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## BRIEF REPORT

## Into the Purple Ocean: The Formation and Dynamics of a Transcultural Fandom as a Result of Cultural Diffusion Through K-Pop

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Within the context of cultural exchange, research into the impact of Korean pop (K-pop) music and its idols largely focuses on their marketability rather than the psychological effects this exchange may have on their fandom. The aim of this research, therefore, is to investigate the formation and dynamics of a transcultural fandom as a result of cultural diffusion through K-pop through the relationship between Bangtan Sonyeondan (a K-pop group) and their fandom, ARMY. Through this research we hope to examine the formation of a new transcultural fandom “in-group” as a function of cultural diffusion, as well as the role of the idol in this process. A quantitative design was employed, consisting of a cross-sectional survey with 116 participants completing measures of identification with all of humanity, universal values, online group identification, knowledge of in-group norms, and remote acculturation levels. Results revealed that stronger identification with the in-group, ARMY, was a significant predictor of ability to detect and use in-group cues to predict target identities successfully, increased remote acculturation, and increased identification with all of humanity. Overall, the research provides insights into the relationships between idol and fan, the levels of remote acculturation experienced by ARMY, and the subsequent identities that are constructed within the new transcultural context of their global community.

**Public Policy Relevance Statement**

Cultural exchange via K-pop music and its idols results in the subsequent identity change of their fandoms. In the case of South Korean music group Bangtan Sonyeondan and their fandom, ARMY, this exchange has led to the formation of a transcultural fandom in-group (complete with their own in-group markers), increased levels of acculturation, strong identification with all of humanity, and a unique dynamic between the idols and the fans themselves.

**Keywords:** remote acculturation, identity, K-pop, identification with all of humanity, group identity

**The Korean Wave**

AQ4 Cultural diffusion sees the spread of cultural elements such as items, practices, and beliefs from one social group to another (Wang & Weng, 2022). Within the context of South Korean culture, this is known as Hallyu or the Korean Wave. Though now illustrated by the monumental success of the Netflix series “Squid Game,” and Oscar-winning motion picture “Parasite” (Huang, 2022; Wang & Weng, 2022), the mid-1990s saw this phenomena characterized by

the growing popularity of South Korean soap operas and dramas abroad (Han, 2022; Jin & Yoon, 2016). Where the majority of this interest ultimately waned as these broadcasts drew to a close, a second instance of Hallyu in recent years has proven most noteworthy for its ability to generate a more decided fervor for participating in and learning of Korean culture (Bok-Rae, 2015). As a result, psychologists and political scientists alike have begun to heed this heightened interest and the outcomes it may have as it advances toward scales of globalization, with cultures now influencing one another by way of communication and trade (Elfving-Hwang, 2018; Gleibs & Reddy, 2017).

The impact of this globalization is perhaps best reflected within the Korean pop (K-pop) music genre and its subsequent global fandom communities. Gaining traction worldwide for its ability to fulfill a niche in the market, the K-pop category sees western genres such as hip-hop, pop, electronic, and R&B melded alongside flamboyant visual concepts. Epitomizing the “pop perfectionism” (Lie, 2012) that music fans sought, Bangtan Sonyeondan (BTS), have continued to break several records across the music industry (Bowenbank, 2021; Chin, 2022), gaining recognition as the most successful and

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Dakota Newton served as lead for conceptualization, investigation, methodology, writing—original draft, and writing—review and editing. Nelli Ferenczi served as lead for supervision and contributed equally to writing—review and editing.

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high-profile representation of K-pop artists in current times. Furthermore, with their fandom, referred to as ARMY, consisting of over 40 million people and spanning more than 100 countries worldwide (Grover & Ringland, 2022; Moon, 2020), questions surrounding the influence of this diffusion on the subsequent identity (a person's sense of self, made of physical, and psychological characteristics unique to them) and in-group dynamics of these fans are important to explore (Vignoles et al., 2011). Ideas that ARMY represents a new transcultural in-group—where a community of members belonging to various cultural backgrounds is forged based upon their idols and cultural exchange—therefore form the foundations for our study (McLaren & Dal Yong, 2020).

## Cultural Hybridity From Cultural Exchange

BTS are frequently regarded as a vessel for cultural exchange; indeed, South Korea's positioning of idols at the forefront of soft power movements in recent years is a reflection of this sentiment (Elfving-Hwang, 2018). With music videos such as "Idol" pairing EDM and South African dance music with Pansori (Korean traditional music) (Ningsih & Tjahyadi, 2022), the group exemplifies the ways in which culture can be appreciated and learnt via explorative means through synergizing aspects from external cultures with enlightening displays of their own heritage. Consequently, elements of this may be reflected within their fandom by way of remote acculturation, a modern process by which contact with cultures outside of one's own via indirect or intermittent means results in the individual or group undergoing a cultural and psychological change (Ferguson et al., 2017).

The transfer of culture through media has been observed previously in fans of other entertainment forms such as Reggae music and Japanese anime where increased exposure to these cultural elements led to higher levels of acculturation (Ferguson et al., 2016; Williams, 2006). Considering the saturation of content that ARMY is in constant exposure to in terms of a vibrant showcasing of South Korean culture found within the groups' music, social media, and various variety show-style content including "Run BTS!," "BTS in the SOOP," and "BTS Bon Voyage" (Razi et al., 2019), it raises questions as to whether this process is amplified for this community. It is through this virtual interaction that the internalization of new values will occur; thus, participation in South Korean culture now begins to transcend the surface-level interests in language or food and individuals are able to inherit and adopt values and social norms on a deeper, more psychological and belief-based level (Han, 2022).

Strong identification with a transcultural fandom may also lead to the generalization of positive attitudes to those beyond the boundaries of the in-group. Past studies have seen ARMY collectively engaging in prosocial action around the world (Jang, 2021; Nu, 2020; Park et al., 2021); with the fandom spanning more than 100 countries worldwide (Grover & Ringland, 2022), ARMY may demonstrate a greater identification with all of humanity, feeling closer to people around the world regardless of their varying backgrounds (Hamer et al., 2019). Self-categorization theory along with the common in-group identity model can be used to explain the basis for this argument. The theory suggests that there are three levels of identity: personal (own attitudes dictate behavior), group (group membership dictates behaviors, e.g., race, nationality), and human (humanity as one in-group) (Ellithorpe et al., 2018). Whichever of the three categories are most salient for a

person will dictate their behavior in a given situation. When the superordinate human category is most salient but other subgroups still remain accessible this generalization of positive values occurs.

Considering how a sizable emphasis is placed upon the value of belonging to the fandom in itself (Elfving-Hwang, 2018) whilst still demonstrating extensive prosocial attitudes, ARMY belonging could function similarly to the superordinate human in-group category which would enable this transfer of attitudes to take place. Furthermore, BTS reinforces the value of global citizenship within the in-group through UNICEF campaigns and donations for various humanitarian causes (Artz, 2021). If the fandom perceives the in-group (BTS and ARMY) as actively valuing global citizenship we predict that the likelihood of fandom members internalizing these values will also increase (Plante et al., 2014).

## The Role of the Idol

Whilst identification with the transcultural in-group may inspire changes to identity over time, the role that idols themselves play in setting a precedent for these endeavors must not be overlooked. Past research establishes that within the frame of cultural exchange, BTS appear to simultaneously occupy the roles of K-pop idol, global musician, and cultural ambassador (Keith, 2021). However, the role they hold within the new in-group and what that means for in-group members is an aspect yet to be explored.

Within the fandom, idols are regarded as individuals with whom the fans share a deep connection with, though past explanations for this bond are explored no further than the rudimentary basis of adulation and celebrity worship, with idols placed upon distant pedestals to be viewed as superiors (Shin, 2014). However, when broaching the topic with the supposition that BTS occupy positions of prominent in-group members amongst the fans themselves, we then contend that the relationship between individuals and these figures is often mediated by the compatibility of their values (Yurdakul-Şahin & Atik, 2013). Thus preexisting values shared between fan and idol are expected to affect bond with fans in the same way.

However, being pivotal members of the new in-group, BTS may represent more than just the objects of adulation that idols have been likened to in the past. Alternatively, the scarce research available examining the relationship between idol and fan has seen idols conceptualized as a type of parasocial kin—a close bonded companion on par with one's friendship or familial network (Elfving-Hwang, 2018). Simultaneously, the group also appears to occupy positions of vicarious "role models," figures that are respected and looked upon to provide guidance on behaviors that should or should not be imitated (Makgosa, 2010). While observing that their idols have influenced ARMY's behavior with regard to material goods in the past (Makgosa, 2010; Tan, 2022), it begs the question as to whether values and traits may be acquired in the same manner. In this instance, the frequent parasocial interactions shared between BTS and ARMY through music, content, and interactive platforms such as Weverse may enable the transfer of traits and values. It is here we posit that ARMY may demonstrate similar values and personal likenesses to BTS based upon the perceived personalities of their idols which are also incorporated into the new in-group identity. With past findings detailing the way in which K-pop and BTS fandom communities may strive to embody traits, behaviors, and attitudes akin to members of their favorite groups (Kwon, 2012), it is clear that the readiness to emulate one's idols extends far beyond the parameters of cultural

237 exchange. However, no research to date has investigated the success  
 238 nor the depth of these new in-group markers.

239 With seven BTS members to look upon for guidance, the question  
 240 of who initiates this exploration of identity arises. Be it the  
 241 whole group, a single member, or a combination of the two, within  
 242 the K-pop community the term “bias” is used to signify the mem-  
 243 ber(s) a fan has selected as their favorite (Jenol, 2020). Within the  
 244 fandom, both Korean and English are often combined to create  
 245 words and phrases that hold new meaning for the in-group, with  
 246 language acting as an important marker for identity (Guerra &  
 247 Sousa, 2021; Touhami & Al-Haq, 2017). The term “bias” is a tes-  
 248 tament to this, and with the word being a pivotal term within the  
 249 context of the fandom, we have adopted this term in our research  
 250 to explore the importance of a chosen role model. Though reasons  
 251 for the selection of one’s bias may differ from one individual to the  
 252 next, we may assume that the bias represents the member with  
 253 whom the fan resonates with most, with people tending to natu-  
 254 rally gravitate toward those they find most similar or attractive  
 255 (Alves et al., 2016; Schouten et al., 2020). Research showing  
 256 behavioral change as a result of witnessing a role model perceived  
 257 as having similar values performing that behavior supports our  
 258 prediction that the bias would act as the primary source of identi-  
 259 fication and thus the main role model (Radu & Loué, 2008). This  
 260 identification with one’s bias provides an explanation as to why  
 261 they are used to determine which characteristics, values, and  
 262 behaviors are integrated within one’s individual and in-group  
 263 identities.

## 264 Aims of the Research

265 Through this study, we aim to highlight the remote acculturation  
 266 experienced by fans toward South Korean culture as well as the  
 267 emergence of a new transcultural in-group identity (ARMY). We  
 268 aim to discover the effects of cultural diffusion on the identity con-  
 269 struction of fans as well as the new in-group dynamics that this has  
 270 produced. Albeit not the first instance that this cultural phenomena  
 271 has occurred, the “Korean Wave 2.0” (Lie, 2012) marks an era  
 272 where technological affordances may enhance the interactivity  
 273 between these fandom dynamics, cultural exchanges, and their sub-  
 274 sequent outcomes relative to identity.

275 The following hypotheses were formulated for this study:

276 *Hypothesis 1 (H1):* Participants who strongly identify with the  
 277 fandom group will be able to use in-group cues from a series  
 278 of vignettes to predict target identity (bias) more successfully.

279 *Hypothesis 2 (H2):* Participants who strongly identify with their  
 280 bias will perceive their values to overlap more with their bias rela-  
 281 tive to participants who do not identify strongly with their bias.

282 *Hypothesis 3 (H3):* Participants who have stronger parasocial  
 283 interactions with their bias will also perceive their values to  
 284 overlap more with their bias relative to participants who do  
 285 not have stronger parasocial interactions with their bias.

286 *Hypothesis 4 (H4):* Participants who strongly identify with their  
 287 fandom in-group will demonstrate increased remote acculturation.

288 *Hypothesis 5 (H5):* Participants who strongly identify with their  
 289 fandom in-group will demonstrate increased identification with  
 290 all of humanity.

## Method

291 Ethical approval for this study was received from Brunel  
 292 University London on December 7, 2021.

## Participants

293 One hundred and sixteen participants identifying as ARMY were  
 294 recruited using volunteer sampling between December 12, 2021 and  
 295 February 15, 2022. Eighty-one participants were recruited via social  
 296 media platforms such as Twitter, Instagram, and Weverse, and 35 par-  
 297 ticipants were recruited through a participant pool of a London-based  
 298 university in the United Kingdom ( $M_{age} = 21.67$  years,  $SD_{age} =$   
 299 5.82). Participants reported the following gender identities: female  
 300 (88.8%), male (4.3%), and other (6.9%). Participants reported national-  
 301 ities from the following regions: Western European (37.9%),  
 302 Eastern European (8.6%), North American (9.5%), South American  
 303 (1.7%), South and East Asian (6.9%), West African (0.86%), and  
 304 East African (0.86%).

## Materials

### Identification With All of Humanity

305 This was measured using the identification with all humanity  
 306 (IWAH) scale (Hamer et al., 2020). Participants responded to nine  
 307 items (e.g., “How much do you identify with [that is, feel a part of,  
 308 feel love toward, have concern for] each of the following?”) using a  
 309 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all* to 5 = *very much*). The items in  
 310 the scale were composed of two subscales of “bond” and “concern”  
 311 which were collapsed into one overarching score of “identification  
 312 with all of humanity”; Cronbach’s alpha was reliable ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

### Similarity Between the Participant and Their Bias

313 This was measured using the Ten Item Values Inventory (TIVI)  
 314 (Sandy et al., 2016). A 6-point Likert scale was used (1 = *not like*  
 315 *me at all* to 6 = *very much like me*) and participants chose how simi-  
 316 lar the person described was to themselves (e.g., “It’s very impor-  
 317 tant to them to help the people around them. They want to care for  
 318 their well-being.”). Cronbach’s alpha was reliable ( $\alpha = .67$ ). Participants  
 319 then completed an additional modified version of this  
 320 scale for their bias (1 = *not like my bias at all* to 6 = *very much*  
 321 *like my bias*). Cronbach’s alpha was also reliable ( $\alpha = .79$ ). To assess  
 322 the extent to which participants perceived themselves as similar to  
 323 their bias, a similarity score was created by subtracting the TIVI  
 324 score corresponding to the participant from the one correspond-  
 325 ing to their bias with higher scores indicating more dissimilarity. We  
 326 transformed all scores into absolute values, thus higher scores (fur-  
 327 ther from zero) indicated more dissimilarity.

### Online Group or Fandom Identification

328 This was measured using the Online Group Identity Scale  
 329 (Howard & Magee, 2013) which was adapted to refer to “ARMY”  
 330 as the target group identity. A 7-point Likert scale was used (1 =  
 331 *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*) for 14 questions about par-  
 332 ticipants’ identification with ARMY. An example of the questions  
 333 presented is “I am glad to be a member of ARMY.” Cronbach’s  
 334 alpha was reliable ( $\alpha = .94$ ).

### Parasocial Interaction and Parasocial Identification

These were measured using the Celebrity Persona Identification Scale (CPIS; Brown & Bocarnea, 2007). Ten items were used from the parasocial interaction subscale to measure parasocial interaction between idol and fan (e.g., “[name of bias] makes me feel as if I am with someone I know well.”), and 10 additional items were taken from the identification subscale to measure identification levels (e.g., “What is important to [name of bias] is important to me”). Participants indicated whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements provided about their biases using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, to 5 = *strongly agree*). Participants reported their bias’ name prior to completing the measure which allowed tailoring of the scale. Cronbach’s alpha was reliable ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

### Knowledge of In-Group Cues

Knowledge of in-group norms was measured by the success rate of identifying in-group cues using three vignettes created by the first author. Each vignette described a person and included two in-group indicators which corresponded with a BTS member. Defining traits of the members were selected from interviews and social media. Examples of this include the vignette presented to signify the member Kim Seokjin, where the behavior cue of going on fishing trips was obtained from various Twitter posts and online stories (Mendez, 2021), while his love for telling jokes was denoted in candid videos as well as online articles (Dzurillay, 2021). Participants were tasked with matching the BTS member correctly to the vignette based on the in-group cues described.

### Remote Acculturation

Participants were asked 13 statements pertaining to their possible interest and involvement with Korean culture (e.g., “I enjoy Korean language TV”). This was adapted by the researchers based on the items from the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale and the Mexican Orientation Scale. This used a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *does not describe me* to 5 = *describes me extremely well*). Cronbach’s alpha was reliable ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

### Procedure

Participants were directed to the Qualtrics website via web link to complete the short 10–15-min questionnaire. An information sheet

and consent form were presented and signed electronically by participants prior to their taking part. Participants were ensured confidentiality throughout the study and were informed of their right to withdraw. Participants then filled out a series of scales, starting with the IWAH scale, TIVI scale, and Online Group Identity scale. Participants were then asked to disclose who their bias was to complete the CPIS scale that was coded to include the name of their bias. Participants then filled out a second TIVI scale, this time for their bias, before continuing to the series of vignettes and the remote acculturation scale before being presented with the debrief form.

## Results

Before analysis, participant data was checked for survey completion. Data from 112 participants were included in the analysis. Descriptive statistics and correlations are reported in Table 1.

We conducted a linear regression to test H1, that strong identification with the group will be positively correlated with the recognition of in-group cues. Identification with one’s fandom group was entered as a predictor and the success rate of correctly identifying the vignette as the outcome variable. Having a strong in-group identification was positively associated with being able to detect and use in-group cues to predict bias successfully,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $p = .034$ ,  $F(1, 108) = 4.59$ ,  $p = .034$ ,  $R^2_{\text{adjusted}} = .03$ .

We conducted a multiple regression to assess H2 and H3, the positive association of strong identification with bias and parasocial interaction with increased perceived similarities between bias and oneself. We entered identification with one’s bias and parasocial interaction scores as predictors, and similarity scores between participants and their bias as an outcome variable. Neither identification with bias,  $\beta = -.09$ ,  $p = .530$ , nor parasocial interactions with bias,  $\beta = .05$ ,  $p = .747$ , were predictors of participants perceiving themselves and their bias as being similar,  $F(1, 102) = .40$ ,  $p = .530$ ,  $R^2_{\text{adjusted}} = -.02$  ( $\beta$ ). We conducted a third linear regression to test H4, that strong identification with fandom in-group will be positively correlated with remote acculturation. Identification with one’s fandom was entered as the predictor, and participants’ remote acculturation scores were entered as the outcome variable. Strong identification with the fandom in-group, ARMY, was positively associated with increased remote acculturation of Korean culture,  $\beta = .37$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $F(1, 106) = 16.6$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2_{\text{adjusted}} = .13$ . We conducted a fifth linear regression to

**Table 1**  
Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Age	—								
2. Online group identification	-.0006	—							
3. Vignette score	.03	.20*	—						
4. Self TIVI	-.07	.25*	-.0006	—					
5. Bias TIVI	-.08	.32**	.17	.36**	—				
6. Celebrity parasocial interaction	.25*	.66**	.08	.06	.10	—			
7. Celebrity identification	.02	.70**	.17	.11	.23*	.71**	—		
8. Acculturation	.09	.37**	.19*	.16	.17	.35**	.42**	—	
9. IWAH	.03	.20*	-.0015	.51**	.22*	.04	.14	.18	—
<i>M</i>	22.27	68.10	2.35	42.59	45.20	35.76	34.53	35.11	90.36
<i>SD</i>	5.82	15.96	1.03	6.18	6.67	6.51	6.19	9.41	16.48

Note. TIVI = Ten Item Values Inventory; IWAH = identification with all humanity.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

473 test H5, that strong identification with fandom in-group will be  
 474 positively correlated with identification with all of humanity.  
 475 Identification with one's in-group was entered as the predictor variable  
 476 and the outcome variable was participants' identification with all of  
 477 humanity scores. Strong identification with the fandom in-group,  
 478 ARMY, was significantly positively associated with increased identi-  
 479 fication with all of humanity,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $p = .037$ ,  $F(1, 106) = 4.47$ ,  
 480  $p < .037$ ,  $R^2_{\text{adjusted}} = .03$ . This means that higher fandom in-group  
 481 identification is linked with increased identification with all of  
 482 humanity.

## Discussion

483 We found support for H1, H4, and H5. Our finding that stronger  
 484 ARMY identification was associated with increased success in pre-  
 485 dicting bias aligns with ideas that detection of in-group cues relies on  
 486 stronger ARMY identification. This is supported by research sug-  
 487 gesting that in-group cues are more salient for those who have a  
 488 stronger bond with and mental representation of the group and its  
 489 members (Smith et al., 1999). Stronger ARMY identification also  
 490 significantly predicted increased remote acculturation and identifica-  
 491 tion with all of humanity, supporting Ellithorpe et al. (2018) and  
 492 suggesting that the superordinate human in-group category is partic-  
 493 ularly salient amongst ARMY. Both findings suggest that the intro-  
 494 duction of Korean culture through music and interaction with the  
 495 members has meant ARMY is able to build transcultural identities  
 496 by way of remote acculturation. Having a stronger identification  
 497 with an in-group as global as ARMY (Kusuma et al., 2020)  
 498 means these individuals are in constant interaction with a diverse  
 499 range of cultures. Therefore, this increased interchange correlates  
 500 with an increased identification with all of humanity, which may  
 501 explain the prevalence of global campaigns started by ARMY in  
 502 efforts to help those more vulnerable regardless of where they are  
 503 in the world, such as donating money to "thirst relief" who provide  
 504 filters and clean drinking water to those in need, as well as raising  
 505 money for "Medical Teams International" who aid Syrian refugees  
 506 (Nu, 2020).

507 Our findings that stronger parasocial interactions and iden-  
 508 tification with one's bias did not predict participants filling out  
 509 TIVI scale measures for themselves and their bias similarly goes  
 510 against prior research. This is interesting as past findings suggest  
 511 that one's identification with a celebrity is usually driven by their  
 512 perceived similarity (Alves et al., 2016; Schouten et al., 2020).  
 513 This may suggest that for ARMY, identification with BTS  
 514 relies on more than just similarity alone, and other factors such as  
 515 likeability and narrative authenticity (McLaren & Dal Yong, 2020)  
 516 may be influencing this process instead. Self-categorization theory  
 517 could again be used to explain how salience of the human in-group  
 518 category for ARMY would allow identification with bias beyond  
 519 any differences or similarities they may have (Ellithorpe et al.,  
 520 2018).

521 Our findings suggest the dynamic observed between BTS and  
 522 ARMY is one that cannot be shoehorned within the typical framework  
 523 of parasocial relationships between celebrity and fan. Instead, a  
 524 model-type relationship on both the individual level (between the  
 525 members and the individual) and the group level (between ARMY  
 526 and BTS as a community) is forged, resulting in the identity explora-  
 527 tion of ARMY, free from the confines of one's culture or societal  
 528 norms.

## Limitations and Future Directions

529 The study failed to consider the duration of ARMY identification.  
 530 Research indicates that spending more time within one's in-group  
 531 will increase the levels of felt identification (Livingstone et al.,  
 532 2011). Therefore, this factor may have influenced aspects such  
 533 as identification with BTS and other in-group members. Parasocial  
 534 interactions are also known to get stronger and more frequent  
 535 over time (Choi et al., 2019), meaning those who spent longer  
 536 in the fandom may show different levels compared to newer  
 537 ARMY.

538 Future studies can employ a longitudinal qualitative approach to  
 539 gain a more in-depth understanding of the roles of the BTS members  
 540 in this process of identity construction and how this may change over  
 541 time or vary with the amount of time spent within the fandom.  
 542 Moreover, examining how results of global ARMY compare to the  
 543 dynamics of ARMY inside of South Korea could help to shed  
 544 light on possible cultural differences in how these identity forma-  
 545 tions and in-group markers manifest in the country of the group's  
 546 origin.

## Conclusion

547 Through this study, we gain valuable insight into the effects  
 548 Korean idols may have on their fans beyond the consumerist lens  
 549 of marketing and influencing purchase intentions. The occurrence  
 550 of a new transcultural fandom with ARMY shows how these idols  
 551 and their music act as vessels for cultural exchange, resulting in  
 552 the emergence of traits, behaviors, and values of South Korean cul-  
 553 ture which are not only transferred, but embedded within the new  
 554 in-group and individual identities of fans. Further to this, it opens  
 555 up conversations as to what other changes to identity may occur as  
 556 a result of this new bond between idol and fan along with the  
 557 inner workings of these dynamics.

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