

Baahubali Decoded—Pete Draper's Exclusive Interview on Its Visual Effects # 17," YouTube, September 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7jFFIyQUGc&channel=IDreamMovies>.

20. Kidney Sheldon, "Baahubali—Not a Review," *Wordpress*, July 2015, <http://ydeepak.wordpress.com/2015/07/16/baahubali-not-a-review/>.

21. See Prasad, "This Thing Called Bollywood."

22. Ashish Rajadhyaksha, "The 'Bollywoodization' of Indian Cinema: Cultural Nationalism in a Global Arena," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (2003): 23–39.

Imitating Flower Boy Stars

K-pop Male Stars and Assembling New Female Masculinity in South Korea

Layoung Shin

As many scholars and the authors in other chapters have shown, with vigorous government support and the new perspective that cultural products could be profitable, the South Korean (Korea) media gained more influence and popularity among Koreans, particularly after the 1997 economic crisis.¹ This is quite a big shift on the Korean cultural map, given that until the 1980s the alternative cultural products created by student activists, progressives, and leftists were more popular among youth. At that time, youth identified more as producers of resistant alternative culture than as consumers of popular culture. However, in the 1990s, youth actively started to consume pop culture and identify themselves as fans of stars.²

In particular, alongside the rapid industrialization of pop music and emergence of teenagers as consumers, a star system developed that targeted teenage women. Combined with the concurrent development of the internet, the emergence of stardom created huge fandom among young women. They were often, however, criticized and mocked by adults and their male peers, labeled *ppasuni*, a derogatory slang term for teenage female fans.³

However, the fan activities of teenage women in Korea in the late 1990s and early 2000s can be read as the explosion of teenage women's desire to express sexuality and subversion, similar to the possibilities

Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, and Gloria Jacobs find in teenage women's Beatlemania fan activities in the United States in the 1960s, Young female fans in South Korea began to express their desire through forms of active production and reinterpretation of pop culture, moving beyond simple consumption of industry-manufactured products. Products created through active fandom include fanfic (fiction written by fans with their favorite stars as main characters; often, they depict boy-band members in same-sex romantic relationships) and fan-art (art works that depict the stars), new texts popularized and shared among teenage women on the internet.

In particular, fanfic, which can be considered a male homosexual romance genre, became very popular among fans. Thus, whereas previous generations have enjoyed heterosexual romance novels and comic books produced by professional writers in Korea or in translation from the West and Japan, the teenage women I met during the early 2000s, the fans of pop stars, most often read this new genre of homosexual romance regardless of their sexual identity.⁵

Fancos, a shortened form of fancostume play, is another form of active fandom that emerged among young women in Korea in the late 1990s amid the development of the commercial star system, the huge popularity of boy-band groups, and the growth of active fandom culture among young women. When boy bands produced by the commercial star system, such as H.O.T. (1996–2001), gained enormous popularity among teenage girls, rather than just cheering for their favorite stars, some young women began cutting their hair short, wearing young men's clothing to emulate the boy bands' male singers, and creating performance festivals where they staged the singers' performances. This led to the emergence of *fancos* communities, which are made up of fancospers, or cospers (who perform costume plays), staff (who help fancospers in making costumes and dressing them up) and the fans of fancospers. By the early 2000s, concerts and festivals featuring *fancos* were a regular phenomenon in the Seoul area.⁶

Although it emerged from fandom, in imitating popular boy-band singers, *fancos* is a kind of drag show, highlighting the performance of masculinity by females. It further involves bodily changes and performances that can have an effect on performers' identities. In other words, *fancos* is a constantly enacted process of embodiment, different from other forms of fandom activities; performers wear costumes of male

singers on stage, but often also embody these costumes in their hair-styles, gestures, speaking styles, word choices, and smoking habits, which are not readily taken off, even after shows, as I explain throughout the chapter.

In addition, although participating in nongender normative cross-dressing activities, many fancospers dated each other and started identifying as *iban*.⁷ This does not mean that all fancospers self-identify as *iban*, given that some participants identify as straight. However, because it was so common for two women to date in this community, and many *fancos* members identified as *iban*, *fancos* came to be considered an *iban* subcultural group. One of my informants, Kyumin, for instance, told me about a popular idea of *fancos* being equivalent to *iban*: "There is an assumption among fancospers that fancospers are all *iban* without doubt. Actually it's true. So once they begin *fancos*, they start to say, 'I like women. I love women' and become *iban*. So, you know, groups or communities share their ideas and beliefs. Same here. There is a belief that all the members here are *iban*."

Therefore, beyond passive consumption of popular culture, *fancos* produces new representations of self in everyday life, motivating the participants to question the meaning of gender and sexuality. As an unexpected result, *fancos*, which originated from consuming Korean pop culture, came to play a role as a queer community for young women. It lies outside mainstream LGBT movements and commercial spaces for gay men and lesbians.

Although other factors, such as the influence of LGBT activism and the development of internet technology, cannot be disregarded as contributing to the increased visibility of homosexuality in Korea, I argue that fandom subcultures such as *fancos*, combined with female masculinity and same-sex relationships between members, contributed significantly to the construction of homosexuality as an identity and community for young women during the early 2000s. The case of *fancos*, thus, provides an alternative perspective on the development of homosexuality as an identity and community in Korea, which is closely related with local Korean pop culture rather than based in the influence of Western media. To show how these young Korean women's masculinity and subject formation as *iban* is closely interrelated with local media, K-pop, rather than LGBT texts or media produced in the West, I first situate *fancos* in the historical continuum of female masculinity, particularly regarding

the performance of *Gukgeuk*, which shows the existence of female erotic relations even before the introduction of Western concepts of homosexuality in Korea; second, introduce *yaoi* and fanfic as more influential relative to West-produced media, as texts of homosexual identity for young women in South Korea; third, discuss the changing ideals of gender in Korean mainstream media and the intersection of fantasy and reality in the creation of the "right" kinds of models of masculinity; and last, explore the ways in which embodied masculinity and continued misrecognition as male among young women leads to their questioning their identification in terms of gender and sexuality and to the construction of queer community.

FEMALE MASCULINITY AND FEMALE-ONLY THEATER IN HISTORY

Though still rare, historical studies of queer Korea have begun recovering the history of female masculinity and female same-sex sexuality in Korea.⁸ Among other cases, the tradition of female-only troupes in Korea, exemplified in the genre *gukgeuk*, provides historical precedence for *fancos*, in that both cultural practices consist of female-only theater, performance, and gender crossing. *Gukgeuk* is a popular drama, a sort of *changgeuk* (traditional Korean opera) performed entirely by women, and it became very popular during the 1950s, though interest rapidly declined during the modernization process and the correspondent devaluation of both tradition and women in the 1960s.⁹ As Jennifer Robertson has shown with the case of Japanese all-female Takarazuka troupes, the Korean female *gukgeuk* also functioned as "an inclusive social club that cultivated and bolstered intimate bonds between women."¹⁰ Jilye Kim claims,

The Confucian gender ideology, which stresses the strict separation of the sexes, and conservative notions of sexuality encouraged Gukgeuk actors to seek and to intensify their affinity with women. . . . It produced a possibility to extend gender transgression and homoerotic aspects on stage to everyday life. . . . Also since the fan and star relationships in the female Gukgeuk were exclusively formed among women. . . . It increased intimacy between women.¹¹

Constructed exclusively by women who perform both men's and women's roles, and attracting enthusiastic female fans, *fancos* quite

closely resembles the culture of female *gukgeuk* in its intimacy and homoerotic aspects. For instance, I found that some *fancos* teams were so popular that they had their own fans and fan clubs. My informants Orange, Nambu and Tangkong, for instance, were passionate fans of V *fancos* team. They attended all their events and organized a V team fan club, by creating an online community and making fan signs together. I accompanied them to a *fancos* event in 2002, where we sat together in front of the stage and competed to shout V team's name more loudly than other teams' fans. Each fan also had her own favorite members in each team. For example, Nambu was a fan of Minwoo from V team. When I asked Nambu how she became so into Minwoo, she said, "I just fell in love with her at first glance" (*cheonnune banhada*).

This is an expression of love and eroticism and shows how *fancos* strands in Korea, in the "larger intergenerational matrix," in the words of Jennifer Cole.¹² Both all-female *Gukgeuk* and *fancos* include the performance of female masculinity and intense same-sex erotic feelings in all-female venues where pop culture is celebrated and performed. *changgeuk* in the 1950s and K-pop boy group music in the 2000s.

Situating *fancos* as the descendant of female *gukgeuk* in Korea challenges the concept of "global gay," which emphasizes the effects of globalization and global media in the construction of queer identities and communities in non-Western societies, thus implying that lesbian and gay identities are growing globally homogenized and thus replacing indigenous identities.¹³ As numerous queer scholars have argued, this global gay concept not only fails to grasp historical facts, but also obscures unique local meanings of sexualities.¹⁴ It also has the potential to classify same-sex practices in the non-West as backward or premodern.¹⁵ This chapter therefore contextualizes female masculinity and same-sex sexuality among young women in *fancos* in the intergenerational matrix of Korean culture of gender and sexuality and further seeks to show the primary influence of Korean local pop culture in its distinctive formation.

FANFIC AND YAOI RATHER THAN WESTERN MEDIA AS HOMOSEXUALITY TEXTS

Queer studies in Korea have tried to explain the relationship between the emergence of current forms of lesbian and gay male identity, community, and activism and the influence of the West. Reflecting lesbian

and gay movements in the 1990s and early 2000s in Korea. Dong-jin Seo, for instance, argues that they were based on the concept of human rights, influenced by international nongovernmental organizations such as the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Committee and the UN Human Rights Committee.¹⁶ He also argues that "globalized sexuality" and consumerism are other features of gay and lesbian discourses in Korea.¹⁷ He states that the "identity of sexual minority groups in Korea in most cases imitates gay and lesbians in the United States and the West."¹⁸ However, Seo does not consider these trends as simply the result of Westernization. Although the Western terms helped identify people who engaged in same-sex sexuality and other types of nonnormative gender expressions as a specific group in need of political recognition, the terms themselves do not accurately represent what same-sex relations mean in the Korean context.

John Cho further points out the important role of consumer spaces for gay men in constructing their culture in the 1990s, but argues that this does not simply signify the "homogenization" or "Westernization" of Korean LGBTs' understanding of themselves. Cho focuses on the particularities in terms of visibility and coming out for Korean gay men and lesbians, which "challenge the Westernized model of the 'out and proud' gay man and lesbian."¹⁹ Although both Seo and Cho are careful to point out the place-specific aspects of global media and consumerism's influence in gay men's culture and LGBT movement in Korea, both note the undeniable relations with the West in both local LGBT movements and in the "Westernised gay consumer spaces."²⁰

On the other hand, in my case study with young queer-identified women in *fanfos*, Western influences, in terms of the discourse of human rights or commercialized spaces, seem very minor if they do exist, particularly in my first field research during the early 2000s. For example, during my second fieldwork research in 2012 and 2013, I asked my informants whether they had opportunities to watch any films or television shows depicting homosexuality, and a few mentioned the US-produced show *L-World*. However, in 2002 and 2003, when the depiction of lesbians and gay men in media was less common, even in the United States, few of my informants were watching such LGBT media. Rather, their exposure to depictions of homosexuality came from reading and writing fanfic and *yaol*.²¹ One of my informants, Hyea-young, for instance, told me about fanfic, when I asked whether she had encountered LGBT

media: "There is a kind of novel. Fanfic. After reading fanfic, I realized that there is homosexuality. Then while talking with my friends, I came to know more specifically about *ibon*."

As this interview shows, almost all of my informants in the early 2000s were aware of fanfic, most read them voraciously, and others actually wrote them. Academic studies of fanfic and teenage *ibon* also commonly acknowledge fanfic as the primary media depicting representations of homosexuality for teenage women.²² According to Jee-young Shin, many youth in Korea, up to 45.4 percent, encounter homosexuality through fanfic.²³ It is therefore important to point out that locally produced fan-made media, fanfic, not Western media, was more influential in the construction of forms and ideas of homosexuality among young women in Korea at the time.

MODELING AFTER THE MASCULINITY OF MALE POP STARS

In addition, as a productive fandom activity, *fanfos* complicates the rigid gender binary. In 2003, *fanfos* teams numbered about 1,500 and about 80 percent of them were male-singer teams. When young women participate in *fanfos*, cutting their hair short in the so-called *kalmeori* (blade hair) marks the beginning of performing as male singers. Fanco-sippers also borrowed male singers' hip-hop style, which includes big T-shirts and pants and later became representative *fanfos* style. The style was welcomed by cospers, not only because it was what male singers actually wear, but also because it hid the female body contours. They also used fictive masculine names to complement their masculine appearance. For instance, Hyeok and Min, which commonly appear in male names, were popular *fanfos* nicknames; for example, Jeong-hyeok and Si-hyeok, and Jong-min and Kyu-min, to mention a few. Male-singer cospers also used appellations normally used by males, such as Hyeong or Nuna, rather than Oppa or Eonni, and masculine ways of speaking in other linguistic expressions.

Such masculinity in *fanfos* is closely related with the changes in popular culture and the images of the stars in Korea. In the late 1990s and the early 2000s, the star system produced by mainstream entertainment companies started introducing new, nontraditional images of male and female singers. Female singers started to appear not only

as "cute" but also as "sexy," for instance. On the other hand, as the singers became younger, "cute" and "pretty" men, with slender bodies, bold make up and androgynous fashion, became a popular style for *idol* boy group members. A new term, *kkomniman* (flower-handsome men), or "pan-East Asian soft masculinity," came to be widely used beginning in the late 1990s.²⁴ One newspaper, for example, reported on this transformation under the title *Beautiful Men Wear Make Up: The Era of "Flower" Men*: "an increasing number of men these days put on 'make-up' instead of building their muscle."²⁵ This does not mean, of course, the complete replacement of one image with another; as Cornwall and Lindisfarne argue, masculinity does not exist in a unitary form, but in diverse standards.²⁶ But it suggests a cultural shift in contemporary Korean society, expanding the scope of the model of masculinity.

This shift, ironically, made it easier for *fancos*pers to model themselves after male rather than female singers. Whereas the dominant standard of female beauty requires extreme thinness and doll-like facial features to look like *idol* female group singers, they explained, it is a simpler process to become a "flower" boy: cutting one's hair short is often enough. Junghyuk makes this clear: "I am not pretty. But people say I am handsome. When I'm considered as a girl, I'm just normal looking. But if people look at me as a boy, I am a pretty handsome boy." This shows how the expansion of masculinity to include soft and "pretty" makes it possible for young women to identify with masculinity more easily.

Modeling after flower masculinity, however, does not simply rise from the desire to imitate masculinity *per se* or to be a man or look like a man. When I asked their reason for doing *fancos*, most first answered that it helps the teenage women feel confident and proud as well as be adored and loved by others. That is, the feeling of becoming a star was the motivation for performing like male stars. Standing on stage, listening to their names being chanted by other girls was often cited as their main reason to get into *fancos*.

My main informant Junghyuk, seventeen years old at the time, for instance, was enormously popular as a *fancos*per; she is tall and good looking, with a short stylish haircut and flower-boy group fashion, and has both a good sense of humor and leadership skills. However, in everyday life, she dropped out of high school because her family was poor,

relying solely on the income of her single mother. So she was working in part time jobs in bars or coffee shops during the week. She said she is "nothing" in her everyday life, but she sees herself differently in *fancos*. Her popularity and other girls' cheers led her to feel positively about herself. Confidence is a word Junghyuk often used when she talked about *fancos*. She said,

I can stand on the stage. On the stage I can show what I've practiced and introduce myself and be recognized by others. I can have the stage prepared for me. I'm nothing. You know? I'm not a celebrity. Nothing. But when I stand on the stage, I can hear the screams. I like it. I like to hear the girls call my name and to be in the spotlight on the stage. We can regain confidence by doing *fancos*. Even with my one step on the stage, other girls scream, "Junghyuk!", "Cool!" like this. They make me feel I am something.

Their embrace of boy bands' masculinity is therefore more related with being popular and recognized by other young women, thus making them stars among women. Furthermore, the experience gained in *fancos* led not only to pride but also to the power to endure everyday life. Junghyuk continued:

So when I am about to start something new like a new part time job, now I am different. I tell myself, "Okay, you can enjoy this job just like you enjoy *fancos*. People here [in the *fancos* community] like you, when you perform well. You can do the same in other places too. People will like you in this new job as well if you do your best." This is a kind of self-confidence. The only difference between here and there is that I am alone in everyday life while I am not in *fancos*.

As this interview shows, through *fancos*, the young women experienced their identity transforming from fan to star from imitator to interpreter, from nothing to someone, from neglected to recognized. In regard to the political aspect of drag, Rosalind Morris asks, "Is drag really a performance about gender?"²⁷ She argues that "class, the star system, and beauty are all objects of identification in professional cross-dressing, and the oppositions at play have as much to do with the nature of the gaze and with the signifying power of visible surfaces as with gender."²⁸ Drawing on this insight and the interviews with my

164

informants in Korea, I argue that *fancos* as drag has to do with young women's desire to feel pride, confidence, autonomy and empowerment in their everyday lives.

EMBODIED MASCULINITY AND LESBIAN VISIBILITY

This new interpretation of *fancos* as drag tells us that this unexpected result—female masculinity—came out of the enormous popularity of Korean pop culture among young women and their desire to be popular and feel confidence. In their embrace of masculinity, they challenge the categories of gender and sexual identity in gender-normative and heteronormative society. First, the *fancos*pers do not fall into rigid binary categories of gender. For example, most commonly experienced the confusion of others in public places due to their gender-ambiguous style, which Judith Halberstam calls the "Bathroom Problem."²⁹ Eunbin said, "When I come out from a lady's room, people stop at the entrance to check out the sign whether it is for women or men."

Junghyuk also had the experience of startling women in public when she enters the women's bathroom. To some extent, such situations were shared as humorous stories rather than upsetting experiences. Junghyuk said she just looks at herself in a mirror and says to herself, "Do I really look like men that much?" Other *fancos*pers also shared those experiences of misrecognition like heroic episodes. With such continuous recognition of the ambiguity of gender categories, *fancos*pers started to consider the meaning of gender, even though the initial purpose of performing masculinity was not concern about their gendered image. Judith Halberstam discusses the effects of misrecognition: "When gender-ambiguous children are constantly challenged about their gender identity, the chain of misrecognitions can actually produce a new recognition: in other words, to be constantly mistaken for a boy, for many tomboys, can contribute to the production of a masculine identity."³⁰

More important, the effect of the "wearing" of masculinity by young women is that it makes the existence of lesbians or *iban* more visible in Korean society in general. Halberstam continues to say that the masculinity of women leads to the visibility of lesbians, through what he calls the "butch stereotype," which "both makes lesbianism visible and yet seems to make it visible in nonlesbian terms: that is to say, the butch makes

lesbianism readable in the register of masculinity, and it actually collaborates with the mainstream notion that lesbians cannot be feminine."³¹

Because *fancos*pers perform masculinity, based on the butch stereotype in society, the young women in *fancos* have become visible and "readable" as lesbian or *iban*. The stereotype is produced through both the actuality that almost all *fancos*pers are *iban* and the butch stereotype that equates female masculinity with lesbian identity. Either way, *fancos*pers' masculinity has made visible the existence of lesbians among young women and in society in general. The visibility has had two effects in the everyday lives of these young women: one has been to increase "discipline and punishment" against them, and the other has been to make it easier for potential *fancos*pers and other female *ibans* to find and join the *iban* community.

First, it led some young *fancos*pers to experience discrimination and harsh backlash among their peers. The *cospers* who enrolled in gender-mixed schools in particular, compared with others in girls' schools, reported that they were humiliated and scoffed at by their male classmates. As Bobby said, "When I go to a lady's room, guys shout at me: 'Why are you going there?' and they laugh." Silyuk told a similar story: "In physical education class, when I was in the line of female students, they made fun of me, 'what are you doing there? That's not your line. Come here [to the boys' line]'" Even some teachers started to recognize the young women's short hairstyle as the sign of lesbian identity. Jinshil, for instance, told me her experience when she was attending a Seoul Youth Center at age fifteen: "The teacher [social worker in the Youth Center] asked me, 'Why is your hair so short?' I just answered, 'Because it is uncomfortable to dance with long hair.' Then he continued to ask, 'Why is it uncomfortable?' Then he directly asked me, 'Are you *rejeu*?' I was so upset and answered, 'Yes I am, so what?' Then all the teachers came out to see me." *Rejeu* is a shortened of lesbian and is often used to designate someone as lesbian in a denigrating way. Jinshil's experience shows that the recognition of lesbian identity through one's nonnormative appearance, such as short hair on young women, has increased and, in many cases, leads the young women to experience humiliating remarks and discrimination.

The stereotype, however, does not have only negative effects. As Elizabeth Kennedy and Madeline Davis note, this visibility, in spite of increasing the risks of harassment against them, also makes it possible

Examining *fancos* reveals the crucial role of local (Korean) rather than Western media representations of gender and sexuality in emerging forms of sexual desires, identities, and communities among young queer women in Korea, thus challenging the global gay model. It further suggests the importance of looking at the historical context to better understand the transformation of nonnormative genders and same-sex sexuality within specific localities. My examination of *fancos* further reveals that not only mainstream (both global and local) media, but also fandom itself as an independent medium is crucial in the construction of queer identity and community because their model of masculinity and scripts of same-sex sexuality are produced through both mainstream media and fanfiction and participation in *fancos*.

1. This sudden burgeoning of Korean popular culture is partly in response to the government's changed policy toward cultural industry. According to Kang Nae-hui, cultural industry came to be considered as the new strong profitable area in 1990s Korean capitalism. See *Sinjayujumwa munhwa: Nodong sahoeseo munhwa sahoe'ro* (Neoliberalism and Culture: From Labor Society to Cultural Society) (Seoul: Munhwa gwanhaksa, 2000).
2. Kang, *Sinjayujumwa munhwa*, 277–278.
3. Music experts, columnists, and male fans of rock music called the young women who are fans of *idol* group singers “brainless,” saying the female fans “don’t

7. The term *iban* was coined by queer subjects to refer to themselves and was popularly used by young queer women in the early 2000s. I use the term *iban* in most cases, respecting the preference of my informants.

man Rights Movement in Korea), in *Hangeul yeseong ingwon* (Korean Women's Human Rights Movement History), edited by Hangeul yeseongui jeonhwa (Seoul: Hanwool, 1999), 359–403. Chun Eun-jung, "Nado namja cheoreom sarabagetda" ('I Will Try to Live Like a Man'), in *20 segi yeseong saegwonsa* (Twenty-Century History of Women), edited by Women History Study Group Gilhak seot (Seoul: Yeseong sinmunsa, 2001), 39–49. Pak Chung-ae, "Jeolareul saranghan yeoja ('Women Who Loved Women),' in *20 segi yeseong saegwonsa*, 100–108. Kim Il-ran, "Dareun sesang iggi" (Read Different World: Female and Male Transvestites in Iran), in *Jendeoul cheoneureul dolyeora* (Turn the Channel of Gender), edited by 1960s Korea), in *Jendeoul cheoneureul dolyeora* (Turn the Channel of Gender), edited by Queer Theory Cultural Studies Meeting WIG (Seoul: Saram saenggak, 2008). KwonKim Hyun-young, "Namjang-yeoja/namja/namjangar-ui umima namsong-kwonKim Hyun-young, "Namjang-yeoja/namja/namjangar-ui umima namsong-yeongu bangeob" ('The Meaning of Women Wearing Men's Clothes/Men's Male Human and Methodology in Research of Masculinity'), in *Namsongseong gwa Jendeo* (Masculinity and Gender), edited by KwonKim, Har, Jung, and Ruin (Seoul: Jaum gwa meoun, 2011), 35–62. Cha Min-jung, "1920–30 nyeondae byeonae jeog seokyeuelliit e daehan damlon yeongu" (A study on the "deviant" sexuality in colonial Korea 1920–30) (master's thesis, Ewha Women's University, 2011). Iseo, "Eomni jo dainaldo" (Sister to the Moon: Baekammul and Girl Students' Culture in 1910–

IMITATING FLOWER BOY STAR

10. Jennifer Robertson, *Takanzuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Kim Jihye, "1950 nyeondae," 125.
11. Kim Jihye, "1950 nyeondae," 125.
12. Jennifer Cole, "Fresh Contact in Tamatave, Madagascar: Sex, Money, and Intergenerational Transformation," *American Ethnologist* 31, no. 4 (2004): 575.
13. Dennis Altman, "Rupture or Continuity? The Internationalization of Gay Identities," *Social Text* 14, no. 3 (1996): 424.
14. Sasika Wieringa, Evelyn Blackwood, and Abha Bhaiya, "Globalization, Sexuality, and Silences: Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in an Asian Context," in *Women's Sexualities and Masculinities in a Globalizing Asia*, edited by Sasika Wieringa, Evelyn Blackwood, and Abha Bhaiya (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-22; Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV, "Dissident Sexualities/Alternative Globalisms," in *Queer Globalizations: Citizenship and the Afterlife of Colonialism*, edited by Arnaldo Cruz-Malavé and Martin F. Manalansan IV (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 1-10.
15. Lisa Refel, "Qualities of Desire: Imagining Gay Identities in China," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian & Gay Studies* 5, no. 4 (1999): 451-474.
16. Dong-Jin Seo, "Ingwon, simingwon geutigo seksyeuollit hangugul seongjeolsosja undonggwa jeongchihag" (Human Rights, Citizenship, and Sexuality), *Gyeongju sahoe* 67 (2005): 66-87.
17. Dennis Altman, "Sexuality and Globalization," *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 1, no. 1 (2004): 63-68.
18. Seo, "Ingwon," 75.
19. Cho, "Get namseongui," 402.
20. John Cho, "Faceless Things: Korean Gay Men, Internet, and Sexual Citizenship" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011), 8.
21. *Yaoi* is a Japanese word created to ridicule amateur comic books for their lack of quality that later came to designate comics depicting male same-sex sexuality. This word came to be used in Korea without translation to refer to comic books of male same-sex romantic and sexual relationships.
22. See Kim Min-jeong, "Sipdae yeoseong munhwa roseo paenpik yeongu" (Study of Fanfic as a Women's Cyber Subculture) (MA thesis, Ewha Womans University, 2009); Kim Yeongnan, "Sangdam eul tonghae bon cheongsongyeon ui dongseongae silhae mit taedo" (Reality and Attitudes of Homosexuality among Adolescents Studied through Counseling), in *Dongseongae, pyohyeon ui jaju wa cheongsongyeon e gwanhan toronhoe* (Discussion about Homosexuality: Freedom of Expression and Adolescence), organized by Youth Commission under Prime Minister of South Korea, April 29, 2003; Chun Geuna, "Dongseongae pyohyeonmul i cheongsongyeon ui seong usik e michin yeonghyang" (Influence of Homosexuality Media on the Idea of Sexuality of Adolescents), in *Dongseongae, pyohyeon ui jaju wa cheongsongyeon e gwanhan toronhoe*; Yoo Ju-yeon, "Jung haksaeung ui dongseongaejeok eumnammul jeopchok jeongdo wa dongseongae hyeomo jeok mit gojeong gwannyeom gwai gwangye" (Study on the Relationships among the Contact Frequency of Homosexual Lewd Materials, Homophobia, and Prejudice of Adolescents) (master's thesis, Seoul Women's University, 2004); Shin Young-hui, "Jo dae yeoseong iban munhwa e dae han yeoseonghak jeok yeongu" (Feminist Research on Teenage Female Iban Culture: Youth Culture and Construction of Sexuality in Daegu Area) (master's thesis, Gyeongsang University, 2005); Han Che-ryun, "Cheongsongyeon dongseongaeja e daehan ihae wa sahoejeok jiji bangant" (Understanding and Ways to Support Queer Youth) in *Dongseongae, pyohyeon ui jaju wa cheongsongyeon e gwanhan toronhoe*.
23. Jee-young Shin, "Male Homosexuality in the King and the Clown: Hybrid Construction and Contested Meanings," *Journal of Korean Studies* 18 (2013): 101.
24. Sun Jung, *Korean Masculinities and Transcultural Consumption: Yonsama, Min, Oldboy, K-pop Idols* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).
25. Jungsun Kim, "Sin sedae sin pungsok: Hwajanghaneun namja ga areumdapda" (Men Who Wear Make-up Are Beautiful: The Era of Flower Men), *Kyunghyang shinmun*, 1003.
26. Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindfarne, *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Mythographies* (London: Routledge, 1994).
27. Rosalind C. Morris, "All Made Up: Performance Theory and the New Anthropology of Sex and Gender," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25 (1995): 583.
28. *Ibid.*, 583-584.
29. Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), 20-29.
30. *Ibid.*, 19.
31. *Ibid.*, 177.
32. Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline Davis, *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community* (New York: Routledge, 1993).