



Program

Workshop
Belonging in South and North Korean popular culture:
diverse perspectives

August 30th-31st 2023

Universität Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Korean studies

Wednesday, 30.08.2023

09:30 – 09:45 Introduction by Prof. Dr. Yvonne Schulz Zinda

09:45 – 12:45 Panel 1

Belonging in Gender and Identity in North & South Korea

- a. Unpacking LGBTQ+ Belonging in South Korean Society: The Case of the "Boys Love" Web Series Semantic Error (2022) Baudinette, Thomas
- b. The Disappearing Diaspora: Social Change, Humor, and the Representation of Korea-Chinese Cultural Identity de Wit, Jerôme
- c. The Cultural Representations of North Koreans in South Korean Popular Culture: The intersectionality of Gender, Class and the Division System Kim, Sung Kyung

Coffee Break

- d. Investigating the Meaning of Indie Queer Filmmaking in 4 Korean Queers' Life Ryu, Jaewook
- e. Do We Belong Together?: An Analysis of the Korean Multiculturalism through the Seoul Central Mosque and Islam Assimilation Tenecio, Marvin

12:45 – 14:00 Lunch Break

14:00 – 16:00 Panel 2

Belonging in Media Culture: Exploring Film, Drama, and TV shows in South Korea

- a. The Entrepreneurial Migrant: Conditional Inclusion in South Korea -Istad, Felicia
- b. Precarious Heterotopia of Horror Lee, Andy
- c. Hometown stories community and sense of belonging in recent South Korean television dramas (2020s) Scherfling, Na-Rhee
- d. Seeking Belonging in Korea: Korean Media Consumption as Urban Self-Care Mercier, Faye

Thursday, 31.08.2023

09:30 – 12:30 Panel 1

Belonging in North Korea: Via Representation of North Korea in Films, TV shows and Novel

- a. Proudly North Korea: the concept of "us" in North Korean films "Two soldiers" (1995) and "Your son came back" (2000) Gabroussenko, Tatiana
- b. The two Koreas as seen in Netflix: a textual analysis of Nationhood and Political Unification in the Shows Designated Survivor: 60 Days (2019) and Money Heist: Korea Joint Economic area (2022) Lim Jr., Roberto P
- c. Belonging to Kûmgangsan in North Korean film Schulz Zinda, Yvonne

Coffee Break

- d. Exploring Typical Factors of Political Culture in North Korea via the work "Shortcut" (지름길) by Kim Dae-seong: A Subliminal path to the supreme leadership of Kim Jong Un La, Duy Tân
- e. Jingoistic Narratives on the Juche Silver Screen: North Koreanness in the DPRK Cinema Sebo, Gabor

12:30 – 14:00 Lunch Break

14:00 – 16:00 Panel 2

Belonging in Korean Music: Exploring K-Pop, K-Performance and K-Fandom culture

- a. Performing Community through Songs of Belonging: Rhythm, Flow, and Participation in Leenalchi's Pansori Pop Creutzenberg, Jan
- b. Where is Home: Displacement and Constructed Communities in Korean Hip-hop Farooqi, Amos
- c. All power to the fandoms: K-Pop Political activism in the case of the 2021 Chilean presidential election Jorquera, Constanza
- d. The Ambivalence of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Domestic K-pop Consumption: An Analysis of Foreign K-pop Idols on Korean Online Fan Communities – Kim, Taeyoung

Abstracts

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Baudinette, Thomas

Unpacking LGBTQ+ Belonging in South Korean Society: The Case of the "Boys Love" Web Series Semantic Error (2022)

Recent years have seen Boys Love (hereafter, BL) television series become a significant form of popular culture across East and Southeast Asia. First emerging in Japan and spreading to South Korea in the form of comics in the late 1980s, BL represents a genre of media focused on the romantic relationships between handsome young men that has become popular among young women and some queer men. Since the broadcast of the web series *Where Your Eyes Linger (Neo-eui shiseon-i meomeuneun geos-e)* in 2020, BL has become a significant phenomenon in contemporary South Korean popular culture. Indeed, the BL web series *Semantic Error (Shimaentik Ereo)* received particular critical and popular acclaim, with its K-pop idol stars Park Jaechan and Park Seoham notably utilizing their platforms to intervene into contemporary debates over LGBTQ+ rights and misogyny.

This presentation takes the BL series *Semantic Error* as a case study to explore debates over LGBTQ+ belonging in South Korea. I contrast the success of *Semantic Error* and its embeddedness within K-pop fandom culture with rising anti-LGBTQ+ rhetoric and misogyny on behalf of conservative sectors of South Korean society to expose the current limits of queer representation via BL. While my analysis of the series itself and the prominent pro-LGBTQ+ positions of its stars establishes *Semantic Error* as replete with queer representational politics that position LGBTQ+ individuals as belonging to society at large, I argue that these politics are currently frustrated by the capitalist imperatives which underpin BL production. I conclude, however, by adopting a reparative analytical approach that argues for the role BL may play in "culture jamming" anti-LGBTQ rhetoric which circulates in South Korea. To do so, I contrast the development of these series in South Korea with the Thai context where BL has recently become a significant tool for LGBTQ+ activism.

Creutzenberg, Jan

Performing Community through Songs of Belonging: Rhythm, Flow, and Participation in Leenalchi's Pansori Pop

This paper focuses on the recent re-emergence of *pansori* as pop and new discourses on Koreanness opened up by the songs of fusion band Leenalchi. The singing-storytelling art *pansori* used to be enjoyed across the strict class-divisions of pre-modern Korea but has since then lost its popular appeal. Dismissed as a relic of the past in North Korea, Park Chunghee's preservation policies transformed a once lively practice into a national cultural asset. With financial and ideological support, *pansori* remains alive and well-known amongst South Koreans. As an "icon of identity" (Keith Howard), this art considered quintessentially Korean may provide a sense of belonging to some, but until recently could hardly be considered popular.

Leenalchi's hit single "Tiger's Coming Down" (*Beom naeryeo onda*) is certainly not the first time *pansori* music, stories, or imagery have been successfully used to attract popular audiences. Yet, the appropriation of rhythmic features and the episodic narrative style of *pansori* seem to have hit a nerve. On the one hand, aesthetic choices (catchy hooks, microstorytelling, elaborate choreographies, fast-paced editing) evoke responses that transcend nationalist ideology. On the other hand, Leenalchi's borrowing from folklore contributes to an image change of *pansori* and, in extension, Korea. While earlier essentializing views often linked *pansori* and the nation's historical predicament through notions of *han*, a shared sense

of suffering, these emerging discourses use the complementary concept of *heung* (enthusiastic ecstasy) for alternative rhetorics.

The paper argues that performative effects of *pansori* and Leenalchi's music go hand in hand with a transformed sense of belonging that may explain the success – but also the limits – of current "Joseon pop".

de Wit, Jerôme

The Disappearing Diaspora: Social Change, Humor, and the Representation of Korean-Chinese Cultural Identity

The Open Door Policy promulgated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 started a rapid breakdown of Korean-Chinese traditional rural and community life. With the normalization of relations between China and South Korea in 1992, this process accelerated and the Korean Autonomous Prefecture of Yanbian was co-opted into the capitalist system. These rapid changes were a tremendous shock to the sense of self-identity of the Korean-Chinese and becomes clearly visible in the cultural texts (literature, songs, and movies) that the Korean-Chinese created from the 1990s onwards.

This paper will trace the trajectory that Korean-Chinese identity took after these shocks and have a look at how the contemporary Korean-Chinese community perceives and represents its identity through culture. As a means of coming to terms with their newly emerging reality, we see that humor for the Korean-Chinese often serves an important function, even if its only use is to (briefly) overcome unresolved contradictions that they see building up within their identity and in their society.

Farooqi, Amos

Where is Home? Displacement and Constructed Communities in Korean Hip-hop

Place has long been valued and influential in the development of hip-hop, from its very beginnings to the present day (Forman 2002). Whether it be a street, neighborhood, or city, local places and markers are frequently invoked in the lyrics and imagery of hip-hop artists in the United States and around the world, from the UK to Russia to Palestine. However, in contrast to trends in global hip-hop and Korea's own music history, the Korean hip-hop scene has largely eschewed local attachments in favor of imagined translocal and transnational affiliations. This study will seek to better understand this phenomenon through interviews with a wide variety of prominent artists and figures in the Korean hip-hop scene undertaken from January to August 2023, visual analysis of music videos, textual analysis of lyrics, and participant observation. I argue that modern historical trends of mass displacement in Korea, triggered by colonization, war, and rapid industrialization and urbanization, have not completely dissipated in the contemporary era. Economic instabilities and insecurity, urban regeneration schemes, and regional inequality continue to cause high levels of displacement and weaken local attachments amongst the general population. As a result, localist sentiment within the Korean hip-hop scene has become muted in comparison to its peers abroad and artists are pushed towards affiliations with imagined/constructed communities.

Gabroussenko, Tatiana

Proudly North Korean: the concept of "us" in North Korean films "Two soldiers" (1995) and "Your son came back" (2000)

The economic collapse, famine, and international isolation of the 1990s have seriously compromised the conventional mode of self-presentation of North Korea as a modernised and prosperous 'paradise on earth'. According to this mode, not only were the citizens of the DPRK not envious of anyone in the world, but they were also objects of envy of their brethren living in the archaic, poor South Korea. This line kept unchanged for decades, yet it apparently stopped working in the period of the "arduous march".

Searching for the new sources of pride of being a North Korean, the official propaganda developed a new mode. According to it, belonging to North Korean community implies a range of spiritual and social benefits which outweigh all the pluses of the rich South. Good examples are two feature films, "Two soldiers" (1995) and "Your son came back" (2000), with the resembling plots. The films narrate about North Korean soldiers, caught by South Koreans as the result of some accidents during military training near the borders and transported to Seoul in a powerless or unconscientious state. After the soldiers come to their senses, their jailers subject them to all sorts of temptations, luring them to abandon their motherland for the capitalist paradise; the soldiers reject the enticements of the South and return to the embraces of the Leader.

Both films lack action and focus instead on the existential dispute of the opposite national identities of the North and South Koreans. The films aim to provide reasons for loyalty to the North Korean motherland even in the most difficult period.

Istad, Felicia

The Entrepreneurial Migrant: Conditional Inclusion in South Korea

Shows featuring migrants have become popular television in South Korea. This article examines how media shapes migrant representations by foregrounding entrepreneurial citizenmaking. The study draws on research of conditional inclusion and employs discourse analysis to conduct a close-reading of the public broadcasting show *My Neighbor Charles*. The findings demonstrate how television production promotes a neoliberal ideal of migrants in which self-reliance and precarity is normalized through the celebration of entrepreneurial processes. The article concludes with a discussion of citizen boundary making that conditions the favorable inclusion of migrants on their ability to make economic contributions without relying on local institutions of employment or welfare. The role of a public broadcaster in promoting conditional inclusion through popular media is highlighted along with implications for cultural policy.

Jorquera, Constanza

All power to the fandoms: K-Pop Political activism in the case of the 2021 Chilean presidential election

Historically, K-Pop has been a tool for political activism and community action mechanisms. In recent years has developed and deepened, having a more significant presence in contingent sociopolitical problems at a global level, considering that the fans mostly hold progressive values. The participation of K-Pop fans in the 2019 social uprising in Chile, the Black Lives Matter movement, the US presidential campaign in 2020, and the citizen protests in Colombia in 2021 has become a significant political force capable of achieving concrete results. In Chile, K-Pop fans are called "Kpopers," mainly in a derogatory way, and that label has been claimed as a political identity force in the past three years. Since the social uprising in 2019, K-pop fans helped spread and organize information and organizational skills, and the ability to make content go viral, targeted as a "subversive group" by the government. The presidential elections at the end of 2021 were a turning point where a conservative religious candidate, Jose Antonio Kast, and a progressive former student leader candidate, Gabriel Boric, faced each other. During the campaign, all the fandoms came together to create a political movement both on social networks and in the streets, capturing the media's attention and the political class itself using tactics that they usually spread to support their favorite idols to mobilize voting for Boric, who became the youngest and most voted president in the history of Chile. It demonstrated the power of the fandom's innovative use of social media mobilization.

Kim, Sung Kyung

The Cultural Representations of North Koreans in South Korean Popular Culture : The intersectionality of Gender, Class and the Division System

Many have witnessed the frequent representations of North Koreans in South Korean popular culture especially film and TV dramas. Given the ideological confrontation between the two Koreas after the division in 1953, the representation of North Koreans in South Korean popular culture had remained rather antagonistic and simplistic till the late 1990s. That is, North Koreans were portrayed as cold-blooded and brainwashed characters suffered from the oppression of the North Korean regime. With the collapse of the Cold War in the 1990s and subsequent reconciliation process between the two Koreas in the late 1990s, the cultural representations of North Koreans have diversified from enemy to 'poor' neighbor as well as a part of the divided ethnicity. South Korean films and TV dramas strategically facilitate North Korean characters with sympathetic and nationalist sentiments for attracting more South Korean audiences. In the age of global media platform including OTT service, however, South Korean popular culture targeting global audience starts to portray North Koreans as the symbol of the social minority and the precarious class, and it also strategically utilizes the issue of the division and the characters of North Koreans in text as the elements of "Koreaness". This paper will argue that the popularity of K-culture opens up the possibility of representing local culture to global market, but the use of North Korean characters still remains rather one of devices to give bits of locality in a globalized K-pop culture.

Kim, Taeyoung

The Ambivalence of Nationalism and Transnationalism in Domestic K-pop Consumption: An Analysis of Foreign K-pop Idols on Korean Online Fan Communities

This study investigates the cultural politics of how the Korean audience recognises foreign members of Korean pop music (K-pop) idols. Korean pop music has been utilised as an essential tool by many ideological apparatuses in Korean society—including the government and media—to show off the nation's political-economic power worldwide. Many successful K-pop idols, from the girl group Red Velvet and Blackpink to the boy band BTS, have been major instruments to strengthen the nation's soft power and established themselves as the key element constituting the national image.

Meanwhile, major K-pop companies have recruited foreign trainees, like Lisa of the girl group Blackpink and Renjun of the boy group NCT Dream, to attract more foreign audiences, along with making their content more transcultural and odourless (Iwabuchi 2002; Kim 2023). Despite their contribution to the popularity of their idol groups, foreign K-pop idols were often criticised for their attachment to and endorsement of their home country, such as Chinese K-pop idols' endorsement of the political messages delivered by the Chinese government on their social media.

In this regard, by using the online ethnography of several fan community platforms in which domestic fans express opinions about their favourite K-pop idols, as well as discourse analysis of the collected data from online ethnography, this study explores the discursive nature of the Korean audience's consumption of foreign K-pop idols. The findings will contribute to understanding the prevalence of nationalist sentiments and practices in the production and consumption of K-pop despite its transcultural and transnational genre characteristics.

La, Duy Tân

Exploring Typical Factors of Political Culture in North Korea via the work "Shortcut" (지름길) by Kim Dae-seong: A Subliminal path to the supreme leadership of Kim Jong Un

Since the year 2010 when North Korea Kim Jong II's health condition was confirmed fatal, Kim Jong Un (born in 1984) became known as the next legitimate successor and political leader of his family. From 2011, giant media enterprises around the world were attracted by the question upon the newly risen young leader's pattern of leadership in one of the most reclusive and secretive countries of the globe.

In North Korea, the image of the top leader of its polity is known to be built in extremity by which the leader plays as the utmost guardian who is able to deliver guidance and offer protection and at the same time represents the undefeatable status of the political entity desired by North Korean think-tanks.

Published in 2014 in North Korea, translated and introduced to the Vietnamese public by Vietnam Writers' Association in 2020, The Shortcut by Kim Dae-seong proposed an interesting perspective of ``the insiders" on deciphering the image of young leader Kim Jong Un which is totally different from the normality projected by Western medias.

This paper is written primarily on the available source in "The shortcut" (지름길) to argue the founding forces and factors of a young leader with heated devotion whilst being mature to exhibit unconditional love for his fervent followers. In the same lights, the work also depicts North Korea's views on national domestic policy which tends to make a shift from ''Military First" politics (seongun jeongchi 선군정치) to the inclusion of ''all for the advance of high-

end technology" strategies. In addition, this research also illustrates and interprets different aspects of adopting the thoughts of Confucianism in North Korean political culture from what normally known elsewhere in other East Asian countries.

Lee, Andy

Precarious Heterotopia of Horror

In my presentation, I introduce the concept of "precarious heterotopia of horror" as an useful framework for analyzing not only Korean horror films but also other socially conscious films and drama series like *Parasite* and *The Glory*, containing horror-driven elements and cinematic techniques. By breaking down genre boundaries and emphasizing interconnectedness between different filmic expressions, this approach encourages a more nuanced understanding of film as a medium for exploring complex social issues. I argue that this concept becomes particularly potent in high-school horror, as the school setting often serves as a place of contestation for teenagers who are frequently marginalized and oppressed by society before they graduate to go out into the real world. In my presentation, I focus on the 1998 film *Whispering Corridors*—in which a Korean high school setting functions as a site of tension between opposing forces in society while providing a space for the subversion of power dynamics among teenagers caught in the struggle between individualism and homogenization, both at the time of the their release and beyond, resonating with contemporary sociocultural issues in Korea society.

Lim Jr., Roberto P

The two Koreas as seen in Netflix: a textual analysis of Nationhood and Political Unification in the Shows Designated Survivor: 60 Days (2019) and Money Heist: Korea - Joint Economic area (2022)

The current state of Korean unification remains at a standstill. Such a condition is reflected in media portrayals that approach the issue from different perspectives. Noting the dominance of Western and liberal ideologies in popular culture, these portrayals encompass a wide range of viewpoints, including optimistic and imaginative scenarios involving cooperation and unity, as well as pessimistic and antagonistic depictions involving conflict and conspiracy, particularly in relation to North Korea. This paper utilizes a textual analysis approach, employing framing theory as a guiding framework, to critically examine representations of nationhood and political unification as portrayed in two remakes of Western Netflix series: Designated Survivor: 60 Days (Yoo Jong-sun, 2019) and Money Heist: Korea - Joint Economic Area (Kim Hong-sun, 2022). The representation in the two shows delves into the social and political dynamics that arise from possibilities and criticisms regarding the unification of the two Koreas. Through these interpretations and interrogations, the responsibility for shaping public discourse on this contentious issue in Northeast Asian politics lies in the hands of the authors of media texts, and subsequently, in the viewers, particularly those who avidly consume media texts with a similar milieu, theme, and representation.

Mercier, Fave

Seeking Belonging in Korea: Korean Media Consumption as Urban Self-Care

This paper aims to explore how foreign tourists/visitors in South Korea draw on their experiences with Korean media to negotiate the (dis)juncture of Korea as both 'imagined' and 'real' place. Using a collective ethnography as its basis, this paper will examine how consumers of Korean media (K-Dramas, K-Pop, Korean Cinema, Social Media etc.) interpret their first experience of Korea as 'real' place through the lens of mediated urban imaginaries. In particular, this paper supposes that these tourists draw on their media-based knowledge and understanding of Korea to enact of form of urban self-care, one that assists them in navigating the particularities of Korea's vibrant yet dense urban landscape. By rooting themselves in imaginaries of Korean communities, this paper suggests that these travellers can find moments of understanding and belonging in this foreign urban locale. In particular, by using mediated understandings of Korean life they can imagine themselves as part of a larger Korean society, thus giving sense to the urban environment around them. Given the significant growth and global expansion of the Korean entertainment industry in recent years, as well as the South Korean government's official cultural soft-power policy, this paper will also question whether popular media production has a place in the construction of belonging and perception of caring cities.

Ryu, Jaewook

Investigating the Meaning of Indie Queer Filmmaking in 4 Korean Queers' Life

In Korea, revealing homosexuality is still difficult and a sensitive matter. Beyond the lack of debate about homosexuality in Korea, Korean society still treats homosexuality as criminal sexual behaviour in terms of juvenile protection. Based on the law for juvenile protection, homosexuality in the Korean law system is regarded as abnormal sexual behaviour. Thus, it does not seem to belong to sexuality. In spite of much educational information via the internet against prejudice and misunderstanding about homosexuality, Korean society still seems to worry about discussing issues of homosexuality.

Most research about queer people tends to focus on their life and identity in a heteronormative structure. In fact, they mostly stay on personal stories related to the identity of queers. However, there are four queer (gays) that intend to communicate their voices in the face of prejudice through film production beyond their personal lives. It is very important in that the meaning of their filmmaking goes beyond individual life, voice, and identity politics and is a study that can explore the political meaning of queer films and deal with social activities, such as challenges against heteronormativity and community expansion.

This research will mainly look into the queer experience and reality through their queer films and the meaning and process of their queer filmmaking. And I will explore and compare the themes of each queer film and analyse their films to figure out the intentions and purpose of filmmaking and the meaning of communication with audiences. With this research, I plan to make a documentary film about four indie queer film directors with interviews.

Sebo, Gabor

Jingoistic Narratives on the Juche Silver Screen: North Koreanness in the DPRK Cinema

The national culture of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) enduringly adores the Fatherland, idolizes the leader, and demands unconditional obey for the state party from the earliest period. Within this political realm, Korean ethno-nationalism has been blended with the myth of the Kim family, designing the de facto state belief. The country's manifestation of national consciousness en route of *Uri Minzokkiri* (우리 민족끼리, our ethnic nation, lit. among our nation) has been shaped and fortified from decade to decade to preserve the pure national image. In this respect, North Korea has strayed from the initial course of socialist solidarity and maneuvered itself to jingoistic orientation while also maintaining the East Asian Confucian socio-political codes.

This paper aims to scrutinize the visual recognition of North Korean patriotism and how formal components of North Korean identity, "North Koreanness," are delineated via the lenses of DPRK cinema. My goal is to observe how this flag-waver perception has been engaged in everyday life throughout select cinematic periods from socialist realist narratives, through the Chollima-era, the Juche realist notion, the "nothing to envy in the world" (세상에 부럼 없어라) frame within the cultural relaxation of the 1980s —the North Korean New Wave (Chollyo)—, to "our style socialism" (우리식 사회주의) marking the most challenging historical times during the 1990s, the Arduous March (고난의 행군).

As an illustration, the originally released (1955) and the heavily cut versions (contemporary Mokran Video release) of *The Newlyweds* (신호부부, Yun Yong-gyu,1955) expose how the prior international socialist stance turned to extreme leader deification (Kimilsungism), engendering two pointedly distinct political aspects.

Schulz Zinda, Yvonne

Belonging to Kûmgangsan in North Korean film

The Diamond Mountains have been a sujet in art and literature from pre-modern times on. In addition, it has been a hot spot for travelers as various pre-modern carvings and travelogues indicate. After the establishment of the DPRK, the Diamond mountains still retain a highly symbolic meaning. This time, red inked socialist slogans were carved into the mountains. In 1973, the revolutionary opera "Maidens of the Diamond Mountains " was staged. It is based on at least two film versions in the 1950s and 1960s. The early film version from 1959, reflects the period of socialist construction as a rite de passage. It is not as streamlined and patriarchal as the 1973 opera. This paper seeks to trace the changing connotation of belonging to the mountain in terms of narrative and setting.

Tenecio, Marvin

Do We Belong Together?: An Analysis of the Korean Multiculturalism through the Seoul Central Mosque and Islam Assimilation

Following the 9/11 attacks and the 2007 event where the Taliban abducted Korean citizens in Afghanistan, Islamophobic sentiments, such as unfavorable impressions and prejudices towards Islam and Muslims, have recently increased in South Korean society and affected the Muslim minority.

This study seeks to enrich the knowledge of Islamic Studies and Korean Studies by providing a viewpoint rooted in realities faced by Korean Muslims and investigating how Koreans react to Islam and Islamophobia, analyzing written literature from the Korean perspective, both Muslim and non-Muslim, to determine whether the responses result from Islamophobia or Korean ethnocentrism.

To limit the scope of the analysis, the researcher examines Seoul Central Mosque as a space and discourse for both the acceptance of and antagonism against Muslims among Koreans using social media to highlight the Koreans' general impression or image of the said Islamic institution.

The paper concludes by arguing that there is anti-Islam sentiment in Korea toward the Seoul Central Mosque. This attitude is rooted in nationalism and Islamophobia due to the Taliban's abduction of Koreans in Afghanistan and the 9/11 attacks. On the other hand, the Seoul Central Mosque may indicate that Koreans are slowly becoming more accepting of Islam. The Islamic institution serves as a welcoming urban area for intercultural communication between Koreans who are Muslims and those who are not. But, in some cases, Korea is more interested in Muslim business and economic activities due to its desire to access the global halal markets.

Although it can be difficult for Korean Muslims to identify their position in society, they may be able to support broader global concerns by speaking Korean well and reducing cultural and sociological gaps and misconceptions between Muslims and the larger Korean population.