sudden?

B: [e] suddenly? [k] Uhm. I have had just one goal in my life since I was little. Opening a bar later on with the man I'm going to marry. That's been my life goal since I've been young, but hahahah

G: hahaha [k] even though you couldn't drink

B: [k] Hahahah. I'm living my life with the thought of opening a bar in mind, and my life is just the process of that, right now. So, in any case, that's going to be something I do when I am older, that job, opening that store, so before that, when I'm young and have energy and strength, in my 20s and 30s, I thought I should just try doing this and that. For example, if someone from a company seeks me out then I'll go there and work for a bit, and if I see something that seems interesting, I'll go do it. Yeah.

G: [e] So since I've been, since I was young, I've only had one really strong like goal or like purpose in life, or like not purpose but like goal, but that was to start a like...uhh...

R: A new band hahaha

B: hahah

G: hahah no like a bar, start a bar with the man I'm going to marry. So even before, so from a very young age, that was my goal, to start a bar with uhm, like a place you can drink, uhm

R: yeah yeah

G: But I know that's something that I can do when I'm older, or that I'm going to do when I'm older so now when I'm in my 20s and 30s I want to live doing this or that, just kind trying things

out. If a company wants me to work with them, maybe I'll try that. If something seems interesting, maybe I'll try that. But

R: That's such a cool mindset.

B: hahah

G: [k] she says it's cool

R: Yeah yeah yeah yeah

B: [k] this is all only possible because I got into Korea university, hahaha

G: [e] It's only possible because I went to *go*—uhm, Korea university.

B: hahah

R: So it help you to get uhm jobs and job opportunity and things like that.

G: [k] attending KU was...uh..

B: [k] no, originally my parents. My parents acknowledge it, they acknowledged that I went to KU and said 'you can live however you want!' hahaha

G: Ah! Hahaha [e] so they were more like, her parents were like, 'alright, so you got into Korea University, so you can do whatever you want now.' Like 'you can do what you want.

R: So, they can say, 'my daughter went to Korea University' and

G: [k] so your parents can boast like that, 'my daughter went to KU...'

B: [k] Mmm there's that as well, but to my parents it's more like 'she's reliable' or 'she's dependable'. I gave them faith.

G: [e] Kind of. At least, I mean there is like they can brag about her but also like she's proven her, that she can do things that she's reliable.

R: I see.

B: [k] And so they don't complain about anything else in my life. Nothing. [e] nothing.

G: [e] and so they don't like get too involved in her life, kind of, or like nitpick with her

R: Yeah! You bought your freedom, or something like that.

G: [e] Freedom...

B: [e] [excitedly] I became independent right away. As soon as I started university. And so, I've been living alone for 13 years.

G: [k] 13 years... [e] so she became independent from her parents like as soon as she went into college. And so, she's been living alone for like 13 years.

R: College?! So, it's like uhm before university?

G: [e] Err no it's like university

B: [e] no Korea university

R: Oh yeah yeah yeah, I get confused.

G: Oh. [k] the systems are different so...

R: When did you start playing and singing?

B: [e] middle school, about.... 13 years old?

R: That's so cute. I also used to play the guitar and sing

G: Me too

B: [k] Really?? Hahahah

G: Yeah

R: Maybe we had the same dreams at the beginning, you know.

B: [e] oh so, three band hahaha

R: I'm guitar so

G: Should we start a band? Haha [k] that'd be fun

B: [k] that'd be fun

R: Yeah that would be nice. Hahah. Are you from Seoul originally?

B: [e] Yeah

R: I see I see. But yeah. I think the bar is such a good

B: haha

R: [Roxane talks about opening a bar in Lisbon]

At 2:41:16 R says "That's it. I think I'm done."

Annexe 5 - Retranscription de l'entretien avec un ancien idol, actuellement rappeur indépendant et compositeur freelance de K-pop

R: Uhm so to begin with, I'm a bit curious about knowing your path and how come you uhm started to make music.

C: Mmmm

R: So if you could also tell me about when you were a child,

C: Mmmm

R: when you first started to be interested in music

C: Mmm. [k] It's okay if I just talk in Korean, right?

G: [k] Yes yes yes

R: mhm!

C: Right. At first that was [pause] I just went to college, me as well. Uhm Sungshil university. I attended Sungshil University, and then uhm school was not very fun/interesting to me so I took time off from school, and then I, I took time off from school and then I came to start attending a *hagwon*, a music *hagwon*. [e] Music academy [k] I attended a *hagwon* and then I started rapping, I started with rapping. And then I became a rapper...I became a rapper and then one way or another there was a good opportunity and so I debuted. A broadcast debut, with a team called Airplane. If you type it into YouTube it'll come up, probably. And with the Airplane team I... I can show you actually

G: Haha

C: Hehe. [e] I will show you.

R: Yeah yeah

C: My debut.

G: [e] Uhm while he's doing that I'll just--

R: Yes.

G: So, he went to college, err he went to college at Sungshil University, but *hakkyo*—err school wasn't very

[Video plays in background]

C: This is maybe uhm 2013?

R: Are you singing there?

C: This is my team and music bank

G: Ohh

R: Ohhh

C: This is me. Hahahahahahah

R: Ooh~! So cute.

[All laugh]

G: Oh my god

[laughter]

R: Wait, which year again?

G: Uhm, two thousand--

C: This is me

G: [k] You said this was 2013, right?

C: Yeah yeah

G: [e] 2013.

C: This is my part, hahaha. [video plays, we can hear his part] [k] I did this kind of thing. [music stops]

R: Oooh~~

C: [e] Like, uhm, 4 album and many, lot of [k] activities. Broadcast. We did a lot of broadcast activities, and we did those kinds of things. But my team failed.

R: Oh why?

C: Uh, we just weren't popular...So little by little, little by little we grew less popular, so we failed. So that was probably about two thousand [e] 2015.

R: Mmmhm

C: BANG! [k] It was over. The team was just over. And after that I did it on my own, as a solo artist. Solo rapper. And while I was doing that I started doing music again...I did that from 2015, with friends, with my crew, or [label sound?] or [e] my friend [k] and doing that I somehow came to make a couple of musics for idols. I made a few idol musics and sent them to some people that I knew, and those [pause] were well received, they went well, and so there was a team called JYB that did produce 101, and I sold [the music] to them. And so, by doing that I got my start as a composer. Yeah.

G: [k] Yes, so I'll just...

C: Yeah yea

R: [unintelligible]

G: [e] Uhm so I guess I'll start from the beginning

R: I could understand a bit

G: Yeah it seemed like

R: But then

G: Uh so I went to university at Sungshil university, but school wasn't really fun, so I took a break from school and during that time I started going to a music academy and started off by doing rap there. And uhm, through a good opportunity he was able to debut with a group called airplane?

C: Yeah yeah yeah. Airplane.

G: Airplane. Yeah okay, uhm, which is what he just showed in 2013. With 4 albums and other kind of, uhm, activities. Like broadcast activities.

C: [agreeing] Mm

G: But then in the end the team, y'know, fell apart.

C: [laugh]

G: It didn't go well, it wasn't very popular, and so it ended in around 2015. But after that he started working as a solo artist, as a rapper, and then that was about from about 2015, and he kept working with different crews and different friends, and somehow just happen to make some music for a few idols, and because those went well he was able to sell them to JBJ?

C: Yeah yeah yeah

G: JBJ.

C: [e] This is my solo music video. In 2015? Yeah. [laugh]

R: Wait you have a tattoo? [*I think there was a tattoo on his neck in the video he showed us]

C: No no no just a fake. I have a real one in here [points to some other part of body] Haha

R: Haha, that's cheating to have fake ones

C: Hahahahaha

R: It's like, 'Yeah I'm a bad boy!' but then you remove it

G: Hahaha

R: Okay, so I have a question, so why, so you were at school and then you decided to quit, and you started at the music academy?

C: mhm

R: So, you were already interested in music?

C: Yeah yeah yeah

R: So how did it started? I mean, that like uhm, did you start, for example by playing some instrument? Or what made you interesting in music at the beginning?

G: [k] Yes, so you said that you went to school and then started going to a music academy

C: [k] Yes yes yes

G: Did you have an interest from that point, or from your...your childhood years did you have an interest...

C: Oh [e] very first time?

G: How did you come to have that kind of interest

C: Ahhhh. Ohhh. [k] When I was really really young—because people naturally like music, I had just that level of interest. When I was in high school I did that, a hip-hop club. In high school... I've lived here since I was young, and in high school there was a hip-hop club and I did that. But honestly at that time I...took it lightly, like it was something like playing together with friends. To be honest, the reason I took time off from university at 20 and started going to the music academy was [pause] because I didn't want to go to school. That's why I did it, if I'm honest, in the beginning. Rather than it being because I really wanted to do music I just didn't want to study. I went to school and I was in the department of public administration. [e] Pu...[k] what do you call it in English?

G: Uh [e] Public

C: [e] Administration, maybe

G: Administration.

C: Public administration. It's very...I don't like that. Hard. [k] It's difficult and no fun. Hahah [e] Not funny. Hahah [k] And so I just didn't like studying. And so, I think that was kind of a big part of why that happened.

G: [e] So uh, from when he was young, he just liked music the way that everyone likes music, because everyone likes music. But uh, in high school he was in a hip-hop club and uhm, but even that that was more just like playing with friends, that kind of vibe, it wasn't something super serious. So, the biggest reason that he took time off school when he was twenty was that he didn't like school. He didn't like studying, he was doing public administration, and it was hard, and it was not fun, so it was mostly for those reasons that he started to do...went to the music academy.

R: Mm Yeah. Administration and blah blah blah

C: Hahahaha

R: it's really [?] Because in my school there is also this option, but it's very very boring and

C: [e] yeah, it's very boring

R: yeah yeah yeah. So, like making reports and yeah yeah. So, then you went to the music academy

C: Mm

R: Could you tell me a bit, like uh, how was this academy, what you do there

C: Ahhhh ok ok. Uhm. [k] There are two classes that they hold there and since I did rapper—there were different classes for like vocal and for rapping, and so in the rapping class...But I only attended for three months [e] only three months... in academy [laugh] [k] I only attended for three months so I don't know it that well, but in any case, there were two classes and in one was writing rap and things like that...how to write lyrics for rap, a rap-making class and then a song-writing, a MIDI class. [pause] Composition.

G: Ahhh

C: Computer composition. And so, it goes along like this, with these two classes. [pause] And honestly the things that they taught there weren't really that great, but kind of...is shoddy the right word? Not that great. The classes weren't really that good. But the reason that they do that...there are a lot of cases where the teachers are current or famous rappers. Do you understand what I'm saying?

G: Yes

C: So that's why a lot of kids do it—to see those kinds of people. *Inmaek* (personal connections), forming relationships. You understand right?

G: yes yes

C: Yeah.

G: [e] So uhm, there were two classes that he took there. He was in the—there were different things that you could go there for, like vocals or rap or other things. But he did rap, and he was there for three months. And there were two main classes, basically. And it was the writing—writing rap, writing the lyrics to rap, or doing computer composition for rap. You said [k] MIDI

C: [k] Yeah MIDI

G: Is that a file name? Or what is it?

C: Oh that's... [looks it up]

G: [e] What's a midi...

R: Yeah yeah yeah. Because then it's difficult to figure out what it is. So, figure out now.

G: Yeah.

R: We have an expert, haha.

G: Yeah.

C: [e] MIDI is [k] English [e] English. Music Instrumental—instrument digital interface

G: Oh! [k] I see.

R: Ahh is it like a big keyboard

C: [k] Uhhh... it's just in general just something that we call it... what is that called? Computer composition. Computer composition.

G: Ahhh [k] So is it like what you call that process?

C: [k] That's right.

G: [e] So it's kind of like a term for the overarching process of computer composition, kind of.

C: [e] Computer composition system yeah yeah yeah

R: SO, it's like inside the computer?

C: Yeah yeah yeah

R: Ohhhh, I see, I see.

G: [e] Uhm but yeah so those were like the main two classes. But the subject matter wasn't very good, or like, the classes weren't super great, but the reason that a lot of people go to them, for the most part they have a lot of famous people that come in and like do the teaching, so a lot of people go there because there's this thing called *inmaek*, but it's kind of like creating ties, it's like you want to know someone famous so that you'll be able to use that for yourself, kind of

R: For your network?

C: Yeah yeah yeah

G: Yeah, it's like networking. SO that's why so many people would go to those things, even if the classes weren't the greatest.

R: And, are there some uhm...can everyone go there? Or do you have some first auditions?

C: [e] No no no, everyone can go there. [k] Just [e] Just money.

G: Mm.

R: Oh, you have to pay a lot to go there?

C: Oh no no no [k] 200,000 won a month at the time. [e] Month

G: [e] Yeah, *ishipmanwon* like 2... I want to do this in dollars in my head

C: hahahah [k] ten, hundred, thousand, ten thousand... [e] 200 dollars

G: Yeah yeah yeah \$200. Do you understand what I'm saying?

R: Yeah yeah

C: 200,000 in 2010 [k] In 2010.

R: Yeah, actually, won makes like a lot of sense to me.

G: Oh okay.

R: Haha

G: That's good.

R: Okay, so, and then you stayed for just a few months at the academy that you quit.

C: Mmm, yeah yeah yeah.

R: Is it because it was finished? —No, because you didn't like it, right?

C: Ah [e] it is because I [k] Like what it was, the reason I quit the *hagwon* was I entered into a label.

G: Oh

C: [e] I'm in label—

G: [e] Yeah, he went into—

C: [k] It was called Soul Connection, and at the time it was quite a decent underground label. There was a kind of team there...And when I came to enter the label I quit the *hagwon*. Like 'I've stepped onto the path of a professional' that kind of feeling, and so yeah, feeling that, I quit the *hagwon* at the time.

G: [e] So he went into a pretty good underground label called Soul Connection?

C: [e] Yeah Soul Connection

G: Seoul Connection, and that's what motivated him to drop out.

R: So, you mean after going to the academy?

C: Yeah?

R: So how did it happen? Did you go there, or did they pick you?

G: [k] When you went into the label how did you...

C: [k] Oh, I made a demo CD. I made a demo CD and went to their studio. It was in Gangnam, Yangjae-dong. But I went there and said, "I want to do this with you[r company]." And so, in a sense, you could call that an audition. That's how it happened.

G: [e] So he made like a demo tape and went to their studio in Yangjae which is like near Gangnam, and was like, 'I want to work with you.' And so, you could call that a kind of audition. That's how

R: I see. And so, what did you—I'm losing my voice—what did you do there?

C: Uhhh [e] Rap. Rapper.

R: And how long did you stay and—

C: Two years, maybe.

R: Oh.

C: 2010 to 2013.

R: So, this label, it's like really like being a rapper, making music, things like this?

G: [k] So going into a label it means like, to start your activity as a rapper?

C: [k] Yeah, that's right.

R: Could you explain like, talk to me about the process of things you did there and things like that? So, I can get an idea...

G: [k] So what kind of things did you do there, like, the process of making music and things—

C: Ahhh

R: Actually, it might look like obvious question for you but because I didn't do that, I'm very curious

G: [k] It could be an obvious question but

C: [k] What it was was.... I'm not sure how to explain it exactly, but our studio, if you went to Yangjae-dong there was a studio there like this one. And so, we used that one studio all together, and so there we...it wasn't a situation where we were signed to a company or had contracts or anything like that. It took the form of friends gathering, and we'd gather together as friends and certain people would be composers, and certain people would only rap, and there were people who drew pictures as well. It was a situation where there were all sorts of people gathered, like a university club, but it was like a collective that [formed under the idea of] 'Let's do this together! Let's form synergy'. And so, we would put out albums together, we'd collaborate and make songs together, and...we'd do like performances, regular performances. It was like that. But at the time it was relatively popular, so when we did performances...if we performed at a club, about 300 people would come [to watch]. [e] Three hundred. [k] And that, especially at that time, was not bad. Because at the time hip-hop wasn't popular in Korea. In 2010, 2011. You know *Show Me the Money*, right?

G: Yes

C: It was before that, at the time. It was not bad at all. At the time. That's... yeah.

G: [e] So, that kind of studio in Yangjae wasn't one where like, people were parts of different, kind of offices, or had certain contracts, it was just friends together making music. So, there were some people [video starts playing in background] that would only do composition, some people that would only do rap, some people that drew pictures, but it was kind of a spirit of like 'let's do something together' so they would put out albums together, make songs together, do performances together. And they were quite popular back then. So, when they would do performances at like clubs, it would be like 300 people would come. Which is a lot considering that hip hop was not very popular in Korea. There was a show called *Show Me the Money*, I don't know if you've heard of it, but it's like a hip-hop audition show—

C: [e] I've got the video of my studio, Soul Connection.

R: Ahh

C: Yeah yeah.

R: So, these people were like your friends and

C: yeah yeah yeah yeah. And here is me. Heheheh.

R: So serious.

C: Twenty years. [k] When I was twenty years old. [pause] We'd like gather at the studio and—this is that, on New Year's, on January 1st, we gathered all together and ate food and drank and we just kind of made a video of that...

G: [e] This is like on new years

C: yea yea yea

G: They got together and ate and drank and took a video

R: Haha, your friend is like [makes noise]

[3 & G Laugh]

C: This would have been 2011. 2011.

G: [e] This is like 2011.

C: [e] Eleven, maybe. This video was.

R: So, what—you were finishing your story—

G: Oh yeah, so, if they did performance it would be like 300 people would, which was a lot considering that hip-hop wasn't very popular in Korea, at the time. There's a show called Show Me the Money, and it's like a hip-hop audition show that's like very popular now, and when it started it became very popular. But this was all before that even happened. So, like, you could say that they were quite popular, especially considering those factors.

R: Mm. Did you choose this label because you knew what they did, and you wanted to go there? Or how did you choose this underground label?

C: [k] How I choose it?

G: [k] Yes.

C: Ah that. I did a few, originally. I did 3 or 4, there were around 3 or 4 decent labels, labels that I liked at the time. And so, I had made demo CDs do send out to these places, maybe 4 or 5? And the first one I sent was to here. I first sent one to Soul Connection, and they reached out to me right away, they contacted me the next day. And so, I didn't send them, the rest that is. So, I just...came to work with them.

G: [e] So, initially, he made like 3 or 4 tapes, demo tapes, and he was planning to send them out to three or four decent companies, uhm, or decent labels. And this was the first place that he sent, and the very next day they like called him back, and so he just ended up not sending the rest of them to the other labels.

C: [laugh]

R: I see, nice. So, like, after the label, why did you change? What's the...what happens next?

C: Ahhh

R: [laugh]

C: Soul connection was doing well for a while, but then there were numerous incidents. Uhm...what should I call it... We were too... [pause] Like in hip-hop, underground hip-hop, there is a kind of [expected] image, like strong... But at the time, in order to earn money and whatnot, we talked a lot about love.

G: [k] Sorry?

C: Love songs. Soft/tender, things that stole women's hearts (*yeoshimjeogyek*) You know what I'm saying?

G: Ah yes haha

C: We did that kind of music. But hip-hop doesn't like that—other labels and other crews didn't like that very much. There was initially that. And so, we kind of became the loner...and then another thing, we were caught for marijuana. One person among our friends. [e] Weed, Marijuana [k] After getting caught with that there was, uhm, kind of a big crisis. And amidst this we, internally, had financial problems [e] money problem [k] because of those things, it gradually became worse and worse.

G: [e] SO the soul connection, there were like a kind of few incidents that occurred that kind of led to things falling apart there. For one, there is kind an image in hip-hop that maybe you have to be hard or something, but they [laugh] did a lot of love songs, or kind of more feminine songs,

C: [laugh]

G: which other labels and other hip-hop crews in Korea didn't really like at all. And so that was kind of a thing that happen, and so they were kind of outcasted, from like the rest of the hip hop scene in Korea. And then also there was an incident where someone was caught with marijuana, so there was a bit of a crisis there. And then on top of there were some money problems as well. So, it was kind of one after the other, things started falling apart a little bit. [k] That sums it up, right?

C: [k] Yes

R: That's true, how did you get the money to do what you were doing with the label? Like financially sustain the group?

G: [k] The....

C: [k] How the money moves?

G: Yes yes

C: Financial things? Well first off, performances. Performance or, because at the time those were good gigs, and so if I were to put out an album at Soul Connection or were to make a music video, my *hyungs* did it for me. It was a situation in which I didn't have to pay money. Within Soul Connection it was taken care of. And then within this collective called Soul Connection there were composers, and [sound] engineers, and even for video there were a lot of things that we resolved amongst ourselves. And there was a lot of cover art as well. And so, to a certain extent, putting out an album and things like that didn't require a lot of money.

G: [e] So, uhm. Financially speaking, performances were like a big factor in terms of how much money would come in. Because performance were pretty successful, that was, uh, a big stream of money for the label. But when it came to making albums or making songs, he never had to put in, like personal money, it was Soul Connection, the label itself that dealt with that, or like people there. Uhm, because they had people that were doing composition, they had sound engineers, they had people that would make cover art or like shoot videos, so, because that was all within the label, there wasn't like a lot of money that had to go out into like different places.

R: So, the, uhm, they had other groups and you as a group?

G: [k] At the label were there...like teams? Or...

C: Ahh...Generally everyone was solo. Like Rapper A, Rapper B, Rapper C, et cetera

G: [e] So it was mostly, like, individual rappers in the label rather than teams of musicians?

R: But sometimes you were working together for performance?

C: [e] Yeah yeah yeah

R: I see I see. I'm really losing my voice, I don't know why.

C: [laugh]

R: Uhm why did you—because this uh label, you say it's underground label, so when you applied first, did you go for underground label on purpose, or not?

G: [k] You said that this label was an underground hip hop label

C: [k] Yes yes

G: Were you intentionally looking for an underground label?

C: Yes yes.

G: Could you talk about the reason a bit...

C: The reason was that, at the time, I liked hip hop. 2010, from when I was young, when I was in high school I liked hip hop and [pause] there's kind of something like popular music, idols...I thought that they weren't real music [e] I think not is real music. Idol music and dance music. That is not real music [laugh] [k] At the time.

G: [e] Yeah

R: Yeah yeah

[laughter]

G: He purposefully found an underground label because, well you could understand.

R: yeah yeah

C: [e] Because I'm young. Haha.

R: I see, yeah. But, uhm, but then you still went to the, well that's for later—so after the—I have so many questions haha

C: Ah okay. Slowly

R: I have to put one after the other, yeah. So, after the—uhm, then what happened after the label? You said you had some like issues and drugs and things like that. So, you basically left or? What happened after that.

C: [e] I'm out. [k] I left. I left, but, because there were multiple issues I just left, blindly. I was like 'I want to do something on my own' and so I left, but after I left I was doing music on my own [pause] And because I was doing that, because there were people surrounding me, it was while I was doing that that I came to do Airplane. At the time. 2013.

G: [e] So he just left, kind of under the thought of 'I want to do something on my own.' Uhm, and so while working on stuff on his own, there were still people around him like within this field, and that's how he ended up doing the Airplane group in 2013.

R: Didn't you have a contract with the underground label as well?

G: [k] When you were active with the label, did you have a contract?

C: [k] No contract.

G: no contract.

C: Yes. [pause] Usually they proceeded without contracts, at the time.

G: [e] Mm, at the time people didn't really do contracts there.

R: Ooh...

C: [e] In underground.

R: How did it work then?

C: [e] Just friendship? And brotherhood. Like...

R: I see.

C: Like we are the one [k] stuff like that, you know.

G: [k] Like trust

C: [k] Yeah that's right.

G: [e] Trust.

R: Ah. I see. And so, tell me more about when you—how and when and why you started airplane?

G: [k] The airplane team--

C: [k] How did it get started?

G: [k] Yes, how, when

C: So, after I left Soul Connection, I was working on my own. I was working on my own, but then, you know SoundCloud, right? I just put up a song that I had made. I put up a single song and then that [pause] there's kind of this kind of culture, where like, at the time there was twitter and if someone made a song, other rappers, or underground rappers would share it for them. There was that kind of culture. What do you call that, *gongyu*?

G: [e] Like sharing

C: [e] Sharing! Yeah. [k] like 'so and so came out with a new song', they'd promote each other, you could say. And seeing [the song I posted], I had a *hyung* that was a producer who must have listened to it and liked it, and he said, 'Oh he's good' and then that *hyung* said 'let's do a project together' and so I said 'okay', and then that happened to be Airplane. It was that kind of situation, at the time.

G: [e] So, so he was working on his own when he put up a song on SoundCloud—do you know SoundCloud?

R: mhm!

G: Okay, and at the time there was kind of this culture within the hip hop scene, where, I mean there was twitter, and if people, or if someone put up a song somewhere they would share it for each other, kind of. Or it's like, there was a sharing culture where you would let people know about your music and share it as well.

C: [hands us gummy bears] Haribo

[laughter]

R: That's getting interesting. Thank you!

G: Uhm. And then so there was a producer, uhm, [k] you said that there was a producer *hyung*, did you know each other? Or just...

C: [k] Uhm, someone I only knew the face of.

G: [e] okay, so there was a producer that saw his, or listened to his song and was like 'hey, he's pretty good, we should do something together' and that ended up being airplane. But that producer—what I just asked was did he know him, but he just like, he was just someone that he knew the face of, he'd seen around, but wasn't very tightly connected with.

R: So, in hip hop usually when you put something online then people share it and give their opinions too? Or how do you...

C: [e] Usually not with opinions, just [k] like 'my friend came out with a song' like, in that manner. [e] He's my friend, he have new song. Like that.

G: [e] Yeah.

R: I see, so, then who was this producer? Or like this producer was from a company or something?

C: Mm. [k] That guy was a freelancer as well. How it happened was he...he was originally a person who sold K-pop [songs], someone who made songs and sold them, he's now doing *iidanyeopchagi*, but in any case, he was doing that, and he knew a boss (*sajangnim*, like president/owner of business). And that boss suggested to this *hyung*, 'let's make hip-hop idols, a trio. You go look for people.' And so that's how he found us. Did you understand?

G: [k] Yes. I think I understood.

C: Hahah

G: you said that *hyung* was someone who make K-pop songs and sold them somewhere

C: Yes

G: After that, for a second, you said what he is doing now?

C: Right now, he's on a very famous team called *iidanyeopchagi*. As far as I know, he's on the *iidanyeopchagi* team.

G: *ii dan yeop chagi?*

C: *yeop chagi yea*

G: [e] Okay.

C: [k] the pronunciation is difficult isn't it.

G: [e] So that producer was also a freelancer at the time, but, and he was someone that would make K-pop songs and sell them. But he knew someone working in K-pop, like someone high up, and that person said to him, 'let's make a hip-hop trio. And you go out and find some people.' And so that's how, they found him and others to do the airplane group. And so that producer is in *iidanyeopchagi* [k] what does that mean?

C: [k] Oh that's a Korean taekwondo move, it's like [moves]

G: [e] Ahhh, so it's like a taekwondo move, what their name is

R: Airplane?

G: No no no, that's what this producer is doing now. Sorry, I couldn't understand what that was.

C: [k] Probably, in English it's called double kick?

G: double kick Ahhh

C: [e] They're a famous K-pop

G: Ahhh [k] Side kick

C: Yeah, they're very famous producer in K-pop

R: Are they specialized in hip hop, within K-pop or?

C: Uh, they are basic in hip hop, I know. [k] They started in hip hop and now they've become K-pop. MC Mong, in the past.

G: Aha!! MC Mong.

C: Yeah MC Mong producer. MC Mong and who else was there...?

G: [e] so they started out in hip hop and they kind of built their way up to K-pop. They had MC Mong, a rapper.

C: There are a lot of them in any case. [unintelligible] they're very famous in Korea. He's on that team. As far as I know he's on a composer team there.

R: So, then what did you do, did you, how did find your colleague, the person you work with, and also so what happened after that?

G: Uhm

R: How he found, how you found the uhm

G: Other 2 in the group?

R: Yes.

G: Okay. [k] The

C: [k] Other two?

G: yes.

C: They were there already. Those two were there before me.

G: Ahhh

C: They were decided on before me, and there was a third as well, but they didn't like this one person, and so this one person was out, and I took his place. It was a chance opportunity, really.

G: [e] So the two others were already there, and there actually was a third, but they didn't like him [laugh] and so he left, and so it was really by chance that he was able to come in and fill that position.

R: Ah nice, so the producers said ah yeah you can come, we have a spot for you or?

G: [k] So the producers were like, 'there is an empty spot.... come...'

C: [K] Yeah, that's right, yeah, I guess that's what they said. But those producers as well, it was kind of more a sense of friends between us. Like the two *hyungs* in Airplane, the producer *hyung*, and the, we just were 'let's do this together' kind of.

G: [e] So it was really like a, I mean there was that kind of 'yes, come. We have an open spot' but it was really more of an atmosphere of friendship between the producers and the people in the group and everything.

R: So, then what happened. You made a group, and what did you do?

G: [k] Then what happened? You started a group, and then what did you do?

C: [k] I said this before as well, but we did broadcast activities, and then... we did a lot of different, diverse things. Just like any ordinary K-pop team [pause] like events, or like...those types of things... There's probably a lot of things [I could show you].

G: [e] Uhm, so they would do like broadcast opportunities, and they did a lot of this and that. He said like, any regular K-pop team would do. And he's looking up some videos of them.

C: [k] It's just kind of like... [e] this is an interview for tv program of airplane. This is me. [k] this kind of stuff.

[video plays]

R: That's funny to see you on TV.

C: Hehehehe. [e] Actually, I don't really like to see the Airplane video... [k] Like there was this kind of stuff...or event-type things?

G: [e] Yeah. Like events.

[more videos playing]

C: [k] Just like those types of things.

R: That's cute.

C: Heheheh. [e] Thank you.

R: So basically, how does it work, is it the producer that uhm, like uhm, because I wonder since you were together, the three of you, then what happened, was it the producer that helped make some songs, or get some broadcasts. I'm really curious about the process of how you were made into like a band.

C: Ahhhh....

G: [k] Like

C: [k] What kind of system it is?

G: Yeah. So, do like producers help write songs, or like the three of you, how did you...

C: This is really not the normal situation, but uhhhhh, in our case, like, we were a hip-hop team, so more than the sense that we were idols, it felt like we were a team of musicians. So, producers would make the song, and we would write the melody and lyrics and compose it, it was a cooperative, when we made songs.

G: [k] Writing lyrics and composing

C: [k] Yes. So, we would make songs together as a team. There were times that we worked together with that producer *hyung*, and we had thin—song—albums that we did together with other people as well. With other producers. That was how we would make songs. But normally, for K-pop idols, they don't take part in that.

G: [e] So, their instance was a little different than normal. But because they were a hip-hop trio, they had more of the vibes of being a group of musicians, rather than being an idol. SO, they would work together to write the songs, to write and like compose and write the lyrics to everything. And there were albums that they wrote with other producers. But usually that's not what happens with a K-pop group.

R: How does it usually happen?

G: [k] Then in the case of a K-pop idol how does it...

C: [k] Mm for them, if I look at what I am doing for people currently, [pause] There is a boss, it's a company so there's a boss. And there are teams of idols, and right next to those teams of idols there are people that—should I call them managers? There are people called managers. And there are two groups of managers. One is, is, it's they, there are managers who manage the idols themselves. They could be driving them places, or like, take care of where the idols are staying and what they're [eating?]. And there are managers that participate in making albums as well, and generally we call them A&R. A&R Managers is what we generally call them. And the people that do A&R could collect songs, through composers. The collect and, set the concepts for the albums. That's kind of how it is run. For normal K-pop idols.

G: [e] Uhm, so, if he looks at what he's doing right now for K-pop, there's usually like a boss, and then there's like idol teams, or idol groups. And usually there's like a manager position that's right beside them. And there are kind of two different groups of managers, or types of managers maybe. And some managers will be the kind that kind of takes care of friends or makes sure they get rides and makes sure they have places to like stay and whatnot, that kind of stuff. But then there's also people that will work on like the albums for these idols. And usually you call those kind of managers A&R managers. And those are the people that will be like, uhm, like coming up with the concepts for the albums, and like putting together whether its composition or bringing in other composers.

R: So usually you have these two managers, or it's like different personalities?

G: [k] So usually you say you have these two kinds of managers

C: [k] Yes

G: Is that something that...is it two people? Or...

C: This is something that's really different in different cases. Like there are big production companies, like in our country there is SM, JYP, YG, those kinds of teams will have a few people on A&R, and a few people who are just managers, and above them there will be team leaders, and this would all be *dang dang dang dang* (*sounds of emphasis of order) organized like this, but at our company, the A&R and everything, was all done by the boss (*sajang*) alone. And then there was just a road manager. There are cases like that. And then at smaller companies there are cases where there are two people, each of which is doing one of those roles, or there could be just a single person who does both of those roles. There are just so many, and honestly, the, uhm, the markets for...entertainers are uhm, I think...is probably...not that systematic. If you're not a big entertainment company. So, it's really diverse.

G: [e] so it's different in a lot of different cases. In cases like SM, YG, JYP you'll have like multiple people on each of those like two kinds of teams. Like, err like, multiple in those two different fields of being a manager—the A&R and the other kind of manager, and then above that you'll have a team leader, and then, it's very like systematic in those kind of big companies. But in our company, it was uhm, there was like a road managers. Hmm. [k] The company that you worked at you said there were two people...?

C: There were a lot of people who worked there, because it wasn't just us, there were other teams too. And the, uh, the work, the work was all done by the boss. Like make the schedule for TV appearances, and events, and even like deciding the concepts for albums, that was all done by the boss alone, and then we made the songs ourselves. It was kind of abnormal. It was not a normal structure.

G: [e] Okay. So, in his case there was kind one person that did it all, whether it was coming up with the concepts and stuff, or like working with the album, it was like not a very regular formation. Uhm, but in like smaller companies there will be times where there are only two people, one on each side of that managerial field, or there will be like one person that does both of those jobs. It's like really really diverse, or like different depending on companies. And so like, in this entertainment industry, unless you're in one of those big companies, it's not very systematic.

C: Something that is really different is that at certain companies they'll have a composer, a producer in residence at the company and makes songs for them. And other companies will separately employ their A&R team, like employ freelancers for their A&R, outsource their A&R, and say 'we're going to put out an album, and we want songs that fit this concept' and the outsourced A&R team will contact producers that they know and when they get the songs [from the producers] they'll be like *ddak* 'Here you are!' and collect commission as an intermediary. There are those kinds of cases as well...

G: [e] So there are places, there will be like companies that will have their own composer there that they work with like all the time. But then there will be other companies that will kind of work with

composers on a freelance basis and they'll reach out and be like 'hey we're working on this kind of concept' and the A&R people will be like, go out and like find things for them.

R: So, in your case, because your producer was like a freelancer, he was also the manager, or he was doing several things?

C: [e] No, just making song. [k] In our team's case, the producer was just someone who makes music.

G: [e] He was just someone that made music, the producer.

R: So, then who was around you. The other people who was around you?

G: [k] Then what kinds of people did you have around...?

C: [k] Hm. Just if you look at our team, there was a road manager right next to us, who would give us rides, and live together with us in the place we lived, and if we went somewhere, who would figure out our meals for us. We had one of that kind of people. And then, [pause] would it be right to call them a coordinator? Stylist?

G: Ah...

C: Stylist, someone who dresses you and does that kind of thing. So, there were just two. [pause] The stylist team manager, and the *maknae* (junior), those two. And then our overall team's team leader. Manager team leader. And then above them, the boss. That's how it was laid out.

G: [e] Okay. So, in his case there was a road manager. Who would be like the person that would drive and make sure they got food and had housing, or like places to sleep and stuff. And there was only one person like that. And there were two people who worked as like coordinators or like stylists, and there was someone kind of in charge and someone underneath them who would pick out their clothes and things like that. And then there was a manager, like team leader, kind of, that presided over that. And then above that there was the *sajangnim*, the boss.

[laughter]

R: So, who was this boss, what was he—forget about my question.

C: [e] Okay, hahah.

R: Haha, too many at the same time.

C: Hehe.

R: So, the, uhm, who is the person who hired this person? So, because, basically you had the producer and he said please come in my group, and then after, he's the one who organized the other people like, the manager, the stylist, and blah blah blah, around?

G: [k] Uhm, so... When you first came into the Airplane team, a producer called you for that, right?

C: [K] That's right. At the beginning.

G: Then did that producer decide on like the road manager or like the stylist...?

C: No no no, not like that at all.

G: Then how did it—

C: The stylist and people like that were people within the company itself. In our company's case there was a boss, then there was a team leader, manager, stylist, and us. And the composer-producer was just with the boss, separately. It was a relationship with only the boss. Just someone who made songs.

G: [e] Okay. So, the road manager, stylist, those type of people, were just people within the company already, and this producer just had a relationship with the—

R: The big boss.

G: Yeah. Just as someone that would make music.

R: Ahh, so—

G: But it was the person that like brought him into the group, airplane.

R: SO, the big boss was the one who had all this stylist and blah blah blah? Right

G: Like he was the one that hired them?

R: Yeah.

G: [K] So the boss was the person who employed the stylist and the road manager?

C: That's right, that's right.

G: [e] Yeah.

R: Were they also freelancers? Or

G: [k] Were they also—

R: Oh. Yeah.

G: Were those people freelancers as well?

C: [k] No.

R: They were part of the company?

C: Yes yes.

R: Ahh.

C: Of course, there were people that worked as freelancers as well. There were stylists who were freelancers, but we were inside [the company]. Inside the company.

G: [e] SO there were people that would work as freelancer stylists, but in this case, no.

R: Mm. So, the boss, he was part of uhm, a company? Like an entertainment company or something?

G: [K] So this boss was someone who worked at an entertainment company, right?

C: That's right. That person, as far as I know, started as a road manager at a young age, and became a boss. Usually, the managers in K-pop, in entertainment, start as road managers, and then they will become team leaders, and then while team leader they will, have their own idols or singers and leave and start working as a boss. If they have money they'll start their own company. And if they don't have their own money, they'll bring along investors and make a company. There are a lot of those instances.

G: [e] So, as far as he knows, that person, that boss, he started off as like a road manager. And like worked his way up to being like a boss. And that's how it happens for like a lot of people that work in this field: They'll start as a road manager, then maybe they'll become a team leader, then they'll find singers or groups that they want to work with, and then they'll become like a boss, kind of. And so, if they have money they'll start their own company. And if they don't they'll get investors and start a company, generally.

R: I see. Uhm, now after that I'm going to know you're whole ~~

C: Hahaha.

R: So, uh, what happened with airplane? So, you were like producing and then making concerts? But then you stopped?

G: [k] So, Airplane was making songs and producing them. When, how did you...break up?

C: Ahhh

G: Could you talk about that 'end' part.

C: So that... Airplane... [pause] it was okay, when we first debuted it was alright. At the beginning we had a song 'Pretty' [e] 'You are so Pretty' [k] and that wasn't bad, the reaction to it was decent. But gradually, the more we did, it just didn't go well. Looking back, I think there was probably a certain amount of impact of the times. When *Show Me the Money* started, people started to become more acquainted with rappers. In the past, it was difficult for a rapper to go on TV. So, we debuted as a rapper trio, making songs that were good to listen to, but people became more acquainted with rappers...and... well, our songs probably weren't that great as well, people must not have liked listening to them. So, there were a lot of reasons why we failed. So, tried for a bit, but since it gradually wasn't going so well....and like the boss was tired, we were tired trying to make it. And money, it didn't make any money. While in Airplane, I made 0 won.

G: I'm sorry?

C: In the 3, 2 or so years of doing that I earned 0 won. I earned no money during that. We were all tired so we kind of said, 'let's call it quits' and that's how it happened.

G: Mm. [e] Okay, so, when they first started out, everything was okay. They had a pretty good song, *yeppeuda*, you're so pretty, uhm, but like the more that they did it, it wasn't, there wasn't like uh, [pause] or like at first there was a pretty good reaction to them but the longer they did it it was kind of so so. And there were probably some like, factors of just like the era that they were in. Rappers weren't really someone that you'd see on TV, or like it wasn't like music that you saw that way. Uhm. Like before, in this era before SHOW ME THE MONEY and everything. And of course, maybe the songs weren't that great either at sometimes.

R: Hahah

G: but in the end it was more like, the boss and us as well, we were kind of getting tired, getting sick of it. And of course, there were money problems as well. While he was there in those three years he earned like nothing. Or like no money. And so, in the end it was kind of like, 'alright. Let's call it off. Let's call it quits' kind of.

R: wow. How did you do for three years without money?

G: [k] For three years—

C: How we did it?

G: Yeah, how do you sustain yourself

C: For starters, I was young, so I got an allowance from my mom. And a place to stay, food, that was provided by the company. The rest... I got an allowance and used it for that. That's about it.

G: [e] So since he was young he still got an allowance from his mother, but in terms of like food and a place to stay, a place to live, that was all provided by the company.

R: Mm...

G: Yeah

R: Lucky you.

C: Yeah yeah...

R: I see. So uhm, before you mentioned that at the time hip hop was not very—was not very uhm [pause] in fashion or something like this, so you were like kind of... I have two questions, but you were kind of dependent on the public to produce written songs?

G: What do you mean by...

R: I mean like, so how to rephrase it. It's difficult sometimes

G: No no

C: Yeah yeah. Could you hand me a couple cups? Paper cups.

R: Yeah you must be thirsty because you—you don't want to drink something?

G: Actually [k] could I

C: Yeah yeah

G: Thank you

R: Because she's talking so she must

C: Yeah yeah yeah

G: Thank you!

C: This is corn silk tea is that okay?

G: Yes of course

R: SO yeah, my question is like, if you could tell me a bit about the scene at the time. Like the differences between the different styles, and what was more, like uh, more enjoyable, or had more success, compared to other styles. But maybe the tensions between the styles?

G: [e] Are you talking about styles of hip hop itself? Or music

R: Music in general. Because you were in the K-pop world at that time, so K-pop has like different styles, right. And you were doing hip hop and so

C: [k] Sounds like a difficult question

G: [k] Yeah... So, one second. [pause] Soo.... At the time hip hop, that kind of music, was not very popular and--

C: Yes

G: It was that kind of era, but,

R: Maybe the position of hip hop in the K-pop

G: [e] Mm okay. Yeah. [k] You were doing hip hop but then airplane was slightly more K-pop style

C: That's right, that's right.

G: Yes, so, the hip hop and K-pop, or like different types of styles within K-pop...hip hop was uh

C: Uh no no no no. What it was at the time was, like now you could kind of feel that hip hop is, in a sense, within the field of K-pop, but at the time, hip hop was completely an underground culture, a subculture. And K-pop was just... it was just something Korean... But at the time K-pop also wasn't as

big as it is now, as far as I know. So, people like me who were rappers thought of K-pop as something uncool.

G: Mm

C: Do you understand...what I'm saying?

G: Yes

C: So, doing K-pop after doing hip hop, or simply put, becoming a rapper that went on TV, was kind of like defection. It was uncool. An uncool act. As we saw it, at least. And so, rapping on TV was kind of seen as a desertion, but the tradeoff was that you would go on TV to earn money, and people would say, 'oh he's a traitor.' There was that kind of consciousness [among rappers] at the time. We thought of it as something completely different [rapping and rapping on TV]. And so, rappers at the time didn't think of maintaining what was theirs and going on TV. But when the program Show Me the Money began, because it was something that introduced rappers... [pause] It changed a lot. When Show Me the Money began, the meaning that hip hop carried in Korea changed a lot.

G: [e] Okay. So, like now you could kind of see hip hop as being under the umbrella of K-pop, but at the time hip hop was pretty much just underground. So, it was like, really seen as totally separate. And so, to see someone doing hip hop and come out on these kind of broadcast programs, your kind of them as not cool, kind of like—

C: [e] Betrayer!

G: Yeah, like traitors, kind of. Because the people that really wanted to do hip hop, they didn't have any thoughts of going up on that stage in front of the public, because that wasn't what hip hop was. Uhm.

R: So, you were a traitor!

G: But people would go—

C: Yeah yeah!

R: Haha.

G: but people would go and do it for money, and so it was kind of that...uhm. And so, people thought of them as totally separate, hip hop and K-pop. But with shows like Show Me the Money, that kind of introduced the idea of hip hop to broadcast, because it's a show that introduces hip hop and rappers to people through broadcast. And so, things changed a lot after that show.

C: [e] In that day, before showing me the money program, uh, underground hip hop rappers [k] were very few in number, the number of people. It was very few, so it was kind of like a...bit of we do it together, to a certain extent. There were different labels and different crews, but still we communicated together and the *hyungs* were close with one another. It was like that. And so, it was probably because there were so few of us. We were, together, all poor, all couldn't earn money, but instead we all liked hip hop, it was kind of like that. But, right now it's not like that. Nowadays rappers can earn money, and there are a lot of them.

G: [e] At the time there were not even that many people. It was just a small group of rappers in Korea. And so even if there were a lot of different crews or like labels for hip hop at the time, everyone kind of knew each other, everyone communicated with one another, they all had this kind of like a shared bond over the fact that they were all poor [laugh], they all didn't have that much money,

[R 3 laugh]

G: But now it's changed a lot so, like, hip hop in Korea is definitely a different world than it was before.

R: Yeah. So, uhm, could you like, well—again I have so many questions!

C: Hehehehe

R: But first could you tell me a bit about the changes that you saw. Because you say that hip hop was not famous at all, but now it's kind of, I have this feeling that it's more trendy

C: yeah yeah yeah

R: and also, in K-pop you see it very often. So how come that changed?

C: [e] Maybe it's uh... world trend? Maybe it's first world trend, and... maybe in Korea it's because of Show Me the Money programs.

R: Yeah. So, could you tell me a bit more about these shows? Or like who started it and what was the reason for starting.

G: [k] There are shows like Show Me the Money, and other similar programs, how did they start...

C: [k] That's...It's something made by the broadcast company Mnet, it's just an audition program.

G: [e] So it's—

C: By chance have you seen...

G: [k] I know of it

C: You know what it is, right?

G: Yes. [e] Uhm, so it was started by [k] Mnet is a company?

C: A broadcast company.

G: broadcast company [e] Okay, so like a broadcast company called Mnet, it's just like an audition program for rappers.

R: Ah, only for... okay.

C: [e] First rapper audition program in Korea.

R: You wanted to add something?

G: [k] Did you have more... to say... err, about Show Me the Money

C: [k] About Show Me the Money?

G: Yes

C: [sigh] Like, if you look at it from a certain angle there is a public opinion that Show Me the Money made rappers rich and kind of, made hip hop trendy, but... In a sense [pause] something that I could say isn't good about it is [pause] The fairness of the audition program Show Me the Money. There are some problems with the fairness. [pause] And also, in a sense, because this is a TV program it kind of only shows the things that people like. Like, whether its dissing or cursing, they kind of consist of showing those types of exciting elements. Like tensions between people, tensions between rappers, those kinds of things, the exciting things. Those elements become magnified, and that's kind of sad to see. In the past, when I was rapping, when it was underground, we were all poor, and we kind of thought of ourselves as part of one team, and so when we'd do performances together, we would all go out together, like 30 or 40 of us to a *samgyeopsal* restaurant. We had that kind of stuff. But now, because they don't have those kinds of things... [pause] it's too bad. That's about it.

G: [e] So, I mean with Show Me the Money, it's like a show that can make rappers actually rich and it's something that brought hip hop into kind of the trends in Korea, but on the other side of that, something that you could say are the less positive aspects of it are uhm [k] you said *gongjeongseong*, but could you tell me what that means actually?

C: *gongjeongseong* uhhh

G: [e] Fairness?

C: [e] Unfair, not fair ah ah fairness

G: Okay

C: Yes, fairness.

G: Okay, so there's like a problem with fairness on the show, and like, because it's like tv because it's being broadcast to so many people, they're kind of just showing what people want to see, people like to see or want to see, and in many instances, that's rappers dissing each other, or cursing, or kind of like those really uhm, [k] what is it again uhhhh

C: Hahah

G: [k] exciting/thrilling... [e] like uh, not stimulating, but like the things that are like fun to watch or like exciting to watch, is like what they would focus on a lot. Or like, maybe like [k] conflicts... uh [e] It's like problems between rappers

R: tensions, yeah

G: Tensions! Yes. Or like--

C: [k] Even now there are those kinds of problems. Like there is something like that [tension] between rappers that go on Show Me the Money and rappers that don't.

G: [k] Ahh, conflict?

C: Yeah, now it's kind of less, but yeah, a bit of conflict. Because when Show Me the Money first came out, [the rap community] saw the first rappers that went on the program as traitors.

G: Mm

C: The flow of things at the time. Like, 'A rapper it going to go on TV...and do an audition?!' kind of like that. 'A rapper is auditioning to other rappers?!' Because they [/we?] thought that that made no sense... And so, at the time if you went out on that program we thought you were a betrayer. That still, to some extent, exists to this day.

G: [e] So there's like still a little bit of this, but at the time there was kind of especially a bit of tension between the rappers that would go onto, or like try out for this program, and the people that wouldn't. Because, the rappers that didn't go out for this program, they really saw the people going out for this program like traitors, like 'Why would a rapper go audition for other rappers?' it was something that just didn't make sense, it was just something that no one did. It's like you don't do that. So, that's kind of the downside of this Show Me the Money, they would focus on these kinds of fantastic kind of things for the sake of like, views. Whereas, like, when rap was just underground, uhm, there was like such a bond of, we don't have money, we're not... we don't have that much, but we're rappers and we're together. And so there would be times where like thirty or forty rappers would just go to a samgyeopsal restaurant and eat meat together and stuff, and so this kind of change that you see with rap is kind of, it's kind of 'too bad' that it's changed in this way kind of.

R: Yeah. So, the, the show kind of settled, uhm, like, how do you say that. Like they tried to. Did they sometimes tell you, please do this or do that, or show this or show that? Or could you freely do whatever you wanted?

G: [e] On the show itself?

R: Yeah, I wonder what the show was

G: [k] So the broadcast, the program called Show Me the Money, was it's 'do this' or like 'do it like that' or was it that the rap—the rappers that were on it, was it a program where they could do what they wanted to freely?

C: [k] Ah, you could do it freely. But, no matter how free you are, they edit it. Like they can't help but kind of edit it in the direction that the producer wants. And there are judges on the show, and those judges are rappers. But if that's the case, those judges are bound to pull in people that they are close to. Whether that's someone who is a part of the same company as them. There are these things as well. Or like, they'll make under the table deals, like in the cases of big companies. Like maybe these big entertainment companies will make deals with the PD (*Production director). I know of those things as actually happening. And so, it's not a completely fair audition. Ultimately this is just a variety show, it's a mere TV program, is what I'm saying I guess. Yeah.

G: [e] So, it's like it's free, but no matter how free it is, there is always going to be editing. The producers are kind of going to take it in the direction that they want to go in. And the people that, the judges on the show, they're rappers themselves. And so there are a lot of instances where they kind of like, bring in the people that they knew, whether it was people from their own company that they were at, or it was people that they were close to. And there are kind of behind, or like under the table deals

C: Hehe

R: Hehe

G: And so, it's kind of not really free, it's not really fair at all. In the end it's like an entertainment show, it's for views, so you kind of have to see it that way.

C: [e] Under table deal?

G: Under the table deal [k] that's how we say *dwitgeorae*

C: Okay okay. Under the table deal.

G: like you shake hands like this

C: Yeah yeah yeah

R: Bribery.

C: Everywhere [k] It's the same wherever you go.

R: I see. So, at that time, you were like, still with the underground label, right?

C: Mm.

R: Yeah okay, just. Hm. So.... Uhm. [pause]

C: Oh right, I have this. I got it from my friend yesterday. He went on Show Me the Money and was eliminated after the fourth round. He gave it to me.

R: What is this?

C: [e] Show Me the Money fake money heheheh

G: [e] show me the fake money

C: my friend gave it to me.

G: [k] How did you get it?

C: [k] My friend was doing it yesterday...the day before yesterday. They're starting it again

G: Show Me the Money?

C: Yeah yeah

G: Ahh

C: He was eliminated after the 4th round.

G: ahh [e] his friend was like doing the show but [k] was this before it's put on air?

C: That's right

G: Ahh [e] so like, his friend didn't make it through the entire process to be on the show, but they gave him this.

R: So, what do they do with this?

C: Just [pshhh noise] he said they gave it to scatter on the stage Hahahah

R: Ahh. Just for the sake of the show, I guess. So, you say that at the time, starting some, like going into the K-pop field was kind of betraying

C: mmm

R: your peers, like, or other people from hip hop. SO why did you still start to go with the group for that K-pop thing.

G: [k] So, you said that you thought going on TV or going towards the direction of K-pop was kind of traitor.

C: Yeah yea

G: So, what was the reason that you did that airplane team?

C: Ah the reason that I did that was... The reason was... I thought a lot about it at the time as well, and I didn't really have other choices. I didn't really have other options. And leaving Soul Connection as well, the team at Soul Connection was itself, in any case, less underground, less hip hop. It was a less underground team. And so, I belonged to that, and so at the beginning... [pause]. I wasn't like super deep into hip hop. My image, itself. Because of that, it was a bit easier to choose to do Airplane. And also...yeah... [pause] I didn't really have other choices. At the time.

G: [e] SO at the time he thought about it a lot. But he didn't really have like a lot of other choices to like, choose between. And the place that he was at, Soul Connection, was itself less underground, less hip hop, kind of, place anyway, so it wasn't like his own image was like super underground hip hop—

C: [laugh]

G: [laugh] So it was kind of an easier choice to make, to go into this airplane team, but yeah, there weren't like really a lot of other options, a lot of options at the time.

C: [k] Something about that, I say conflict, and I say betrayer about these things, but among my friends there are people that are total rappers, totally hip hop, and there are also people who are idols. It's

kind of...it's human, it's people living their lives, these relationships. And so, I think that it's just something that happens.

G: [e] So like, this, like there are tensions, like kind of between the people that are betrayers or whatever. But in the everyone is just a person, he has friends that are just doing Idol stuff and people that are really hip hop, and so y'know. It's just the flexibility of human relationships kind of. [laugh]

C: Hehe. [e] Y'know.

R: Yeah, hahahah. That was beautiful.

C: [e] Flexible.

R: I see. So where was that. So, then you were in airplane, and then you kind of stopped.

C: Mm.

R: And so, what happened after that?

C: [k] After airplane.

G: [k] yes

C: like I showed you before [typing on computer] I was active by myself. [pause] This was from 2015

G: [e] So he was active on his own. This was after airplane, like what he showed.

C: from 2015 I just constantly made this kind of music

[video plays]

C: These kinds of thing.

R: I like the bad boy style it's very...

C: Hahahahah

G: Hahahahaha, it's just funny to hear you say that.

R: Well I know what I like.

C: And so, starting from 2015 I put out a lot. Albums and mixtapes. I released them on my own. And after that, I have a crew. A crew called White Tees

G: Yds?

C: Y Ts. Like Soul Connection. A crew like Soul Connection

G: [e] Okay. So, I mean like, while he was doing this he put out a handful of albums and mixtapes, and he has a crew called Yds? [k] is that just Y D?

C: White TEES

G: White tees...

C: white tees. [e] because hip hop, white t shirt, X large

G: white tees. [e] It's a crew similar to how Soul Connection felt.

R: Mmhm.

C: [e] And also, it's white tees like W and Westside hahahahhaa

R: I see. So now you're still in White tees?

C: Yeah yeah yeah

R: So, it's a group of other people too

C: Yeah. We have a fresh boys, it's trio. Rap trio fresh boys. And carry diamond, rapper. And brown suga, producer. Hwangdeng, producer.

R: So, tell me about—so basically you quit the group for airplane. And so how did you make up what you're doing now. And how did you create all these connections and...

G: [k] So airplane.... [laugh] So as that era came to an end, how did you get to here. Like personal connections, what kind of relationships did you have and how did you come to do this kind of work?

C: What's ambiguous about that is that when I was in airplane, or when I went out, I couldn't help but meet people. Because, in any case, I had rappers in my vicinity and... [pause] it was natural. I like I would go out and meet my friends and play and it was just...really natural.

G: [e] Just like very, I mean you couldn't help but meet people while he was on airplane. It was very natural, meeting people that led him to where he is now.

R: So now, what is...do you have an official structure? Like officially what is, like how would you define, is it like a company or a label? How you define what you do now?

G: [k] What you're doing now, is there a label or a company or...

C: [k] how I work now?

G: Yes.

C: Right now, I don't have a label or a company at all. I'm a freelancer producer [pause] while also being a rapper. But I do it all on my own. I earn my own money and I pay for my albums with my own money. But what I have... is like, this friend is a producer, this friend is a sound engineer, this friend does this. And so, because it's organized like that we ask each other to do things for us, really inexpensively.

G: [e] Yeah. So, there's no company or label, it's just, he's working as a freelancer producer and on top of that, a rapper. And so, when he makes albums or songs he's doing that with his own money. But because he has friends that are producers, friends that are engineers and stuff, it's like asking them for favors. Like cheap. Cheaply.

C: [e] Underground music is communication. Community is everything.

G: yeah.

R: Mm. So, can you tell me—so you say that now you work with like all the same people usually? So, you say that you're a freelancer producer, so do you have some---how do you you, do you look for singers to produce them, or what do you do exactly?

G: [k] So, how do you work as freelancer producer? Like do you find a singer and say I want to produce for you

C: Ahhh [k] There could be a kind of linguistic thing that's confusing. I shouldn't say producer, I should say composer.

G: Ahhh, ahh

C: We just call everyone producers in Korea, everyone that makes songs. But I shouldn't call myself a producer, composer is right isn't it? The one that writes lyrics and songs

G: Yes yes

C: [e] Songwriter [k] So yeah, I'm not a producer, but someone who makes songs.

G: [e] So not a producer, but a composer. But in Korea people just call that all producers sometimes. So, he's a composer.

C: [e] music producer. I only make music.

R: So, could you tell me about how you work, for example, do you, some people come to you and say I would like to make a song, or how does it.

C: [k] Ah okay okay. So, there are a couple ways this happens. Like the Double Sidekick. Or like famous people in Korea, like Brave Sound, or like...Black [?]. These are all famous composers. JYP as well. For those people, companies or people will go to them and commission a song from them, probably. But, that's not the case for me—for people like me who are just starting or aren't famous, we make songs. We make a song and then we send them out to various places, to A&R managers, and to people we know. Or to like people we know through other people. There are those cases. Or, conversely, when an idol is coming out with an album, A&R managers will send us a Kakaotalk, a message. They'll say, 'this album's concept is this and this' and send us a whole long thing. And so, if they send us the [????] we'll look at that and make songs and send them back in, in that way.

G: [e] So, in like the cases of the famous producers or composers or double kick, brave sound, JYP, *keureon* err...those kinds of [laugh]

C: Heheh

G: Those kinds of composers, like the company will go to them and be like 'we want a song' and like *uirye*, I know this word. It's---

C: [k] Are you not an American? Hahahaha

G: [k] I'm American...

R: But you know it's... you're so mean!

G: [k] I'm just a student! This isn't what I do for work!!!

C: Hahahahah

R: We will make a joke about you in our language later, you'll see!

G: [k] Do you want to just do this in English!!! Hahah

C: hahaha

G: [e] Uhm, so, uhm the companies will go, and they'll pay for like these composers to make a song for them. But in the case of him or other people that are just starting out as composers or producers, or just smaller uh groups, they'll make a song first and send them to the A&R teams at different companies, and uhm, hear back from them. Otherwise, also, sometimes when an idol is about to come out with an album, or needs to have a song come out soon, the A&R people will like contact composers and send them the concept and then the composers will make a song that goes with that kind of concept and send it back. That kind of process.

R: Mm

G: [k] Right?

C: Mm.

R: So, mostly you, how are it for you in your case. Like you write, you send songs, or what do you usually do.

C: [k] How I do it in my case?

G: [k] Yes

C: I also have a few friends that I work with, and sometimes I'll make songs with them. If there is a good song, I'll make it with them. Otherwise, normally, there are a few people that do A&R, and they will be like 'This time blank is coming out with an album, and the album concept this.' And so, I'll produce a song that to some extent fits with that concept. In that way.

G: [e] So, I mean there are people that he works with and he'll make songs for them. Uhm, like on a consistent basis, but a lot of times also the A&R people will contact him and be like, 'someone's album is coming out and this is the concept' and he'll make a song and send it [there]

R: Which freedom do you have when you're making a song. Like I guess, if they ask you, 'we would like a song' are you free to...you have like a general subject, or team or concept, and then you're free? To compose whatever you want, or do you have very strict guidelines?

G: [k] So like from A&R...like if it were that case, you are contacted by A&R and make...song... uh...

C: Yeah. Hahah

G: [laugh] In those cases, what freedoms do you have?

C: Ahhh

G: Like if you just have the concept, everything else---

C: This... I'll show you. What this is [e] This is email A&R manager give me [k] and if you look at it, what's written is... [e] this is album concept. Album concept is [k] 'Breakup, fear, sadness, new beginning'. 'destiny' 'star-crossed love'. Like the overall concept for the album. And next, title song. Title song concept. And then, reference songs. If I call them reference songs do you understand...

G: Reference?

C: Uh

R: Reference

G: [e] Ahhh so like [k] the

C: Similar songs.

G: Similar song

C: Yeah yeah yeah. So, 1. Title concept and blah blah blah, next reference songs X, Y, and Z, and then... First track concept blah blah blah, second track concept blah blah blah... Kind of in this manner they'll send us things. And so, they'll say what the first cutoff date to submit songs by is, when the second, the third. Like this.

G: ohh okay

C: So honestly you can just whizz by all this and just do it. Like I can just freely send them in. But like, it wouldn't get picked, because they have something that they want.

G: [e] Mm okay. SO, they'll have the concepts for the album, like 'break up, or sad, or new start', and they'll have it for the title song, and then song 1, song 2, song 3. They'll go through that. And they'll

have these kinds of specifications. And then they'll have like, send like a first draft by a certain time and then like, I think, [k] probably so that third deadlines

C: [e] Deadline

G: [e] deadline [k] So you'll send something in and hear their opinions....is that how it works?

C: No no, we don't hear their opinions. If they do this, they probably get a few thousand songs.

G: sorry?

C: A&R will. [e] thousand [k] songs. And so, these people will listen to a thousand plus songs and check all the good ones and send them to the company, and then if the company decides on it, then it's Okayed. We don't exchange opinions.

G: [e] Okay. So, they don't exchange—or like they don't give them feedback. When this kind of thing comes out, when this kind of communication goes out, A&R will get a thousand songs or so, and then they'll just pick out the ones that they want, and then send them to the company, and then the company will decide on whether they want, and then you'll hear back.

C: [e] It's like audition.

G: yeah.

R: Ahhh, I see. So, they have points for every song? Or for every point of the song. Every song, right? Every song has a concept?

G: [k] Does every song have that kind of concept or like keyword?

C: Yeah yeah, there are times where they do, but also times when they don't. This is something from CJ E&M, so it's...they are pretty systematic. But in cases of individual companies, or small to medium companies, they'll just...like... something with guitar, a good song. You know what I'm saying?

G: Ahh yeah.

C: So, what we do, if we look at this and if there is a title song or a concept that we like we will make a song, produce a song, and then we have songs that we like, y'know. Like songs we have already made that we like, and we'll stick those in together, and send 3 or 4 at a time.

G: [e] SO, I mean there are instances where they have something for each song. But a lot of it'll be a little more freer, especially at a little smaller companies it seems. This is C ... J...

C: CJ E&M

G: CJ E&M. I have no idea about entertainment companies

R: They're for everything. CJ blah blah

G: Ahhh

R: they even make food and

C: [e] Yeah! Mnet is CJ. CJ Mnet

R: Ooooh. You know my dorm, was like CJ dorm. My dormitory

C: Dormitory...?

G: [k] The dorm she lived in was CJ

C: [e] Really??

R: so, they are really everywhere

G: But yeah, uhm....

C: CJ is Samsung.

R: Is it!?

C: Family.

R: Gosh. They're everywhere.

C: Samsung. Korea is Samsung.

G: [k] Thumbs up

C: Korea means Samsung

R: That's crazy how powerful... keywords... So, you were saying, sorry, we cut you off

G: Oh no uhm, oh so. Uh.

R: Sometimes they have less information...

G: Ahh yeah less information and they'll be like we want something with a guitar in it, or something. But in his case, he will see those kinds of requests and then put in the songs that he's wanted to make, or things that matches with the keywords he wants, or whatever. And send maybe three or four songs in.

R: So, for one song you send a few examples?

G: [k] So for one song you.... Uhm. For one song you make many songs...

R: Tracks

G: [e] yeah, [k] Track. Uhm. Uhm. [e] uhm how do I explain it.

C: I know what you're trying to say, and yes there are case where you do that, but normally you just send like four all together, like 'here you are' and just send them.

G: AH

C: yeah. And then the decision is made by them.

G: [e] So in certain cases, yes, they'll send like four like that to like one. But in a lot of cases you'll just send like four that are matching that, and then they'll be the judge of...

R: Mm and so they'll ask you, but also ask other people, and then like they check all the different songs, and chose the one they want?

G: [k] So A&R will contact numerous people, right?

C: Yeah yeah, like a few hundred. They'll contact a few hundred.

G: [e] Yeah, so like hundreds of people.

R: Wow. Is there is a lot of competition?

G: [k] Is there a lot of competition?

C: I'm not really sure about those kinds of things. Because I just send them.

G: [e] Ah, so he doesn't really know because he's just like sending it. It's not something that he would...

R: I see. Hmm. Well do they usually accept it, or does it often that they don't take them maybe?

G: [k] Do they take them—do they receive them? Or do you not get accepted a lot?

C: You don't get accepted a lot of the time. Like if we were to make a song and send it in, we think that probably like 80% aren't accepted. We just send them. Constantly.

R: Like eighty percent they don't take them. I understood something!

C: Heheheh

R: Uhm, so then they take them, but they modify them and then they give it back to you? Because you say that it's like an audition. And so, they receive your song, they listen to it, and then they modify this song in function of how they want it?

G: [k] So, the songs that you or other composers make, do the companies—

R: Sorry, I'm yawning.

G: [e] Oh [k] Uhm, like if they A&R team accepts them, do they edit, or like modify it in the direction that the company wants?

C: [k] Oh there are times where they do. Yeah, there are times they will edit it.

G: edit

C: Otherwise, if they like it sometimes they'll use it as is. The project that I'm doing right now—oh right right, I had a deadline the other day and I sold a song, but they asked me to change the whole contents of the lyrics and so I changed it for them this time.

G: [k] So did you write them all yourself, or did they do it?

C: I had to.

G: Ah really?

C: Yeah.

G: [e] So there are times where they will just accept it as is, but a lot of time they'll change things with it. So recently there was a project that's deadline was like a few days ago and they took the song, but they wanted to change all the lyrics, so they sent it back to them and he had to rewrite all the lyrics

C: But there are a lot of differences in how this happens. Like in certain cases, like the boss like's taking part in the music so they'll say like "I am going to edit the lyrics" or like, even if they didn't do anything, they'll say "put my name as lyricist". They'll put their own name down as having written the lyrics for the song. And so, the royalties you get off of it drop in function of that. Do you understand? WE have to share the royalties from that song with that person. With someone who didn't do anything. There are cases like that.

G: [e] so sometimes there are bosses that like sticking their hands in the process, and maybe they'll be the ones that will change some of the lyrics. But in some cases, there will be people who will be like 'I want to be put on as the person who wrote lyrics' even though they didn't do anything, and so they'll have to share the copyright with this person.

R: Say it again?

G: [e] So there will be bosses that like interfering in the process a little bit and so there will be bosses that actually take the lyrics and maybe edit them themselves. Because they like want to. But in other cases, even though they don't do any of the changes, they don't write any of the lyrics, they'll want to be, like, on the songs as like having written it

R: Mmmm...

C: [laugh]

G: So, they have no choice but to share that copyright with these people that didn't do anything.

R: Isn't it unfair?

C: [e] Yeah it is really unfair. But... [k] it happens a lot

G: [k] it can't be helped

C: Yeah, it happens a lot.

G: [e] It happens a lot I guess.

R: yeah

C: There are times where they'll put the boss on there, or times where it'll be people on the A&R team.

G: [e] So sometimes it'll be the boss and sometimes it will be people on the A&R team

C: [k] or even higher up producers. It's just...

R: So how do you usually deal with, if they modify your song, how do you, uhm, which power do you have to...and how is the collaboration working? Is it a bit frustrating, or is it okay for you based on what you want to produce and the goals you have for a project?

G: [k] So if the songs that you send are edited by the company or by A&R, what do you, as a composer, what kind of rights do you have? Or like how do you view that kind of process? Is it difficult?

C: Like if they request edits?

G: Yeah yeah.

C: Of course, it's difficult. Because there's that much [???]. But normally, how composers make money is that if they sell a song to a K-pop idol, they receive a song fee. A considerable, a large sum. They get the song fee, and then there starts to be income from the copyright, if the song is released, there are copyright royalties. And if they put out a CD there are separate things dependent on that. That's kind of... that's kind of how it works.

G: [e] So yeah it is kind of a frustrating process when things have to get edited. Or like songs have to get edited. SO like how composers make money is like if they have a song that they sell to an idol or a K-pop group, they'll get like a good sum of money for like the song fee kind of, and then they'll have income based off of the copyright for it, and then again, they'll have some money that comes in off of CDs and stuff too.

C: More and more—as far as I know in the past in Korea, the concept of copyright didn't exist, it was really weak. But it's getting a lot better. In the past were a lot of instances where you'd sell a song and not receive the song fee, but I still have never experienced that. So. There are probably still those kinds of people, like those kinds of bosses, but as far as I know it's getting better more and more.

G: [e] So like Korea, as far as he knows, it's gotten a lot better in terms of copyright and whatnot. But in the past, there were a lot of instances where people who not even get money for the things that they composed. But it's getting a lot better and those are being more recognized. And he's never been stiffed and not gotten the money that he was deserving of. But. Yeah.

C: [e] I think it's because of K-pop is bigger nowadays. Bigger bigger bigger.

R: I see. Yeah. Also, how often do you usually get some emails from people to make some songs. Is it frequent?

G: [k] How often do you get those kinds of requests?

C: [k] How often do I get those... hm... [pause] I think it's about once a month? But with that, sometimes there are times where there are 2 or 3 that come up in a single month. And in my case, what it's like...this is august, so I had three deadlines this week. Three projects that had deadlines this week. But, in June. In June I just rested. I didn't do anything. During times like those I make my own album. My album as a rapper. And in July and August I was pretty busy.

G: [e] Uhm so it's about once a month, but there are times where it will be like 2 or 3, like this week—

C: [e] Random. Haha

G: yeah, it'll just converge. But this week there were like three projects that had deadlines. But in June, there was like nothing. So, it's during that time where there's nothing that he has to do, like no requests come in, that's when he takes the time to make his own album as like, a rapper.

R: So, you're usually pretty busy!

C: [k] That's right.

R: Oh, so that's good. So, can you make a living—do you, is it like a full-time job and you can like make a living and everything?

G: [k] So then, it's possible to earn a living, right? While doing this kind of work? Like do you think of its kind of like fulltime...?

C: [k] That's right. Recently I have been able to, but up until recently I had a part time job [e] part time job [k] I worked at a coffee shop and at did a number of different things. But recently it seems like it's getting better. And of course, I'm not earning like a lot a lot of money, but.... And it's probably like this for everyone, but when you start out doing this, if you aren't getting a lot of [financial] support from your family, then you'll do part time jobs as well. Up until not that long ago I was working at a coffee shop, and I did a lot of different things.

G: [e] So it's gotten a lot better recently, but even up until like not long ago, he did part time jobs like working at a coffee shop. So, when people start out in this business, it's hard of course. And unless you have a lot of support from your own family, like financially speaking, there will a be a lot of people that will be working part time as they're doing this kind of stuff until. But now he doesn't have to do that. But it's not like he's making a ton of money either, is what he said.

R: But you have a father who is very proud of you

C: Hahah...

G: [k] Your father was bragging about you

C: [e] Ah really?

R: Yeah what he texted me was so cute.

C: Hahahah!

R: Because I texted him and said thank you so much for helping me, and he was like, 'Oh but you're welcome. You know if you're a fan of my son, of course! Blah blah blah' He was so cute

C: My father always do like, hahaha

R: Yeah yeah yeah I could see he was really proud of you

C: Yeah yeah, he's very proud of me

G: Awh...that's so sweet

C: Hahahah

R: Yeah that's really cute. [pause] Yeah and so, you said that sometimes you work on your own project. So how different is it when you work on your own project? For example, because right now I think you're just producing, you're not singing, but in your projects is it different and what do you do? Is the music also a bit different?

C: [k] Of course it's different. What exactly was she asking?

G: [k] Uh, lately it seems like you're doing a lot of composing, but when you do your own personal projects or rap albums—

C: what's different?

G: Yes, yes. Differences music-wise, or also the manner in which you work?

C: Well for starters, since K-pop is pretty much dance music, [e] K-pop is dance music [k] because of that, there are certain things that have been, to a certain extent, standardized. It has to have a dance-music kind of element, and because they give you the concepts, it's something that you kind of have to stick with the concept for. And usually, usually K-pop songs are love songs. Songs about love are biggest. But then, when other people listen to my own albums, I don't need them to say, 'oh that's good', so I usually talk about myself on my albums. Whether it's my thoughts or... like those kinds of things. And so, if people listen to it there are probably some that would not like it, but I just regardless of that—because it's an album I'm putting out regardless of income I make from it.

G: [e] So, K-pop is like dance music, there are like certain general things you need to include in it. And of course, they give you a kind of concept that you have to work with when you're making stuff. But they're mostly like love songs and stuff in K-pop. But when I make my own rap, I talk about what I want to talk about. Whether it's my own thoughts or my own stories, 'cause it's not something that I do an income, it's just something I do for myself.

R: Yeah.

C: [e] Can I eat this now?

R: Oh! Are you hungry?

C: [k] I just want something sweet. Do you want some?

G: Oh no no no, [k] I'm okay.

R: I hope it's not too hot because

G: [k] its...sticky...

C: Ahh [e] it's okay. Cause I like chocolate.

G: Hahaha

C: how do you open this

R: Yeah, I think this one too. This one you cannot find in Korea

C: Ah really? Oho.

R: They're from the... they're not imported, because they're like uh...

G: Hahah

R: I [tried to speak French to you?]

G: I was like, I don't know!

R: Oh, but that's for you!

G: Oh, it's okay!

R: Oh no! Because it was so hot...but I hope it's still good. You know because of

G: [k] Ah it melted and then--

C: [k] Ahh it's because it melted and cooled. But it's really good?

G: [e] it's tasty

R: Hahahah. So, uhm, because uhm, K-pop the music is very different, and before at the beginning of the interview you said something like 'K-pop is not really music' so, what is your perception about this?

G: [k] Perception about K-pop, or your personal thoughts? Ah uhm, when we started the interview you expressed that 'K-pop isn't music' and you said 'K-pop is dance music' and so could you talk a little more about your personal thought?

C: [k] To start, at the time, when I was young, because I liked hip hop... There's that thing when you're young where if you have something you like, you kind of ignore other genres, y'know. That was a something that I thought when I was young. And so now, personally, when I look at K-pop, I think that it has gotten a lot better. At least... within the genre of dance music... I think maybe K-pop, Korean dance music, is maybe [??] in the world. That maybe it's the best in the world. The quality has gotten much higher, when compared to the past. That's what I think.

G: [e] So, in the past when he was younger he really liked hip hop. And so, when you have something that you really like there are a lot of time where you'll just ignore, look down on other things. But in terms of K-pop now, the standards have gotten so much better. In general, it's dance music, but it's maybe some of the best dance music—

R: For K-pop?

G: Yeah, K-pop. In the world. It's like the quality has gotten so much better. And so, that's kind of how his thought have changed.

R: So, you still have a positive perception of K-pop.

G: [k] Then you could say that you view K-pop positively?

C: That's right...

G: [e]

C: I like it [e] enjoy it. I like red velvet. Hahaha.

R: Haha

C: Their song is good. SM.

R: What do you like in the K-pop music?

C: Hmm?

G: [k] What you like about K-pop?

C: [k] What I like about it... Of course, because I started with hip hop, rap, I listen to a lot of black music. I listen to a lot of R&B and hip hop and rap from America. I really like Mac Miller. And that's all good. But if you listen to K-pop, to Korean dance music, the sound is really good. [e] The sound quality is very very very [k] gotten better. It got a lot better. If you listen to this kind of song [video plays] The sound quality is really high, when I think about it. [e] And girls are cute. Hahahahaha.

R: I was waiting for this one. Hahaha. I see. Especially with a room like this the sounds it really good.

G: [e] Yeah, the sound is much better.

C: Oh

G: [k] listening to it in this environment...

C: [e] And good speaker. Hahah

G: That's right. [k] Uhm...I'll explain

C: Yes, yes yes

G: [e] Uhm, so starting as a rapper he listened to a lot of hip hop, he listens to a lot of black music, like mac miller like a lot of black American music, but listening to dance music, to K-pop, the sound quality has gotten so so so so good....is basically what he said until that

R: Yeah. What was your opinion of K-pop music in the past, maybe. When it was a bit less good?

G: [k] So then you seem like you view K-pop positively now, but in the past, what did you think about it?

C: Mmhm.

G: when the quality was not that good.

C: [k] Yeah, [the quality] wasn't good and [pause] What should I say, I just didn't listen to really. I didn't listen to much popular music. Because I like rap.... yeah. You know what I'm saying, right? Like when if you liked rock when you're young you just listen to rock.

G: Yeah.

C: Just like that. Because I was kind of like, 'America's the best'... it was like that.

G: [e] Yeah, he, just, he honestly didn't listen to it, because he was so into the hip hop and stuff, hip hop, and rap that he just didn't really listen to it in general. Like when you get into something, you kind of only listen to that thing.

R: Mm

C: [e] This is a hip-hop community site in Korea.

R: Oh!

C: This is all of the rappers and R&B songs, like... [k] there's this. They have songs [e] I like Mac Miller [k] If you play them...[e] this is a mac miller music video and translation [video starts playing]

G: [e] Really?

C: Like this. Korean translation. Very many of music videos [k] have translations like this, so... It's easier to know about. And then, American news.

G: Hipple?? Hiphople?

C: Yeah yeah hiphople. Rapper. Iggy Azalea. [??] Blah blah blah. Drake. Billboard #1. There is this which is actively utilized and makes it easy to access the music. So, from when I was young I looked at this kind of stuff.

G: [e] So he's like, looked at this kind of stuff when he was younger. Kind of get deeper into hip hop.

R: Is it from like rappers and people doing K-pop from all around the world and this is a Korean website?

C: [e] Just Korean website.

G: [e] Yeah, it's just a Korean website but these rappers are from around the globe

R: Foreigners

C: Mhm American.

R: Yeah. They don't really look Korean, actually.

C: Yeah hahaha

G: [k] But is this just American? Like just American rappers?

C: [k] Almost completely.

G: Almost completely.

C: it's almost completely American rappers, but they do talk about Korean rappers as well. Like, because yeah... Hip hop is American.

G: Yeah.

C: It's kind of like that. There's a community page where people talk about what's going on and stuff.

G: Yeah. What kind of things do they talk about?

C: Basically, they don't talk about anything but hip hop. Like, "[Rapper name]'s album came out" and "it's sick" or "it sucks", "it's good" or "it's not good". They'll like fight over it and stuff. That kind of stuff.

R: So, I still have a few questions but then I'd like to

C: [e] Free? Hahahahah Okay.

R: But, uhm, so, I wonder about how do you perceive your future? In the field or not in the field.

C: [k] For starters I...Working as a K-pop composer isn't bad. [pause] The biggest reason being is that it makes me money, to be honest. More than like, loving K-pop, honestly, more than like loving Korean dance music or like wanting to do this or that with Korean culture, it's more I am a person who originally liked black music, and so the reason that I started to do this was because I wanted to make my own albums, but I thought it would be great if I were able to earn money by doing music while I make albums. That's why I started. To a certain extent, it's a developing situation, so I think I'll continue to do it, and continue to put out my own albums. That's what I think will probably happen. [pause] Because, in any case, I'm 28, so...for me to become a superstar... it's kind of... too late, you could say. Because my opportunities are fewer than people younger than me. And I need to worry about earning money. There's kind of those things.

G: [e] So, for now working as a composer for K-pop, it's not a bad gig, it's not a bad job. But the biggest thing is that it brings in the money, it's how he earns money. And the reason that he does it was never, 'I love Korean K-pop dance music,' or like 'I love Korean culture' because he listened to a lot of black American music, but it was for, so that he could make his own albums while making money through

doing music. So, it, for the foreseeable future he sees himself continuing to do this kind of work, because at the age of 28, it's like a little bit late to become a superstar, maybe, you could say that it's a little bit late to become a superstar. Because there are fewer chances than the younger people. [k] I don't think that's necessarily true

C: Hahahahah

G: [e] I don't think that way.

R: Hahah

C: [e] But I don't feel sad.

R: I see. So uhm, which like, so you're basically doing this to have the opportunity to work on your own things, right? And so how do you, how would you like to develop your own personal career, based on doing what you like?

G: uhm....

R: you know, how to phrase it...

G: Yeah yeah yeah, sorry.

R: So, you say that living like making K-pop music, but that allows you to have your own productions. So how do you perceive your own future in your own productions. Like would you like...how do you...yeah.

G: [k] So this work that you're doing as a composer, it's something that's, uhm, for the sake of, uhm, being able to make the albums you want to make, the albums you want to make as a rapper.

C: That's right. To make money [e] Earn money.

G: So, uhm, if you think about those personal projects, the albums as a rapper, what do you think of the future? Uhm. Like what direction you want to go in...or....

C: Sorry I don't think I quite understand, could you say it again...?

G: yes yes [e] So you're asking like

R: Like uhm

G: He uses this producing to earn money to make his own project.

R: yeah but in his own, regarding your own projects, how would you like to develop. What are your dreams or

C: [k] The dreams I dream through my albums?

G: [k] Yeah.

C: Just through my own things. [pause] Hmm... But this, like I said a bit earlier, isn't something I do out of a want for fame or to earn money. I don't think of those things. Like maybe you could call it...a record of my youth? A record of when I was young. Like of the kinds of things I am thinking. [pause] So this is what I think...I want to put out albums my entire life. Because I want to express what I'm thinking through music throughout my entire life. [pause] I'm just doing it, you could say. Yeah. Simply because it's fun—because I like it, doing my own thing. So, I can't [????]. But in any case, my main focus...making K-pop has become kind of my main focus right now. Because I have to earn money.

G: [e] Uhm, so like making his own music was never like, it's never been about becoming famous or getting a lot of money or anything, for the most part he considers it like, like an act of keeping a record

of his youth. Like what kind of thoughts, he has during this time, kind of that kind of record. And it's something that he wants to continue doing throughout his life, to have this kind of record. And he's doing it because he likes it, he's doing it because he wants to, he's doing it because it's fun. But for the moment, like making this K-pop has kind of become the main thing, because it is money for him. But with regards to his own work, it's something that he wants to continue, but like not in search of fame or success—err not success but like fame or fortune.

R: But, I wonder, it's more general question, but uhm, in Korea are there... what are the different possibilities to reach success? So, there is K-pop, but are there other possibilities? Or...

G: Mmm....

R: Like what other ways to—

G: Like success

R: Success in general.

G: Mm

R: The possibilities to reach success

G: In like music?

R: in the musical field

G: Ah... [k] So succeeding in the musical world you can do through K-pop

C: Yes

G: but are there other passageways? Like, are there other paths, and what they are?

C: Ah like succeeding through music in Korea?

G: yes.

C: The method of doing so.

G: Yes yes

C: Besides K-pop, I view there are being almost none. In our country... Like Korea [pause] it's kind of a characteristic [laugh] it's not diversified. The people—maybe it's because the population is so small, but right now it seems like it's K-pop, absolutely. K-pop... Idol, K-pop. BANG!

R: yeah

G: [e] I think you generally understood, but...

R: I think yeah, hahaha

G: Besides, K-pop there isn't really like a route to success--

C: Something that I'm jealous of America for is that they have multiple regions—the country is so massive that they have multiple different regions, and because there are so many people, and so in like this [certain] region there will be a certain kind of music that has developed, you know? Wherever you go. They'll like country music or rock, they have those kinds of things. But Korea, honestly speaking, is smaller than a single US state, it's small. So, it's just one thing BANG! Unconditionally.

G: [k] I think so too. I think that's definitely true.

R: The united states

G: [e] It's so big, and so in different areas there can be different movements of sound, or like music

C: [k] That's right. In Korea what we have is—in America there is the east coast and west coast, and the culture on each side is slightly different from the other. But they don't think of it as being different—or like as being corny or bad. Like [someone on one side] could see [a person on the other side] and say, 'you're bad' but, they have that kind of culture. Whereas in Korea, if something is lagging or something, then we think of it as corny or bad. And so, I don't think of that proudly. Like, everything has to change right away to whatever is trendy. Whether that's clothes or hairstyles, or your preferences in music. Everything. So, people kind of lack an individuality of their own...like... It's like that. Do you get what I'm saying?

G: [k] Yes. [e] So, in the US you can have kind of different, uhm, cultures, between maybe on the west coast and the east coast, and you could say, from like one point of view that one is better than the other, like, kind of like corny or like something. But it's like, that's not necessarily true, that's just an opinion, but in Korea, maybe because it's so small, unless everything changes at once, unless you're like following the trends whether it's clothes or style or music, then people think of it as being in the past, or like old or corny.

C: [e] Yeah. Not only music, but fashion [k] as well and [e] minds, thoughts [k] are the same as well. Ideology? Is that right?

G: Yeah

C: That too is follows trends.

G: Yeah

R: Do you think we're screwed or... Hahah

G: Hahah

C: [e] Ah, cold?

R: no no no, thinking about my own clothes and they're not stylish

G: Ahh [k] Because we aren't people that follow those trends that well

C: Hahahah

G: So, in Korea, it's noticeable.

C: Hahaha.

R: yeah but we are foreigners, maybe it's different.

G: Yeah.

R: Uhm, so, uhm, I wonder about, because of course your father is very proud of you, but how was it in your family, because you say you started to like hip hop when you were young already. And so how was the interaction with your family regarding your interest in hip hop?

C: [k] She's asking what my family thought of

G: [k] Yeah, like having liked hip hop from a young age.

C: My mom and dad both knew. But, our family is—maybe more-so than the normal Korean family—harmonious? Like...uh... Like we communicate a lot. My mom and dad and I all talk a lot...and Korean people usually aren't like that. But anyway, we were like that, and my dad is a bit more open, my mother is the same, she tends to be open. And so, at first my mom and dad, when I was young, in high school—before debuting as Airplane—when I was making music on my own or with a crew or label,

[pause] I think they probably thought he'll just do that until he quits. But then I was on TV, and after I was on TV I think they recognized 'oh he's doing music properly'. And after that they encouraged me.

G: [e] So, like his family is kind of maybe different in the fact that they are very communicative and uhm, both his mother and his father are kind of more like open people. Like, so when they saw him doing hip hop in high school or working with the label, doing all this stuff before he did airplane, they were just like, "oh yeah, he'll do that, and he'll like...maybe this will end sometime" or maybe 'he won't keep pursuing it'? Like something like that. But like after coming out on tv like being on a broadcast, they recognized that he's really doing it. That he's actually doing music like that. And from then on is when they started really being supportive.

R: And how did it happen? Because you say you quit school because I didn't really like it. But how was it for your parents to accept that?

G: [k] You took time off from school because you didn't like school or studying, but—

C: How did my parents take it?

G: yes.

C: The thing about that is, when I was 20 I took time off from school. And in the meantime, I continued to attend school. I would attend for a semester and then take time off and then another semester and then time off. Do you understand what I'm saying?

G: Ahhh

C: I attended like that for a while, and it hasn't been that long since I completely quit school. Maybe the year before last? Was it last year or the year before? Anyway, that's when I quit for good. It would have been last year. Last year I fully quit. Because I quit when I started earning money my mother and father were just like 'go ahead'. [laugh] 'You're going to do music for the rest of your life, so go ahead.' Kind of like that. By chance, Rox...Roxane?

R: Mhm!

C: Where do you go to school? University

G: [e] Where do you go to school?

R: *koryo daehakkyo*

C: Korea university! Ahhh... And you too?

G: [k] Seoul National University

C: Seoul National? Wow, geez. And Korea University [laugh]

R: But uhm, I don't know about for the united states, but in my country, the system is very different in Korea, because only 25%, about 35% of the population goes to university.

C: [e] Oh really? That's very very good.

G: Yeah

C: [k] I think that's really good.

R: And then when you reach university, you can choose whichever university you want in the country

C: Ahhh

R: Yeah, so, basically, I chose my university because there is a lot of nature around.

C: Ahhh

R: And that was the reason of my choice [laugh] So. Yeah

C: [k] Ohhh so that's how they do it...

R: There are some that are a bit more famous than others—not famous, but the teaching is better, a bit better, so sometimes if you want to study economics, for example, two cities are better. So, it's easy for me to go to Korea University because there's an agreement

C: Ahhh [k] Sister relations. Yeah

R: Yeah, it's not because you have to be super intelligent or whatever. Yeah. So, it's a bit more relaxed.

C: You're already [k] already [e] already intelligent, [k] because [e] you have 25%.

R: Ahhh

C: [k] Because you're in that 25%! Hahaha.

G: Right.

R: [whisper] I was a lazy student

C: Ahaha!

G: Haha

R: And I'm still.

C: [e] Me too

R: It's being recorded!

[All laugh]

R: Maybe I shouldn't have said that.

G: Uhm, oh what was I going to--

R: So yeah, sorry.

G: Oh no no no, I was just going to say what he said, because he started, he like took time off from school when he was twenty.

R: Yep

G: But it wasn't like he just like quit school, he would go back and do a semester and then take time off and go back and do a semester. So, it hasn't been long since he stopped going to school, it was like last year? So, since he went back and forth, I don't know, his parents—he has, he lives.... Bleh. He earns a living now, so his parents are like 'do whatever' 'do what you want', like, 'you're going to do music so it's fine' that was their reaction to him leaving.

R: So, you were in like a college? No, uh, which level where you in? When was it?

G: When he like, dropped out.

R: When you stopped going, which level you were like at college? High school

C: [e] University

G: yeah, University.

R: University. Oh! When do you enter university in Korea? Twenty—

C: [e] Twenty

R: Ahhh. So, you started university and then you

C: [e] Yeah [k] I finished my second year, and I should have started my third, but I didn't and then left.

R: Mmm

G: [e] Mm, so yeah, you got that probably. Sophomore year to

C: sophomore! What is it again, Junior, senior?

G: Yeah yeah

C: Sophomore then

G: [e] Yeah Freshman

C: Ah freshman!

G: [e] Yeah. Freshman, sophomore, junior senior.

C: freshman sophomore junior senior, ah! [claps]

R: I don't know—

G: Oh, you don't know, so it's [k] Europe is a bit different

C: Ahhh

G: [e] it's just like first year, second year...

R: Yeah

G: Okay, so he did till second year and then it was when he got to third year that he started taking those breaks off

R: Yeah. Was it during the last interview too, I was so confused. I don't.... like, every time we talk about sophomore I get so confused because in Korea it's 4 years, in Switzerland it's 3 years. Then how do you apply the names right?

C: [k] That's true.

G: yeah.

R: And, so, I don't know, It's a mess to me.

G: Yeah.

R: Yeah, so we're almost done, I promise.

C: [laughs]

R: That's it for your parents. So uhm, can you just tell me, just to get an idea of your parents, what they do and whether they're from Seoul, and if you're also from Seoul?

G: [k] Where your parents are from and what kind of work that they do

C: Ahh both of them are Korean

G: Oh, but are they both from Seoul?

C: Oh, my father is from Seoul and my mother is from Chungcheong-do. Yeah. My family is... wait what did she ask again? If they were Korean?

G: [k] Uhm, and what kind of work they do.

C: Oh, my father works at a company. A French company.

G: French company?

R: Ooh~!

C: [Name of company] Water? I'm pretty sure it's a French company. [e] My father

R: Went to France?

G: [e] He works at a French company?

C: [e] Yeah French company.

R: Oh yeah yeah yeah, French company, because the lady I know she had a French—

G: ooh

C: French yeah, [name of company] water maybe. [k] And my family originally lived in Thailand because of my father.

G: [k] Oh really?

C: [e] Living in Thailand, 5 years to 8 years.

R: Oh, you lived in...

C: Yeah Thailand. My English, uhm, 30% Thailand, 30% Korean education, and 30% about black music
[all laugh]

R: That's nice. So how old were you when you went abroad? And is it because of your father's job?

C: Yeah.

R: Oh

G: and [k] From 5 years old to--

C: Yeah. Until 8 years old.

G: Until 8 years old. [e] From 5 to 8.

R: So, Holland? Or

C: Thailand. My, uh, my father is went to Thailand from 1994 to maybe 200...3? Maybe. [k] He was there for a long time. But then there was the IMF crisis in Korea, and so originally our whole family was there with him, but with the IMF the circumstances that the company was in began to worsen and just our family returned to Korea. Because the company had been supplying our housing. You understand? But then it ended up like that.

G: [k] Yeah. [e] Do you know about IMF?

R: No?

G: Oh Okay, it's like the crash of the international—IMF, it was like a very big thing in the late nineties in Korea, uhm, so because of the IMF

R: But what is IMF?

G: I think it's the international monetary fund.

C: Uh IMF is...

R: Ah yeah yeah yeah! Yes, I do know about that. It's just I didn't get it. Yes.

G: Oh okay, so, so his father was in Thailand between maybe 1994

R: Like in 1997

G: Yeah yeah, so because of that, uhm, even, uhm... my Korean and my English....

R: Because of the economic, the financial

G: His family had to go back to Korea while his father stayed there, but originally the company had been providing housing and stuff in Thailand.

R: Oooh, nice. So, you were born in Thailand.

G: No—

C: [e] Oh, no no no

G: No no, he lived there between 5 and 8.

R: Five and eight. But it was in 1994, oh, right of course.

C: I was five years old

R: I know I know I know

C: Ahh yeah... friends (*born in the same year)

G: Hahah friends.

R: We have once day difference

G: Oh really?

R: But I was born one day before you

C: Oh really? May 5?

R: Yes

C: I'm May 6. In Korea May 5 is children's day, you know?

R: Yeah! I heard.

C: Oooh!

R: Yep, when I saw you, because you father he told me, 'you should go check his website!'

C: Hahaha

R: Okay so I

G: Check his website haha

R: And I saw the uhm

C: My profile

R: Yeah yeah and then the first thing that happened was like 5th of May, err 6th of May

C: Yeah yeah yeah may 6th.

R: Yeah. And then, his mother?

G: [k] Ah, and your mother? What does she do?

C: [k] She's a homemaker.

G: [e] She's a housemaker? A homemaker.

R: Yep. Yeah yeah yeah.

G: [laughing at self] housemaker...

R: Yeah, she builds houses hahah

C: Hahaha

R: She's a strong woman, you know.

G: [k] Interpreting is so...

C: Hard isn't it?

R: I'm sorry

G: I can do just about 30 minutes, and after that...

C: That's right hahah

G: My brain

R: I think I'm almost done. I just have like two extra questions that I thought, but I did not ask you before. So uhm, first have you ever thought about exporting yourself?

C: [e] Exporting?

R: How do you say, like...

G: [k] Abroad. [e] Or sorry, go on.

R: Do hip hop in the states, for example?

G: [k] Have you thought about doing music in a different country, for example America?

C: [k] To be honest, being active [as a rapper] in America, because it's the highest honor, it is difficult. And so, right now, as far as rappers that have advanced to America go, I only know of Jay Park. Park Jaebum. It's really difficult for Korean people to work in America. Yeah. It's difficult. But because K-pop is so invigorated, because it's gotten more popular, those kinds of requests come in from abroad. Like friends from my crew have gone to china and performed, or like Bhutan. I hear that's happening. Receiving energy from the popularity of K-pop.

G: [e] So, going to America and doing hip hop is kind of kind of seen as the highest honor, it's very difficult to do as a foreigner. As far as he knows, and as far as I know, the only Korean to go and do hip hop in America is Jay Park. It's just like very hard to go there as a foreigner and do hip hop. But with K-pop becoming so popular and consumed worldwide, occasionally there will be requests that come in from abroad. Like, uhm, his friends or people he knows have gotten requests for [k] they're requesting compositions, right?

C: Compositions...Recently I sold a song to China. There are those kinds of things. But otherwise, like rap performances. There are cases of that as well.

G: [e] so like, uhm, he's sold songs to China, or Bhutan. But sometimes they even ask to come do performances, like rap performances. The power of K-pop has like brought them abroad.

R: Also, the—it's just two questions that I did not ask before so they don't really make sense—but I wonder, so you say that sometimes they ask you to make the song, so do you also compose the uhm, compositions, the lyrics, like if it has to go [hums melody] or like the melody?

G: Ahhh

R: Melody, I'm sorry

G: No, I think I got this. [k] The songs...

C: How I give them?

G: No, uhm, hahah. Uhm.

R: If you could uhm

G: So, like, for example, if a request comes from A&R, if a request to make a song comes it, the melody that the singer sings as well

C: Melody, yeah

R: Yeah yeah, this little blah blah blah

G: [e] Yeah yeah yeah [k] do you do all that?

C: Yeah, I give them a completed song.

G: [e] Yeah, he gives them like a completed song.

R: Oh! Even with the, line like this

G: [k] Like the sheet music?

C: Oh, we don't really exchange sheet music anymore,

G: [e] Okay, they don't really do sheet music.

R: Ahh

C: We don't exchange sheet music, but just music files. A long with the lyrics. And also, a guide. A guide that I record.

G: Ahh.

C: I'll show you [e] I give it to china team. Just like this.

G: [e] So they'll usually send like a file, with the lyrics, and sometimes a guided melody. So, he'll record like a guided melody.

[music playing]

C: [e] I give it to them this song file, and lyrics, and... translate china

G & R: Ahhh!

C: This is Korean lyrics and china lyrics. To get to know about the meanings. About what this means.

R: So, they're going to sing in Korean?

C: No no no, maybe, uh, they modify. Maybe

R: Is it you singing?

C: This is me.

R: A so you sing and then they put their voice, singers voice inside of your...

C: [k] Like if I send this to them. They do it just like this, but if I go like [singing] 'flight of fancy, I love the way you move~~' they'll go like 'Xiong xue' etc. etc. whatever it is in Chinese. You know?

G: Yeah hahah. So, they'll put in the Chinese over—

R: yeah. Do they usually follow exactly what you do, or are they flexible about how they interpret it?

G: [k] uhhhh. The people that sing it... are there a lot of cases where they perfectly follow the guide that you send, or do they kind of make it into their own?

C: They do it exactly the same.

G: exactly the same.

C: exactly the same.

G: [e] They do it like the same as he does.

R: So, if you're like, let's say, a K-pop idol, what do you do?

G: Like what do you mean?

R: What do you have to do? Like uh, can you translate maybe like this?

G: Okay. [k] If you're a K-pop idol, how, and what do you do

C: [e] If I K-pop... [k] If I'm a k-pop idol?

G: [e] if he's a K-pop?

R: just like uh, because you're going to send these songs to the managers and they're going to give them to the idol to make a song, right?

C: [k] Like what the idol does, and after that?

G: [k] Yeah... Like. For example, if you send this kind of song to an idol manager, or people over there,

C: Yeah

G: what does the idol do?

C: They practice it.

G: [e] They practice it.

R: Yeah.

G: I'm not...

R: yeah yeah yeah

C: [e] In Korea, K-pop idol means more than singer, not really singer, more than dancer. Yeah.

R: Yeah. So how would you, what would be your definition of being a K-pop idol or something.

G: [k] What kind of definition does becoming a K-pop idol have? Definition, like... meaning... like how do you define?

C: [k] A definition about becoming a K-pop idol?

G: Yeah, like personal definition?

C: My thoughts?

G: Yeah. Yeah...

C: Uhh. I didn't like it, to begin with. I didn't really like it, but [pause] now I don't really have any thoughts about it. Basically like, 'I guess there's that kind of job too'. Just like that. And like they live really hard (**yeolshimhi*). Compared to their age, like they're usually all young, a lot are in their early 20s or minors, and they live really hard. I think that's something you have to respect.

G: [e] So, originally he didn't really like them, but now he doesn't really have that many thoughts about them except for that they do work really hard, they live hard [laughs] kind of, especially for how young they are, or for their age, they're working really hard, and so you kind of have to respect that.

R: Yeah. True. I see. I think I'm done. I think you're finally free from all my questions

C: Wow! [claps]

R: Ah! I have a final question; do you have brothers and sisters.

G: [k] brothers and sisters

C: [e] yeah, sister.

R: Older?

C: Younger. Younger sister. She's [k] studying for the civil service exam. To become a government worker.

G: [e] She's preparing for the...there's a test for if you want to become a civil servant in Korea. She's preparing for that.

C: [e] Public administration. Hahaha

G: yeah yeah

Annexe 6 - Retranscription de l'entretien avec l'employée d'une petite maison de divertissement

R: Sooo I'll put it a bit closer to you. It's better. Who cares about what I'm gonna say. Haha

D: hmhm

R: So hm, basically ahm to begin with, do you think you could start by telling me a bit about you company in terms of maybe, somehow how it is structured, how many people work there...

D: uhm So, the company that I work for, originally started out as like a company that does uhm it's like distribution. Like uhm they did a lot of hallyuu distribution to Japan. 'cause euh the CEO has worked in Japan for a while and when the school like there stopped he was there for a while and then... the

fact that he started his like his own production company has been fairly recent. Like I would say like uhmm.. maybe like 3 years tops.

R: hmm! Recently

D: Hmhmm!

R: Do you know why he decided to start a production company?

D: aah I think he always wanted to like produce something. So like I mean like having an intellectual property one way or another and this is better, it's like something to call his own. Maybe it's like a form of desire that he has accomplish something. To call.. I mean it's like, I don't know, I think it's something to do with the production thing, maybe.

R: Because before with the distribution, what was he doing exact.. more or less? Just like hmm, promotinnng uhm?..

D: Promoting uhm he like uhm he I think so does. [clears his voice] Management? Like uhm when a k-pop group goes to the other other country. then I think the management changes. So like he does a management for uhm different artists, or like celebrities.. I think uhm, he still has a right to manage.. uhm well the actor called hum [actor's name] in Japan. Uhm and a bunch of other things. He like a did like uhm he supports fan meetings and stuff uhmm and he like, holds rights like, distribution rights to multiple movie stars that are not produced by this company, but by other companies so uhm..

R: hmm! That's, interesting, that when it's abroad it has to be managed by something else.

D: Ya! I uhm it's something that I found out fairly recently as well.. I mean if there is like a foreign branch of that, like you know, big, big names like uhm I guess I don't.. like for, for example like movies..

R: You can say, it's gonna be erased anyway

D: Yeah yeah yeah yeah, for like movies like, you can. There are like a worldwide distribution branches

R: hmhm

D: so like uhm I guess it continues on.. like even though the distribution had like, it was originally filmed in one country and then goes to the other and then there is like a double branch of the same company. so they can do that. For K-pop I don't think they.. just don't have that infrastructure so.. once... it goes from one to the other then the management also changes.

R: So I was like, taking koreeean music into Japan?

D: hmhm

R: But that's interesting because it was not even in Japan, it was in Korea?

D: Ooh! This company started in Japan!

R: Aah! Okok!

D: Yeah this company started in Japan and then he.. formed a Korean branch uhm which is like a completely different name from which, it's like a managing agency. So uhm, those distribution company branches started out first and then after that uhm, ya like he formed his own label. So if we're gonna go way back, when that Japanese company started, it would be like 2000. So it has been around for a while.

R: Is he originally Japanese?

D: No no, he, he is Korean but he I think studied in Japan.

R: Hmm that's why.. So! Let's go back to the..

D: yeah! Yeah yeah

R: present time. haha

D: Hmhmm!

R: So. I was curious about uhm so could you... like you were telling me about that company, the production company, that he has now and you're working for.

D: Hmhm

R: so, uhm can you maybe tell me about how it is structured and maybe how many people are working..?

D: uuuhhm...

R: Just to get an idea

D: Welllll I think the Korean branch has a total of 10 people.

R: I see

D: Yeah, uhm. And... I think pretty much like a CEO overseas. It's like all the things for, that comes out the media. So... The branches would be uhm like a video and film editing, uhm there is about 3 to 5 persons there. Uhm.... And... we have.. one.. manager.. for the artists. Uhm, and let's see.. fffff marketing...

R: hmhm

D: ...and international business. I pretty much do it all by myself. Things oversea like uhm with other departments, but I usually work alone. Uhm... and there is like account and... ya accounting like department position. Which consist of two people. Uhm ...

R: I drawing your.. company hahah

D: sure sure sure. ... Uhm and on the top of that there is the CEO. The, the president of the company.

R: ... *[finishing the drawing]* And then you also have the artists? Or the trainees, or..?

D: Yeah yeah! Uhm There are artists there are uhm, I think they are uhm a total of four.

R: Did you include them in the 20... the..

D: the.. no no no no no, that's a seperate yeah yeah yeah.

R: ok. And then do you have trainees too?

D: no trainees. They they all debued, and uhm.. they had varying degrees of success as far as like the media exposure *[incomprehensible]*. Euh yes. No trainees

R: Do you, uhm sometimes train trainees? I mean do you have a system that..

D: ..I uhmmm actually was not there when they started training. So like uhm I think there is like a separate like industry for that almost? I don't know how to put it. Uhm that's like another part I'm not fairly confident in answering. But uhm yeah, when, when I started working for this company there is no trainee. I personally do not over see any part of the operation.

R: Ya. But do you know like, if for example these artists maybe were trained within the company? But okay but..

D: I'm sorry?

R: Do you, uhm. These artists

D: hmhm

R: were they trained in the company or were they trained somewhere else?

D: I would say somewhere else 'cause uhm, of the, one of the girls like, who were signed for my company, uhm used to stay like in a place together. 'Cause like, they call it "soukso" [숙소 / *shared accomodation*] I guess, which is like, kind of like a dormitory.

R: Hmhm

D: for the, among trainees and, uhm, one of the girls debued, and she had like a pretty, a moderate success too and.. she is signed to different label and.... Yeah like, so I guess there are like, an, other company that does like.. train these girls or, boys so ya [*inaudible*]

R: Because you told me you started like a.. not too long ago?

D: hmhm! 9:15

R: H, How long, how many, like, when was it?

D: Hmmm this make like uhm, like the fifth month

R: okay yeah I had something like 3 months or 4 months ago.

D: No no no, I just yeah

R: But 5 okay

D: Hmhmm [drinks]

R: So. Basically your job is all about promoting this [*or "disque" not clear*] for artists?

D: Promoooting uhm.. Social media management is.. Well I guess is one point of the part as well. But I uhm did like schedules, schedules management, I mean anything that involves English. I did it. Or like a planning.

R: Ya.

D: uhm... Ya! But like mainly it's promotion and then I do.. like I had like pose caption subtitles for like uhm the videos. Because uhm.. some of the girls that are signed to my company haaave theeeir YouTube channels, that are full run by the company and the artists. [*pause*]

R: So do you know about the process, about taking a new artist? Let's say you uhm I don't know. How does it work when you, they, your company wants to take a new artist, or it's the artist coming and asking to, to be..

D: I think it works both ways. uhm 'cause, we produced, their show, last year I mean, two years ago 2016. Uhm we like I think auditioned like we send out a notice and said "okay this I happening". Ahhm would you like to audition for it and would you like to sign for our company. So uhm I think it goes both ways. Like either people send their like audition tape or whatnot, or we can actually like pull around and ask people to, yeah.

R: Could you tell me a bit about the auditions? About how it w, because I know a bit for example how they audition for trainees.

D: Hmhm

R: But I don't know ab, all about like how auditions go for artists.

D: Hmm! That a part I actually cannot answer because, uhm because of the lack of knowledge..

R: hmhm

D: ..not because I'm trying..

R: Yeah yeah yeah!

D: .. to keep it confidential. 'Cause I just like saw.. I just like didn't get to witness a process, when I was.. when I started working for this company, uhm, which is like the first company that I worked for as far as the K-pop industry goes..

R: Hmhm

D: so like yeah, that.. I cannot..

R: ahah

D: sorry about that! Ya ya ya

R: hahaha that's okay.

D: maybe ya, that was like a crucial part of the session.

R: ya that would have been very interesting uhm..

D: ya.

R: What else..? So! Uhm you talked about the YouTube channels

D: Hmhm

R: So there is a part of the.. So the artists they can.. how do they decide about what they're gonna do? Is it...

12.33

D: It's uhm, it's mainly company decisions. 'Cause youtube is the area where like, their private life and public life kind of like uhm, like... "mash" together I suppose. But it's just, it was like, I think like the president's decision to do so because while, they are not making any song nor doing any media appearances, uhhh like. Rather than just saying you know like, sitting around.. doing nothing, I mean they actually do different stuffs but hm. It was a decision do like uhm to garner some kind of a fanbase.

R: hmhm. So how is it decided regarding uhm, making new albums and things like that? We decide something like "ohh uhm.." . they distinguish what?

D: I'm sorry?

R: Like, for example you mentioned when they are not making music, so we decide on their schedules, when they are gonna make a new CD.. , a new...?

D: Oh! That's uhm, I think that's upon the decision with the artist but like, uhm but usually the main guy, the, the president brings that up and says: "So this is what we are gonna do. The deadline is gonna be This, and we have work planning putting on much This budget". And then etc. etc.

R: do you know how, based on what they take decisions?

D: Based on what?

R: Yes, like how does he decides like: “ Okay, next autumn I want a new album..” why this time? Which type of album? You know, how we, he...

D: Hmm depends on the forte. Like uhm like attributes. Of each artist. Like maybe one of them is a better singer than the others. Because you know like in K-POP groups they have kind of different roles. Like “okay this guy is gonna be like a lead singer and this guy is gonna be a rapper. This guy is gonna be the sub-vo [sub-vocalist], he, this guy is good at Dancing” ...

R: Hmhm

D: Etc. etc. Hm so by just looking at the physical attributes, and... like their capability that [the director] so ya.

R: so basically, they are like all solo artists?

D: Hmhm! [*positively*]

R: I see. So are they all into singing?

D: Hmmmm Well, I mean. Recently this was like a duo. I mean, my company has four artists signed. Uhm. And they are all girls. Uhm... Two of them used to be a Duo. But, they summed around they decided to take like a solo and diverse. Uhm... I’m sorry what was the question again?

R: giggles

D: oh uhm! How they decided on it? Hmm I think just like a multiple... like attributes. ... as like the duo, they to published a couple of singles before and... it.. met with various degrees of success I guess. But I guess.. my.. boss figured out it wasn’t particularly working out. So he decided to experiment something else. And I think that’s how the decisions [*inaudible, maybe: how they are made*].

R: So do you have some kind of.. oh, you are in charge of the marketing,

D: Hmhm

R: So do you.. like, what does it imply exactly?

D: What does that imply exactly?

R: Ya.

D: uhmm pfff. Just a lot of it it’s just like social media management.

R: hmhm

D: Uhm, whenever there is a new content from an alb.. from like a youtube channel or stuff like that, or like a new song is coming out, then I will.. like uhm, send it out on big major social media such as like Facebook, uhm Instagram, twitter.. So like I come up with the front, write ups for those and they are all, comments in Korean, English and Japanese..

R: hmm! [*impressed*]

D: Well, there are, I don’t do Japanese, there is a person for that. Yeah

R: Giggles

D: I'm terrible at this.

R: giggles 17:32

D: Well No No! It's not, it's not like, I mean I wish I were good at this. But my linguistic ability in that specific language is not at the [inaudible, maybe: the best]

R: I see

D: hmhm

R: So, is there also a part of the marketing actually about... or I wonder if maybe it's the artist's managers, or who is in..

D: Hm

R: .. because instead of the president who decides when they are gonna release a new album

D: Hmhmm

R: ...But I'm curious if there is some.. I mean If you could give me some examples

D: hmhm

R: out of the blue.

D: sure!

R: ... if they have like uhm, uhm market analysis about what should be like "good to have this year or not good to have this year", "the style" or you know... "what they are gonna achieve", "what they gonna do"... how they decide that?

D: Like how you come up with certain concepts you mean?

R: ya for example. And how they decide it. And then, Who is in charge of that?

D: I mean, I think most of like the big pictures slash planning comes from the guy, like the, my Boss, the head of the company. Because, a lot of [inaudible] directions he.. is.. very stubborn about that?

R: stubborn? Haha

D: Yeah, yeah! He was like "I want this specific concept. I think it works. I think this is very marketable, I think this can be successful". So uhm, yeah! A lot of that actually comes from the top of his head. And then.. I will try to use, either his guidelines, whether something that I came up with to make it work. So, in a sense that the traits of direction, those, uhmm... what's the word I'm looking for? Not so democratic.

R: giggles

D: ya, ya

R: I see haha

D: hmhm

R: And so, basically he decides on a concept

D: Right

R: ...and then how uhm like “put into practice” I don’t know how to say that like uhm, uhm... So you have the artists and then you president says he thinks uhm, I’m just gonna give an exemple like that: “for next semester, uhm that artist should like uhm have a new album out”.

D: hmhm

R: ... So, what’s the process after he decides of, that? What is being done?

D: Hmhm

R: ...Regarding the artists, about like, for example uhm making the songs, then...

D: uhmmmm..... [pause] could you put that all in a more concisely? I’m sorry!

R: hahaha it’s alright. I’m curious about the, there are many things but, the process

D: hmhm

R: ...of once an album is set. Like you want an album, what are the different steps?

D: What are the different steps`?

R: ya

D: ...down there. Uhm, [pause] well.. I mean, usually the songs uhm come with.. So once a concept is done then uhm we figure out how we are gonna found it. Which [inaudible] has been partially done by crowdfunding, such as Quickstarter or Makestar or something like that. And then we talk with other companies that does music video. There are companies that uhm, only shoot music videos and stuff. Uhm and so we contact them uhm.. then there are stylists, who prepares the make-up and the outfit for the set of certain songs, music video or showcase etc. And then, uhm, we just set the movie’s state and then along with that we start contacting uhm music makers, whether distributors you know like Warner, it could be Timeowner [supposing], it could be Sony, Colombia, or whatever. Uhm and I get with that we just kinda work with conjunction. Uhm but, and ya, obviously we’ve got to talk to the producers and like.. ya.

R: You meant [*mentioned*] Sony and Colombia

D: Hmhm

R: ..So to contact them. But what for?

D: Hm I’m sorry?

R: what for, do you contact them, Sony and Columbia?

D: They are the ones, there is like a music Label, but they are like a bunch of, like our company, even though owns our right, we are like subsidiaries, he is like a bigger label right? Ya ya ya! I mean it kind of works like that in any kind of music. Uhm for example [pause] Bluenow, I think is now a subsidiary of the Capital or Sweet.. I'm not sure. But there are like a bigger distribution company.

R: Ya I heard that, for example in the States you have many small companies that are actually owned by one bigger company.

D: yeah yeah exactly! Yeah yeah

R: So it's the same in Korea?

D: Yeah yeah hmhm?

R: So you are not like an Indie label or something?

D: hmhmm no no. But even in the K-pop [inaudible, unclear to him what he wants to say] .. sometimes it is.

R: I see.

D: Ya

R: So, Is it owned by a bigger Korean company? Or an international one?

D: oh.... Uhm pffff... Well.. ours.. is.. not owned, well it's like, like, it's really hard to describe the ownership of it, but uhm I think it's working in association. Like I guess bigger companies take their cut. For distributing. But uhm... I know my company works with Sony.

R: hmhm? 24.28

D: My company woks with Sony, so whenever I trying to get a [inaudible] and stuff. Or like trying to publish something, this is gonna come out this month, or this stated month, then I contact Sonny and it's like to set the date. I fill up the forms, like this is what the song is gonna be about, can you publish this for us? So it's not a matter or hierarchy per se, but like they are the ones who does the publishing for us. Once the song has come out.

R: By publishing you mean like uhm... [pause] What do you mean by that?

D: To make it available to the public. So uhm a lot of... there are bunch of, there are songs out there that can be just published without any particular label and you can handle these all by yourself. I mean one may been doing that, would be like soundcrowd

R: Soundcrowd

D: ...Yeah yeah. But uhm, to make it available to, like spotify or itunes or ...

R: ya okay ah I see [difficult to understand, speaking very low]

D: yeah yeah yeah, that's what I meant by publishment.

R: [slower tone] yeah, I see, okay so and uhm. So, I'm gonna ask you a few questions regarding the different points you mentioned.

D: sure!

R: So, first of all. There is the concept "concept"? So it the one that the president decides on?

D: Hmhm

R: okay. And then about the crowdfunding

D: hmhm?

R: Is it hm, how it usually works in the music industry?

D: [sharp inbreath] yyA! Most of, I mean there are big names like uhm.. 'cause even though the K-POP industry itself is very huge there are only three big companies

R: Ya.

D: ...That are not considered uhm, like "small timers" [*not clear*] I guess. So there is SM, YG, JYP,

R: Ya

D: ...those three are the big ones. And probably uhmmmm BigHit is gonna be there pretty soon I think. They're not gonna be like small timers anymore, because BTS pretty much blew up.

R: Yes

D: ... So it's pretty much a matter of size and how much growth they make and uhm.. how much money they make.

R: Ya

D: So, all the other companies, even though some might be really famous, are from small time companies and uhm too ALleviate the financial pressure that usually comes with it, uhm, 'cause production costs quite a bit. We are talking about hundred thousand dollars at least. To make something happen. Including manpower, music videos, and.. uhm choreographies, because that's usually outsourced by some other companies as well. So everything like that is put together and the company has to pay for her. So uhm there is like a website called "makestar".co, which is a crowdfunding company like "Kickstarter" or "gofundme" or "Patreon" or whatever. Uhm but that's Strictly for the K-Pop industry.

R: I see. How do you spell it?

D: M, A, K, E, a star . CO, [checking what I write] .co

R: [writing down] I see.

D: hmhm

R: Do you know who like uhm is it usually individuals, per person, financing the ..?

D: hmhm

R: giggles, It's correct? Financing the artists, or is it usually groups uhm like com..

D: It's, it's

R: ..panies or? I don't know.

D: [pauses] What do you mean by, financing the crowdfunding?

R: Yes

D: uhm

R: the people giving money...

D: Make-a-star specifically is I think specifically corporate based.

R: I see

D: I haven't come across any indie musicians. I mean I have participated in both make a star and kickstarted partnering before

R: Ya.

D: ...like, like planning and stuff [not sure]. Uhm kickstarted you can definitely find more indie oriented musicians. You don't see big corporate names. But make a star is led by labels, led by corporations.

R: hmhm [pause to write]. So, because you mentioned the funding

D: hmhm 29:51

R: how is it usually like uhm for the artists? How are they found uhm usually founded, or paid or whatever?

D: Hmhm

R: So, they have a contract and that means you uhm, pay, for like the.. housing? And then everything?

D: Hmhm

R: Or uhm, how does it work?

D: uhm...

R: You might not know..

D: I uhm yeah that's not the part, that's not the part that I'm usually in charge so, I cannot answer you heartedly much further.

R: Did you see if they had the dormitories?

D: Hmhm

R: ...So the dormitory, so maybe?

D: I've been, I mean if it's like a dormitory then I assume the company usually pays for it. [pause] Uhm.... Whatever it costs for the train, like the minimum uhm, I'm not sure about what the stipends are. That's like something that's like something I'm not particularly familiar with. Yeah, yeah.

R: Yeah! I wonder because.. uhm, ya sometimes you have, this type of contract

D: Hmhm

R: ...that's, you have to uhm.. like once you have to compensate, with what you.. the money you need well... to make a CD .

D: Oh ya! I mean I know ya, some of them like, just end up owning a lot of money, but they end up being indebted. And maybe that has to be something that has to be paid off and stuff.

R: What, sorry?

D: Like, a lot of these artists, sometimes ended up like, being indebted to the company in a sense. Uhm.. like, from the expenditures 'cause before they become popular they.. It's like the company is investing on these trainees as well.

R: exactly that's what I heard about too

D: yeah yeah, yeah.

R: But in your company it's a bit different because there were not trainees before so I'm just..

D: I, I think there are some, I I know, some do had that spot. That's as far as I know. Like I didn't necessarily push it, I didn't have any interest in

R: alright

D: ...uhm, you know getting into every people financial situations

R: "So how does it work tell me!" hahah

D: yeah exactly yeah yeah, yeah yeah.

R: did you also have some trainees, even though they are artists already, do they have some singing lessons or ..

D: Oh ya they do! They do. Ya. They, and I think the company pays

R: hmhm

D: uhm Ya they do... They take lessons... for the upcoming whichever

R: hmhm

D: ...uhm it can be, and the lesson can be a bunch of things. I can be choreography, it can be vocal training, it could be musical instruments. Uhm it could be a language, 'cause uhm, if you're, they are planning to do shows somewhere else outside of South Korea, like for example Japan then I assume they take Japanese lessons or ya, whatever.

R: So is it on a regular basis. Or so .. before they release.. "we're gonna make a new album, so I need to practice my voice again" or..? do they always practice?

D: I think, I think vocalism is usually all the time. 'Cause it just has to do with, 'cause their career is about them singing. And choreography can be different. Choreography is not all the time. Like whenever a new song is coming out and then they like learn in conjunction with the choreography teachers they.

R: inaudible

D: Yeah yeah yeah exactly. 'cause like they usually, the artists themselves don't come up with the choreography like, once again this is the whole part is usually outsourced as well. So they usually come up with the dance moves and the artists pretty much like learns it. So Ya that's it. So that can be like a time to time. So, not, ya. The don't have classes on a regular basis.

R: I see. So, you said it's outsource, outSourCED. So, how does your company select them, the people that are gonna be the trainers, or the teachers

D: Hmhm

R: ...or they, the first that are gonna make the choreographies, how they select it?

D: [sharp inhale] Uhmhhh! Like How we choose which company to work with? I mean they are like, already reputable companies that usually are in charge of it. Uhm, how they gather the reputation? I don't know. They have been probably around for a while. And maybe they have gone by, or produced for some groups, and, it turned out very well.. you know just like any other company.

R: ya.. ya.

D: If you just stick around certain things for a while, and your work sticks and uhm, starts bowling on that reputation. Uhm, so yeah! We, usually just go for those and have be, have worked with those companies before.

R: So you..

D: Ya. Ya ya.

R: [pause checking the notes] I was, I wonder if there is like a lot of competition to "get the best choreographs" or you know like..

D: Uhhh! I mean, I don't think my company is in that position of power. [clear is voice meaningfully]

R: giggles, excuse me. giggles

D: yeah yeah yeah, No no no! it's okay! it's okay I mean, I'm just like "uhm.. ya..". I mean we just see what people come up with and then "okay, seems like that would work". Then we do it, essentially. And we just add their names like: " oh yeah we, they did this". So like, 'Cause the brand usually comes

with, I don't know, a certain credibility and power, I suppose. So, ya, we work in conjunction with this company, so we hope we can look forward to what comes up. So ya.

R: I see I see. Uhm.. gosh I had a question and it disappeared from my head.

D: hm!

R: ya.. [embarrassed] it's alright, otherwise I'll ask you another question, I would like to remember it.

D: hmhm I like your earrings by the way.

R: Oh!

D: If that actually [giggles]

R: it's gonna get..

D: it's gonna get lost more.

R: Ya.. No. I'm screwed now. Hahah

D: hmhm

R: You.. thank you. But. Uhm... No. I think it's lost forever now.

D: alright. Well...

R: Anyway, so, let's go back, uhm.... So... [pause] And [unintelligible] so I'll ask you about the funding that you mentioned and uhm stylists and [unintelligible] so uhm, so could I ask you like some questions about your own uhm

D: Opinions?

R: Not your own opinion, your own uhm path? Like uh how you came to work with this company...?

D: Uh [pfff] I mean...

R: You said that it's a long story, but that's fine [laughs]

D: No, no, I mean it's not particularly long, uhm, it was sheer luck. I mean I was... not particularly and still not interested in this particular genre of music. Uh, but uh, but I do like music and I'm like a performer here and there throughout the city, so uh, the music industry itself interested me. And even though it's not my...favorite cup of tea, this particular genres, uh, I think I will like have something to learn? And I think it'll be like a really good experience, and-- if I can like earn bread along with the whole process of like, learning, then I think it will be like, just like a good job. So...

R: Wait—

D: Mmhm

R: Sorry which kind of things are you interested in, like what you think you can learn from this experience

D: Well, I mean, I've already done like uh.. like the marketing is one of them, like the social media interaction and like how like a people react to like a certain like content and stuff like that, which will, I think, [fuel?] me eventually to how I market myself, because I am a musician as well, just in a different scope, and uh, different area. Uh, I dealt with like, music—like big music companies and to publish music and what documents to send or what the process is uhm, so that's another one. I pretty much, uh, spearheaded the kickstarter project for an artist uh signed to my company. Uh, and I pretty much dealt with the backer, customer support, I did write ups for all the uhm descriptions and whatnot for the kickstarter page and I came up with the rewards, so like, I did some planning with that too, in that sense, and like and it turned out to be fairly suc—succes—successful, uhm, I think we reached like a 200% of our uh planned goal, so it was

R: Pretty successful [*laughs*]

D: Ahh, I mean... right so uh, those things I definitely learned from, by just working and I think I can apply that to my own career, whenever that takes off, or whenever I decide to take it more seriously. Yeah so

R: Because I see from your profile picture you had uhm

D: Oh yeah

R: [people speaking very loudly in background] just a second... because otherwise It's going to be too difficult to comprehend

D: Definitely.

R: [*laughs*] Yeah, so I saw that you have a picture of you playing

D: Yeah yeah

R: So could you tell me a bit more about you uh as a musician?

D: Uhh, I mean, I... Like I've been performing bunch of different stuff since I was a kid. Uh, but I was in choir when I was in high school, I was in musicals before, uh, I wanted to go to music school but it was too expensive, so I ended up uh studying engineering instead uh but I found out that music is what I want to do, so I've been—when I was like between like taking breaks from school and whatnot, I played music, and I have like played different gigs before, whether that be at a coffee house or bars or open mic or paid shows, or in like, in like, outdoors, I've performed in, like, front of a thousand people before. Uh. So like, I have some experience on that, but like then again that was a me performing side, but I also wanted to know what the business is actually like, so uh, that's the reason why I decided to take this gig. Uhm, and I accidentally got it because one of my friend's girlfriend's acquaintance actually is an accountant at my company, so now I'm like, a coworker to this person—the accountant.

R: So you told me so many things so suddenly, so I would like to go back, so tell me, so perhaps like, when did you start, uh, playing music or making music?

D: Mmhm

R: Uh when you were very young, do you remember one time and how it started, uhm..

D: Uh, I mean, like I grew up in a household, like, I mean, like, very, that could be very stereotypically Asian, but like, I was kind of like force-fed into like, learning like different things, and some of them

was, like, instruments, like piano, clarinet, I learned those, and I kind of like did it just because I was like told to? So like, I was maybe like 12 or 13 or something, and I—I like all the sudden got really into it and uh, before I left for the states, I quit school and started playing piano, and like there was like a song that I was like obsessed with—

R: [soft giggle]

D: --Which I still kind of play, it's like, it was like done by some Japanese guy, and I like, ended up like, practicing in this like studio for like eight hours a day, and that's like, how I really got into music, yeah.

R: So, you started younger, until 12 or 13, about that, you played clarinet and piano?

D: Yeah, yeah, that's uh, that's actually when I started taking music a little more seriously, but not to a point where I could perform in front of a crowd or anything. So like, multiple stages, uh... And like, I was involved in school's, like, pep band, which is like a musical band like that plays [*unintelligible*] uh, and I did singing, I did choir before, so...

R: So then when you turned 13, you went abroad?

D: I—I—uh, I was 14 when I went abroad.

R: What was the reason why you went abroad?

D: Uh [*huff*] Uh, I was—well my aunt and uncle lived there, lived in the States at the time

R: Your what?

D: My, my aunt and uncle used to--

R: Ah ah

D: --live in the states, I mean, they were living there at the time, uh, and they just like wanted to take me in because they didn't have any children. Uhm. And... Like, I was like, prepping for...like, I dunno, something—like a prestigious high school, like private high school in South Korea anyways, and the cost for me going abroad and studying and studying here are essentially the same—like, or comparable anyway, so... uh... like uh rather than just like staying in this particular culture, I think their decision was that—or what they thought was that it would be like, nice, it would be nice for me to have, uhm, nice to broaden my horizons, I guess? I know it's a cliché, but uh... So I lived with them for like a year and then I'd been moving around all across the states, uh, I lived in the south before, I lived in the Midwest before, uhm, went to university but it was way too expensive for me so I came back, with education—finished education here, and then now I'm working here.

R: So, your parents decided to send you to, to the states?

D: Yep, they did.

R: And then you stayed one year with your uncle and aunt?

D: Mhm

R: But then you moved by yourself?

D: Yeah, I went to uh, boarding school, so I lived in fraternities, I lived in like apartments, dorms, so I've been like more or less living on my own since I was like 15 or so.

R: That's really awkward, that's pretty common in the states to be living on campus, yeah

D: Yeah, yeah

R: It's—for a second I was like—because in my country it's not at all, so I was like, but you were pretty young so

D: Mmm

R: Did you decide by your own to go live somewhere else in the states?

D: Uhhh, I mean, they were moving away from where they were before too, but also just like, mmmm.... It just like, didn't work out, let's put it that way... yeah.

R: And, so then when did you go back to Korea?

D: I came back in 2011.

R: So, how old were you at the time?

D: 21.

R: Uhm, so then at that time you had to start university, or you already started university?

D: Uh, I already started, but the credits didn't transfer so I had to start all over again.

R: No!

D: After, after three years of education.

R: Really?

D: Yeah. It was tough.

R: Why didn't they want to recognize the class—

D: Uh, 'cuz the ministry that the—they department of education has like, a floor, of like, this is like a minimum that's required to transfer the credits, and like, start out as like either like a third or fourth year at the college or whatever. Uh, and that number of credit hours was 59. I had 56. [pause] That's why. [snort]

R: Sometimes if they really don't want to help—

D: Yeah... that was, yeah that was a huge wrench but, I'm over it.

R: But so, you know even at my home university some people they did some stuff that was recognized and other people they were almost the same exact situation and it [didn't?] work out for them, or sometimes it was a worse situation and they managed and the others didn't... sometimes it's so frustrating!

D: Yeah, it is, it is very.

R: So then you were studying engineering—

D: Mhm

R: Uh and then studied again engineering in Korea?

D: Yep.

R: And... so at that time you were living with your parents again?

D: No, uh, my parents live in a different city. They are—they lived in, uh, they live down south.

R: Cool. So originally you were living in this house.. in Korea? —like where are you originally from, basically?

D: Busan.

R: Busan. Oh that's really south! [*laugh*]

D: Yeah..

R: I see. And then you went to the states and then you came back to Seoul—

D: Mhm!

R: --to go to university?

D: Right.

R: I see. And then, so why engineering?

D: Uh... [*exhale/huff*] my family. Uh, my dad's an uhm [*pause*] it's like a—not necessarily like a family legacy, but uh everyone in my family somehow studied engineering, and they are either working in the industry or are teaching the, uh, very subject matter. SO uh, yeah, my mom's a chemical engineer, and she, until she got married, uh... My dad is a mechanical engineer, and he was a professor for that for some time. Now he does research. Uh... [*pause*]

R: [*laughs*] mm. I see. So your parents got divorced.

D: Mmm?

R: Your parents got—got, were divorced when---

D: No no no no, they're still together. Yeah.

R: Oh! I'm sorry, I heard like, [*inaudible – loud baby*] maybe

D: Right right

R: Okay, I see. And so yeah, you have the... [pause] Do you think it's really loud in there?

D: I don't think so

R: Because...

D: I mean, they don't [*inaudible*]

R: Just for a while [*inaudible*] Because if they have children [*inaudible*]

D: Or, uh, what I can suggest is uh, I uh, I mean, you can like come over to my place and it's like really quiet. It's like on the other side of the tunnel, so it's like [*inaudible*]

R: But it's like not good to stop the interview in the middle

D: I'm sorry?

R: Okay, that's.. it's a shame because it's touching the—

D: Yeah, yeah, yeah that's true. Uhm. I mean, like... but like, if you're looking for absolute silence...

R: No I'm not looking for it—well... maybe we can try it, because this interview [*inaudible*]

D: Okay, yeah yeah

R: It's not like [*inaudible*] maybe

D: Yeah yeah

R: So then you started to study engineering, and then what happened till you graduated?

D: Uhh...

R: Sorry, I'm asking for basically the story of your life [*laugh*]

D: Yeah... Uh, I mean...

R: But it's very interesting because you started from engineering and then you—and so it's—

D: I mean, it's like, so like I thought like, my family, it's like something I always like saw? So I assumed like that like is also my path, because you're usually influenced, influenced by your uhm family members, right? Uhh, and it's just not my parents, like my relatives are civil engineers. Uh, some of them who—which like oversaw like, the Lotte World too, you know? Like the skyscraper and all that? Uh, in Jamshil, you know there's like a tall skyscraper?

R: Is it the pointy—no this is Lotte....

D: Yeah! That's the one.

R: Oh! Yeah great great great

D: Yeah, some of them, like, work for like, like that building as like they oversaw like the construction and stuff. So like, I mean, like, my family is very engineering oriented, uh, so like, I mean, obviously I was like influenced by them.

R: Kind of meant to...

D: Yeah yeah exactly, and also, like kind was like, partially forced as well, but after nearly like a 10 years of me studying in this field, uhh, I realized that it was just like, not something that I wanted to do. So I decided to, uhh, pursue some other interests. And the job just happens to be...

R: So this—you graduated recently?

D: Yep!

R: And then you...ahhhh I see, I see, I see. And when you were in the states did you also continue playing, like, music, or...?

D: I did. Yeah.

R: So tell me a bit about your like musical path—

D: Uhhh, I mean...

R: --and how...

D: I just like knew a couple friends like who wanted to make music or who like played music, and I kind of like stuck around with it—

R: Mhm

D: And I didn't really...do much performance back then, I just like, took like classes. Uhhh, like I knew—I took like courses like 'recording arts,' uh, but like not in depth, they're just like all like survey courses, but like I've done like, music theory, uh, I pretty much like took all like the music courses that I can—that were offered in my high school and in my university that were, just like, general education courses. Uhh....

R: mhm

D: Uhm, but for the performance, those like really didn't take off until I like took a break from school when I was in Seoul. And I did just like a two year brief stint of me, like, going down to Busan and that's where I actually started playing live, going to like open-mic shows, and uh, forming different bands, uh... *[inaudible]*

R: Nice. Was it before—like when you arrived? Back from the states?

D: NO, this was after. This was like, uh, maybe 2--like a, like in 2013 or something.

R: So did you take a break from university and you did it and then finish university—

D: Mhm

R: --something like that?

D: Yeah. Exactly.

R: What made you decide to take a break from this---

D: Uhm, [*sharp inhale*] conscription.

R: Ahhh, oh, so—but you were like, doing the military and then doing music at the same time?

D: Yeah.

R: But how can you?

D: Uhhh, I was not in any of these camps, I was doing, I was doing uh civil service.

R: Ahhh

D: Yeah

R: I see, I see. Do you have to work a lot, like many hours when you're doing civil service?

D: It's just like 9 to 5 jobs. So, I'm still in touch with the civilization,

R: Yeah

D: So, uh,

R: Civilization [*laughs*]

D: Yeah, well I mean, that's...yeah [*laugh*]

R: [*laughs*]

D: That's the only way I would put it. Yep, so like, yeah, I was still in touch with the society, not somewhere in the mountain, like digging trenches or something like that.

R: Yeah. [*laughs*]

D: Yeah, so like I was like able to like do whatever I wanted to do outside of the working hours. So yeah, it just gave me time to like, explore that area, and that's when I like started, like performing for real. Yeah.

R: So, tell me about the groups which formed and things like that. I'm very curious. [*laugh*]

D: Okay? Hmm

R: Now you're like [*laugh*] 'hmm'

D: Uhm, I mean just like a lot of them are just like cover bands, uh, I've done like [*pause*] a lot of like uh 90s grunge rock, like, like Nirvana, Pearl Jam, whatnot. And—or like, something original, like, uhh, like either something that I would come up with or like, my friends would come up with and then we would just like perform those in like different parts of the city, uh, meaning Busan. Uhm. But it could be bars, it could be a beach, it could be some—somewhere in the city, like where the squares would be.

R: So what was your....part in that?

D: Uh, I played guitar. I play bass. I play this thing called a melodica, I'm not sure if you know what that is. It's, it's uh, like essentially a children's toy—

R: I see—

D: --it has a keyboard

R: Pianoo...

D: Yeah piano and there's like a mouth and a pipe—

R: Yeah

D: Yeah yeah

R: I see

D: Mhm

R: So which kind of style did you...kind of have?

D: Ummm, mostly like, folk, acoustic. Uh, any kind of like indie oriented stuff, or uhm, like it can be rock, I mean, I guess, yeah, Nirvana's pretty 'rock' right, so uhm...

R: And have you ever thought about like, uh, continuing or becoming famous with your band, or things like that?

D: I'm sorry?

R: Have you ever thought like uhm—

D: Oh yeah, I did. But--

R: --continuing with your band—

D: --uhm, I mean once again, that really depends like on uh, that's not my like sole decision. I mean, I cannot make that decision on my own, like uh, it really uh, they all have like their own jobs and they're doing this more as like a hobby, uh, and I guess like we—I guess with some bands I did tour around, like, to like other cities, like within the country, uhh.... But yeah. Uhm, like I've been to like Gwangju before, I've been to like Jinju with my band before, and those are like really fun but, it really didn't necessarily take off, uhhh, and... I mainly play with, like the expat scene, and the expat scene is very fickle, as in like there are people leaving every other year. So, like it's not something solid that I can drum up just yet. But I do still have interest in it. I would like to play music, uh..., maybe, I dunno, like whether it's self-published or like a smaller profile or whatnot, I mean, but I do, I do have my like, I dunno, fantasy, I suppose to just like, yeah have my music and make it popular.

R: That's very interesting, actually, that you were playing with expats, rather than Koreans.

D: Well, I mean, uhh. It's—that's the crowd or community that I've always associated with, even though I came [back?]-was, I...don't... have the mentality? I, I.. [pause] because when I left this country I was fairly, still young, I guess, yeah, so I do not necessarily conform with the social norms, and whenever I converse with... [pause] uhh Korean people, there are—I can like see the limits, like, of how I can like, how I come across, or like there are things I cannot relate

R: Mmm

D: And, I assume that's like a two-way street for them. Like I am an anomaly as well, so yeah..

R: That's so interesting. Well I cannot ask my question [laughing] because after, it's—

D: Mm

R: But is it—I guess usually, I wonder about like, other music groups?

D: Mm?

R: Is it common that they are made of expats? Or..

D: Yeah! Well, I mean, these are not necessarily, like, signed groups or anything like that--

R: Yep

D: --but uh, yeah, there are tons. Like uh, two big scenes I think in Seoul are in uh Hongdae and in Itaewon or HBC, Haebangchon, it's—and they do like have like music that are performed by like expat only musicians, and that was like, yeah, those are the people that I like always perform together.

R: But do you'd say, or am I wrong if we say that like a big part of like, uh, bands playing in Korea, like uh, not a famous or whatever ones, like a made with a mix of foreigners? Or--

D: There, there, there are a couple. Like uh, [pause] but it's usually...uhmm [pause] I dunno how to—like there are, they're out there but there's not much exposure to it I think. [pause] You know what I mean? Or is that like uh, am I not understanding the question as well as I...?

R: Yeah—

D: Could you repeat the—

R: Well my question was, uhm, basically, I wonder about the proportionality of foreigners within Korean bands

D: Mmm

R: Those who like stay uhm..

D: Uhm, I've seen a couple. But it's far inbetween, I think.

R: Mokay, so it's less than the majority of bands in Korea

D: Yeah yeah yeah, usually, cause, like it majorly has to do with, like, cultural and linguistic barriers, that is so very apparent in this soil. Yeah.

R: I know, I know what you're talking about.

D: Mm, m, m. Yeah.

R: I see. Yeah I was—I don't know why, because you mentioned it I was curious about if like, uhm, having like an indie group or like like this was more of like an international thing or not—

D: I mean there are a couple and some of them, like, they get like media exposure, or like uh, web exposure anyways, there's a band called "Genius" and it's made out of, uh, one Korean dude, who's the guitarist, uh, one Taiwanese-American dude, who's uh, who plays bass, and this Northern American guy, who plays drums. So like, that's like, uhh.. I guess an example of what you're kind of looking for. So, I mean, I guess like if you're gonna go more underground and indie there are examples like that, but once again, it really depends on like what kind of chemistry you can achieve.

R: Yeah, I see.

D: mhm.

R: uhmm, so, yeah I have another question

D: Sure

R: Sooooo, uhm, and then, I promise it's going to be over soon [*giggle*]. Uhm, so, what are like your expectations for the future?

D: For the future as in like, for myself? Or like for like the company? Or...

R: Mmm, so, it's up to you to decide. Because you have kind of 2 paths, if I'm not wrong, like your career and also your music—

D: Mhm

R: So, uhm, I dunno, how do you see yourself in the future? What you would like to do?

D: Ooh, I see. Okay.

R: Things like that.

D: Uhm, I mean, for me it's uh... [*pause*] Well, I don't think I'm par—I currently do not see myself, or have plans that I'm going to be like sticking around in this like, particular subgenre of the industry for more than like, three years. Cause it's something that I don't particularly, like, like, as far as like the music genre goes.

R: You mean K-pop?

D: K-pop, yeah. Uhm. So like, for me it's like, I want to learn as much as I can. Uh, and like uh, how, this big machine of the industry works. Or like, uh, whether that be like, uh, marketing or like business side of it, or like networking or whatnot. I'm trying to soak as much as knowledge—as much knowledge, as I can in the, in this like particular field and hopefully start my own, or... where else. Yeah.

[quite a bit of yelling from a family with children is happening in the background]

R: Are they playing games? I'm curious. I see, I see. So you don't really like K-pop music?

D: No, never, never did. Never like it, no.

R: [*inaudible—background noise*] I actually [*inaudible*]

D: Do you actually like?

R: Not particularly, uhm—

D: Yeah

R: Personally, actually, uhm, I never really listened to K-pop music because I'm more into, I guess the kind of music that you play, rather than—

D: Okay

R: [*inaudible*] But I'm curious about your opinion—

D: right

R: --because this is not about me [*laugh*]

D: Right, okay, sure sure sure. Yeah, I mean, uh, I think—I mean this goes back to like uh, how we started this interview, uh, like, how, like, [*pause*] unlike in the different genres of music you somehow garnered the, like, talent first, and then you get like signed by like luck, so like you already have like a some sort of like uh repertoire or like, something which you can prove as made, and then you can sign it, right? Uh, but this is all the other way around, and I feel like it's like, very plastic, like how it's produced.

R: You mean in the, in the Korean system?

D: Yeah, and like, like, more specifically K-pop, and I guess like the same goes for like any kind of like popular music, like, whether that be like, I dunno, it can be like nicki minaj and it's probably the same thing. You know what I mean? Like, uh, like, 'you're the face.'

R: Yeah

D: 'you're the face' and you were like somehow drilled into this, to like perform it. But that's not really your product. And K-pop, I think, in a similar way, like there are a lot of outsourcings going on. And you're like, built to become this. And, I really don't like that? And, I dunno. I [*pause*] I know how to put this, uh,

R: [*giggle*]

D: Just give me a sec, uh...

R: [*inaudible*]

D: Ehh, it's it's, I think it's in generally just really plastic? I think that's the shortest way I can put it. It's uh, it doesn't feel real.

R: So what would feel real to you, for example? What would be like uhm, the acceptable way of being an artist, maybe?

D: I mean, like some kind of creative control, I guess. 'Cause music...while it is for show, but it also has to be about you. Like, like, if you're not a musician...I mean, like, I've come across like so many people who are in this industry, uh, [pause] that are not particularly knowledgeable about like, what is going on with the music. And maybe this is just my opinion, because I did learn it and I guess I'm a snob like that, but like, uhh.... [pause] I don't know what really determines, uh, real, I guess. It just, it's like a particular feeling. It's...maybe that's like another like, uhm, creative image, that like, whole, like other genres of music, whether that be indie or rock has created, but it's...it just... I dunno K-pop in general has just always rubbed me the wrong way. [long pause] It's more about—I guess, I guess in a sense that it's more about like aesthetics than the quality of music itself.

R: Yep.

D: Yeah.

R: But again, well they take them when they're so young, sooo

D: Yeah, well that's because I think that's when they're malleable, so uhh. I dunno, like, if you're going to go to that bounds then I'm pretty sure it's like a it's essentially like a...I dunno, you could even consider that like an adventurous way for eugenics, in a certain sense.

R: What did you say? Which kind of what?

D: It could like even be considered eugenics or like indentured slavery, in a certain sense, but uh... I uh don't know why that is a phenomenon. I guess...I dunno.

R: Yeah.

D: But, but, I don't think that's just like music though, I think that's just like overall culture. But, and that's not in particular restricted to South Korea, I'm pretty sure the same thing is happening in Japan, the same thing is happening in China, the same thing is happening in Asia in general, just to, like, have that, and just to like start things young.

R: Yeah, that's true. I think there is a difference between, how to put that.. To put it broadly, in the Western, kind of music industry and Asian music industry,

D: Mhm

R: Where like uh, in the Western they take you when you're already someone, kind of or—

D: Right, I mean, for the most part, but not entirely either. Because if you think about uh...

R: hmm

D: --Britney Spears, for example.

R: She was, she was, uhm, a trainee?

D: Yeah! In a sense, uh, cause she like auditioned for, and she was in uh, what was this called, uh, this thing called the Walt Disney Club, which is like a huge thing. [pause] And that's like where she met Justin Timberlake and stuff, right? So like, they were sort of starting to become like, uh, like, teenage, like, pop sensation. And so like—

R: That's very—

D: I mean, there's uh, if you want to look for western equivalents, they are there, it's just like, uhm, it's just like, framed different, and there's a little bit of...the, the details would be different, but overall structure would be pretty much the same, but K-pop essentially is just like a bigger and more prevalent industry that uses the same mechanisms. So it's more, like, highlighted towards like an outsiders view of the medium.

R: Also, I think I wonder about the—it's not really part of the interview, it's just myself reflecting, but the influence of like that cultural aspects that help to move the system

D: Mhm

R: Like, for example, I have this feeling that in Korea, for example, their vocation system is already very strict. So you basically study what you are told to study, so the trainee system in itself is not that, uh,

D: yeah

R: Particularly different, in a sense.

D: Yeah, it's pretty much the same thing. And I mean, if you're gonna look at that like, just as like a general cultural phenomenon yes you can, definitely. 'Cause it's a very unified society.

R: Is it sometimes difficult for you to be, to be in Korea? Because I heard that—wait, okay that' the end of the interview [*laugh*] Because I don't know if it's like uh---[*recording stops*]

Annexe 7 - Retranscription de l'entretien avec un candidat ayant participé à une audition de Sm Entertainment et de JYP Entertainment

This person had a tick of making noises like 'mm', which I have not included.

R: If I don't record it it's not going to work

G: [k] So the audition you did this weekend was your first audition, correct? First in your life?

E: Yes, that's right.

G: So, could you start with the reason why, or how you came to do those auditions?

E: I am 24 now, and I'm looking for my talent right now, what I will be able to do continuously for the coming years. Because I'm not attending college at the moment anyway. And so, since I think my talents lie on more of the musical side of things, I thought I had talent for composition or writing lyrics, so I started to think oh maybe it'll be good for me to audition. But there's another bigger reason for this, and that's that from about 2 years ago a meaning or dream about hanbok, our country's traditional...hanbok, came to me. I have this dream of globalizing hanbok, and so I think that the clothes that we wear now, white shirts, pants, suits, all are legacies of the West, and so from a personal perspective—and I'm not sure if this thought is good or bad but—If you look at contemporary and modern history the West has been the victors in wars, and because our country was influenced by that, and we went through Japanese imperialism, and so we were subject to these influences, and so in wars the west was, in any case, they had [some kind of power] and so our country's clothes tended towards the more western style, at least that's what I think, and so I feel like that's too bad and it hurts my heart, so is it we wear our country's beautiful hanbok in our country but we hate hanboks and think that they are uncomfortable, or that they're not good. And so, I grew a [sense of meaning] about that and so I thought maybe I should participate in this globalization of hanboks as it is my dream. But this person that was working for this, what they said were the difficulties of globalizing hanbok was the perceptions of our country's people, and the national power...national power...

G: Perceptions and ...?

E: National power. The strength of a country. And so I thought about this a lot and asked a lot of people about it and someone said 'it'd be good if you were to globalize hanboks like this' and what they said is like, someone who has a lot of influence wears a hanbok in front of the public, if you show that kind of image to the public then they will follow along. And so I really agreed with that thought and so I wanted to become an influe—a person with influence and so, amongst those [kinds of people with influence] I came to choose singer, because singer is a job a career that has a lot to do with fashion, like if I were to really become an influential singer and, become a singer and wear a hanbok, if I were to that it would solve problems of perceptions and moreover, I'd be able to participate in the globalization of hanbok, so [pause] I thought to myself, I should try to become a singer, and so I've been continuously writing lyrics, and I'm still very lacking when it comes to composition and so if I go into a company and become a trainee—you know you need computer and piano, but right now I'm short on capital and haven't prepared and so composition, if I'm honest, I'm preparing just through my words and hitting on things... and so that's how I came to try out for the audition.

R: Wow that's a lot haha

E: [e] I'm so sorry.

G: [k] It's fine.

E: I'm so sorry.

G: [k] it's ok

R: do you—no it's—

G: [e] Uhm,

R: That's good, haha

G: [e] So right now he is 24 and he's in the process of figuring out where his talents lie and what he can do, like what the path is he can go on for a while now. And it's not like he's in college right now, so uhm

R: He's not...?

G: He's not in college right now, and so he's searching for this kind of path or talent, and he saw that he had talent on the musical side of things, in terms of like composition or like writing lyrics and things like that. And so that's why he started to go to auditions. But there's more of an underlying reason for this, and so for about years now he has had this meaning or dream about hanboks, do you know hanboks?

R: Yeah, I understood this too [giggle].

G: Okay. And a dream of globalizing hanboks has meant like a lot to him, because if you look at everyone in the world right now western clothing, western suits are like the dominant clothing that people, and like personally, in his personal thought, he's not sure if this is good thing or not. Like the west has won a lot of wars and Korea has undergone Japanese imperialism and so the west has held this, control? over the rest of the world

R: Sort of imperialism, I see

G: yeah yeah, so kind of the way that we think has been influenced by the west and he thinks that that's unfortunate and it like hurts his heart *maumi apeuda* and it's like why do people dislike hanboks? Why aren't they being worn, this country's traditional dress? So he, in the process of trying to realize this dream of globalizing Korean, or globalizing hanboks he was working with another person that said that, 'in order for hanboks to be globalized, one of the ways that we can do that is that someone who wields influence has to kind of show like, show the world, or be the person that wears the hanbok, shows the masses, and the masses will see that this person with influence is wearing a hanbok and through that they'll be able to wield their influence and realize this dream of globalizing hanboks. SO, in that thought process he has arrived at the idea of becoming a singer because they're someone that wields a lot of influence, especially in terms of fashion. And so, by becoming a singer that wears hanbok, he could solve this problem that Koreans have about, err the perceptions that Koreans have about hanboks. And work together to make, to globalize hanboks and make it a worldwide thing. And uhm, so because his talents lie on the musical side of things he's been working on writing lyrics and composition, but right now composition a little bit less so because he doesn't have a lot of capital to do it, like instruments and stuff, and so he does a lot of his composition just like through words, but yeah, so it's kind of in order to realize this dream that he's had for two years that he's been doing these auditions recently.

E: [e] sorry

G: [k] it's fine

R: good job [giggle] she's pretty good right [laugh]

G: [worried sounds]

R: So, correct me if I'm wrong, but could we say that you joined the auditions mostly and mainly because of the hanbok that would like to see globalized?

G: [k] so could we say that the reason you did the audition was as a [pause] means by which to realize this dream of globalizing hanbok?

E: Yes, that's the biggest goal.

G: [e] yes, that's the biggest aim.

R: So how did you start to have this dream? Regarding hanbok?

G: [k] Could you explain how you came to have, and when you came to have this dream about hanbok?

E: It was a dream I dreamed about from about two years ago. In the case of our Republic of Korea, we have military duty, the mandatory military services is about two years, but because of a [?] I was only able to do a year of it. And so, I became discharged after only a year and this, I don't know, stuck with me as a point of embarrassment and of guilt. And so, because I was discharged in this not so good way I came to start thinking a lot more about our country's things. And so, this about hanboks was also in part because I was unable to finish my military service in the right way, it came out of embarrassment and guilt. And so I'm not sure anymore, but I started to have this dream about Korea, and while I was thinking a lot about Korean things, like hanbok, and Korean literature, I saw the brand ZARA, from SPA, and thought, why is it that our country—why is it that the world can't make a big brand based in the Korean hanbok? Like luxury brands—if you just look at even Japan they have a lot of things that they've made into their own, for example Genzo, and they take in a lot of these East Asian clothes and make clothes and so fashion shows, so why can't we, any of our people, through the hanbok, by the hanbok, make a big brand like ZARA? In terms of fashion we clearly have aesthetically beautiful, and have *kki*, and K-pop as well has proven it, so why are we so in the dark about our own things? Those are the kinds of thoughts that I had. And so, with that pretext, I began to have this dream about the globalization of hanbok. It was about 2 years ago.

G: [e] so it was about two years ago that this started. In Korea there's military service, and people generally serve for around two years, but he was only able to serve for around a year and a half, and so I think during, like he left in like not a great, [pause] I'm going to ask a clarifying question. [k] So you said you left the military

E: Yes.

G: [k] could you explain again the reason?

E: The reason I left the military is...

G: [k] you said you left early, correct?

E: Yes, I left through the wrong path.

G: Ah, okay. That's good enough. Thank you. [e] So he was discharged early, and there was like some kind of embarrassment or like not great thoughts that he felt about that, so during that time he started thinking about Korean things. Not only fashion and hanbok, but stuff like Korea's literature as well. And he was thinking about big brands like ZARA [k] ZARA is Spanish right?

R: Yes

E: That's right.

G: [e] oh sorry, so big brands like ZARA which are based in Spain, and why, if there is something like that why can't there be something like that in Korea, why is there no big fashion brand that is based in Korea, based in Korean fashion? Even if you look at Japan there are multiple examples of that, so why Korea, who has these beautiful kind of traditions and clothings, why can't they have, or we have a brand the likes of ZARA. Like Korea has beautiful things and has a lot of charms and potential, and so it was for that reason he started thinking about this idea about globalizing Korean fashion, Korean hanbok.

R: So, you say that when you got discharged from the army because you were discharged earlier, you felt a bit bad about it, was it personally? Or was it the other saying things to you, or why did you feel bad about it.

G: [k] You said that you were discharged early. Do you think that that was mostly something you thought mainly personally, or that other people maybe looked down on it [pause] one second [pause] did you experience people saying bad things after seeing the way you had left the military? Why did you feel that embarrassment or negative things?

E: Ah. [pause] Other people didn't really pay it mind, and so, how I came to feel that embarrassment or guilt was because the military obligations is a country's duty and if a war were to break out I should do this honorable thing of safeguarding the nation, but the fact that because of my selfish mind, or my weakness, my weakness, I was unable to finish out the two year period and only did one year, I feel like I couldn't help but feel ashamed as a citizen of this country, and a citizen born in this country.

G: [e] So other didn't really pay much mind to that but the reason that he felt this kind of guilt or maybe embarrassment is that it's kind of the duty of [pause] the duty of

R: It's hard [laugh]

G: It's okay, uhm...

R: It's the duty

G: Yeah sorry, it's the duty to participate in this national defense, and it was because of his own selfishness or weakness he didn't fill that two years that everyone it supposed to—err men I guess—are supposed to give, and so as a citizen or as a person, a Korean person, he couldn't help but feel that kind of embarrassment for not having fulfilled that kind of duty.

R: May I—you don't have to answer if you don't want to—but may I ask what caused the fact that you had to be dismissed?

G: [k] It's a personal question so

E: Yes

G: you don't have to answer

E: Okay

G: could you talk about the reason you were dismissed?

E: Okay

G: you don't have to tell us

E: Okay. Uhm. [pause, lots of humming] I'll think for just a moment.

R: Yeah, yeah.

G: [e] I'll think for a minute.

R: You don't have to be too precise if it's better for you, or...

G: [k] there is no need for you to explain in detail, just broadly...

R: Just feel comfortable

E: Yes

G: [K] comfortably...

E: [long pause] *Japojagi* (despair, give up on oneself)

G: Come again?

E: Giving up on oneself. You could explain it like...you give up on your own.

G: Sorry, what kind of giving up

E: *Pogi* [e] give up

G: [e] Yeah

E: [e] Myself. [k] But [pause] the military obligation is an obligation that our citizens should fulfill and isn't something that I can choose, but is something that I definitely have to do. And the word 'give up' itself could be paradoxical but in cases where because in the military there were many difficult events, and things that didn't suit them, people give up themselves, and there is a way for them to do it laid out by the ministry of national defense—err, in the military side of things, and so for people who give up, like people that no matter what will not be able to do it there is a route, a path for them to leave the military. And so, through that procedure I came to leave the military. Is that enough of an explanation?

G: [e] Uhm, so he like gave up on his own accord, and this duty of national defense is not really a matter of choice but it's a responsibility so it could be a contradiction to say you give that up, but for people that feel that being in this military service is just not going to work for them, It's just too different—err like it's just not going to work for them, there are routes for people to leave that are set forth by the National defense ministry. So, following that procedure is how he left. [pause] and so he said I don't know if this is enough of an explanation, but

R: Yeah yeah yeah yeah. But you know, army is really really hard, so you should not blame yourself too much, I think it is hard for everyone, so yeah, you should not blame yourself too much.

G: Uhm [K] the military

R: [laugh] Personal opinion

G: [K] it's a personal opinion but, the military service is a very difficult thing, so she's saying don't feel too guilty about it.

E: Thank you.

R: Honestly. [pause] So after that you started to think about... So, uhm, wait. So, can I ask you, you were in high school and then you—just to visual—uhm [worried sound]

G: [laugh]

R: Just to visualize, you went to high school and then you directly went to the military? It's just to have an idea of your per course? That process.

G: [k] Mm. Just to... this process, to imagine this process, after you finished high school you went directly to the military?

E: I didn't go directly.

G: [e] Not directly after high school.

R: Did you—can I ask you what you did after high school?

G: [K] Then after high school, what kinds of things were you...

E: I did *jaesu* (retake the *suneung* test to get into college).

G: *Jaesu*... ah! Uhm... [e] Do you know the *suneung*? [you must have shaken you head here] Okay. Hm. *Jaesu*.

E: So, it's like I redid the studying for going to college after I graduated high school.

G: Uhm. [K] I'll explain it to her.

E: Ah okay.

R: [laugh]

G: [e] SO he did *jaesu* which is retaking the *suneung*

R: Oh! It's the entrance exam

E: [e] Yes this this... university

R: Ah yeah.

G: [e] yeah. So, after finishing high school he did that for an extra year.

R: And then you went to the military.

E: [e] Yeah.

R: I see, I see. So did you, were you, what did you do at the time you were preparing to enter university? Did you already have some ideas related to hanbok and things like that? Did you— yeah—

G: [k] When you were preparing to go to university

E: Yes

G: [k] Did you have thoughts about what you wanted to do, or about hanbok from that time—

E: No

G: No? Then what did you want to...

E: [pause] This is another embarrassing past, but before I started having those thoughts, those dreams about hanbok, like while I was in school, even the studying that I was doing after I failed to get into university, was not something I was doing because I wanted to, it was not of my own will, like I didn't really necessarily think 'I want to do something, I should study, I should live a certain way, I should become a certain kind of person, I like something, I have a kind of hobby, I do something well' all these things and more were things I didn't know. I didn't have a direction, and I was in a state where I wasn't giving serious thought to a direction either. So, I wasn't thinking about hanbok at all. I mean, even though I liked clothing I didn't... [pause] Meaninglessly, that's how I lived my life, though it's embarrassing to say. Depressed. Pessimistic. Like, basely. Yeah. [laugh] [e] Sorry

G: [k] no [e] So this is kind of another embarrassing past for him

R: Oh~! [giggles]

G: But before--

R: Hehe, I'm kidding.

G: Uhm, but uhm, before he was ever thinking about hanboks, like when he was in his school days or when he was doing his studying to get into college after the first time failing to get into college. He wasn't doing it by his own volition, and he didn't really have anything that he liked or something that he... he didn't have anything like he could call his own hobby or really something that drove him. He lacked a direction in life kind of, and wasn't even really seriously thinking about what direction to go in. And so, he wasn't really thinking about hanboks at all at that point. He might have had an interest in clothes or something, but it was never, it wasn't

the way it is now. But yeah, at that point he was kind of living meaninglessly, kind of depressed, lowly. That was kind of the time that he spent.

R: I see. [pause] So, coming, going back to the point when you decided to audition, so uhm, how did you take the decision to audition for the last week? Yeah.

G: Uhm

R: Maybe how you decided to audition

G: Ah okay. [K] Uhm, how did you decide to audition...could you explain please

E: Yes. Why I made the decision...

G: [e] like how he made the decision

R: Yeah.

E: [long pause] From two years ago I regained a will to live, and so throughout those two years I was looking for what I'm good at, but as my path when this way and that, I thought that I had musical talent and... I did the audition out of thoughts that, 'To determine if this is true or not I have to be judged,' 'if I can do it I should try'.

G: [e] So he like found a purpose from like two years ago and was in the process of finding something that he did well, and he thought that he had talent in music and so he decided to do auditions to decide if this was true or not, or like, he... he let someone else judge whether or not he had that talent that he thought he had.

E: So, I... And this isn't something you asked, but... wanting to become an artist—lately the lyrics I've been writing mostly have philosophical content. Like, if you look at most lyrics nowadays it's man, woman, break-up, love, that are the main themes, but I want to put more social criticism, philosophical things, things about humanity, things about society, things about politics. And so, I actually really like hip hop, and so I write my lyrics more for rap and so more than making popularized songs I want to write more like kind of songs about social criticism with scary composition, like things that give you goose-bumps, kind of lunatic songs. And more than saying I want to become an Idol, or like something else, I want to [pause] write critical, philosophical, sometimes sad, sometimes hopeful, songs that express these thoughts that belong only to me, and so, in order to do that, I reason I definitely have to do auditions is because I don't have any capital power right now and if you want to write songs you need a keyboard—you need to buy a keyboard, and you need drums, and because right now if you want to get a keyboard and learn how to play it it's good to try being a trainee, or it's good to get [financial] support, like if I were to have talent, and people at these entertainment companies were to look at me and say he's got something about him, they'll support me or they'll give me something, and so I think that's why I decided to do auditions.

G: [e] So. So, this is kind of to respond to the question as well, but... So, the reason he wants to become an artist is because, in his lyrics, when he writes lyrics, he tries to write more philosophically, he writes about social problems or social criticism. If you look at lyrics to most of the songs today, popular songs today, it's about men, women, relationships, breakups, but

he focuses more on social problems and social ills, or criticism of society. And so, he likes hip hop a lot and so he writes his lyrics more towards the rap side of things. And maybe he doesn't want this kind of music to be super popularized, but it's more about writing something that's really going to, not shock people, but make them feel something, make them get goosebumps, make them think. SO, it wasn't ever really about 'I want to become an idol' it was more about expressing these criticisms, this philosophy that he has through his lyrics. And so, the route to doing so is by doing these auditions, he doesn't have a lot of capital, like he said before, he doesn't have instruments and so there's multiple things he would need to be able to really write the music he wants, and so doing these auditions, and if he has this talent and they see it he would be able to get support from these, like, from these companies. So, that's... and like living as a trainee he would be able to get the support he needs, in terms of like, financially. And so those were the reasons why he decided to audition.

R: I see. He mentioned something about keyboards and instruments and...

G: Oh yeah, drums and keyboards and...

R: Yeah. Why did he mention that? Like in which context?

G: Oh

R: Because I could understand this part, but is it related to that he can have access to keyboards and all this

G: Yeah yeah. Like right now he doesn't have the capital but, yeah, keyboards and drums and things, and so those are things he would be able to get through the auditions.

R: Hm. I see. That's interesting. Oh~ [giggle]. So how did you prepare for this audition? Could you tell me a bit more about uhm, because it was your first audition, so could you tell me a bit about how you felt, how you got ready for the audition, and then how it was, how it went?

G: [k] This is...this, you said that the auditions you did this weekend were your first ones

E: Yes

G: So, how did you prepare for these auditions, and in the process of doing the audition what thoughts did you have, if you could talk about this auditioning process in general...

R: Actually, it's a few questions, so you can answer one by one.

G: [k] It's a really...long question so just, tell us what comes to mind as it does

E: Ah yes.

G: [k] The process of preparation, or the thoughts that you had the day of, or about how the process was.

R: By the way, have some biscuits if you want. Would you like? It's like ginger, ginger...

G: Oh okay

R: [giggle]

[eating cookies]

E: I didn't really have a period of specific preparation, and I... I didn't have a specific period of preparation for the audition. If I were to be honest, my concrete preparation is something that I've started from the moment I did my audition. [e] Done

R: [laugh]

G: [e] So, he didn't do any like, like... concrete preparation before the audition, and to be honest, the preparation that he's doing now, it started from the moment that he did the audition.

R: So, did you, how did it, uhm... I'm looking for the words in English. English is also not my mother tongue, so...

G: [K] Her mother tongue is French so sometimes she can't think of the English words

R: Uhm, how it, how did the audition go? And so, what did you learn from it. Take your time.

G: [k] How was the audition, and what did you learn from the audition?

E: I auditioned at both SM and JYP. And among the people who audition for those types of big entertainment companies, the age level of them is quite... young.

G: Sorry?

E: The age level [slightly different word,] the age level

G: Ah yes yes.

E: They're quite young. And I met this girl, and I met her when I went to the SM audition, and also when I went to JYP and so we talked a bit and she said that she was a first semester—her first-year student in middle school. And so, what I saw there, should I say what I learned? Is that I wouldn't say that I'm too late for this, but I think that kids prepare for this starting very early on. And I felt how huge, just huge K-pop was in our country. And young kids—that seems like the K-pop culture has really captivated the hearts of young kids and is giving them a dream. Even though I'm not really sure if that's the right dream that they're planting in them. [pause] Is this enough of an answer?

G: [k] Ah yes, I'll translate

R: Haha

G: [e] So he did auditions at SM and JYP. And looking at the other people that were audition at these big companies, the age level is like quite low, people are quite young.

R: Yeah, I was shocked too.

G: There was a girl that he met and started talking to because the girl was also at both the auditions, and she was in her first semester of her first year of middle school. So—

R: [laugh]

G: So, what he guesses he could call what he learned is that he doesn't think that he's too late for this too late or anything, but just that everyone else preparing really early. And he also felt that K-pop is just such a large, like, following, err not following. Like the influence that it has is just so grand. And that the culture of K-pop is really captivating this younger generation and it's giving them dream, kind of, but he's not sure if this is really the right dream to have, but it gives them dreams, and then he was like, I don't know if this is enough of a response to the question.

R: What do you think about, you said that K-pop is giving this person a kind of a dream, what do you think, which dream do you think they are giving them.

G: [k] You said that K-pop is

E: Yes

G: planting a dream in these young, err, adolescent people,

E: Yes

G: What dream is that? And what do you think of it? Could you explain a bit more?

E: Ah that is something I want to ask the kids myself. I'm not really sure. Is it a desire to be in the spotlight, or... why is it that the culture of K-pop is able to plant a dream in so many kids, I'm not sure—I saw a movie and when they asked an elementary school classroom what they wanted to become, when they asked them to raise their hands if they wanted to become a celebrity or an actor, a lot of the kids raised their hands. And this media, these big forms of mass media like tv are influencing young kids, and planting dreams in them, but now I think K-pop is doing that on its own. And so, as counterevidence[?], to prove this a lot of kids, young kids, come to audition at SM and JYP, and even transnationally—they come from foreign countries. [laugh]

G: [e] He's like that's kind of what I wanted to ask the people, ask the kids there. He's not exactly sure what that dream is. Whether it's a desire for the spotlight or... [k] a desire for the spotlight or K-pop's... uhm [e] or... I will get it to you in the transcription for this.

R: Yep.

G: Whether it's a desire for the spotlight or just the deep influence of K-pop culture. He saw a movie in which they ask a classroom of elementary students uhm what their dream was and the answers that they got were an actress or a singer and things like that, uhm, and so TV and popular, mass media has this influence and has this effect on people that watch it, and K-pop is doing the same kind of thing. And so, as proof for that he saw that young people coming to these SM and JYP auditions and not even just young Korean people, but people from all across the world. Uhm, he saw people coming from all across the world for these auditions as well.

R: Hm. True. Uhm, when you went to the audition itself, how did it go? Could you tell me a bit about the process?

G: [k] When you did the audition. Could you explain what kind of process it was?

E: What kind of process...?

G: yes, so you go and [e] like...

R: Yeah for example, uhm, what they ask you, so you have to wait, then you are called, so yeah just how it works

G: [k] Just the entire process, like what kind of process it was. Like you when you go they give you a sticker, and you wait, and when you audition what kind of things to the judges? ask you, those kinds of things. Could you explain that kind of process.

R: Because I couldn't see it

G: [k] Because she couldn't see it directly

E: That was [laughs]

R: You were probably stressed [laugh]

E: It was a really nerve-wracking situation. And so, I... it was really uncomfortable, and like, and maybe I'm just sensitive to those kinds of things but pressure, there's definitely that kind of feeling there. But it was worse at SM than JYP, and I'm not sure if I should say this but, the judges, aren't...there. They don't judge. Like the judges are there, but they don't judge you. But this...Something I'm worried about is like when you write this I'm not sure if this is something I should be telling you, but do you think it'll be okay if I tell you?

G: [K] Of course.

E: It's okay?

G: [k] This is all going to be anonymous, so don't worry about it.

E: ah ah

G: [e] He was like I'm not sure if I can say these things or if it's okay, so I told him it's all anonymous

R: Oh yeah yeah yeah yeah don't worry

E: [weakly] okay. The reason that I don't really think that there were judges there at both of these places was because, they put about 6 to 7 people up in front and, [starts constructing a model with the biscuits on the table] they're sitting here, there's 2 people or 3 people, and they put a camera on top of the table

R: Do you want to [gives paper]

E: [e] Uh it's...it's...

R: It's okay?

E: [k] there's one, two, three people standing here like this. And so, what feels really heavy about this process is, it's possible that because there are so many people that this is happening, and this is their job, and the people who are really good get through this, because they are

able to show them their talent/*kki*. And so, they order you. Like you don't know what's going on, after a very brief explanation at the beginning, you do it. Like right away. Like without a self-introduction or anything, just right away. "Show me your talent/*kki*" and if you're acting you act—if you applied with acting you'll act, and if you did singing you sing, and if dancing you dance. They tell you to do these things like this, and then for the most part it's singing. 30 seconds, for one person they sing for 30 seconds and then step back and then right away the next person does it and then steps back, and then they go and then they step back, and then they go, and they step back. And during this process the judges don't say anything. They just record it in their camera. Yeah. That's exactly it. Both places were the same. But for me, when I went to JYP my mind/heart was more comfortable, personally speaking, and it seems like the space that we waited in was nicely laid out and everything, and so I think JYP thinks about us a lot more than SM. From a personal perspective. And so because there are so many people during this process of judging, the judges will... like people whose talent/*kki* is weak, or like, it seems like if there's someone that's super prepared like really they clearly are good at what they are doing, they are able to break through this situation, and in this pressure filled setting they are able to [spread?]. Like no matter how talented you are, in this setting if you don't have that confidence, it's very possible that you [???] and aren't able to display your own abilities. And so, because of that, from my personal perspective, it's nerve-wracking and kind of makes you feel uneasy, because it's really an audition. [laugh]

G: [e] So it's kind of like a nervous, it's a very anxiety inducing—

R: yeah, yeahhhh

G: --situation, it's like very uncomfortable, and it feels like a lot of pressure. Uhm. And it's like, the judges aren't even there, they're there, but they don't actually judge you there. So, they'll sit here, maybe two or three judges, and they'll have a camera pointed at people, and maybe 6 or 7 people come in to audition at a time

R: Yep

G: In the room, and they'll stand them up and like, without even doing any self-introduction or anything they'll be like, 'alright. You do your thing, you do your thing, you do your thing' if you came here to dance, dance, if you came here to act, you like act for them. And they have like 30 seconds to do that. Uhm. And for the most part it's people doing singing, so they'll sing for like 30 seconds. And the judges do not say anything, besides that. They'll just sit there quietly and it's just like all captured by the camera basically. So personally speaking, uhm, err this is how it was set up at both places. But personally speaking, JYP was a little more comfortable, and it seems like they kind of put some thought into this whole process for the people that are auditioning, from the spaces they have wait in, to that, even though it's like the same. But really, through this process, it's like even if you have talent, you have to have certainty or confidence in order to break through this and to go on. No matter how much talent you have, it takes more than that. So, it's a very nerve-wracking process and it's very uncomfortable, because it's an audition, so... [k] was that about it? Oh no, sorry

E: The feeling that JYP was more comfortable...this is something I just thought about, but it could have been because it was my second one. Yeah it could have been that. At JYP it was a

little less uncomfortable, but it could have been because it was my second one. And, [pause] better than what I'm telling you---Master's, Master's thesis is what you're righting right?

G: Yes

E: Something that I want to recommend is that you try participating in a JYP audition. Because you can do it. I think it'd be good for you to see this scene for yourself. And you can. JYP doesn't have any restrictions on gender, nationality, or age...Is it JYP or SM? So, what do you think about going there for yourself. I think it would be helpful for your master's thesis, entering into that scene. [laugh]

G: [e] So something that I thought of why, like a reason why JYP might have been more comfortable, it could have been in part because it was his second audition. But they did have a more comfortable environment set up for the audition, but there's also the fact that it was his second. And, just something that came to mind was, you're writing your master's thesis, and so something that might be really helpful for you would be actually doing an audition, or like going to an audition yourself.

R: Hahahah

E: [e] Yeah

G: It's like they don't have limitations on race or gender or ethnicity—

E: [e] It's possible.

R: I'm too old, probably. I'm 27.

E: [e] That's okay.

R: I don't know, it's too stressing me.

E: [e] but these thing is [k] but I think it will help with the master's thesis that you're writing. And it's possible. Just do something—acting, lyric, composing, model, singing—do the one that you are most confident in. But that, that experience, I think will help a lot with her writing her university thesis. I think it will give her more inspiration, trying that.

R: Haha, I feel like I'm being enrolled.

G: Haha. IT's possible. You can go from modeling, singing, acting, you'll pick out whichever you're most comfortable with and just go in it could be really helpful to you.

R: But that's true. It could be a very clever idea if I want to see how it is.

G: Yeah.

R: Wow that's giving a lot of me to the...

G: Hahah

E: [k] Or in another method could be, you can go in and come out in the middle, you go in and don't do that [audition in front of judges]. Just observe your surroundings as you wait and when you're called just go ah [e] I'm give up [k] and leave.

G: [laugh]

E: Cause it's okay if you leave. It's personally something that I want to recommend, going yourself. I'll look for it.

G: [e] Uhm so another way to do it is you go there, you get your number, and you wait, but when they call you you're just like 'oh I give up' and just walk away--

R: Ahahah

G: But you can still look at your surroundings and—

R: So, I don't have to sing?

G: Yeah

R: Yeah, whatever.

G: He's going to look up the things so

R: Gosh, just thinking about it makes me stressed.

G: [k] just thinking about it makes her stressed. Me too.

R: Yeah yeah yeah. That could be... I will think about it. Maybe next week SM entertainment, hahahaha.

E: It was sooo, so... I was so nervous because it was my first time, but when I went there was that middle school first year girl, and she must have had a lot of experience doing auditions, and so she said she was comfortable. But, I want to recommend it really, trying it yourself. It'll be an [e] awesome [k] experience. I recommend.

G: [e] He recommends it. It will be a very awesome experience. Your first time it's really nerve-wracking, but the little first year of middle school people have done it so many times that they're like, 'oh yeah, this is fine' hahah but the first time you do it, it's very nerve-wracking.

R: I'll see. Okay. Well. [laugh]. So uhm, you say that it was the first time. Then after doing the interview, you actually thought about how to prepare for the next time. So, what did you learn from this audition?

G: [e] One second, I'm trying to remember where he said it.

R: That's fine.

G: Uhm. [k] You said before that you didn't do any specific planning before you auditions, and that you came to... you started to prepare from the moment that you did your audition

E: Yes

G: And so, for that preparation...what did you learn from the audition that you are preparing now? Uhm. One second [e] I'm just trying to think of how to say the words. Like how, what he learned in the audition to inform his next audition?

R: At the next auditions, or...yeah. You could say that.

G: mmkay

R: If he's planning to. But what did he learn about how to get...

G: Okay. [k] Yes so, what did you learn during the audition, whether it's useful information for your next audition or, yes... do you understand what I'm asking?

E: Yes yes. During the waiting process—for both SM and JYP the number I received was in the 100s, the sticker. But during that waiting process I had a lot of thoughts. And as I was thinking a lot [pause] I thought I need to do this right, it was a kind of *tongchal* (insight/epiphany), while I was waiting I was having this insight. I was just sitting quietly thinking then I realized 'oh I need to do it this way', during the waiting time. So, I learned that. And also, that friend I did the auditions with, that middle school girl, she gave me information. 'it's good to apply here and here' and she said 'it's good to apply here and here' so I, in any case, I think more than these open auditions, I'm still writing lyrics now and so I'm going to make a full song, and I'm not sure if I'll be able to compose for it at the moment, but at least write the lyrics and I'll put a beat or a melody to the things I'm singing and I'll bring it to life and I'll shoot a video for it and I, I plan to do an audition where I send in my video through email. Of course, this song, what should I call it, if this song is complete and perfected, then I'll have confidence about it as well and so I'm going to continue going to open auditions. And so, I had the time to think about all these things. That also the kids that I met there [laugh] encouraged me and helped me and let me know information—how these things work and how it, how it does—where, how to apply for auditions. That's what I learned. From the kids that applied at the same time as me.

G: [e] So while he was waiting, like during his auditions, both times he got his number was in the 100s so he had to wait a while, so he had a lot of thoughts, he did like a lot of thinking while he was sitting there waiting, and it was kind of like uhm a kind of a time to reflect and like this, reflect and think about 'oh this is how I have to move forward' or 'this is how I have to go' or like this 'this is how I have to do it.' But also, he said something earlier about he met someone, a girl that had applied to both of those companies also, uhm, that was like a middle schooler, and so she also let him—err gave him some good information. Told him to apply here and here, and to like told him how these things go, and so right now he also thought about, he's going to keep going to these auditions, but like, he's working on, he's writing lyrics right now and he hasn't yet been able to compose the music that goes along with the lyrics yet, but he's going to do it, he's going to bring it to life, and he's going to shoot a video of it and he's going to email it in, like an email audition, cause it's like sending in a completed work of his own will give him more confidence, or like he'll be more confident sending in something he's fully completed, uhm, so through the auditions he was able to have this time to think about like what to do, and so, yeah, the... the friend that he applied---the middle-schooler friend that he applied with at the same time, or err, happened to be there, but, they support each other and gave him information and told him how these things go and told him how to apply and where to go and those are the things he learned during the audition.

R: So which kind of informations did she give you? Like if...yeah..

G: [k] What kind of information did that friend give you, that middle school girl?

E: About the entertainment [industry]. Things besides YG and SM. I asked her, are there other open auditions? Or I asked her where would be good to apply, and she let me know about those things.

R: I'm being attacked by a mosquito, sorry. [laugh]

G: [e] Uhm so like about the, about entertainment industry, so the things, places other than YG SM, he asked about where else to audition and she gave him information about that.

R: So where else?

E: [k] I said *tongchal* (insight) before you know?

G: [k] Yes

E: And honestly, the reason that I used that word was that when I was doing the SM audition, when I was doing it... I of course, wanted to do musical things, and I wanted to become a person who does music, but when I went to do the SM audition, I did this. I applied for the acting portion. And so at the time, at SM for the acting audition they said that you can, alone, without a script, act out something that you created, so I just was imaging it in my head, but when it was my time I was so nervous that I [don't know if I] did well—I think I did well, but maybe I didn't do well, but after doing that audition and then the next day I went to JYP and there I [laugh] applied to do an acting audition [laugh] but as I was waiting to go, idol songs and rap was all playing on the TV and so I kept thinking about songs, and everyone around me kept singing as well, and maybe I just imbibed that environment that I was in, but when I should have done acting, instead I [pause] all of the sudden I'm writing lyrics, while I was sitting there. And so, when it was finally my turn I just ended up doing a freestyle [rap]. Originally, I was supposed to do acting, but all of the sudden this and that happened and so I freestyled. And so, I didn't act—well I guess it was acting, I did act, I wrote lyrics and practiced those lyrics, and during the audition I freestyled. I just did that. And so, I see that as a kind of insight—originally, I applied as acting, but I myself am more musically inclined...Like I found myself? That's why I used that word, insight.

G: [k] One moment, I translated *tongchal* as reflection

E: Ah okay

G: [k] But I want to check if that's correct. [e] he used this word *tongchal* multiple, when he answered this one and so I just want to—

R: Just have a look yeah, sure.

R: Do you have internet?

G: [e] Yeah. Ah, so it's like mm, like

E: What I think about the word *tongchal*, I'm not sure how it comes out there. I also looked it up online, and the metaphor I heard for it psychologically is that... that experiment with dogs...it was a psychology thing, and it was a metaphor for insight. Here's a metal cage [moving things on table] and this is a dog, puppy, [e] dog, D O G [e] this is the dog,

and this is a chunk of meat, something to eat. And this is an iron cage, and the dog wants to eat this, no matter how hard it tries the cage won't open, so it sits there by itself and thinks, it's like sitting there spacing out, and all of the sudden, 'Ah!' and it doesn't go this way but goes around and eats. And so that's how I understand the term and so maybe if you understood it the same...

G: [k] Ah yes.

E: [laugh] [e] Sorry

G: [e] Okay [k] Oh no, don't worry. I'm not sure where to start. Uhm. [e] So he used this word *tongchal* multiple times, and when I looked it up it's like, it's one of those words that doesn't translate like super well, but people use 'insight' a lot.

R: Insider?

G: insight. Or like 'penetrate, see through' and so the way that he thinks about this word is that he think about it metaphorically through a psychological experiment where say there's a dog that's, this was the dog, like a puppy here and these are like a cage or an iron bar here, and there's meat here or like food that he wants to eat here. And the puppy will come up to the cage multiple times because he wants the food, but he can't get through it, so he'll sit there and he'll think and he'll think and at the end he'll realize 'oh!' that he can walk around and get the food. And then that's how he thinks of--

R: This word

G: --this word like insight, and so, uhm, the reason he used this word, uhm. Was that he, though he wants to do music, he is inclined to do music, when he applied to SM, for the audition, he did acting. Because at SM you can do like, something that you've created on your own, like something you've written yourself for acting. And he was very nervous, and he was like, he felt he did okay at the time, but he wasn't sure if he did. But then when he went to JYP the next day he also did, he also applied as like doing acting, for the audition, but as he was waiting he kept hearing idols singing on the tv and the kids, err, people around him were singing too, and he kept hearing these words and hearing this music, and maybe it was because of that he started writing lyrics, and because of that he's like, he goes in for the audition, he supposed to do acting, but he just ended up doing freestyle [rap], with the lyrics he was writing. And so, he's like 'I was supposed to do acting, well I guess it is kind of an act,' he's like 'freestyle [rapping] is still acting,' but that's why he was uhm using that word insight or *tongchal*, is that he was supposed to do acting, but in the end he like did this freestyle [rap] and so it was kind of like kind of an insight about what he was doing.

R: You mean you did acting based on what you had just seen?

G: Uhm, do you want me to explain to you or do you want me to ask...?

R: Translate and then...

G: Okay [k] So, the acting, you didn't act, at JYP?

E: Yeah, at JYP I... Well I can't say I didn't do acting, because among [the types of] acting there are musicals, and the role of acting is... This was just such a fun experience for me personally, but the role you act could be a singer, and like, the role for an actor can be to act as an idol, you know? So, I did act there, I acted but I acted through song. This...the words, they can seem like I'm playing with words but...

G: [k] Yeah [e] Uhm, so I can't say that he didn't act, because an actor can be cast as like a singer. Like there are roles that are for acting, but you're a singer in them. So, he can't say that he didn't act, but he went in and he did freestyle [rap] with the thing, with the lyrics that he wrote before. So, it kind of sounds like a *maljangnan...maljangnan....* Like it's a kind of sounds nonsensical, like a joke with words, but he did act, but he like didn't act.

R: Yeah. I see. Interesting.

G: It was a very entertaining experience for himself as well.

E: Uhhhhmmmm.... Could I use the restroom? A breaktime?

G: [k] Yes

R: We, it's just there on the right.

[pause in recording while we all use restroom at 1:13:45]

R: So where was it? Uhm. I have to remember now. Mm. Oh, what did you, so for the first, with SM entertainment, you just acted? So how does it work, do you just? They... You go, and you start acting? Or they ask you to do some faces? Or how does it work?

G: [k] When you did the audition at SM you said...that you did acting

E: Yes

G: You said that you [did acting]. So, when you did that acting audition, how does it usually go? Do the judges tell you 'act this way' or 'make an expression' or those kinds of things?

E: SM and JYP are the same in that they treat people who apply for acting and singing the same, like there's nothing—there's no script at all, you're just doing free acting without a script, your own act, something that you have prepared is what you're doing for them. So, they don't say make this face or anything, the judges don't interfere at all, they just sit there and just the camera watches. There is no script provided.

G:[e] the same goes for acting as it for singing, and it's the same at both JYP and SM, but you, they don't have a script for you, it's like free acting, so you prepare it and bring your own and the judges like don't tell you 'oh make a face' or like 'make these expressions' or anything, you just do what you prepared.

R: I see. That must be hard.

G: [k] That seems difficult.

E: [k] You have to not have that... If you want to be able to act in that kind of condition you have to not have that...no embarrassment, and you have to completely immerse yourself in the role, and so, in this situation where you don't see anything you have to act. And that's really.... I think that that's really difficult even for actors. There is a famous actor [pause] ah, I can't remember. But anyway, when you act, even in Hollywood, when you shoot something, they provide the environment for you to act in, but because that isn't provided here, I have to be completely absorbed, and block out all other thoughts, and just go into the world within my mind and absorb myself in the role and not think about anything and just look at the camera and have to act. And so, that part is a bit... Like to a little kid it could be overwhelming, but from a personal perspective, those who really can [do that] are able to act well in there. [laugh]

G: [e] So in order to do acting that that kind of circumstances, you have to just not have shame or embarrassment or anything like that. And so, it's difficult for actors too. And he was trying to think of a famous actor for a while, but he couldn't. But in Hollywood when they make movies and stuff, they'll put out, make this whole environment for the actors to act in, and you're interacting with that environment, but like, in like the case of the audition, you have nothing like that around you, you have just yourself. You just have to shut out everything else and just focus on this one thing and you have to act it, and you have to look into the camera and act it. And that could be very difficult to especially kids, but people that can do it well, then they do it well and they'll do it well enough to get through and...

R: Mm? No. So uhm. So, based on this first two auditions, how would you prepare the next auditions, if you are planning to have other auditions?

G: Uhm [k] did you understand? Ah, I'll explain, uhm. So, [pause] [e] sorry, so based on these two auditions,

R: how do you plan, like how different would you prepare for the next times?

G: Mm.

R: Or similar?

G: Yeah

R: I think you got it.

G: [k] So you did two auditions already, and so, and in the future you'll, err, you will most likely audition more, and so through these two auditions [pause] uhm I'm sorry...

E: No.

G: [e] I'm like trying so hard to remember this word.

R: Which one?

G: like 'based on'

R: That's okay, uhm, know that you have these two experiences of these two previous interviews, how do you know, think it will work on the next ones, maybe you can

G: [k] So, how you'll prepare for upcoming auditions, like prepare similarly, or what you have to do differently...

E: I'm going to make a complete song. I think I told you before already, but I'm going to complete a song, and make a few of my own songs, a with the songs that I wrote [the lyrics for] open audition, like SM and JYP—like because in any case, I'm a 24 year old that's auditioning, and these big entertainment companies most likely have limits on age at 24 so I'm at the last line, and so, I have to actively go to a lot of audition, and just as much I have to be quick to write, compose a song and write the lyrics and make a song, and so I make—if I perfect that and it gets made, well I could not make it perfectly, but if I bring the composition to life and shoot a video, and shoot a video, and those, SM and JYP those were weekend open auditions, and email, and my profile--online, because you can do online auditions, so in that way...I intend to prepare, and spend my time, and go. [laugh]

G: [e] Uhm, so like he said before, he wants to like to complete a song, complete a song on his own, write it, get it all prepared, and take that into auditions. And so, he's auditioning as a 24-year-old and in these big kinds of companies, this, that age alone is kind of higher. So he learned that he has be active in looking for these auditions, and he has to write and perfect his song, just as much, and it might not be perfect but has to—he's going to bring it to life, shoot a video for it, and of course he's still going to go do the open auditions, but like, do online auditions through email, like write a profile and stuff, and send that video he made of his song that he has written and finished.

R: Hmm. Mhm.

E: Why, I mean... In a sense... [pause, sharp inhale]. This is...just a personal... it's okay if I ask a personal question?

G: [e] like [k] You want to ask us a personal question?

E: yes yes

G: [e] He wants to ask a personal question to us.

R: Yeah sure!

G: [k] Of course.

E: haha

R: We're asking you many questions so that's just fair

E: Auditioning... ah... [pause] I'm going to keep doing auditions but I'm thinking about making a personal youtube channel for myself...and so, I want to know [your thoughts]. Like because I've been thinking about, trying to do that on my own, independently. [pause] Sorry, this is... No, cancel this. Cancel it please

R: no no no! Feel free.

G: [k] I'm my duty to do this hahah

R: You can say it and cancel it if you want

G: [e] Yeah, I said it's my duty haha. He's thinking about making his own YouTube channel—

R: Sorry, say it again?

G: Making a YouTube channel for himself

R: Yes, mm

G: Where he puts up his own [lots of background noise]

R: Yes.

G: So, like, what do you think of that? But then he was like nevermind, cancel. Haha.

R: What I will think if he does a YouTube channel?

G: Yeah, like what do you think of the idea of setting up a YouTube channel.

R: Uhm, totally personal opinion like this. I think uhm, I think it could be good for you, because what I heard from the previous interviews I had is that sometimes the entertainment companies, they do not only look for uhm, people that come during auditions, but they also look on the internet for people that already have some kind of recognition, so you could be picked up if you get some good recognition on YouTube, because I know that they look into the, uhm, internet and things like that. Yeah. I think this is [talked about?] during the first interviews too.

G: yeah.

E: [e] yeah

G: [k] This is a personal opinion, but, uhm, something that I learned in the interviews that I have done before this one, that, the people that work at entertainment companies, they aren't only finding people, people to recruit through auditions, but through YouTube or other channels... If there is someone one who is somewhat...pop—popu-- -has popularity, I heard that they will sometimes hire them as well. So, starting a YouTube channel as well will is not a bad idea.

E: [e] Yeah.

R: Special tip.

E: [e] good, thanks.

R: yeah yeah yeah. I think.

E: [k] But, what I'm worried about. My image and... like, I'm going to become a different person. When I write and sing a song, I'll be like, I'll look like a crazy person, so...those kinds of things [clicks tongue]...But in any case, the subjects of my songs, the subjects of the

songs that I'll write will in any case be like these like like...because I write things like philosophically and social criticism, I like, like it will, like people could get the feeling that a crazy kind of person is singing, and so it's kind of a thing that I'm worried about myself. But I'm trying to be worried about it so that's why I ask, so I think I have a mentality that tries to get encouragement, so I think that's why I asked. But... hahah. [e] sorry.

G: [e] So he's kind of worried about his image, because it'll, like in his songs, he said, because he's focusing on these kinds of philosophical or social criticisms, it could kind of seem like a crazy person singing, is what he—his words—

E: [laugh]

G: And so, people might think 'oh that's a crazy person singing' so he's kind of worried about that, and so it's like, uhm, trying to, the reason he asked the question is that he is worried about that and he's trying to get some kind of support or encouragement

R: Hahah

G: to like overcome that kind of worry

R: I see, well first of all, I'm not any, I'm not working for any entertainment company, so it's just my personal opinion as a person, not as someone that has a lot of experience, because this is not my case, but uhm, strictly as a person, I think uhm, yeah maybe you should decide what you want to do in your YouTube channel, if you want to sing, or what you want to do precisely, could be many different things. And also, because you say that you like rap music, but because usually, rap is related to talking social problems and y'know things like that, so I think it will not be seen as something weird, because it's kind of part of rap to usually talk about social criticisms. Yeah.

G: [k] So opinion...uhm, I'm not someone who even works at an entertainment company, err I'm not someone that works there, but I'm not an expert on entertainment, but if I speak personally...Uhm. When you start your YouTube channel it'd be good to decide what you're doing then starting. And, you said before that you like rap, but the music of rap itself is a music that deals with social problems, so if you do that kind of philosophical or social criticisms, if you rap about those kinds of topics, I don't think that you will look that strange.

E: [e] Thanks a lot

R: You're welcome, but it's just my personal opinion.

E: [e] Okay.

R: Yeah.

E: [e] Yeah.

R: Do you have another question?

G: [k] Is there anything else you wanted to ask?

E: [e] uhm, no no no, just

R: Haha, it's okay? Okay if you have any other that's good.

G: [k] If you have any more just ask comfortably.

R: Uhm, so, uhm, how do you, uhm, like what are you, kind of future expectations from now? Like how do you, what would you like to do? Or how do you perceive your future?

G: [k] Uhm, then, what expectations do you have about the future, or like what do you want to do, and how do you perceive your future? Could you talk a bit about those kinds of things please?

E: Mmmm... This is something that could be a problem, or you could call it a pro as well, but in any case, this mind that I was born with, it likes to think idealistically. And so, when I think about something, I generally have this mind to want to do it big. And so, what's difficult about having this mind, is that the gap, the difference between ideals and reality is extremely big, so I have this tendency to push myself. And because I think if I work hard enough in reality I will be able to achieve these ideals, if I were to tell you this will all that said—that if there is an extraordinary effort you can realize an extraordinary ideal—if I start with that, then, [pause] I'm not sure if this is *yokshim* (greed/overly ambitious), I have this *yokshim* about hanbok as well, I want to become a proper figure (*inmul*: prominent person), this is—myself—you know artists and those types of people are people that express their minds, and so, there are people who express what they think, the things they think about through pictures, and there are people who do it through language, and there are people who do it through acting, or like, some sort of creation, whether they create clothes, or do something, they express, that's what I think the career of an artist is, and so, among those people I want to become someone who deals with language, and even within [this type of expression through language] I want to be someone who takes language and plays with it, plays with beats, or mash together this language and mix it up and research it, and make a song, and within the field of songs itself, I want to be [?] the culture born from [??], singer born in the culture of hip hop, and so I want to become an artist. I want to become that kind of person. Like if I were to come out with a song, or to make a song, when the public sees it, or when citizens see it, or when someone in the world sees me [I want them to say] 'oh this person put out a song that deals with social issues' I want to become a person that is able to make it so people, everyone can easily see this social problem and think about it. So, this, once I become this, if I just focus and do this passionately, and flesh out my own world, after I make that [pause] I want to get influence, and through that influence, I kind of want to use that influence. By means of that influence I want to propagate hanbok. And so, if I were to become an artist, to become a person with influence, with that power to influence [pause] I'd promote hanbok.

G: [e] So this could be both [k] Oh did have more?

E: No no

G: [e] Uhm, so this could be both good and bad, but I'm someone, he's someone that things very ideally, or thinks in ideals, and when he wants to do something he wants to do it big, uhm, and so he's working in, there's a gap between reality and this ideal, but he's working in reality to be able to uhm, like realize the ideals that he wants. Uhm. And so, it's kind of like a, *yokshim*, not greed, but

R: Ambition?

G: Yeah kind of like an ambition, but it's like a large ambition, like about hanboks. He wants to be like a big, like a figure. Like he sees artists as someone that's able to express their mind, their spirit, and so artists—or like whether they're musicians or like fine artists—

R: Can I interrupt you—

E: [e] keep going

R: -- for a second—is it okay?

E: [e] Okay, sorry. [laugh]

R: You can finish and then he will add something.

G: Oh okay...

E: [e] Sorry sorry sorry

R: [giggle]

G: it's fine, uhm, so artists are people that take language or like use like pictures or like drawing or like acting or like other kinds of creations to be able to express themselves, and so he wants to take language--of those kind of artists he wants to become and artists that uses language to express his mind, but not only just use language but play with language kind of. He wants to mix it and reverse it and play with it to be able to create something. And so, that's why he's like thinking in the lines of like hip—or like becoming like a hip-hop artist or singer, because of that. Uhm. So that when people listen to like a song that he made, like a song that he has created, whether they're like people around the nation or people around the world, it'll be an experience where he's able, uhm, his music will be able to make people think about the social problems or the social criticisms that he's bringing up in them, in his songs. So uhm, he wants to be able to become a person that has, like wields influence like, he wants to get influence and be able to use it, and one of the uses obviously is the promotion of hanboks and stuff across the world. Uhm. Yes. I think...

E: An artist wearing a hanbok

G: [k] An artist wearing a hanbok?

E: Mm.

G: [e] An artist wearing hanbok.

E: If I were to put it succinctly.

G: Yeah.

E: [e] My future is [k] an artist that wears hanbok, a singer that wears hanbok, a rapper that wears hanbok.

G: [k] a rapper that wears hanbok.

E: Mm.

G: [e] Uhm, so to kind of condense, an artist that wears a hanbok, a singer that wears a hanbok, he wants to become a rapper than wears a hanbok.

R: Mm, cool!

G: that's like how he condensed it.

E: [e] Yeah, this is my dream.

R: I have a few questions, so uhm, how would you, so what would you like express through the wear of hanbok

E: [e] yeah...express?

G: [k] Uhm, what do want to express by wearing hanbok?

E: Mmm. This is... The restoration of a collapsed identity.

G: [k] One moment...collap—se—d...

E: The restoration of a collapsed identity. Like if I were to express this, [sigh] like from a personal perspective I am a Korean person, and I am a person of our country—a person of the Republic of Korea, and following the Japanese colonial period, I think that we have lost far too much of our culture, mind/heart, essence. And so, our the necessities of life—[e]I'm sorry

R: Mmhm?

E: [k] What was the question again?

G: [k] What you want to express by wearing hanbok.

E: Ah ah, so... I'd become a person that proves this kind of thing: Our [nation's] things are aesthetic and beautiful, we can contend with our things, and we can do well with our things. So, without following/imitating anything else, we can survive and thrive in the world with our things. And so, I want to prove that through our culture, we can have achieve a [creative economy?]. How? By becoming an influential person. But in order to become an influential person I chose the career of singer, and also I...chose the career of singer, yes. [laugh] So, this is something that I have resolved for myself, but I quite need the English ability, the reason being that in order to prove what I've said, I have to have a global influence. Like, people of diverse races—because recently it's possible because of the internet, because only if people of diverse races get the feeling that [I] have a good vibe, will the citizens of our country see me as an example and see

me, and say 'Oh, even if you rap and wear a hanbok you can receive this kind of love/attention [from abroad]'. It's being able to improve this consciousness, about clothing. And if it becomes that way, there actually are quite a few people who are engaged in [the business of] hanbok, but right now because it's a recession—recession, like they're living very poorly in terms of money, but that could vitalize them as well, and our like, potential things related to hanboks could become amplified as well. And so if it becomes that way, if were to go further into the future, this is all I want [when I say] the globalization of hanbok: like I walk into ZARA and there's a hanbok hanging there, and a button down shirt hanging there, and dresses, and blouses, and there's everything, and you just go there and pick freely, that I [snaps fingers] can pick hanbok, and if I want to wear a hanbok I can wear one, or if I want to buy a sleeveless shirt I can buy it. Like I'm not saying 'wear hanboks' [like an order] but just that we have our own thing as well, I want to insert a theme that currently doesn't exist in fashion right now, within the closet. I want to put another choice into the global closet. And the choice is a hanbok. Uhm.

G: [e] Okay,

R: I check if it's really recording because I wanted to—

R: oh yeah, uhm. Okay. So, uhm. He wants to restore like a fallen identity, or like a toppled identity, by wearing hanbok. Personally, speaking as a Korean person, after Japanese imperialism, uhm, [pause] one second let me. Oh, after Japanese imperialism there was sort of like a fall of like Korean culture or like, whether it's literature or things like that... Sorry, it's so long ago now.

R: That's ok

G: Uhm.

R: But I get the idea and then I will have the record.

G: But I want to prove to the world that Korea also has like aesthetic things, it has beautiful things, and that's the reason that I want to become a singer, that to become proof of that. TO be a person with influence and that's why I chose singer. Uhm. And so this is another reason why I need to improve my English skills as well is because I need to be able to speak with people from across the world, and be able to—in order to be a person with influence I need to be able to speak with people from across the world and show them I am a person that is wearing a hanbok that can be a rapper as well, and a singer. And there are many people that are creating hanboks right now, still. But they're kind of in a recession right now—like it's not great economically so I want to be able to help those people out too. And like by wearing a hanbok as a singer, kind of, explore that potential of hanboks. And so, what I want with the globalization of hanboks is that if you go into a ZARA, it's like you'll see blouses, you see white-shirts, or like yeah, you see all these clothes, but among that you see the hanbok there as well. So, like in this world closet, or like this global closet, I want to introduce this Korean thing, this theme through the hanbok.

E: [e] It's possible thing.

R: Possible?

E: [e] It's possible thing, this thing is possible. Absolutely possible, because. [k] Not only me but many other people have this thought, this dream. So, I really think that this is a possible thing. And I said that I've had this dream for 2 years, and during those two years I did two things, both of which failed. One was, I was going to earn/save a lot of money and become an entrepreneur and use this capital to employ these designers related to...or...involved with hanbok and make a brand, but this failed. And the other year I was planning to start something small and make hanboks myself. Like become a designer myself. But in fact, making a hanbok is an extremely, extremely difficult thing to do. I learned it a bit. And it was so difficult, and should I say I entered the forest [?] of becoming a hanbok designer? But even though all these things failed, I couldn't give up on hanbok. And so that's now, and so while I was thinking about what it is I could do, I thought I should find my talent and that's how I got to where I now. And so, the place I am at and the path that I've walked...yes, that's how I want to express is. Becoming a hanbok-wearing rapper.

G: [e] Uhm, so it's not only me but a lot of other people that have this dream, that are thinking this way, and that's why I think it's definitely possible to accomplish. And I said that I'd been preparing for two years now and during those two years I did two things that both failed, in order to like realize this dream. The first was to earn a lot of money, to become a business man, and to use my capital to make, like, hanboks, and employ designers and make hanboks that way, but that didn't end up working out. And then the second one was to make hanboks myself. But that turns out to be a very difficult thing to do and so it was difficult, so it didn't work out as well. And so even though I had those two failures, or those things both failed or like those routes that I chose failed, this like uhm, feeling about hanboks never went away and I still have it. SO that's how I got to be on the path I am now, like while I'm searching for something that I can do well. And that will help me achieve this goal. And so, this is how I want to express myself now, I want to become a rapper that wears hanboks.

R: Uhm, you said that you tried to become a businessman and also to make hanboks yourself. Could you tell me a bit more about these two experiences?

[5 Mms multiple times]

G: [k] Did you understand...?

E: Could you do it please, in any case?

G: [k] Ah yeah, you said that you said you wanted to become a businessman and that you wanted to make hanbok yourself, could you talk a bit more about these two experiences?

E: Ah. Experiences. Only... [unintelligible] ... In the time of only two years [pause] The wanting to become an entrepreneur was, one thing that is right now a popular, or was a popular

thing for people who want to start their own business, and so a lot of people are trying to do, is a [online] shopping mall. Like and internet shopping mall. It's something that a ton of young people try and fail at and so I---before I talk about this, Korean people have tooooo much interest in fashion. Anyway. It's a plus for the nation, our country's aesthetic—our people have quite a sense for aesthetic and esthetic, I don't know, I think that our nation's people have an innately high sense of aesthetic. Inherently. This is [??] story. And so, in order to make a shopping mall for men, I worked for a few months at a company related to women's online shopping malls and then I left it and then I started with all the money that I had earned, but when it came to being in charge of everything, since I could only do retail, not wholesale, it's something that I hadn't expected to do but I was the model, I did the modelling, I had to do the modelling and I had to make the internet site and do that, and I had to, since I was doing retail, I had to choose what to sell, and then I had to take pictures of it. And it was a situation where I had to go through everything by myself, but I read one or two books and I found a cameraman among people that I know and did it that way. But there was kind a lot of trouble and some fighting with the cameraman, and the relationship kind of fell apart, and in the end [sigh] it failed. This is really. It's a funny—the domain name that I made for it was 'ficshion'

G: Fiction?

E: Mm ficshion, F I C S H I O N, like a combination of fiction and fashion. And so, I still have that domain, but I didn't even touch it. I just had the domain, but I didn't get to design it or anything so it's unfortunate, but someday I will design it and use it, as my own homepage (personal website?). Because ficshion, the combination of fiction and fashion itself I was kind of proud of myself for and I have some writing in which I kind of unravel the definition. And yeah. Ah, and so it's unfortunate about failing, is what I was saying, and then next, I was like 'man, I failed' and was thinking about what to do next, but because I didn't give up on hanbok, what I did was...hm... well there were a lot of things that happened. Like I have my own hardships in live, like financially, because can't always [depend on] my parents, and so I need to earn money...so I worked at H&M, I worked there. And entered into a department of Korean attire, I entered a place where you learn that and so I learned about Korean clothing and I learned how to make hanbok, and so I was doing both of these things. And so, what made me decide to become a hanbok designer was that I also, thought it was a good ideal. [pause] But personally this is how I think [pause] I wanted to become a hanbok designer so much, but it was too difficult for me. And so [pause] mmm... In the end, this, this being a hanbok designer was, to me at least too difficult a thing, and because I was like maybe this isn't right for me, so I came to quit. But, one thing I think of a process as well is that I may have my own shortcomings, but if this—singing, writing lyrics, composing, rapping, these things I consider myself as having a talent for, but it's just something that only I think of me as being talented at then it's just for my satisfaction, but what I need to do right now is, like everything I've talked about up to this point with hanboks and also because nurturing my talents is in order for me to be able to live well, I have a kind of also...goal, that when I write songs and when I rap the

people around me will acknowledge me and also I need to go...I went on too long, didn't I, [e] sorry.

R: [giggle]

E: [e] I'm so sorry. [pause] [k] I keep worrying that I'm not the right kind of figure for this interview.

G: [e] He's worried that he's not the right kind of person for the—

R: No no, that's super super interesting.

E: [e] Ah thanks. I'm sorry. Uh... restroom...

R: Oh yeah yeah yeah yeah, sure.

G: [e] Okay.

R: So, tell me.

G: [e] I'll do my best...

R: Because there are so many information

G: yeah. So, in those two years he tried to become a business person, tried to start his own business. And so, in Korea something that a lot of young people do, and because so many people do it, a lot of people fail, is to start an internet shopping mall. So, Korean people—he kind of went on a tangent here where he's like Korean people are very good, have like a good fashion sense, and that people are very into fashion here, and then he was like Korean people have a good aesthetic sense...like

R: [giggle]

G: Like a predetermined like, aesthetic sense, but, so in order to start this online shopping mall for men he worked for a few months at a place that ran a women's online shopping mall and took the money that he earned from there and then tried to make it into this men's shopping mall, but as he was doing that he had to do like basically everything alone. He was a model, he had to make the site he had to like choose the inventory, like so that it fit with his style and everything. And he had a friend, or knew people, that he had come and like take pictures for it, but he had to do basically everything by himself, and that was part of the reason why it failed, uhm, but his domain name for that was fichsion, F I C S H I O N, so a mixture of fiction and fashion, and even now he hasn't really put together the sit, but he was like proud of coming up with that and wants to be able to use that as his own personal site. But after that didn't work out he felt for a while, like 'oh I failed' and 'what should I do now, what would be best going forward?' and he had his own like, financially he has to earn money for himself to he can't just rely on his parents and so he started working at h&m and while he was there, I think he said he learned about Korean clothing and how to make hanbok, but I want to clarify that because I might have heard him wrong there, but I'll ask him after I, uhm

R: Yeah sure.

G: And, so he uhm, started doing like design and stuff for hanbok, and becoming a designer of hanboks is another good ideal, but just like personally, it was just too difficult for him, for himself to do it, so that's why he was, that was also unsuccessful. I need to ask him about that thing. [k] So while you worked at H&M did you [say something about] Korean clothing...was that not? Oh, one second, uhm, I think I misheard you say something, which is why I ask, so while you were working at H&M did you learn about Korean clothing and how to make hanbok...?

E: Yes, I learned that. There is an institute.

G: Ahh, an institute, ahh, go on

E: That institute's name is [pause] it was at a technical college? I did an interview there and I got in and then I went into the Korean clothing department.

G: [e] Okay. Uhm, so yes, he did learn, there was like an institution. He interviewed at like a technical college, or like a technical school? And he interviewed there, and he got in and he was in the Korean clothing department there. And that's where he learned about Korean clothing and the making of hanboks.

R: Hm. So...

E: [e] Yeah

R: Do you want---? Just to have an idea of, a broader idea in my mind, so during this time, are you living with your parents or are you living on your own?

G: [k] So this [e] Err by 'this time' do you mean the period he was just speaking about?

R: Yeah that time, yeah yeah yeah.

G: [k] So you told us about that two-year period, and during that time, were you by chance living with your parents during that time, or separately? Just, like, uhm

E: I lived with them—I'm living with them now, [??] I became independent, but then I came back. So, I'm living with them now. And I lived with them while doing that. Hm.

G: [e] Uhm, yeah, he lived with them at the time, but he, err like he left for a little while and now he's living with them again. But yeah, he spent a lot of those two years with them.

R: May I ask you which kind of, what do they do for a living?

G: [k] Would it be okay if I ask what kind of work your parents do?

E: My mother does not have a career. My father runs his own business. Owns his own business.

G: [e] SO his mother doesn't have a profession, but his father owns his own business.

R: Can I ask about the type of business?

G: [k] What kind of business is it...?

E: To explain, uhm, [pause]. It's related to timer [e] timer.

R: Ah for the light?

E: Light? [k] like uh...

R: For the plugs?

G: [e] I'm not sure

E: [k] One moment. [pause]

R: oh yeah. [pause] On my butt is painful.

G: Oh no

R: I think it's too soft, here it's harder it's better.

[Grace eats cookie]

R: oh, can I ask you [for] one, it's so far away. Thank you.

E: uhm. Ah bell. Bell. Ding-dong. And outlet timer.

G: [e] Yeah so like plug timers.

R: Mmm? He made his own business?

G: [k] And that's how he runs his own business?

E: [e] Yes, it's online site. Make the online site.

R: Mm, do you have siblings?

E: [e] Sorry?

R: Brother and sister?

G: [k] Do you have brothers or sisters?

E: [k] I have a sister [e] sister

R: Mm. Older?

E: [e] older.

R: What does she—I'm asking you like family questions now sorry

E: [e] that's fine.

G: [k] It's just uhm, background information that she's asking... What kind of work does your sister do?

E: Uhm... [pause] I'm not exactly sure. Coupang? She said recently that she is working at Coupang. And so, I think she's been working there for like 3 or 4 months if my memory is correct.

G: [e] not like entirely sure, but he heard that she's working at Coupang, the online site, and she's been working there for three or four months now.

R: Hmm, and she doesn't live with your parents anymore?

G: [k] Does your sister live together with you and your parents?

E: She lives with them [e] together. [pause] Yeah.

G: [e] Yeah. Haha.

R: Is there is something you would like to add?

E: What I need right now is independence. It's another one of my goals. Even though I'm 24 years old, for two years I kept coming back without succeeding at it, independence. I think a lot about it—more than saying I'm tormented by it—I think about it a lot. Like I need to do the things that I want to do, and like doing the auditions I have my own dream and my own dream, and I need to realize them, and then on the other hand, there are the problems of not being understood completely by my family, and so clearly, like -- put it all aside, and become independent – in order to grow myself I need to live by myself for a lot of things, but about living together with my family still—like it's not just about capital things [tsk] or like there are a lot of problems, and I'm thinking about it a lot, but personally I am embarrassed of myself to say that I'm living together with my mom, my parents, my sister. And so, right now, though I'm not making money, I think I'm going to have to work as I do this kind of project [of becoming a rapper], in order to do this project I need to have my own room and a laptop and I need a lot of things, and the situation doesn't account for it—it's a room and an apartment and because there will be problems with noise because the songs that I want to do could be like [mimics screaming] that kind of thing so there are a lot of bad parts about the environment, and so I'm going to have to work while I do this, but I have to do this, in any case, as I work make an independent space of my own, and in that independent space I'll do this thing for myself, and I'll do it while I work, and if this become [secured?] as a type of job [for me] I will quit this work and live by doing this. 'this' is rap. And the [other] is the inevitable, the work that I do because I need capital. I'm trying to find this [job for money] again, but I'm probably going to try to go into work in fashion, something related to fashion. I could go into ZARA. [laugh] {tsk} [e] yeah.

R: [giggle]

G: [e] Uhm yeah, so what I need is independence, [loud paper sounds] independence, that's like one of my goals. Uhm, and something that I keep coming back to, but I haven't been able to succeed at. And it's not something that I'm suffering from, but it's something that I'm thinking about a lot. And I have my own dream—just as I have my own dreams I have things that my family doesn't quite understand. And so even though living with my parents isn't just about capital or financial things, I'm, I do get embarrassed to say I'm still living with them sometimes. SO right now, I'm not earning any money, but right now what I want to do is have my own independent space. Because what I want to do, singing, rapping it requires like a room where I can have a computer and have it soundproofed and stuff, but there's like issues when it comes to

being too loud or something, and the songs I want to do could be like screaming, so it just doesn't fit with the environment I'm in right now, so what I need is an independent space where I can uhm, work on this job of like rapping. And be able to quit these unavoidable, like because of financial circumstances, unavoidable work that I have to do, like right now I'm not working, but I'm looking for something, probably within the fashion sphere, maybe even working at Zara, but I want to be able to quit that kind of work to be able to do the work of rapping.

R: [writing] Sorry.

E: [e] That's okay.

R: So, I still have a few questions, but don't worry it's going to be over soon, I don't want to...
hahah

G: [k] There are a few last questions, but I'll try not to go on too long.

E: [e] I'm good. That's okay.

R: Uhm, so you said that when you rap you're very, you want to talk about social problems and things like that. Could you tell me more about the type of social problems you'd like to address?

G: [e] You said that you wanted to do subjects of social problems or those kinds of subjects when you rap, could you talk more specifically about what kind of social problems you want to address.

E: Aaaaaaaa lot. I want to address a lot of social problems, but to be honest, I want to address this about independence, I personally feel a lot of embarrassment about not being independent, you know, but I want to let people know the reason that I feel this way, and a lot of Korean people my age or some older than me are living under their parents. And this is really a problem—I really see this as a social problem, because if they do this the kids don't mature and so I want to find proof that adults can't become adults and write in my lyrics that this is messed up, that we need to become independent and pursue our own lives, and put out a song. And another thing is—like there are so many, there are more than one or two—there are political problems, and like if you look at the case of twitter, there are a lot problems about misogyny and misandry so when you are on the subway as well, if you look at the way you feel the looks you get you can kind of feel the misogyny the misandry as well, because those things, like I'm not sure if this is a problem that formed by means of some media or something, but why do we like--there are like all these things like there's feminism, and why do we need to hate women, why do we need to hate men, why do we have to fight with each other, like I want to go into these problems in depth and I want to write a song that proves that we don't have to do all this, and...hmm.. [pause] Yeah. So, I want to, for the most part, address all the social issues that I see, or like let people know the truths that I know, and like do rap that like wakes people up. Like, [pause] these things like, on educational things...why... like there are problems with kids making mistakes, and if you look at it in a certain way it could be a problem of education, but kids, or like

teenagers, I want to write raps about why do teenagers not have a place? Like I want to put in a rap why they have to study, and the reasons they have to study, and also, I want to write about what's wrong with the educational world, and also, I want to make it known in the case of the Korean workplace, the authoritarianism, or that authoritarianism is bad, like if you go into the details of like the atmosphere how do you make a bad atmosphere into a good atmosphere, and also, because I have these things that I have learned from experience, and so that you need to do this or that or something, those things, all social problems I want to put into my raps. This, the, if there is a difference between books and songs, songs have a kind of stronger power to them, like is passion? Like I think that a song's role is to [unlock] more passion, like one of a song's biggest powers is triggering more of an emotion in a person, and so I want to those kinds of things. And like I said, diverse social problems, and if I'm honest, I want to take as much as I know about politics and put it in my lyrics and about so many numerous things a lot of things everything I want to address and talk about. I think it'd be so fun, right? [laugh] Like. Yeah.

G: [k] You said you want to do a lot about independence, but could you repeat that again?

E: [k] yes uhm

G: [k] I couldn't hear it all, so I heard you say that many Korean people, including people older than yourself are living with their parents, but

E: yes

G: [k] but following...uhm...

E: Uhm. Of course, this isn't something that I know from looking at statistic or anything, but in my own thoughts, a lot of teenagers, and people who have become adults, if you were to exclude teenagers, I personally think there are a lot of people who are adults that are living with their parents still. But, this, is something I think is a big problem, because...well I want to take each one of those 'because's and I'm a single person among many who thing that an adult that isn't independent is a social problem, and also parents have to have that kind of perception as well. Like they have to create an environment in which you are able to become independent. I want to leave those kinds of messages, because if you are an adult and you're unable to be independent, the possibility that person, that being, cannot mature anymore and becomes weak and becomes lazy is high so I want to let people know what you definitely need to become independent. Like with these things if you were to use a metaphor like about wild animals, tigers, lions—the methods in which an eagle raises its young. I want to write a song that takes all this stuff and uses that kind of metaphor.

G: [e] So there are many many social—oh are you ready?

R: Yeah, yeah yeah yeah.

G: Oh okay, there are many social problems that he wants to focus on, one of them being independence, and it stems about maybe his own shame about that, but he wants to

write songs that talk about this as a social problem, so if you look there are a lot of people, teenagers and adults that are still living with their parents in Korea and he wants to take that as a social problem and talk about it like that. And the reason for that is that uhm, like, adults who are unable to become independents or just aren't be able to or uh. Aren't able to be independent aren't able to grow really, and so he things that parents need to make an environment that is hospitable for people to become environment—err, become independent in, because without independence people don't grow, they grow weak, the grow lazy, and so maybe we have to take in, we need to learn how, like animals like raise their kids, like the example of a tiger or an eagle, how they raise their kids to be independent. And like, he wants to make that into a song. Other things like, on twitter you'll see a lot of misogyny or like misandry, and uhm, and whether or not this is something that's formed because of like media, there's just a lot of hate? Err uhm. And so, he wants to write songs looking at these issues of misandry and misogyny and break them down and say why we don't have to fall into these issues. So, he wants to talk about all the social problems that he sees. And he wants to talk about the things that he knows, like in terms of education he was like why aren't kids like given a space to talk, or like given a seat at the table, kind of, like why do they have to study, why are they forced to study, uhm, those kinds of things. Or like, even abuse of power within office environments in Korea because he's experienced those kinds of things where uhm, [unintelligible] a really bad environment in an office

R: yeah yeah

G: and stuff like that, he wants to talk about that as a social issue as well. And so, if there's a difference between books and songs, the difference would be that songs have just a lot more power. Maybe it's like passion or something like that, but songs transmit much more emotion to the people that interact with them than maybe a book would, so uhm, it's like a good medium for these kinds of discussions that he wants to have, or these kinds of ideas that he wants to express. And even political stuff, he wants to discuss things as much as he knows about them. And he thinks it would be just a really interesting thing to do, to discuss just so many diverse social problems.

E: [sound of awe]

R: good job [giggle] SO uhm, based on what you said, like, uhm is it related to like uhm, because you say you didn't go college, are there some reasons related to what you want to talk about in your songs?

G: [e] and related to [unintelligible] --?

R: Related to, because he mentioned he did not go to—I'm just now translating it—he mentioned he did not go to college, so I wonder what he wants to talk about in his songs are related to his own experience and if he could tell me a bit more about his own experience?

G: uhm.

R: [laugh]

G: Uhm, [k] So you said that you weren't able to go to college, and so...you just said that you want to address a lot of social problems, and so, are the subjects you want to address are based on what you've experienced?

E: There are those parts as well. [pause] There are those parts as well. And my personality seems to be one that is very keen to these kinds of issues. These social things. And, [pause] philosophical. Because you can talk about social things philosophically. And this... I think the reason is because of my personality. There are things that are my experience as well... and so, mm... [pause] yeah.

G: [e] So there is of course a part that's based on experience, but I think it's my personality as well. I have personality that really, like, pays a lot of attention to these kinds of problems. And, because these are kind of problems that you can discuss philosophically as well, so of course there's parts of it that are based on my experience but think a lot of it's just based on my personality.

R: Is there a reason you didn't want to go to college, or why made you take this decision of going or not going?

G: [k] Uhm...is there a reason that you did not go to college and instead chose a different path?

E: Hm. Hm.

G: or how you made that kind of decision.

E: [tsk] Like right now? Or... Like...

G: [e] like now or, in the past?

E: [e] now or...

R: you can talk about both. That would be interesting.

G: [k] If you could talk about both...that would be interesting...

E: To start, in the past, [pause] in the past, I had no will to live, so I wasn't absorbed in piling up knowledge at school, and so I wasn't able to advance onto a college that I was satisfied by, satisfied with. And so, I couldn't go, to college that is. And so, regaining that will to live was only after leaving the military in that not-so-great of a manner, and in the military, I first started to read again, and from after being discharged from the military about two years ago I gained a desire for study. And so right now, if I'm honest, I want to go to college, but in any case for me to go to a 4-year college now would be unreasonable, and also environments are really important for education, but right now, If it were to start a bachelor's, I'd have to be preparing to do it while I work, and so I also think maybe it might be too late, so in reality, the things that I want to address through music, I want to go to college, but the purpose of going to college is of course in learning, and studying, and so, and so the path to achieve those goals without having to go to college is being a musician, an artist, because the things that I'm going to deal with are going to be social, sometimes scientific, sometimes psychological, because I clearly have a lot of interest in these types of things, these things... Like in the case of design, in order to do a fashion show, in order to get inspiration, of course you have to study, and go

do another country, and learn something, and you get inspiration for your design. Because that's another form of studying. But I am designing songs now. And so, I want to dig deep into these social issues and try to analyze the reasons why in psychological ways, and accumulate resources and buy books and read them, and this—I want to go to college, but I'm going to a college of my own, y'know. I'm going to this college of being a rapper. Like not an education that this society acknowledges, but for myself—like there is studying for the purpose of getting a degree, and there's doing it in order to become a member of society—but I missed my time for that and in order to go there would need to be a lot of other effort backing it up, and so honestly I'm not confident I'll be able to do that, but I want to learn, so in order to learn I'm... I'm going to my own school of being a rapper. Is this enough of an explanation?

G: [e] In the past he had no, uhm, like desire for life. Like, for like acquiring knowledge or things in school, and so he couldn't err, so he wasn't able to go a college that he was satisfied with, like the, like his own ideas and standards, but he first regained this desire after his military service and that's when he first started feeling kind of that desire for life again. And so, he has an ambition to like, in like scholarly things, but when he's thinking about going to a 4-year college or 4-year university, it's maybe not the right path. Uhm. Cause like education is all about environment as well, and he would have to prepare to work while going to school if he were to do it, and so he feels like maybe it's too late. And so, he wants to go, but the purpose of it, of going to school, would be to dig into these scholarly things, but the way that he can achieve that goal of digging into these scholarly issues is by, through songs, like going into those issues in the songs. He puts it like this, 'I want to go to a college of my own, the college of like being a rapper,' kind of. It's like that's the place that he learns the things that would be taught in a 4-year college. So, it's like he's in a school that's not acknowledged by society, in the school of being a musician, and so, yeah for in terms of like a college, he might have missed the time for that and he needs like many other foundations to be steady for him to be able to go to college. But for now, he's attending the school of being a rapper.

R: Mhm.

E: If you go to college you know how you have to take classes for your major? Like for example this is what I want to do. Like for example, I'm curious about apples, and I want to know about apples. So, I find books about apples and I study apples, and I gather resources about apples, and I'm just continually learning about apples. And if you think that you've learned all about apples, you'll develop some subjective opinions about apples, naturally. And so, I'll write all those things that I learned about apples and that subjective opinion about apples in a song. So, it's like this. In college I learn something, and I take a test or write a thesis to express what I have learned, but for me, now, I learn about apples or something all on my own and expressing my thought is not a thesis but a song. I chose to live that kind of life, inevitably, because the path I've walked on until now is formed as one in which I inevitably have to choose this. And this, to me, Kim Jun Sung, 24, is the best I can be, which is why I chose this path that I told you about.

G: [k] when you were giving that example you said *sagwa* right

E: yes

G: when you say *sagwa* do you mean the one you eat, or do you mean apologizing?

E: [e] Apple.

G: [e] Apple okay.

R: Apple? I knew this one.

G: OH, but there's a—*sagwa* also means apologize

R: ahhh

G: So, I was like...

R: Ahh I didn't know this own [giggle]

G: Yeah. Uhm.

E: It was just an exaggeration. For metaphor.

G: [k] Yes yes. [e] It was just like a metaphor, but I was like maybe he's thinking like... Uhm so, if you, like in college you're supposed to take classes for your major, and so if you're interested in apples, you want to study apples, you keep looking into apples, you study apples and then in doing that you form a subjective kind of *kyunhae* uhm [k] what's *kyunhae* again?

E: [e] my think

R: mindset?

G: yeah yeah like perception, or like your own idea about what that is, and you know how to make an apple or how to do whatever with an apple, and so in college that would be your experience, you learn about all that and maybe you take a test or write a paper about it, you write your thesis about it. But what he's doing is rather, taking what he learns and not expressing it in a thesis form, but like through song. And so, that is the path that he chose. And this is like him himself at 24, he chose it as the best path for himself and so that's why he chose to go this route instead of college.

R: How do you, uhm, parents perceive your interest in music? How is the uhm, because you say that you're still living with them, so I wonder how is, how do you say that...Yeah how do your parent perceive your interest in music?

G: [e] What do your parents think about your interest in music? Like your personal parents, what they think of your interest in music.

E: Uhm.

[Roxane hands out cookies]

G: Thank you

E: ah [e] thanks. [k] Mmmmm. Mmmmmm. Mmmmmmm. Mmmmmmmmm. [laugh] Mmmmmmm. Mmmmmmm. [sharp inhale] uhhhhh. Hones—well, hmmmm... hmmmm. Uh... In the case of your question...

G: [k] should I again?

E: this question, this question, [pause] If I were to just respond to your question, I'm not really sure. Like, but, to me, I get the feeling that ...this question, this question, I'm wondering why you need this question? But I'm not sure how my parents think of it. Uhm. Yeah.

G: [e] Soooo to answer the question, I'm not really sure what they think about it, but the question itself, gave me a feel, like why exactly do you need to know that kind of thing...

R: Actually I also ask this question to the other person I interview, that's mainly because uhm, to see if they have support or, uhm, yeah, how they, because sometimes the, for example the support you have from your parents or not can have an influence on uhm, your decisions, on your choices, so it's always interesting to see which support you have from your parents. Kind of. I'm not sure if it answers your question, but.

G: [k] mmm. This question is something I ask in other interviews as well. I did a few interviews other than this one, and in those interviews as well. The reason I ask is

E: ahh

G: if parent support or encourage their kids, it can influence the kinds of decisions that a person makes, so, it's just, if they encourage you it can have an influence, and so that why I think I'm asking that.

R: For example

E: [e] Yeah

R: Among the person I interviewed, there is this example of someone who was very interested in music, but her parents wanted her to go to university instead, so even though she liked music she went to university, but later on she changed, and she went back to music. So sometimes the parents can have an influence on your process, like the, journey. To give you an example.

G: [k] For an example, in a different interview, they, from a young age were interested in music but their parents told them incessantly to go to college, and so even though they were interested in music, they went to college and studied something they weren't all that interested in. But after they graduated they came back to music, that person. So, if parents support, or what kind of influence they have, uhm, so uhm, it seems like parents have an influence on uhm, the path of life? That a person has, so that why I'm asking.

R: I don't know if that helps.

G: [k] She's not sure if that helped but that's how she explained it.

E: Now I am already 24-year-old, and because I lived my teenage years at [my dad's house?], when I say 'mom, dad, I'm going to go down this path' whatever that path it is, whether it was music or something else my mom and dad will say 'okay, then do it'. Like when I told them I was going to do music as well they'll say 'okay, then do that'. But unfortunately, currently in this society, [pause] in this society, there is a strong [e] mind [k] if you don't study you can't

live, or like it's forming those kind of thoughts, but rather than say that that's anyone's fault, but we were living so poorly and then all of the sudden became a rich nation, and we didn't preserve our culture carefully and research it but... this Hyundai, what built this Hyundai was Jung Joo Young, and just like when Jung Joo Young built this building, they took all the designs from America, like everything isn't our own autonomous technology, but things that we took from other countries and brought here and formed and created this kind of thing. Or like... Well I kind of got off track, but, mmm [pause] Most parents, and mine are the same, and other people's parents, and most parents say things like that: 'you have to study' is what they say. But, studying the things that people are born with is something very important, like Bill Gates, Warren Buffet, Elon Musk, the majority of billionaires that are moving and shaking the world right now, read books, they did their own type of studying. We need that kind of studying, but getting a bachelor's degree to be acknowledge by others, that kind of studying is so over-emphasized in our country, because our parents didn't study and they lived difficult lives, and so they want [us] to study so that we can live more comfortable lives, this kind of worry and kind of consolation, and because of this is why our nation is formed in this way, and it's a wrong...a wrong kind of social thought that's stuck. So, like in the case of the *suneung* test, kids are having such a difficult time and it's not like a few points will change your life, but unfortunately right now most parents in our country are very inflexible about it, because they think about it through the lens of their own experience, and so most parents, mine included, have those kinds of thought. And so, something that felt strange after hearing that question is that now, the question of 'what do your parents think' this kind of question is something we should reject, and making an environment in which kids can really find what they want to do is very important, but what was your question again? I forgot while I was talking.

G: [K] Uhm, [e] what was the question again?

E: [e] sorry

R: hahah

E: [e] so sorry.

R: my question was what is the perception of your parents regarding what you, your interest in musics

G: [k] What your parents think, about your interest in music?

R: So, it like's tik tik tik itk haha

E: Uhm, honestly, I'm not sure. Nonchalant—I'm not really sure. Originally, if this was in the past they would have said something like 'no, that's not okay' probably, right. But this [pause] this hairstyle as well, because it's not seen as a normal men's hair style by society, like parents would say 'cut your hair', If I were to say 'mom I'm going to do music' or 'dad I'm going to do music' my parents just don't understand me, they don't understand the culture, they just have the experience from their parents where saying 'you can't' is the right thing. But now, If I were to say 'Mom I'm going to study and go to school' I can't, because from a commonsense level then I have to quit everything and go to a *hagwon* and do this and that and get support and depend on my mom, but my age is not one where I can do that, so if I were to say I want to

study, I'm at an age where I would have to earn my own *hagwon* fee and tuition fees on my own, and if I want to do music I have to earn money, and go to auditions and make an environment for my music [clears throat] or buy a keyboard, and now, because it's a period where I have to pull myself along, if I'm honest, it'd be right of me to answer by saying I'm not sure. Though I have...I guess I have said something like that to my mom, but I'm not sure. But they probably wouldn't agree with it very much. Agree. Like they wouldn't like it that much. [pause] so, proving it would be the best, like proving myself through music...only then will they understand [e] understand [k] because they have these lived experiences, and thoughts, our minds aren't easily changed, and because we're social creatures, every person...in the end...our kids, or if me, if I say that I want to do something, even if [parents] are opposed to it, [making sure that] kids don't lose their own conviction, their thoughts, or their perspective and prove themselves, if they have parents that don't have that understanding. So, I'm not really sure why I keep saying this, but one of the best things that a parent can have is understanding. To be able to think deeper about why their kids are thinking in this way and say, 'oh maybe they're this way, maybe they have something innate in them' and so having that way of thinking where they are trying to understand, is something that is needed currently by our parents, by the generation above us. [e] Sorry.

G: [e] I think I'm going to have to paraphrase a little bit because—

R: Mhm, that's okay.

G: So, uhm. Like right now in this society it's like if we don't study we can't do anything, is kind of the perception that our parents have, the mind that most people have, and then, in...and like a lot of that, it's not one person's fault, but there's that perception that Korea became a rich very fast and the older generation thinks you have to study in order to do anything, to live a better life, to live an easier life, uhm, and so that's what my parents are kind of like too. But, [pause] he said something like, he has said that I'm going to do music to them before, but he seemed kind of hesitant he's like 'I haaaave said that I guess to them' but he said basically, they're not really going to be really super on board with it, they're not going to really support it a lot, and then he went into a whole, it's very important for a parent to be able to understand their child, but for now the best that I can do is to prove that I'm good at music to them by succeeding.

R: In general, do you think they are kind of supportive or...?

G: It seems like—he keeps saying 'I'm not sure, I'm not sure' so, and then he's like, but in general they're not really going to be that supportive, kind of. But it seems almost like they're a little like uninterested maybe? Or they don't really take things like really [??]

R: I'm exercising my legs because like. I see. Are you done?

G: yeah there will be more in the transcript, I think that's more of the key points.

R: Okay so I think we're almost done. Uhm, I have a question, do you have any questions or things you would like to add? Because I am done asking you questions.

G: [k] Yes so, we're almost done, but if you have any questions you can ask them now...

@ 2:53:-- onward, 5 asks about R's thesis topic, R explains.

@ 3:01:50ish, 5 asks what R thinks about K-pop.

@ 3:05—ish, 5 says it has been helpful for him as well to talk aloud about what he's been thinking

