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Screen Screen Tourism

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Abstract

*In the article, I discuss new forms of mobility allowed by digital prac-
tices, i.e. digital mobilities consisting in visiting geographical places
from and through a screen. This discussion is based on my online eth-
nographic research on international fans of South Korean television
series, K-Dramas. The international fandom of K-Dramas, and in a
larger sense, South Korean pop cultural products – exemplified by the
success of South Korean rapper Psy's "Gangnam Style" in 2012 –, is a
continually growing global phenomenon that has been observed from
the end of the 2000s on; a fandom that is mainly constituted through
the Internet. However, instead of discussing already thoroughly
researched "classic" participatory digital activities of television series
fans, as blogging or writing fan fiction, I will focus on still overseen
forms of mobility practices engendered by the watching of K-Dramas.
My research shows that international fans of K-Dramas are highly
mobile – but as much digitally as actually. They do not only travel
physically to Korea to visit film locations. They also engage in digital
mobilities to Korea through the mediation of desktop web mapping
services like Google Maps and their South Korean equivalents, Daum
and Naver. This screen screen tourism – as I call it –, then, differs in
many ways from screen tourism how it is discussed in previous research
on media. In describing and discussing these forms of digital mobility,
special attention will be given to two dimensions: (1) the techniques
fans use to find film locations, and (2) fans' "ethno-mapping," i.e. the
methods they have created to map out film locations online.*

Introduction

We are standing in front of a shoe store in Apujeong, a bustling part of Seoul,
when Dia opens a black notebook.[1] I see a long, handwritten list of what she tells
me are film locations for K-Dramas, South Korean television series, that she wants
to visit during her stay in South Korea.[2] She meticulously crosses out one line – the

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1 I thank both of the anonymous reviewers for their constructive remarks.
2 In the following, "Korea" refers to South Korea.

shop we are standing in front of. Moments before, she had ventured into the shop to confirm that it really was the film location of one of her favourite K-Dramas. She was doubtful because the interior did not match her memory of its appearance in the K-Drama, but the shop's salesperson confirmed the location, telling her that the interior was filmed at another branch just around the corner. We go to the other location right away and, once inside, Dia recounts the scenes and how and exactly where in the shop they took place while excitedly moving around in this unexpected film location.

In her search for film locations, Dia, a K-Drama fan from the Philippines, is not alone. From the mid-2010s on, international fans' interest in K-Drama film locations has grown rapidly – a trend that is also found among fans of other types of television series, as well as films and novels. Between 2011 and 2014, one blogger in particular, under the alias of Manager-Hyung, developed a reputation among international K-Drama fans for regularly posting film locations to a constantly growing following (1,295,413 visits in total to her blog, June 4, 2017). I was following her blog for my research on the international reception of K-Dramas (Schulze 2013, 2016), and judging from the familiar way she wrote about the locations, I was convinced that she either lived in Korea or visited regularly. But she had never been to Korea – at least in an actual sense.

If Dia's activities represent a type of screen tourism that has been thoroughly researched (see Connell 2012), Manager-Hyung's represent new forms of mobility – digital mobilities, which consist of visiting geographical sites through screens and sharing them via screens. Manager-Hyung is engaged in what I call "screen screen tourism," a phenomenon that, to my knowledge, has not been discussed in the literature, whether as a mobility practice among fans, a contemporary everyday routine or a world-making practice. I examine this phenomenon by focusing on K-Dramas' international fandom, part of the increased worldwide circulation and reception of Korean popular culture, also known as Hallyu or the Korean Wave. Exemplified by the success of Korean rapper Psy's "Gangnam Style" in 2012, in recent years, Korean popular culture has become a growing social, cultural and economic force outside Korea, first in East Asia and then rapidly on all continents. Concert tickets for Korean pop groups touring Europe or the Americas sell out online in minutes, while popular Korean television series can be streamed with English subtitles a few hours after they have been broadcast on Korean national television, and they are translated into up to 70 languages. The major facilitator of this global reception of Hallyu is the Internet, through which international fans watch K-Dramas and connect with each other. As such, Hallyu – exemplified by K-Dramas – is also representative of recent structural changes in the global media landscapes.

Nearly in parallel to these changes, and probably partly in response to them, there has recently been a paradigmatic theoretical turn in media research in which the discussion of media practices was a central concern (see e.g. Couldry (2015[2012]: 33 ff.)). Apart from the well-researched "classic" online activities of

television series fans – blogging and writing fan fiction – the observation of actual mobilities engendered by media texts also participated in this turn. Usually referred to as "media tourism" or "screen tourism" – terms that include other closely related phenomena, including cinematic tourism and movie-induced tourism – this literature demonstrates that many people who are seriously engaged with media texts become highly mobile in visiting actual film locations. Not surprisingly, K-Drama fandom figures prominently in this literature (Connell 2012). Since the end of the 1990s, Korea's tourism agency has promoted Korea as a travel destination through media texts, particularly K-Dramas. However, digital or virtual mobilities to film locations have rarely been discussed so far (for an exception, see Tzanelli 2007). But as my research shows, international fans of K-Dramas are highly mobile – as much virtually and digitally as actually. They do not only travel physically to Korea to visit film locations. They also engage in virtual mobility to engage with other fans, and in digital mobilities to Korea through the mediation of the Internet, usually in hopes of eventually visiting the locations physically. Since 2014, the ways in which film locations are visited onscreen and shared via screens have also changed significantly and become increasingly standardised. A considerable rise in digital mobilities related to film locations occurred in 2016, especially in regard to two K-Dramas, *The Goblin* and *Legend of the Blue Sea*, and the practice is now a constitutive element of K-Drama fandom. As such, international fans of K-Dramas are similar to Tzanelli's "virtual flâneurs" (2007: 16), tourists who stroll on travel message boards and institutional and cooperative websites that market travel destinations linked to movies. But international K-Drama fans who engage in screen screen tourism differ from virtual flâneurs in the way they navigate through digital space and in the types of digital spaces they navigate. They do not linger or stroll, but instead move in a highly target-oriented manner, as I will discuss in detail below. Second, they cannot be understood as mere (albeit active) consumers of commodified information. In most cases, in looking for film locations on their screens, they produce their own information on those locations, which they then share with other fans through those same screens. This collaborative (by fans for fans) knowledge production is usually necessary because much of the information on the film locations they look for is not provided elsewhere. While in the 2010s fans would share their actual, offline visits to film locations and depended on institutions like the Korean Tourism Organization to disclose (directed) information on film locations, today they are increasingly generating and sharing their own knowledge. To do so, they rely heavily on digital mapping services such as Google Maps, and especially their Korean equivalents, Daum Maps and Naver Maps. As such, the digital spaces that international fans most commonly frequent are those that allow them to search for film locations themselves, i. e. that allow "geobrowsing," active navigation through geographical space (or its digital representation) (Abend/Harvey 2017).

More fundamentally, however, the international reception of K-Dramas is a telling and timely example through which to understand the multiplication of

realities by which modernity is characterised (Esposito 2014[2007]). International fans constantly (and often simultaneously) navigate through different realities or different modes of being (Lévy 1998: 16), each of which has specific characteristics. Apart from their own *actual reality* (roughly their actual[ised], offline existence), international fans navigate daily through the *reality of "realistic fiction"* (Esposito 2014[2007], emphasis added) of K-Dramaland, a fictive world "created through the collective activity of writers, directors, actors and viewers of K-Dramas" (Schulze 2013: 378). In addition, these fans move in and through *virtual, online reality*, where gatherings of international fans take place. And finally, they navigate the reality of digital mapping services, or "navigational platforms" (November/Camacho-Hübner/Latour 2010: 583), to visit locations in Korea, i.e. a *digitalised and mediated geographical reality*. This fourfold distinction relies on a simplified version of more complex definitions of and relations between these realities given elsewhere (see e.g. Deleuze 1996; Lévy 1998; Hine 2015), but I consider it a workable analytical framework through which to demonstrate how international fans navigate through this cartography of realities and how these realities intersect.

Hence, this paper has three goals. First, and most importantly, it offers a systematic and empirically grounded account of a new, so far undiscussed, digital navigation practice: screen screen tourism. To do so, it focuses specifically on the techniques fans use to find film locations; fans' "ethno-mapping," i.e. the methods they have created to map out film locations online; and their creation of digital archives of film locations. The other two arguments are corollaries of the first. First, the paper argues that this on-screen navigation is always intermeshed with navigation through other realities, and it attempts to understand how exactly this seemingly smooth and often simultaneous navigation through multiple realities unfolds. Second, the paper argues that more analytical attention should be paid to the practice of screen screen tourism when addressing world-making (whatever social form the world in question may take) because engagement in these digital mobility practices will only continue to increase.

Methods

The following discussion is based on a larger on-going research project on the international reception of K-Dramas I have been engaged in since 2012 (Schulze 2013; 2016) and for which I follow 40 Anglophone blogs and one message board frequented by international fans on a daily basis. The term "international fans" here refers to all fans who reside outside Korea. As I have discussed elsewhere in detail, it is difficult to determine the socio-demographic composition of these fans (Schulze 2013: 373 ff.). As well, bloggers and commenters usually do not disclose their country of residence, ethnicity or gender. More importantly, attempting to support explanations with such information runs the risk of explaining practices through a (presupposed) national culture, ethnicity or gender and thus stereo-

typing informants as speaking to and for a specific nation, ethnic group or gender because of their national, ethnic or gendered belonging (which is usually determined by the researcher). This said, it is safe to say that international K-Drama fandom spans the globe, with a little less network density in Africa. From my observation, the closer international fans are to Korea (for instance in the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore or the United States), the more they engage in screen screen tourism. Proximity here is thus not understood as exclusively metric, but also as constituted by a *sensed* socio-cultural proximity fostered by, for example, social (kinship) networks (Mueller 2016), as may be the case with Korean-Americans.

Although the larger research project is informed by offline and online ethnography, for this paper I rely only on data collected online (see e.g. Boellstorff et al. 2012; Hine 2015) between January 2013 and June 2017 from three Anglophone blogs that regularly post film locations. These blogs have been selected because they focus exclusively on K-Dramas and are authored by fans for fans, a focus that excludes, for instance, message boards and websites specialising in Hallyu that also post film locations. In addition, the blogs were chosen not by the blogger's country of residence, for instance, but according to how regularly they post and how active their followers are. I additionally rely on analytic auto-ethnography as defined by Anderson (2006), among others. In relying on this form of auto-ethnography, I aim to highlight not only my own participation in these digital mobilities, but also my *auto*-observation and the constant analytical oscillation between, on the one hand, how international fans *describe* their digital mobilities, i.e. their practices mediated by discourse, and, on the other, my (embodied) experiences. In following international fans' discussions and their descriptions of their practices, I have not always been able to understand the difficulties and emotions they describe. Auto-ethnography has helped me understand practices whose meaning would otherwise have remained opaque to me because they are not accounted for by international fans, as well as corporal practices that are meditated by (and thus often reduced to) language. In other words, I would not have been able to describe screen screen tourism as I do here without engaging in analytic auto-ethnography. Nonetheless, I privilege international fans' descriptions and logics whenever possible.

Starting point: Geographical familiarity

According to international fans, two specific features of Korean television series are that a great number of locations are shown in a very detailed matter, and that the same locations have appeared in different K-Dramas, some for nearly two decades. Consequently, international fans who have watched K-Dramas for an extended period of time state that they have gained a geographical understanding of some of these places. One could also speak, in Kim and Richardson's (2003)

terms, of a certain geographical "familiarity" with some Korean sites on the part of international fans. International fans describe places as "awfully familiar" or say that they "recognize the landmarks." One fan half-seriously states: "I'm pretty sure I could navigate through Incheon airport in a blindfold, thanks to all the scenes I've watched that were filmed there" (Amanda 2014).[3] Fans also commonly state that the reappearance of film locations is the reason that they set out to search for their actual, real counterparts. "You know all those places you keep seeing in dramas, and then you see another drama and it's the same damn place?!? Yeah those," begins an article that presents a few film locations: "We've noticed this a while ago, but didn't really care about it. Until … you know, when someday you ask yourself: 'Are all the schools located in the same neighborhood or what?'" (Twinklelie/SeRose 2013).

However, there is no clear repertoire of must-know film locations. Consequently, the ten must-see locations regularly posted on different websites change constantly – usually as a result of the most popular K-Dramas at the moment. Nor does any website offer a complete overview of film locations, in contrast to websites regarding North American television series. Indeed, it would be impossible to offer an exhaustive list of K-Drama locations. Weekday K-Dramas usually consist of 16 to 20 episodes, and there are roughly ten different film locations per episode and ten K-Dramas per week that are subbed into English (each with two episodes a week). In general, international fans only list film locations for a small number of very popular weekday K-Dramas. The most common pattern is to post film locations of a single K-Drama.

Nonetheless, there is a clear hierarchy of sites, and four types of locations stand out in particular. The first three are locations that recur in a given K-Drama, that are central to the plot of a given drama, or that capture the imagination of an individual blogger because they like their aesthetic. The last consists of specific categories of film locations. International bloggers are most typically interested in cafés, restaurants, parks and residential buildings rather than work places, hospitals, convenience stores or cemeteries – even when the latter also reappear often. This phenomenon may be partly explained by the fact that storylines are often created around a café or restaurant, but a more important reason is that visiting a café, for instance, involves fewer social and physical barriers than visiting an office building, because its function already includes visiting it. Sometimes the search for a given location is additionally driven by other fans' doubts regarding its actual existence. One fan, for example, asks: "By chance, do you two know where they film historical dramas? Do they create a completely new set for it, or do they visit some old villages?" (Animefayinc in: Twinklelie/SeRose 2013).

Some bloggers also consciously exclude some locations from their search. One blogger, for example, states that she does not include some locations "because they seem to be kind of obvious" to people familiar with Seoul (Booksntravel 2016b).

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3   All quotations from K-Drama blogs are taken verbatim.

Another reason for not posting a location is that it is peripheral to the story or does not appear in any other K-Drama – a highway, for example. Yet another reason is that the blogger believes that another website already offers a comprehensive list of locations: "With regards to Scarlet heart [name of K-Drama], I don't have plans to do up a post on it. Most locations can be found in KTO's [Korean Tourist Organization] article" (Honeystars 2016b).

Measures of verification

Before being able to share a film location, the location has to be found. This is less self-evident that it sounds, considering the way in which K-Dramas are filmed. Signifiers of geographical locations (signposts and street names, for example) are often deliberately excluded or substituted with fictive ones, and the places in question are often purposely changed or digitally rendered. More generally, locations are shot such that their surroundings are framed out, as are the upper parts of buildings, where the names of shops, cafés or restaurants figure. Many locations are also only shot indoors and in close-up. The mise en scène of a café scene, for instance, can consist of only two chairs and a table. As well, buildings such as hospitals, churches, temples and high schools are often architecturally indistinct, which makes it difficult for international fans to identify them, especially with the search techniques they use. Finally, substitute locations are often used. For example, in *The Goblin* (2016–17) a street in Paris was filmed in Quebec, Canada.

To find film locations, therefore, fans use a specific ensemble of techniques. As I will show, all of them employ geobrowsing, which consists of navigating through the digital realities presented by digital mapping services. Through geobrowsing (and in such the mediation of digital maps), fans aim to establish a mimetic correspondence between an on-screen location and an actual place in Korea. Hence, in the territorial logic of international fans, both K-Dramaland – the places (re)presented in K-Dramas – and the corresponding locations on digital maps are understood as models of a "real" material place. In the same vein, geobrowsing is also regularly combined with (mediated) actual mobilities that are considered to strengthen the web of verification. In this variant, international fans compare the fictive reality of K-Dramaland with the actual reality of material surroundings (Boltanski 2009: 48). The actual reality is usually not accessed directly, however, but in its *digitally mediated* form, i.e. through photos uploaded on the Internet and thus, again, through digital mobility. In engaging in these different mobilities, international fans usually rely on three verification techniques.

The statement "I have found the location of this place some time ago on Korean web" (Booksntravel 2017e) offers a good introduction to the first technique. The "Korean web" in this statement refers to websites in Korean. This means, international fans who have little or no knowledge of the language search for film locations in Korean – "[...] searching in korean did not generate any useful results" (Honeystars 2016d) – often by using the Korean name of the K-Drama in question

in combination with "드라마촬영지" ("film location") as keywords. Online reporting of film locations and visits to them is well established in Korea, and it became more prevalent in 2016 with *The Goblin* (2016–17) and the increased use of Instagram among Korean fans, actors and the managers or owners of the locations used. The Internet pages international fans land on when searching for film locations are thus usually blogs authored by Korean fans, message boards where Korean fans gather or Instagram posts. But Korean news portals and tourism organisations' websites and offices regularly report on film locations as well, and they also serve as a source for international fans. Korean fans' blogs usually offer the most detailed reports on film locations and are hence the most cited sources by international fans. These blogs contain multiple photos and usually an embedded Naver Map of the location, and in the case of restaurants and cafés also photos of the food and the menu. The photos are usually taken by Korean fans during actual visits to the film locations, as I will explore more in detail below. In other words, this search technique entails both mobility through actual reality on the part of (in most cases) Korean fans and mobility through the virtual reality of (Korean) K-Drama fandom on the part of international fans. International fans usually attempt to verify these film locations by making use of online mapping services and thus engaging in digital mobility. From the perspective of international fans, this research technique remains, however, entirely within the realm of virtual and digital reality, as they do not actually visit the locations, but only access them through digital mediation.

The second technique involves "clues in the drama" (Booksntravel [2016b]). Three types of clues are employed. First, clues can be taken from the list of sponsors (often prominently showcased through their logo) in a K-Drama's end credits. Food and coffee chains usually utilize this sort of product placement. But even if the chain store is known, this does not necessarily make the search easier. For example, Booksntravel explains how she "tried to find [a] place for a few days" (2017d). Because she could not do so, she "decided to go through the street view of every noodle shop in Seoul and Incheon and then search for those that cannot be seen at all/clearly on street view by google" (ibid). This technique thus often yields uncertain results. Booksntravel writes for example: "I think this is the most likely one, 98 % similarity with the one in the drama [...]" (2017d). In this case, the uncertainly resulted from the fact that only the interior of the restaurant in question was filmed and the chain requires the interiors of its franchises to look very similar. Verifying film locations digitally in this way thus comes with clear limits, and bloggers usually express their uncertainty or refrain from sharing the location at all. Unusually, Booksntravel finally verified the location through actual mobility: when she visited the restaurant in person, she saw a poster of the K-Drama in question on the wall, and a sales person confirmed that it was the correct location, both testifying to the veracity of the location. Another and more common way in which international fans circumvent this clear limitation of

digital mobilities is by writing the potential film location via email or other online message services for verification.

Second, clues can consist of images that contain words, syllabic blocks or letters in the fictive reality of K-Dramaland. These clues are usually things like an advertising sign, a shop logo, a roughly digitally rendered name of the location (often only some words, syllabic blocks or letters are erased) or a street name (if shown and not modified). These words, syllabic blocks or letters are (re)transcribed and searched for with a search engine or directly inserted into a mapping service. If this search does not yield results, especially in the case of English-language words (restaurants and bars often have English names, for instance), possible prefixes or suffices are added. If this research yields results, the name of the location will be looked up via the 3D function of a mapping service, usually Daum or Naver. The next step consists of oscillating between the place in the K-Drama (either in the form of a screenshot or by putting a streaming site on pause) and the place as represented in a digital mapping service. While moving the camera and zooming in and out, the fan compares the shape of the building and the materials it is made of, as well as the distance of lampposts or street signs (if any) with the site as represented in the K-Drama. Are the different clues mirrored in the right proportions and at the right distance? Are the surfaces the same? If this comparison based on visual "material detection" is deemed successful, international fans connect the K-Drama site to its model on a mapping service, and further to a specific territorial location in Korea represented by the map. This navigation through digital maps thus clearly relies upon a mimetic understanding of maps: international fans "rely on a resemblance between two elements (signs on the map and territory [...])" (November/Camacho-Hübner/Latour 2010: 586).

Third, clues can consist of architectural features that appear in the fictive reality. These include buildings that fulfil a specific function, like high schools, theatres, libraries, museums, galleries or hospitals, or specific architectural features that might be documented online, like a landmark building or a sculpture. These architectural clues are then looked up via keywords (in either English or Hangul), usually through Google Images. To verify the results of this search, international fans then compare small details of the representations of the site in question in K-Dramas with photos of the same locations found online. If a search is deemed conclusive, the site will be looked up on mapping services for further verification. In this verification process, international fans will, again, temporally navigate through two different realities; the one of K-Dramaland and the one of a digital map representing Korea for verification. In doing so, floor patterns, lamp posts, the shape of a fence, road marking, stones or, in the case of Honeystars, the clothes worn by the clients, become crucial elements:

I ended up googing suanas [googling saunas] /spa/jjimjilbangs [public bath] in Seoul and looked through the images to find the familiar clothes and surroundings [...]. How did I

confirm the location? By looking at the wooden logs and clothes in the photo [...] from their official website! (2016c)

A third technique for finding film locations is to compare the fictive reality of K-Dramaland with virtual images that are "stored" in the form of memories from past mobilities to Korea – a technique that implies human cognition and a technological dispositive simultaneously. Whether those travels were undertaken actually or digitally, reference is usually only made to actual travels, as in the case of Booksntravel: "Maybe I have been to Naksan Park for too many times, so I recognized it immediately." (2017b). Even when the fan recognises the location immediately, they often verify it through digital mobility. In most cases, however, fans recognise an area or a street rather than a precise location: "This is the street where my accommodation was located in my last trip to Seoul, I remember I have walked past this location, but of course I do not remember the shop [...]," Booksntravel (2017a) comments about a specific location. Sometimes locations in the fictive reality of K-Dramaland look familiar because of past actual mobility there. But fans do not always deem their memories sufficient to confirm a location, in which case they draw on online mapping services or compare locations to photos from the Internet for final verification, as Booksntravel indicates: "I thought it looked quite familiar and so I went to search for pics in the web to compare, and it should be the same place" (2017 f.).

But past digital mobilities to Korea can also result in immediate recognition of film locations. International fans who have already looked for specific locations via online mapping services often recognise the location the next time it appears onscreen and will not usually verify it again, as Manager-Hyung explains:

This is by far one of the easiest places to locate. I haven't been to any part of Seoul yet but at first look, I knew immediately [...]. I have ID-ed Katakomb Underground City for quite a few times already so it's not difficult. (2015a)

International fans employ four other techniques in their search for film locations, but because they are less frequent I only mention them briefly. First, fans address other fans who mention having visited film locations through actual mobility without mentioning the exact location and ask them for details, as with Booksntravel: "I saw someone mentioning about going to Bong Soon's [main character in K-Drama] home online, so I went to ask [...]" (2017b). Second, fans submit information to bloggers who list film locations to rectify mistakes or submit a location that has not yet been listed, a technique that is also incited by bloggers. Third, fans directly address staff from the film site in question: "As verified by a Canadian Reader and the Hotel (thanks for replying), the filming is done in Frontenac Suite" (Honeystars 2016d). A final technique that I have not seen mentioned, but which I have used when searching for film locations online, is uploading a screenshot

to Google Images. For easily recognisable buildings, this technique usually has positive results.

The untrustworthy digital reality

Although fans now routinely move through space via digital mapping services when searching for film locations, uncertainty is a common trope in all narratives about such mobility. One cause of the uncertainty is the fictive reality of K-Dramas themselves, because their settings can be invented as much as their stories (especially in form of film sets). "Dramas production are seriously not cheap," comments Honeystars, for example, on a film locations and continues: "For this scence, they had to hire so many foreigners and caucasians [...] for it to look like Spain. It kind of got me fooled for quite a while as I did not recall Barcelona having such huge shoping malls" (2016c).

But the main difficulty in finding locations is caused by the nature of digital mobility: online mapping services do not always make it possible to verify film locations because they either do not offer a view of a location or offer only an unclear one (bushes, busses or cars may block the view, or the image is of poor quality – one remedy can be to consult older street views as provided by Daum or Naver, e. g.), or the images shown by the mapping service are dated, i. e. a building in question had not yet been built when the last capture was made. In these scenarios, which reveal the limits of geobrowsing, international fans usually warn their readers of potential inaccuracies or not post their finding. In a similar vein, international fans also voice their uncertainty when they offer directions based on digital mapping services without having been to the locations through actual mobility.

A final difficulty involves the Korean language. As mentioned above, most international fans who share film locations online do not have perfect command of Korean or Hangul. "For episode 1, I believe it is filmed at this place called 경산 반곡지 (Gyeongsan Bangokji) I can't find much information about this place in english that's why I didn't blog about it," states Honeystars (2016a). In addition, English is the lingua franca of international K-Drama fandom, and bloggers are thus often keen to offer a translation for the name of the film location, and they sometimes ask their readers for help in doing so. But they do not always offer an English translation because they prefer to stick with the official translation, which they often cannot find. In referring to "Incheon Songdo Sinhang Seaside Rest Area," a site I have looked up as well, Booksntravel (2017c) writes: "I can't find the official English translation of this place, so the name is translated by me, it might be different from the official translation." This site is not referred to by name on digital maps, nor is it found on official tourist sites. It is only mentioned by name on blogs by hobby fishers, as it appears to be a good fishing spot. Another example of the difficulty of translating names into English is small-town harbors. Maehyangri Pier [매향리선착장], which recently appeared in episode 12 of *Strongest Deliv-*

eryman (2017) and which I found, is named on Naver Map, but not on Daum or Google Maps; otherwise I would have had to make up a name, as there was no difficulty in verifying the site.

Ethno-mapping

An integral part of finding film locations is sharing them with other fans, a practice that fortifies the existence of the world of international K-Drama fandom. Although locations are shared in various ways, these practices became more standardised in 2016, and some transversal conventions of how international fans present the information on their sites can be observed. I will refer to these practices developed by international as a specific form of "ethno-mapping," i. e. methods international fans have created to map out film locations online using specific technologies and devices.

The rapid establishment of conventions can be explained as resulting from a (usually virtual) feedback loop between bloggers and their readers. This feedback loop occurs through the comment function on social media, through which readers ask for specific information (including opening hours, access [private or public], directions and fees), which the blogger may include in subsequent posts. While some bloggers and readers establish codes of co-producing the necessary knowledge, other readers put bloggers in the position of service providers from whom precision can be demanded. In both variants, the feedback loop is mainly informed by actual future mobility to the film locations in question. As in tourism in general, where travel is often planned beforehand by reading about places to visit, international fans of K-Dramas often plan their visit to Korea in advance by looking up film locations online.

Nowadays, three types of reporting about film locations based on digital mobility are conventionally used among international fans. The first consists of proposing a selection of the most important film locations to visit (often reduced to the top ten), and the second of briefly mentioning a single film location during discussions on message boards or blogs. I concentrate on the third, and predominant, type: fans usually concentrate on one currently airing K-Drama that they are watching and that is usually popular among other fans. Apart from giving the name of the K-Drama and the location in question – in addition to, in some cases, the number of the episode and a brief description of the scene in question – this reporting style contains four main textual and image blocks: an image block with photos of the locations juxtaposed with a screenshot of the K-Drama text, a descriptive text block that provides directions, a map and additional descriptive text elements.

The most important building block is a screenshot of a location taken from the K-Drama in question (or, rarely, a short clip of the relevant scene). In most cases, this image is juxtaposed with a photo of the same location taken by someone who visited it through actual mobility. In the logic of international fans,

this juxtaposition of a two-dimensional place – with its own meanings and uses in a fictional reality – with the "actual" place is intended to verify the accuracy of the location presented. In other words, the location is relegated to the fictional realm and only becomes real once "proven." The fictional image can thus only be trusted when juxtaposed with the actual. In this sense, in the logic of international fans there is a trustable, real reality and another reality that needs to be proven real. As discussed above, this juxtaposition is also one of the main techniques employed by bloggers to verify locations. In sharing a juxtaposition, bloggers thus make their search transparent, but also allow readers to confirm the veracity of the location by comparing the two images: the photo becomes proof. These photos are usually taken from other Internet pages or were taken by the bloggers themselves on prior actual site visits. The main source, however, is entries by Korean bloggers who have visited the place through actual mobility, uploaded several images of the place and documented it in detail (outdoor and indoor images, including the food and the menu). Wikipedia, the Korean Tourism website and the website or Instagram of the location in question serve as additional photo sources.

Importantly, international fans prefer photos to screenshots from online mapping services. This might be explained as resulting from the long-standing use of photos as documentary proof in Western image traditions (Gunning 2008), but also by the modern view that sight is the most important sense (see e.g. Classen 1997). A photo – even if now a digital one – taken by a "real" person still stands for actual reality through its ascribed mimicry. In other words, the photo is still believed and understood as an icon, a sign that is defined by its mimicry of the subject photographed. As such, it stands in opposition to a screenshot of a street view from an online mapping service, which implies multiple layers of mediation and possible transformations or – in Serres' (2014) terms – parasites and interferences (a digital camera on the top of a car; the rendition of these images on a computer; the device itself, which offers multiple perspectives of the location; and the screen on which the screenshot is taken). In addition, the photo, unlike a screenshot, indirectly also stands in for an actual person (and not a car driving by with a camera with a fixed width and angle) who went to the place and verified the location with their own eyes. Finally, this person is not simply another human, but another fan who went to the location with the same purpose as the person who navigates to their site: this other fan has already verified the site *as a K-Drama fan*. This last point demonstrates the importance in modernity of sight as the most trustworthy sense (also implicit in the homologues "I" and "eye" in the English language). International fans thus prefer to rely on the *actual* seeing – represented through a photograph – to a meditated image. Consequently, a blogger's use of their own photos heightens the credibility of the information in the valuation system of international K-Drama fans, in which information provided by Korean-American fans or fans who have visited Korea are usually held in higher esteem because they are considered more trustworthy (Schulze 2013). Hence an actual visit also increases one's status among international fans.

Photos are also juxtaposed with screenshots from the K-Drama text because they can make it easier for fans to find locations when they engage in actual mobility. As mentioned above, building exteriors are often not shown in the K-Drama's fictive reality. Knowing what the exterior of a location looks like helps international fans find it when they are actually present in Korea. Honeystars is thus addressed by a fan as follows: "Hi, is Riverlang spa easy to find? [...] Do you have a pic of what the front look like so we can find it?" (2016c). This is also the reason a blogger gives for juxtaposing screenshots of the K-Drama text with screenshots of the street view of an online mapping service: "Here's what you guys have been waiting for.. a direct comparison of drama footages vs actual google street view to 'verify' the addresses even if you're not there yourself physically" (Honeystars 2017e).

The second building block in international fans' ethno-mapping is a written text providing directions. In its recent conventionalised form, it is reduced to a minimum. Usually the train or subway station and exit are mentioned (subway stations in Seoul often have more than ten exits, which can be a considerable distance apart), together with their Korean name, and the relevant bus route and stop may also be mentioned: "Transport: Beomil Station Exit 7 or 9 walk for about 1 km" (Honeystars 2017 f). The directions usually refer exclusively to public transportation as indicated by digital mapping services. If the route from the station or stop is not easy and requires walking, some international bloggers provide more detailed directions or offer links to webpages where the directions are explained in detail. In some cases, however, international fans explicitly refrain from sharing the directions, particularly when the film location is not open to the public or situated in a residential area and bloggers are concerned with protecting residents from visiting fans, as Booksntravel states: "I guess it is not open for visit, so I am not providing the transport details" (2016c).

Third, these written directions are often combined with a map. This map can either, on the one hand, consist of a screenshot of a mapping service in which the blogger has marked the exact location, or, on the other, be directly embedded in the blog or consist of a link to a mapping service. In the case of the latter, and more common, in this building block, fans usually use Google Maps, possibly because it is easier to embed Google Maps than other mapping services in WordPress, the main content management system used by bloggers. As well, Google Maps' services are available in several languages and mainly English. Their Korean analogues, Daum Maps or Naver Maps, in contrast, are usually only available in Korean and can make navigating difficult even with a translation application. The embedded maps usually show only the immediate surroundings of the location in question, making it impossible for readers to place the location in a larger geographical context. As such, these maps become a "frozen image" (November/ Camacho-Hübner/Latour 2010: 583), a visual abstraction of space that will only be concretised once the larger map is accessed digitally or the location is visited through actual mobility.

The fourth building block, which is not yet standardised, consists of some information about the location, derived from various sources, including online sources such as the English-language version of Korean Tourism's website, Wikipedia, information from other (usually Korean) bloggers or comments and reviews from tourists on TripAdvisor. This information is usually cited directly. Fans also sometimes include personal information about their own visit to the location. Such personal information is rare, however, because fans usually only visit these locations through digital mobility. Following Stafford (2016), actual presence at an actual site is required before one can add a more personal layer of information in the form of memories and experiences. When accessed only through digital mobility, the site remains a landscape, i.e. a distant (and often only two-dimensional) view of a place in question. Consequently, personal impressions can only be shared by fans on the basis of actual mobility, as Booksntravel does: "Highly recommend going to Naksan Park at night! Apart from seeing the night view of Seoul, you can see the old city walls at night, which is a really pretty sight." (2017b)

Ethno-archiving

In listing film locations, fans also digitally archive them. The archiving is usually not done consciously, but is instead a result of their search for and sharing of film locations. As mentioned above, two main archiving methods can be distinguished. In the first, locations from one particular K-Drama are posted one at a time. In the second, all locations are collected on one page, which is updated regularly. One blogger, for instance orders the film locations according to two different logics in the same post, geographically (country, region, district) and chronologically (by episode). A very recent development is the use of differently coloured place markers in Google Maps, each colour corresponding to a different K-Drama. When one clicks on the place marker, the actual name of the location appears in English along with the number of the episode in which it appears in the K-Drama in question (see e. g. Honeystars 2017g).

Conclusion

In this article, I have introduced a specific and very recent form of digital mobility, screen screen tourism, to the study of media practices. Based on a case study of international fans of Korean television series, I have described the diverse techniques these fans use to engage in this type of mobility and the conventions they have established to share the results thereof.

Screen screen tourism is distinct from "classic" screen tourism in at least two regards. In descriptions of screen tourism, navigating a digitalised and mediated geographical reality – if it is discussed at all – is usually understood as a transitional phase on the way to actual mobility. Screen screen tourism can serve the

same aim, but – and this is a major difference – it is most often the end goal. Consequently, in screen tourism the "destination" or the "place travelled to" is automatically understood as an actual place. The same is not true in the case of screen screen tourism: the final destination of this practice is a digitally mediated "actual" location, even if actual mobility may follow. In most of the literature on screen tourism so far (for an overview, see Connell 2012), the taken-for-granted hypothesis is that watching films and television series will naturally induce *actual* mobility. The practices of international K-Drama fans demonstrate that this is not always so. Another difference is that fans often engage in screen tourism to re-enact scenes from films or television series, while the same is not true in the case of screen screen tourism: when engaging in this type of mobility, fans instead resemble geomatics engineers who collect, monitor and archive data on spaces, because their foremost aim is to determine the actual geographical locations of K-Dramaland locations through correspondence verification. In doing so, they do not stroll online like virtual flâneurs; instead, they meticulously *screen* virtual and digital geographical (and sometimes actual) sites and present their findings for other fans to *screen*. As such, screen screen tourism does not merely consist of tourism done through the screen and induced by a screen. It also consists of, first, the very act of *screening*, of methodologically examining digital and virtual material to determine whether there is a mimetic correspondence to an actual place, and second, the presentation of the location found for other fans to view it on a screen – to *screen* (as in screening a film) locations for other fans.

More fundamentally, the case study presented here is a telling example through which to understand the multiplication of realities characteristic of modernity. In particular, it reveals how we constantly and simultaneously navigate through two or more of these realities through conversions from one reality to another, conversions that usually rely on the mediation of one or more other realities. In the case of international K-Drama fans, I have demonstrated that the conversion from fictive to actual reality is mediated through virtual and digital reality. Navigating multiple realities thus relies on constant mediation and the parasites and interferences it hinges upon (Serres 2014) – for example the bus that blocks the view of a digital site being screened by an international fan. Second, this case study also demonstrates the profound changes that have occurred over the last decade in media landscapes in particular and knowledge production and diffusion in general, including the shift from corporate knowledge creation to many-to-many and participatory knowledge production and the introduction of new (virtual and digital) realities. As such, these new digitalised geographical realities, and particularly those of digital mapping services, should be considered in future research as an important realm of fans' engagement with media texts and as daily routines and practices in world-making processes.

Last but certainly not least, I hope that my ethnographic screening of international fans' activities and my participation in such activities will demonstrate the

usefulness of an ethnographic approach to the study of "maps as geomedial action spaces" (Abend/Harvey 2017: 172).

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