

Chapter 10

“Hallyu and Confucianism” Researches

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1. Introduction

The year 2020 was literally the year of COVID-19. This highly contagious and even deadly virus, which began spreading in one region of China, struck the entire world, causing an enormous number of casualties, terrorizing the entire human race throughout the year, and plummeting the global economy into the deepest recession. The pandemic caused by this unprecedented virus paralyzed major cities around the globe, with lockdowns of international borders and quarantine measures, triggering devastating situations that can be labeled, without exaggeration, a viral version of World War III.

Amid this apocalyptic threat of the COVID-19 pandemic, Hallyu suffered its share of damage, such as with the cancelation of performances by some singers at home and abroad. However, because the main propagation channels of Hallyu are Internet platforms such as YouTube and Netflix, Hallyu's influence has expanded rather than being thwarted.

This report examines the publication trends of Hallyu-related papers and articles published in 2020 at major research database portals in Korea, Japan, China, and Anglophone countries and introduces studies on Hallyu and Confucianism.

2. Hallyu studies in Korea

In last year's report, I pointed out that Hallyu studies in Korea, which started in 2000, peaked in 2016 but have declined since then. This trend continued in 2020. A search of the National Assembly Library's Digital Library portal (<http://dl.nanet.go.kr/>) using the keyword "Hallyu," with the search period set to 2020, yielded 362 hits. After excluding eight works irrelevant to Hallyu, 354 works were found to be published on

Hallyu in 2020 (retrieved: June 25, 2021). The corresponding numbers were 391 in 2018 (retrieved: July 9, 2020) and 390 in 2019 (retrieved: July 9, 2020), indicating a decrease of over 30 works in 2020 than in previous years.

The decline in Hallyu studies does not necessarily mean that the Hallyu boom is fading. According to the Korea Foundation for International Cultural Exchange (KOFICE), the consumption of Hallyu abroad has increased since the COVID-19 outbreak in 2019. From September to November 2020, KOFICE conducted a survey on the “Changing trends of Hallyu cultural content consumption compared to pre-COVID-19 period” with 8,500 adults (aged 15–59 years) in 18 countries around the world who were exposed to Korean cultural content (2021 International Hallyu Survey – Synopsis, <https://www.mcst.go.kr/>, February 25, 2021). More than 70% of foreigners who were surveyed answered “similar” or “increased” to the item asking about their Hallyu consumption compared with the pre-COVID-19 period. The same response was obtained for almost every dimension of Hallyu, including dramas, entertainment programs, movies, music, animation, publications, games, fashion, beauty, and food. As Hallyu itself has spread via the Internet and is a hobby enjoyed by individuals, it is no surprise that it is spreading more rapidly and widely in this COVID-19 era.

Therefore, the downtrend of Hallyu studies must be explained from a different angle. Ironically, Hallyu studies seem to be declining because of the very fact that Hallyu is constantly expanding. The term Hallyu has now become a genre that cannot be covered by one article or book. A search with the keyword “방탄소년단” (*Bangtansonyeondan*, Korean name of BTS) retrieves 80 papers or articles from the research database. Of these 80 works, 72 cannot be retrieved with the keyword Hallyu. Another example is *Parasite*. A search with the keyword “기생충” (*Gisaenchung*, Korean for *parasite*) results in a total of 245 works. Excluding 37 works

that are not related to the movie *Parasite* by Director Bong Joon-ho, 208 works are on Hallyu. Of them, however, 194 works cannot be retrieved with the keyword Hallyu. As noted above, for BTS and *Parasite* alone, which may be considered Hallyu phenomena or subcategories of Hallyu, almost 300 papers and articles can be retrieved from the research database. With the keyword “K-pop,” 129 works published in 2020 could be retrieved, of which 87 cannot be retrieved with the keyword “Hallyu” (retrieved: July 15, 2021).

Two decades have passed since the word Hallyu (Korean Wave) was coined and began to spread, first in Asia and soon across the globe. Hallyu has become stale as a research topic, losing its momentum to arouse curiosity. Hallyu-related research topics have been moving from Hallyu itself toward individual Hallyu genres, that is, subcategories of Hallyu, or from the general Hallyu discussion to itemized Hallyu discussions. In brief, in-depth research into Hallyu has commenced.

An examination of the research achievements in 2020 by data type reveals 67 books, 50 master’s or PhD dissertations, 235 pieces written for serials or academic articles, and two others. Of the 67 books, 20 were authored by individuals, with the remaining 48 books released by public organizations such as the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korea Tourism Organization, and the Ministry of SMEs and Startups.

Most of the 50 dissertations cover Hallyu fandom, Hallyu’s influence on consumption and tourism, and social science or economic research such as marketing and brand image. Noteworthy are the following two papers on the theories and ideas of Hallyu:

- 1 Pan Yuanjun, *A study on K-pop idols’ lyrics: focus on BTS’s lyrics*, Department of Culture Contents & Communication Science, Graduate School of Konkuk University, February 2020.
- 2 Alaa Tarek Bahieldin Abdelwahed, *A study on the characteristics*

of Korean drama in Egypt: based on the comparison of the narratives of Korean-Egyptian-Turkish drama, Master's thesis, Department of Korean Language and Literature of Korea University, August 2020

Both papers were written by foreigners. The first paper analyzed the trends in K-pop idols' lyrics over three generations of K-pop idols. The first-generation idols, such as H.O.T. and Shinhwa [Myth], produced lyrics representing social engagement that strike a chord with teenage fans. The lyrics of second-generation idols, represented by Wonder Girls and Girls' Generation, lean toward the theme of love characterized by hook songs that are easy to sing along with. Third-generation idols, represented by BTS, stand out by releasing concept albums or creating the group's own worldview. Love and parting account for more than 90% of the themes, and the phenomenon of language destruction is often observed (p. 69). Since the analysis was performed exclusively on K-pop idols, the "Korean" identity was not reflected well.

In contrast, the second paper on K-dramas features Hallyu's distinctive Korean traits very well with international comparisons. The author succinctly describes the general features of K-dramas as mainly dealing with love stories with a happy ending that unfold in a vast space outside the set with intensive use of background music (p. 88). The author also pointed out that, though not representative of K-dramas, family relationships are usually at the heart of the plot: "Against the background of strong parent-child bond and filial piety, the core virtue of the age-old Confucian heritage, respect for the family, and parent-child relationship are very important issues in Korean dramas, and parents have a great impact on their adult children" (p. 40). However, this paper was submitted to the Department of Korean Language and Literature, and there was no further in-depth discussion regarding the aspect of ideology.

The research trend of 235 serials and academic articles is not much

different from the dissertations introduced above. The main contents involve an analysis of Hallyu's impact, relevance to purchase intention, fact-finding or introduction of the current situation, and economic considerations. Very few studies have been devoted to analyzing Korean philosophy or Confucianism. However, the following two papers are worthy of attention.

- 1 Kim, Dong-ha. Cultural comparison of Korea and Japan through the Korean Wave, *Korea and Global Affairs* (4)4, August 2020.
- 2 Kang, Joon-man. Hallyu is a lotus flower blooming in mud...*Korean Studies* and the history of the mass media: Korea and Koreans through the lens of Hallyu, *Saramgwa Eollon [People and Press]* 11, Winter 2020.

The author of the first paper, a scholar with expertise in international regional studies, summarizes the research outcomes published in Korea and Japan to date and introduces the Hallyu boom in Japan. However, he failed to conduct an in-depth analysis of Korean and Japanese culture from ideological and philosophical perspectives.

The second paper sheds light on Korea and Koreans through the lens of Hallyu. The author characterizes Hallyu with four key features: (1) sentimentalism, (2) the Korean dream, (3) global orientation, and (4) latecomer advantage. He further enumerates 10 features as the contributing factors for Hallyu: "excellent hybridization and convergence capability and constitution," "advantage of the mid-stage of modernization and latecomer advantage," "cultural gamut of Korean melancholy and exaltation," "emotional eruption and whirlwind culture," "desire for overseas expansion and risk-taking culture," "synergy effect of IT powerhouses," "strong desire for achievement and sense of equality," "fierce competition and the Korean dream," "excellence of pop culture workforce,"

and “militarist Spartan training” (*Voice of Jeonbuk*, <https://www.jbsori.com/>, see “Hallyu is a lotus flower blooming in mud...*Korean Studies* and the history of the mass media).

In 2020, Professor Kang published a book on Hallyu, titled *The History of Hallyu: From Kim Sisters to BTS* (Kang Joon-man, Inmulgwa Sasangsa [*People and Thought*], 2020). In this book, Kang evaluated Hallyu-related views and data across various academic publications and systematically arranged the history of Hallyu from the perspective of a social scientist with an academic background in journalism and broadcasting. This book can be highlighted as the best book on Hallyu published in 2020 and as one of the masterpieces among Hallyu-related books published to date. A great deal of time and effort must have been dedicated to creating this masterpiece. However, it leaves something to be desired in terms of analyzing the theories and ideas surrounding Hallyu. Introducing the paper “The ethos of collective moralism: The Korean cultural identity of K-pop” by Kim Su-jeong and colleagues, he points out that the organizational culture of the three major agencies that produce K-pop singers is based on the “sentiment of a patriarchal family community protected and disciplined under the responsibility of a father” and that K-pop idols value a code of conduct that includes “decent deed and decorum” and humility as well as hard work, which cannot necessarily be boiled down to “Confucian” culture. He believes that the “Korean dream,” which is based on Koreans’ strong orientation toward others and hierarchic mentality and epitomized by the Korean proverb “A dragon arose from a brook” (describing a celebrity with a humble background), has played a decisive role in the formation of this “collective moralism” and argues that this phenomenon was not necessarily influenced by Confucianism (p. 459). This position of rejecting the relationship between Hallyu and Confucianism may be ascribable to social scientists’ deep-rooted tradition of disregarding Confucianism and a kind of prejudice derived from this scholarly tradition.

3. Hallyu studies in Japan

The Hallyu boom in Japan did not subside in 2020. Because of the COVID-19 crisis, Hallyu stars' performances in and visits to Japan have decreased significantly, but their influence via the Internet was maintained at the same level as that of 2019. Netflix Japan reported a six-fold year-on-year increase in streaming of Korean dramas in Japan in 2020. The drama *Crash Landing on You* ranked #1 as Japan's most popular drama of the year. Other K-dramas that attracted much attention in Japan in 2020 include *Itaewon Class*, *It's Okay to Not Be Okay*, *Record of Youth*, and *What's Wrong with Secretary Kim?* Half of the 2020 top 10 dramas on Netflix Japan were Korean dramas.

However, the downtrend of Hallyu-related studies in the academic research sector continued in 2020. With the keyword “韓流” (Hallyu in Kanji), a total of 28 publications were retrieved from the Japanese research database portal CiNii (<http://ci.nii.ac.jp/>). After excluding eight works for duplicate publication or lack of relevance, 20 papers or articles were found to be published on Hallyu in Japan (retrieved: July 16, 2021).

Nine of them are articles introducing Korean dramas or Hallyu stars, most of which are light gossip articles published in the *Weekly Asahi* (週刊朝日) magazine. Three articles deal with rumors that a famous Japanese actress, Haruka Ayase (綾瀬はるか), might marry a Korean actor, a Hallyu star. Excluding these 12 articles, only eight papers are left, and three of them are not academic papers: one is a report on the death of a Hallyu idol, one is a report on Koreatown in Osaka, and one is a report related to a symposium held at the Korean Consulate in Osaka. The remaining five articles can be considered relatively elaborate in-depth analyses of Hallyu. They are reviewed as follows:

- 1 Jeong, Gwiryun; Kashijuku, Eiko, Another Korean wave drama: The spiritual world of Koreans reading from “Shoot the stars,” *Departmental Bulletin Paper of Center for the Multicultural Public Sphere in the Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University* 13, 2020.
- 2 Kashijuku, Eiko; Jeong, Gwiryun, As a clue from the Great East Japan Earthquake and “A sky full of stars,” *Journal of the Faculty of International Studies, Utsunomiya University* (50), 2020.09.
- 3 Nishimori, Michiyo, Women in the Hallyu drama viewed by gender, *Joseinohiroba* (499), 2020.9.
- 4 Women in love crash landing on you: Hallyu boom doesn’t stop!, *Sunday Mainichi* 99 (34), 2020.7.19.
- 5 Ikumi Haruki, The sociology of the great hit Hallyu drama: The reality of Korean and North Korean women in love crash landing on you, *Chuo Koron* 134(12), 2020.12).

The first and second entries in the above list were co-authored by Professor Jeong Gwiryun at Utsunomiya University (宇都宮大学). Both examine the meaning of “stars” represented in Korean dramas. In the first paper, in particular, the author points out that, while the Japanese recall the dead when looking at stars, Koreans often pray that their thoughts and wishes may come true (p. 123) and attributes this practice to the Korean-specific sentiments of Han (long-accumulated grief and grudges against injustice, no English equivalent) and Jeong (affection based on sharing and compassion, no English equivalent), which is well-depicted in *Shoot for the Star* (p. 137).

The remaining three articles focus on the female image depicted in Korean dramas or on Japanese women who enjoy Hallyu. Given that the main consumers of Korean dramas are women, although the fan base has

of late been spreading to men in their fifties and sixties, it is natural to pay attention to women in relation to Korean dramas. As a whole, however, in terms of Hallyu-related research achievements, these papers are rather far from an in-depth analysis of Hallyu, which is disappointing.

Even in Japan, the word Hallyu can no longer cover the entire landscape of Hallyu studies. The phenomenon called Hallyu is so massive that it cannot be covered in a single paper anymore. A search in the CiNii research database portal, with the search period set to 2020, for *Crash Landing on You*, which was a big hit in Japanese society throughout 2020, shows 16 papers, three papers for *Itaewon Class*, nine for “K-pop,” six for “Korean dramas,” and nine for “BTS.” With some duplicates, there are many cases in which Hallyu is introduced and analyzed without using the word Hallyu.

A search for Hallyu-related books published in 2020 on CiNii yields two: one on the “history distortion in Korean historical dramas” and the other on “Hallyu’s implications from the mouths of Arashi (嵐) fans.” A search for books with the keyword “K-pop” returns five books imported from Korea in addition to four books about learning Korean. That is, no significant books on K-pop were published in 2020.

On a related note, a search for K-pop-related papers showed nine articles published in 2020, of which six are papers published in the KOFICE magazine *Koreana: 韓国の文化と芸術*. This magazine, published in Japanese (27:2), featured pre-K-pop Korean music (postwar popular music) authored by Koreans. Topics include trendy music in the new media era, namely trot ballad and dance music, rock music, the 8th US Army show, and the growth of popular Korean music. The next issue (27:4) contained an article about K-pop music videos. The remaining three papers are a comparison of K-pop and J-pop, a comparison of K-pop and J-pop idols’ images, and Korea’s national branding.

4. Hallyu studies in China

A search for Hallyu-related studies published in 2020 with the keyword “韓流” (Hallyu) as the “篇名” (title name) on the Chinese academic paper database portal CNKI (中國知網, <http://www.cnki.net/>) resulted in 12 items (retrieved: July 25, 2021), which can be broken down into nine academic papers, two dissertations, and one newspaper article. A search on Baidu (www.baidu.com) yielded more than 90 newspaper and magazine articles published in China in January 2020 (retrieved: July 25, 2021).

A search for 2019 Hallyu-related papers at the CNKI portal resulted in more than 20 papers and articles, which is significantly higher than in 2020. Of the 12 items published in 2020, three papers are about the impact of Hallyu, three papers about Hallyu’s strategies and characteristics, two papers about Hallyu’s implications, one paper about Korean films, one paper about Korean language education, and one paper about Hallyu’s economic effects and marketing.

In contrast, a search for Hallyu-related studies published in 2020 with the keyword “K-pop” or “Korean popular music” (韓國流行音樂) yielded a total of four articles consisting of one paper on Korean language education, one paper on K-pop’s implications for Chinese popular music, one paper on fandom, and one paper on the trends of the Korean music industry. K-pop-related studies significantly decreased in number compared with 2019. Some of the noteworthy Hallyu studies published in 2020 are as follows.

- 1 Brief analysis of the characteristics and impact of K-culture: exemplified by K-POP and K-drama/movies (方子璇; 周璇; 邱佳琪, 文化产业, March 20, 2020)
- 2 Fusion strategy of Hallyu (张程程, 中国人國博览, April 23, 2020)

The first paper discusses the characteristics of the K-pop, film, and drama industries in Korea. It analyzes the characteristics of “emphasis on good manners” as follows: “Korea is a country famous for good manners, which is reflected not only in their routine behaviors but also in their clothing and makeup. As shown in Korean dramas, Koreans are meticulous about good manners in their daily living” (p. 66). When mentioning the importance attached to good manners by Koreans, the authors do not relate it to the long Confucian tradition that is deeply rooted in the Korean mindset.

The second paper discusses Hallyu’s convergence, where convergence is a concept similar to Hallyu’s hybridity or heterogeneity, which is a popular topic these days. The author points out, “K-dramas have traits of both global universality the Korean specificity. (...) The stories and subject matters of K-drama are a combination of traditional Confucianism and modern Western culture based on traditional ideas” (p. 50). Because of the limited length of the paper (two pages), the author did not discuss the influence of Confucianism in more detail. However, he highlighted that the traditional Confucian ideology in the K-drama acts as a straitjacket for the protagonists living in today’s society.

5. Hallyu studies in Anglophone countries

Papers in Anglophone countries were searched for on the research platform EBSCOhost (Academic Search Complete, <http://www.ebsco.com/>), which is an accumulated body of SCI-level papers. This portal also contains materials in languages other than English, but most of the published papers found there are in English. This portal also contains lists of articles from academic journals deviating from typical paper formats as well as English journals published in Asia or other non-Anglophone

countries.

Also included are papers published in the journals *The Korea Journal* by the Academy of Korean Studies, *Asian Women* published by the Research Institute of *Asian Women* at Sookmyung Women's University, and *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* by National Chiao Tung University in Taiwan (國立交通大學). Therefore, the term "Anglophone" here does not refer to specific geographic regions but to an abstract region where papers published in English are circulated.

A search for papers published in 2020 with the keyword "Korean wave" or "Hallyu" on this portal returned a total of 19 articles (retrieved: July 11, 2020), which represents a decrease of seven articles compared with the 26 articles found in 2019. However, as many as 34 articles were published in 2020 on Bong Joon-ho's movie *Parasite*, 101 articles on "K-pop," 13 articles on "Blackpink," and more than 60 articles on "BTS" (retrieved: July 24, 2021). This suggests that articles on individual Hallyu phenomena, that is, subcategories of Hallyu, overwhelmingly outnumber those on Hallyu itself as an overarching topic. On this note, K-pop-related articles published in 2019 (retrieved: July 11, 2020) were outnumbered by those published in 2020 by 17 articles (101 versus 84).

The contents of the 2020 Hallyu-related papers and articles can be classified by topic as follows (numbers are in parentheses): analysis of Korean cultural policy surrounding Hallyu (1), analysis of Korean films (Park Chan-wook's *Nun*) (1), characteristics of K-dramas (1), entertainment programs (1), webtoon Hallyu (1), introduction of the Hallyu phenomenon (1), analysis of the Hallyu phenomenon (3), analysis of multicultural fandom analysis (2), Hallyu-related papers in North Korea, Spain, Iran, India, and Canada (1 each), the Hallyu situation in Japan (2), and unspecified (1). Among them, three papers that attempted to analyze the Hallyu phenomenon itself are as follows:

- 1 Jin, Dal Yong; Yi, Hyangsoon , Transnationality of popular culture in the Korean wave, *Korea Journal* 2020, Vol. 60 Issue 1.
- 2 Yoon, Kyong, Ssen-Unni in K-pop: The makings of “strong sisters” in South Korea, *Korea Journal* 2020, Vol. 60 Issue 1.
- 3 Chang, Jungyoon, New gender perspectives: Soft creator and strong advocator in the new Korean wave era., *Asian Women* Dec 2020, Vol. 36 Issue 4.

The first paper, co-authored by two scholars working in Canada and the United States, respectively, discusses the transnational nature of Hallyu. Rather than offering an in-depth analysis of the Hallyu phenomenon, the authors introduced a Hallyu-related paper and provided a brief conclusion, leaving something to be desired.

The second and third papers delve into very similar themes, gender issues focusing on masculinity and femininity in Hallyu, particularly in K-pop. The second paper sheds light on the image of Ssen-unni (powerful girl celebrity) commonly seen within the K-pop landscape: that is, the image of the so-called cool and dignified “girl crush.” It points out that the image of Ssen-unni in Hallyu generates a sensational interest and has the potential to convey the voices of various types of women in a more efficient and positive way (p. 35). In the conclusion section, the author poses a question on whether this trend threatens the traditional values dominated by the patriarchy and will become a movement for young Korean girls and women or whether it will merely end up with the fad of the Hallyu brand as international commercialism (p. 35). The author does not specify whether the Korean “traditional values” surrounding women refer to the teachings of Confucianism. Apart from this, although the question of whether the image of Ssen-unni is a reaction to the image of a gentle and submissive woman in the Confucian tradition may be of great interest, no attempt at a deeper analysis was undertaken.

No study was dedicated to Confucianism in the context of Hallyu in 2020, but one K-pop-related study mentioned Confucianism; its content is briefly presented below.

Seo, Yuri; Cruz, Angela Gracia B; Fifita, 'Ilaisaane ME. Cultural globalization and young Korean women's acculturative labor: K-beauty as hegemonic hybridity, *International Journal of Cultural Studies* July 2020, Vol. 23 Issue 4.

The authors, faculty members of universities in Australia and New Zealand, understand that K-beauty is basically hybrid in nature and that the hybridity was created in the process of continuous efforts for cultural adaptation between globalization and the local environment or the traditional culture encountered by young Korean women. The authors argue that their mention of Confucianism or New Confucianism in this context is based on existing research on Hallyu and Confucianism that asserts that traditional Confucianism in Korea regards women as passive and obedient beings devoid of subjectivity and used as tools for reproduction. The authors, as scholars with expertise in marketing-related disciplines, did not discuss Confucian philosophy or ideology in depth or with expertise. However, it is noteworthy that the article attempted to address the issue of K-beauty's cultural hybridity in regional and global contexts as an issue between tradition and modernity.

Although not registered in EBSCO, the following interview article published in 2020 in Vox (<https://www.vox.com/>) is worth introducing because it mentions Hallyu in the light of Confucianism.

The author of this article, journalist Alex Ward, conducted an interview about the movie *Parasite* with Professor Kim Hyun-kyung, Professor of Visual Art and East Asian studies at the University of California, Irvine. In this interview, Professor Kim refers to “the complexity of family

relationships” as one of the issues dealt with in *Parasite*. In particular, she points out that “the film characters treat each other in a traditional way clearly representative of a Confucian ideal,” emphasizing the importance of understanding the relationship between Kim (played by Song Kang-ho) and Park, the rich CEO, from this perspective. In particular, she continues, “Kim is obviously the oldest in both families, [but] eventually gets no respect from Park. Park certainly is Kim’s employer, but Kim holds deep grudges against him, which eventually drives him to murder Park.”

This is a good explanation of the Confucian ethics expressed by the phrase “elders first” (長幼有序), a unique moral problem of Korean society that can easily be overlooked by foreigners unfamiliar with Confucian ethics. Mention could also have been made on the Confucian relevance of this film being a family story, but Professor Kim did not discuss this topic further.

6. Conclusions

In this paper, publication trends of Hallyu-related papers and articles published in 2020 were examined, and the contents of some papers were briefly introduced, focusing on those covering the association between Hallyu and Confucianism. Although few in number, discussions were made from various perspectives.

According to a newspaper article released on December 30, 2020 (Areum Jang, “Netflix K-content streaming ↑ ...increase of 2.5 times in North America and Europe, 4 times in Asia” (News 1, <https://www.news1.kr/>)), K-content streaming on Netflix in Asia increased by about 400% in 2020 compared with 2019 and 250% in North America and Europe, such as in the United States, Canada, Portugal, and Spain. However, as mentioned in this report, the number of researchers writing papers with

the keyword “Hallyu” is decreasing, which suggests that the word “Hallyu” has become stale as a research topic after more than two decades of use. It also suggests that Hallyu as a topic has taken on a dimension that cannot be covered in one paper or book. In contrast, the number of papers on individual Hallyu genres, that is, subcategories of Hallyu such as K-pop, BTS, or the movie *Parasite*, has been increasing every year.

This annual report nonetheless continues to search for papers and books on “Hallyu” and poses questions such as “What is Hallyu?” and “What is the relationship between Hallyu and Confucianism?” This is because the word “Hallyu” as a topic has the potential to unravel the identity of Korean culture and, beyond that, Koreans’ ideological and cultural identity. It is my sincere hope that the year 2021 will see the publication of many papers related to in-depth research into Hallyu.

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