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## Framing Gangnam Style

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### ABSTRACT

This paper examines the way in which news about Gangnam Style was framed in the Korean press. First released on 15th July 2012, it became the first video to pass two billion views on YouTube. 400 news articles between July 2012 and March 2013 from two South Korean newspapers - Chosun Ilbo and Hankyoreh were analyzed using the frame analysis method in five categories: industry/economy, globalization, cultural interest, criticism, and competition. The right-left opinion cleavage is important because news frames interact with official discourses, audience frames and prior knowledge which consequently mediate effects on public opinion, policy debates, social movement and individual interpretations. Whilst the existing literature on Gangnam Style took rather holistic approach, this study aimed to fill the lacuna, considering this phenomenon as a dynamic process, by segmenting different stages - recognition, spread, peak and continuation. Both newspapers acknowledged Gangnam Style was an epochal event but their perspectives and news frames were different; globalization frame was most frequently used in Chosun Ilbo whereas cultural interest frame was most often used in Hankyoreh. Although more critical approaches were found in Hankyoreh, reflecting the right-left opinion cleavage, both papers lacked in critical appraisal and analysis of Gangnam Style's reception in a broader context of the new Korean Wave.

**Keywords:** Frame Analysis, Gangnam Style, Korean Wave, News Frame, Popular Music, Psy.

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### 1. Introduction

First released on 15<sup>th</sup> July 2012, Psy's Gangnam Style became the first video to pass two billion views on Youtube (*BBC News, May 31, 2014*). A great deal of media attention has been paid to this song and its 'horse dance', which also relates to the popularity of the Korean popular culture (the Korean wave; *hanryu*), in particular the rise of K-pop since late 2000s. Many have argued that the nationalistic approaches used in the media coverage of the Korean wave could in fact become the barriers of its

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own success worldwide in the long term (Yoon 2002; Kim, Lee and Lee 2005; Choi and Ryoo 2012; Joo 2012). In a similar vein, a pop-nationalistic approach to Psy's success was critiqued (Ko 2012). Although more investigative, in-depth, analytical approaches to understand the fandom and reception of Gangnam Style have been called for (KBS, November 2, 2012), few studies have so far looked at the news framing of Gangnam Style in different stages in the development of its fandom. The aim of this is therefore to fill this lacuna by investigating the prevalent news frames in the news coverage of Gangnam Style in the two major daily newspapers - *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* - between July 2012 and March 2013. This period is further broken down to four stages: recognition, spread, peak and continuation period. By doing so, it sets out to compare and contrast the similarities and differences between the two papers in terms of the ways in which the news was framed, depending on the timing of the news and the type of the newspaper.

News media has the agenda setting role in society, which influences the ways in which the public understands certain issues. In addition, news media can have different perspectives on the same issue or event depending on their own organizational interests, values and ideologies. One influential way that the news media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways and frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events (De Vreese 2005: 51-52). By comparing the news frames used in reporting Gangnam Style in two daily newspapers with clear right-left opinion cleavage, this paper examined the similarities and differences in the news framing and its implications. The findings indicated that both newspapers acknowledged Gangnam Style was an epochal event but their perspectives and news frames were different; globalization frame was most frequently used in *Chosun Ilbo* whereas cultural interest frame was most often used in *Hankyoreh*. Although more critical approaches were found in *Hankyoreh*, reflecting the right-left opinion cleavage, both papers lacked in critical appraisal and analysis of Gangnam Style's reception in a broader context of the new Korean Wave. The contribution of this paper in the literature is two-fold: first, it provides a wealth of empirical data on the prevalent news frames used to cover the so called Gangnam Style phenomenon; and second, it updates the application of the news frame analysis to the study of contemporary popular music and its fandom by establishing the authors' own analytical framework adopted from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000).

The rest of this paper has the literature review, research design and methodology, findings and discussions and conclusion.

## 2. Literature review

In this section, the existing literature on Gangnam Style and the news framing is discussed. It would be fair to say that Gangnam Style had the phenomenal success in many parts of the world. A possible exception to this was Japan (Lie 2013). Lie (2013: 44) argued that due to the involuted nature of the Japanese popular music industry, especially the imperative of indigenization, Gangnam Style failed to go viral in Japan and to resonate with its potential base of Japanese K-pop fans who valorized beauty and romance. This finding was interesting and yet somewhat expected given the mood of the anti-Korean wave or hate-Korean wave in Japan since mid-2000s (see Jung 2009; Jung 2011). In the broader context of globalization, indeed as argued by Jung and Li (2014: 2790), Gangnam Style was one of the most notable phenomena in the world of popular culture in 2012 and this was due to the dynamic interplay of traditional and new media outlets, the active participation of global audiences, the video's spreadable hook, a laissez-faire copyright policy, and Psy's marketing strategies. Jung and Li (2014: 2791) went on to argue that Gangnam Style facilitated the understanding of the circulation pattern of popular music content on YouTube and the complex relationships among audiences, celebrities, and mainstream media in the digital platforms.

With regards to the studies of news framing in the context of the studies about the Korean Wave, there is a wealth of literature including Yoon (2002), Shin (2005) and Yu et al. (2012). While Yoon (2002) considered the ways in which the Korean media reported the Korean wave in China, a comparative study was conducted by Shin (2005) using the sample of Korean Wave-related news in Chinese and Korean media. More recently, Yu et al. (2012) examined the prevalent news frames used in the Korean wave-related news in two major Chinese daily newspapers, *People's Daily* and *Jinghua Daily*. It was by employing deductive approach that the prevalent (dominant) news frames were identified (Yu et al. 2012). The most frequently used frame was cultural interest frame, followed by economic

frame and policy frame (Yu et al. 2012: 202). Overall, the analysis of the news frames in cross-cultural context is thus considered an effective way of understanding how the Korean wave is conveyed by the local media and how it is interpreted and evaluated by the local audience.

A number of studies have used the news frame analysis in order to investigate the prevalence of the news frames and their implications (see Gitlin 1980; Entman 1993; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000; Tuchman 1978; Yu et al. 2012). According to Entman (1993: 51), the concept of framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text. He argued that “analysis of frames illustrates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or a communication) of information from one location – such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel – to that consciousness” (Entman 1993: 51-52). Although there is no single definition of news frame or framing, many studies suggest that news frames are “conceptual tools which media and individuals rely on to convey, interpret and evaluate information” (Neuman et al. 1992: 60). News frames set the parameters “in which citizens discuss public events” (Tuchman 1978: iv) and these news frames are “persistent selection, emphasis and exclusion” (Gitlin 1980: 7). There thus seems a general consensus that the news media is involved in selecting “some aspects of a perceived reality” to enhance their salience (Entman 1993: 53) and the audience gets the mediated reality. News frames have been shown to have profound consequences for the public’s interpretation of events and issues (Iyengar 1991; Neuman et al. 1992). According to De Vreese (2005: 52), the consequences of framing can be conceived on the individual and the societal level. An individual level consequence may be altered attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. On the societal level, on the other hand, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions (De Vreese 2005: 52).

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) contended that a reliable set of content analytic indicators is necessary for studying developments in the news over time and similarities and differences in the ways in which politics and other topics of national and international importance are framed in the news in different countries. When it comes to content analyzing frames in the news, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) provided one of the most useful frameworks. They put forward two possible approaches: inductive and deductive. The inductive approach involves analyzing a news story with an open view to attempt to reveal the array of possible frames, beginning with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 94). Whilst this approach can detect the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed, it is labor intensive, often based on small samples, and can be difficult to replicate. The deductive approach, on the other hand, involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000: 94). This approach can be replicated easily, can cope with large samples, and can easily detect differences in framing between media (for example, television vs. press) and within media (for example, highbrow news programs or newspapers vs. tabloid-style media). When working with a deductive approach, the relevant question is: *what* (which components) in a news story constitutes a frame (De Vreese 2005: 54). According to Entman (1993: 52), frames in the news can be examined and identified by ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts and judgments. This study has taken on board all of the above suggestions in terms of the research design and in particular, establishing the five news frames to apply to the sample (see Table 1.), as discussed in the next section

### **3. Research design and methodology**

This study adopted the news frame analysis method. Two daily newspapers – *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* - have been selected and the sample was collected between 15<sup>th</sup> July 2012 and 16<sup>th</sup> March 2013. There are two things that need explaining here: first, what is the rationale behind the selection of the above two papers; and second, why the particular period for the sampling was chosen. As mentioned earlier, news media has the agenda setting role in society, which affects people’s perception about certain issues. *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* are representative of a wide spectrum of different editorial approaches in the contemporary Korean press. While the first is known for its conservative standpoints, the latter is referred to as more liberal and progressive paper. The reason why this right-left opinion cleavage is important lies not in the newspaper-style tug of war between right and left but in the peculiarities of the news framing process. News framing in these papers, which

are most influential and symbolic in both ends of the opinion spectrum, is most likely to affect policy making, especially in terms of the direction of the cultural contents production in the future.

D'Angelo (2002: 880) demonstrated that, as a response to Entman (1993), news framing has three subprocesses; a frame construction flow, a framing effects flow and a frame definition flow. Firstly, the frame construction flow represents a combination of frame building and frame setting and there are a variety of framing devices that carry news frames (Cappella and Jamieson 1997: 45). For example, Gitlin (1980) found the devices of trivialization, polarization, emphasis of internal dissention, marginalization and undercounting. Entman (1993) also defined news frames based on how issue or events are carried by framing devices that define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Secondly, the framing effects flow shows that what frames affect is mediated by intervening processes such as official discourses of government figures, political candidates, social movements, and prior knowledge underlying individuals' decision making and interpretations (D'Angelo 2002: 882). It is, therefore, not one-way process. Thirdly, the frame definition flow is about a recursive loop in the study of framing. The reason why such a right-left opinion cleavage is important is that, in all three subprocesses as mentioned above, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* are most likely to show different framing devices that carry frames, and contrasting ways to recognize and investigate an individual- and social-level reality. As argued by D'Angelo (2002, 880) news frames interact with official discourse, audience frames and prior knowledge which consequently mediate effects on a number of areas on political, social and cognitive levels: for example, like public opinion, policy debates, social movement, voting and interpretations. For this reason, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* were selected as one could anticipate some significant contrasts and also their effects on public opinion, policy debates and so forth would be most prominent. In addition, *Chosun Ilbo* is the leading newspaper in Korea, with circulations of 1,769,310 per day whilst *Hankyoreh* was also ranked at the eighth place (with circulations of 269,174 per day) in terms of circulations (Chosun Media 2013). The samples from each paper were, therefore, comparable on many grounds.

In order to elaborate this further, director Shim Hyung Rae's movie "D-War" (2007) provides an apt example. Both papers had employed similar title: "D-War Breaks Korean Box Office Record in U.S." (*Chosun Ilbo*, September 17, 2007) and "D-War Shoots to the Top" (*Hankyoreh*, August 7, 2007). Whilst the news stories were both about the box office success of this monster movie, *Chosun Ilbo's* approach was more factual and succinct and *Hankyoreh* emphasized the critique of the film, expanding the story to the Koreans' discontent over a cut in the screen quota system posed by the US film industry. *Hankyoreh's* coverage included another director – an independent filmmaker - Lee Song Hee-il's episode that how he was forced to shut down his blog because of its furious reception by "D-War" fans about his critical review of the movie. By contrast, *Chosun Ilbo* reported director Shim's press conference with his interview in details, supporting his preference and emphasis on commercial achievement – signing the contract with Sony Pictures for DVD and video distribution of the movie - over artistic merits (*Chosun Ilbo* September 4, 2007). Here, a clear evidence of taking on different framing devices that carry news frames can be witnessed. *Hankyoreh* (17<sup>th</sup> September, 2007) reported harsh reviews from critics such as the use of shallow humor and weak storyline, however, in the case of *Chosun Ilbo*, critical reception of the movie was largely trivialized and marginalized and instead the movie was promoted using a patriotic sentiment. Interestingly enough, a twist of the story is the fact that despite its promising start in the early stage, the movie has a huge loss in both domestic and US markets, followed by another disappointing box office sales by director Shim, "The Last Godfather (2010)", and eventually Shim's company Young Gu Art fell into heavy debts and bankruptcy (*Korea Times*, December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2011).

Now, the reason why a particular period was chosen needs justification. 35 weeks long sampling period started with the release of Gangnam Style on YouTube and finished with Psy's official announcement on Twitter about ending his promotional activities regarding Gangnam Style. Both timings were significant in terms of the development of Gangnam Style reception and fandom. This period was then further broken down to four interrelated but relatively distinctive moments: recognition, spread, peak and continuation period. It was in response to the lack of attention paid into different stages by the existing literature on Gangnam Style. As shown in Fisher (2012), Cho (2012), Lie (2013), and Jung and Li (2014), Gangnam Style craze was reflectively analyzed as relatively static phenomenon using holistic approaches. However, few studies examined different stages in the

development of Gangnam Style fandom. This is the reason why the sampling period was broken down to four sub-periods of recognition, spread, peak and continuation in this study. The first stage of the sampling resulted in 697 articles from the *Chosun Ilbo* and 193 from *Hankyoreh*, all of which had the keyword – Gangnam Style – appearing at least once. However, there were stories which were remotely relevant to the actual song and therefore the sample was consequently narrowed down to 400 articles in total: 318 articles from the *Chosun Ilbo* and 82 from *Hankyoreh*.

News media can have different perspectives on the same issue or event depending on their own organizational interests, values and ideologies. By comparing the news frames used in reporting Gangnam Style in two different daily newspapers (one conservative and another progressive), this paper aims to compare and contrast the similarities and differences from each paper's sample in terms of the ways in which the news was framed, depending on the timing of the news and the type of the newspaper it appeared. Therefore, our research questions are as follows:

RQ 1: What are the similarities and differences in terms of the news framing in *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* about the reception of Gangnam Style, depending on the timing of the news and on the type of newspaper?

RQ 2: What is the most predominant frame used in the news stories about the reception of Gangnam Style, depending of the timing of the news and on the type of newspaper?

Semetko and Valkenburg's deductive approach was adopted to identify five news frames shown in the following table (Table 1.). To measure the extent to which certain frames appear in stories that mention the Korean wave, we derived the five dominant keywords in each news story and decided the most predominant frame.

Table 1: Five frames in the content analysis of news about the Korean wave

Framing items	Contents and keywords
Industry/economy frame	The effect of the Korean wave on the given country's economy. Keywords: "product", "export", "import", "turnout", "promotion", "tourism", "shares", "share prices"
Globalization frame	Emphasis on the popularity of the Korean wave and on the superiority of the Korean culture. National pride as the nation that exports cultural contents. Keywords: "invasion", "conquest", "capture", "occupation", "fever", "craze", "sweep"
Cultural interest frame	Introduction of the Korean wave as a new cultural phenomenon, focusing on the reception and consumption process of the local audience Keywords: "(cultural) hybridity", "culture code", "laughter", "Horse dance", "humor", "hip hop culture", "universality"
Criticism frame	Negative perspective about the pop nationalistic approach on the Korean wave, critical appraisal of the news stories that had overly nationalistic or pragmatic approaches to the success of Gangnam Style Keywords: "cultural nationalism", "chauvinism", "ethnocentrism", "B grade culture (low art)"
Competition Frame	Focusing on the number of YouTube clicks and views, the record on the charts, and the number of audiences gathered at the concerts Keywords: "recorded", "achieved", "(how many numbers of audiences) gathered"

Source: Authors' table; categories adopted from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)

The total of 35-weeks-long period from 15<sup>th</sup> July 2012 to 16<sup>th</sup> March 2013 has been further broken down to the following four periods. Firstly, during the first 5 weeks, it is the period of *recognition* (the authors' emphasis) when the global media such as CNN, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *The Time* reported the issues around Gangnam Style. Second period (of *spread or diffusion, expansion*) starts with 6<sup>th</sup> week and last another 5 weeks during which is marked with the rapid increase of YouTube views of Gangnam Style music video, coincided with Psy's promotion and performances in America. This is followed by the third period (of *peak*) from Week 10 to Week 13 when Gangnam Style recorded No. 2 in Billboard Chart, No. 1 in the British music chart, 300 million views on

YouTube: in addition, this is when Psy started to perform more often for the domestic audiences, including the free concert at the Korean capital's City Hall Plaza. Lastly, the period from Week 14 to Week 35 is one of *continuation* which showed a consistent and stable level of media interests and coverage.

In terms of the coding procedure, three undergraduate mass communications students took part in the coding process and the intercoding reliability test was carried out in order to secure the reliability and validity of the research. Cohen's Kappa result was 0.91 which is at an acceptable standard.

**4. Findings and discussion**

The most commonly used method to control the news framing is by way of controlling the frequency. As shown below (Figure 1.), it is noticeable that there were higher frequencies during the weeks leading up to the third period – the *peak* period. As there were more news stories in foreign media, both *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* had the sources of the news story from foreign media. *Chosun Ilbo* overall had more stories on this issue than its counterpart.

The keywords and frequently recurring descriptions on the topic in each period were as follows:

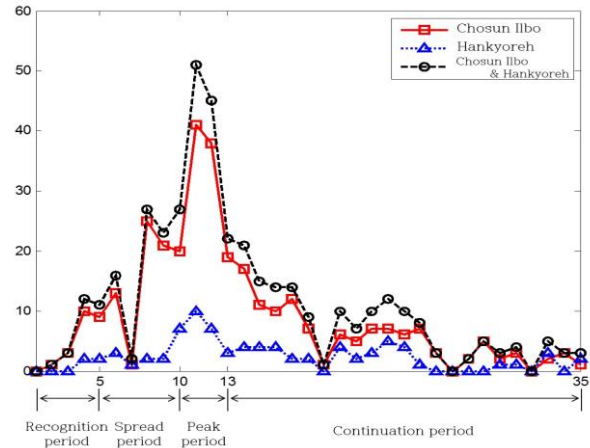


Figure 1: Frequency of the news stories about Gangnam Style; Source: Authors' findings

Table 2: Keywords and descriptions in Gangnam Style related news stories

	Period	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i> =	<i>Hankyoreh</i>
Keywords and descriptions for Psy	Recognition period	He who shakes the whole nation with Gangnam Style	Strange name/singer Psy
	Spread period	Psy, fluent in English, puts Korea on the map/Psy conquers the music charts in Korea and then appears in America	Main trend/current/iconic figure in the Korean wave cultural nationalism
	Peak period	Psy as the world class pop star/Psy's status as the worl class celebrity	Most Korean singer/No. 1 in iTunes chart in America/YouTube president Psy
	Continuation period	Conquering the world/Psy brings Gangnam Style craze to the world/world star overnight	World mesmerized by Gangnam Style/Psy shakes 2012 Korean popular music industry/Psy talked about in the global context
Keywords and descriptions for the global reception of Gangnam Style	Recognition period	Other world start praise Psy/audience falling in love with Psy/Psy causes a sensation/Foreign press also praise Gangnam Style/Langnam Style landing in Europe beyond Japan and America	Toxicate the world beyond Korea/world audience engaging/parody videos of Gangnam Style appearing in many different countries/hot topic in Korea and abroad
	Spread period	New Korean wave/Foreign media showing a great deal of interests in 'B-grade music video'/worldwide sensation/going beyond the success of K-pop/Psy craze in the whole of America	Unbelievable craze/attracting the world/Psy's vulgar, 'B-grade culture' as the catharsis for the audiences' anxieties
	Peak period	'Craze'/conquering the Billboard chart/great opportunity to let the world know about Korea and superiority of the Korean music/Official No. 1 in the British	Global syndrome/worldwide phenomenon/unexpected hit

		chart/conquering the music charts in the world/the whole world is Psy's world/Gangnam Style winning the world over	
	Continuation period	Unprecedented, phenomenal, global success/Conquering the YouTube/No. 1 product of the year/Spirit of Zinghiskan , conquering the world	Social phenomenon/transnational musical code key to the success of Gangnam Style
Keywords and descriptions for the period	Recognition period	None	None
implications of Gangnam Style's success	Spread period	Special advertising effect/The world watching Gangnam with curiosity/New phase for the tourism industry in Korea/The richest man Yang Hyun Suk (YG Entertainment)	Gangnam Council trying to make most of Psy's popularity/Enough of the Korean wave and nationalism
	Peak period	Economic value of Psy/Psy's success in profitable markets/Brand value of Seoul/promotional effect worldwide/Korea Tourism Organization and Gangnam Council also focusing on 'Gangnam Style marketing'	What has Psy's No. 1 in the Billboard chart got to do with the status of the nation?/Entertainment companies' shares going up/Distorted, nationalistic imagination such as "conquering the world"
	Continuation period	Psy becomes much sought after in American advertising market/Ending the thought and belief of American domination of global culture/K-pop as an excellent textbook for learning Korean language/Psy and other Korean musicians need to consider working the lyrics reflecting higher standard and class.	Need to give up the nationalistic marketing strategies relying on the national pride/inappropriate and excessive gestures by the media and the public, overemphasizing the effect of this phenomenon.

Source: Authors findings

The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference in terms of the use of keywords and descriptions depending on different timing. There was a sense of consistency throughout the four periods. In addition, it was not significantly different either between the two papers. Psy was referred to as the 'world star' most frequently in both papers. However, there was a slight difference in terms of the ways in which each paper reported the global reception of Gangnam Style. Whilst *Chosun Ilbo* used such expressions as 'invasion', 'sweep', 'craze' and 'fever', rather calm and understated tone was clearly felt in *Hankyoreh's* stories. For example, the 'big issue' and 'engagement or sympathy' were used in the second period of spread in *Hankyoreh* and also their use of the term 'B grade culture' showed how the critics interpreted this song and its dance routine. Having said that, in the peak period both papers had overly heated and celebratory tone by using descriptions like 'fever' and 'global phenomenon'. It was during the last period when we could witness stark contrast between the two papers: *Chosun Ilbo* continued maximizing the impact of this phenomenon whereas *Hankyoreh's* stories tended to be more analytical, examining in a reserved manner the reasons behind Gangnam Style's success which was once described as 'coincidental'.

When it came to the impact and implications of Gangnam Style's success in the global context, there was a big difference: *Chosun Ilbo* consistently framed the stories from economic perspectives, using such words as 'economic impact of Psy', 'brand value' and 'profits'. On the other hand, more stories on *Hankyoreh* criticized the 'nationalistic marketing' while using expressions like 'disproportionately high emphasis and significance' given to this phenomenon.

Regarding the second research question (RQ2), the following table (Table 3.) shows that the most predominant frame used in *Chosun Ilbo* was globalization frame (50 per cent) whereas cultural

interest frame (32 per cent) appeared most often in *Hankyoreh* sample. The second most frequently used frame was competition frame in both papers, merely reporting the recent events, achievements and records. For *Chosun Ilbo*'s sample, it was followed by criticism frame and economy frame whereas criticism frame and globalization frame followed in *Hankyoreh*'s sample. In particular, there were only two stories in *Chosun Ilbo* which used criticism frame. Similarly, economy frame only appeared 4 times in *Hankyoreh*.

Table 3: Dominant news frames used in gangnam style related stories (N/%)

Period	Recognition (Week 1- Week 5)		Spread (Week 6 – Week 10)		Peak (Week 11 – Week 13)		Continuation (Week 14 - Week 35)		Total
	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	<i>Hankyo Reh</i>	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	<i>Hankyo reh</i>	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	<i>Hankyo reh</i>	<i>Chosun Ilbo</i>	<i>Hankyo reh</i>	
Industry/ economy frame	0 (00.0)	0 (00.0)	10 (13.3)	2 (16.7)	19 (20.9)	2 (12.5)	3 (3,1)	0 (00.0)	36
Globalization frame	13 (68.4)	0 (00.0)	42 (54.7)	0 (00.0)	32 (35.2)	4 (25.0)	54 (55.1)	8 (21.6)	153
Cultural interest frame	6 (31.6)	4 (100)	11 (14.7)	3 (25.0)	8 (8.8)	5 (31.3)	16 (16.3)	10 (27.0)	63
Criticism frame	0 (00.0)	0 (00.0)	1 (1.3)	4 (33.3)	1 (1.1)	2 (12.5)	0 (00.0)	5 (13.5)	13
Competition Frame	0 (00.0)	0 (00.0)	12 (16.0)	3 (25.0)	31 (34.1)	3 (18.8)	25 (25.5)	14 (37.8)	88
Total	19 (100)	4 (100)	75 (100)	12 (100)	91 (100)	16 (100)	98 (100)	37 (100)	

Source: Authors' findings

In terms of the correlation between the timing of the news and its predominant frame, during the first period of *recognition*, globalization frame was most frequently used in *Chosun Ilbo* whilst this way of framing was not even once used in *Hankyoreh* and instead cultural interest frame dominated. Most stories in *Chosun Ilbo* during this period quoted the American media such as *CNN*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Time* as its main source of the news, transpiring the sense of Gangnam Style's invasion to the American market. By contrast, *Hankyoreh*'s stories tend to analyze the reasons why this song became popular from cultural perspectives. During the second period of *spread* and *diffusion*, there was a greater degree of diversity in terms of the news frames. However, in *Chosun Ilbo* more than half the stories used globalization frame, same as the previous period. The majority of the news stories dealt with how Psy made appearances in American television and heavily focused on a number of the western celebrities, for example, Tom Cruise, Ellen DeGenerere, and Katy Perry who talked about Psy and his music. In addition, more stories were found to have used economy frame' and competition frame in *Chosun Ilbo* in comparison to the previous period. On the other hand, criticism frame was most frequently used in *Hankyoreh*, most of which had a cautious attitude towards overly nationalistic media euphoria. Interestingly enough, it was from this period that *Hankyoreh* also took some economy frame in their reporting.

During the *peak* period, both papers had highest number of stories, with a rapid increase throughout. Globalization frame and economy frame were the two most frequently used frames in the stories covering everything from Psy's fashion, dance, to humor. *Hankyoreh*'s stories, however, were more in-depth and analytical, highlighting the fact that there are darker sides of K-pop. They drew people's attention to more serious issues like the fundamentals of Psy's success in western popular culture, how best to improve the overall perception of K-pop, and the urgent need to overcome nationalistic attitude in both media and general public.

## 5. Conclusion

The success of Gangnam Style is a good example of how once 'the periphery' (Shim 2006; Ryoo 2009) could find a subversive way into the mainstream western popular music industry using social



media. This brought a great deal of media attention in both domestic and global contexts. This study examined the predominant frames used in the news stories about Gangnam Style in *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh*. Both papers carried considerably larger amount of articles on this topic compared to any other stories about popular culture, which highlights the importance of this issue to the public. *Chosun Ilbo*, in particular, has four times more stories than *Hankyoreh*. Both papers shared the tendency of emphasizing the success of Gangnam Style worldwide but they showed a clear difference in terms of how they analyzed the possible cause and effect of this phenomenon. *Chosun Ilbo* used globalization frame most frequently to propose and reinforce the status of Korea as the prominent exporter of cultural contents. By contrast, cultural interest frame was most often used in *Hankyoreh* which at the same time criticized the nationalistic marketing approach that linked the success of Gangnam Style to the national achievements. Thus, another frequently used frame was criticism frame which cautiously avoided an overly celebratory and nationalistic attitude. Another difference between the two papers lied in the use of economy frame. Whilst this frame appeared consistently throughout the sampling period in *Chosun Ilbo*, it was only during the *peak* period that *Hankyoreh* adopted this framing strategy. These findings were in line with the existing brand values and identities for each paper: that is to say, *Chosun Ilbo* is known as one of the most conservative papers in Korea, claiming to stand for and support the ethos of nationalism and progress. *Hankyoreh*, on the other hand, is regarded as a left-wing and progressive paper, strongly believing in individualism, equality and distribution.

It was noticeable that globalization frame and cultural interest frame were prevalent in Gangnam Style related news stories in comparison to the predominant theme of economy and industry frame in the so-called '1.0 Korean Wave' discourses in the past. This seems that culture oriented frames were formulated and most frequently used as they provided the media an analytical framework to explain why Gangnam Style was more popular in America and Europe rather than East Asia. However, unfortunately most stories were limited to descriptive account of the chart related information and news rather than being expanded to critical appraisal and analysis of the reception and consumption process and future prospects of the K-pop as a global cultural phenomenon. As a result, both papers failed to provide the public with the parameters in which Gangnam Style can be discussed in a broader context of the new Korean Wave.

In conclusion, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Hankyoreh* both acknowledged that Gangnam Style was an epochal event but their perspectives and news frames were different in terms of how they understood the reason behind its success and the implications. As Tuchman (1978: iv) suggested, news frames set the parameters “in which citizens discuss public events” and these news frames are, in Gitlin's (1980: 7) terms, “persistent selection, emphasis and exclusion”. It is important to remember the fact that this provided a greater degree of diversity in public debates as well as private consumption of this cultural content. However, both papers focused on the celebration of how popular and superior the Korean popular culture became from a short term perspective rather than systematically and rigorously investigating a long term prospects and strategy to sustain the popularity of the 'new Korean wave' ('the 2.0 Korean wave'). In particular, *Chosun Ilbo*, which showed significantly higher frequencies of Gangnam Style related stories than its counterpart, has consistently identified the global popularity of Gangnam Style with the success and superiority of the Korean culture and the Korea as a nation. In order to facilitate more long term sustainability of the 'new Korean wave', merely nationalistic viewpoints and stories only emphasizing the economic impact need to be replaced by more critically analytical, reflective, in-depth stories from diverse perspectives.

Limitation of this study is that it only used the deductive approach in the sense that it started analyzing the news stories with the predefined frames as content analytic variables. This, however, could be the strength of this study as this method is easily replicable and it can also easily applicable to large sample. An ethnographic approach such as participant observation, focus group and in-depth interview could provide a useful direction for future research, adding a qualitative measure to the research.

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