Landing of the Wave: Hallyu in Peru and Brazil*

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What began as the spread of South Korean popular culture in parts of East and Southeast Asia in the late 1990s, Hallyu "the Korean wave," made its landing and mark in a new cultural context in Latin America years later nearing the end of the first decade of the 21st century. But how did Hallyu suddenly emerge in this part of the international system? What factors led to its development? The results of our field research findings in Peru and Brazil brings the argument away from the cultural proximity for both states with high levels of Asian migration (i.e. Japanese and Chinese) and provides an interesting insight into discussions on socioeconomic grounds that may have influenced individuals' interests towards Hallyu.

Keywords: Latin America, Hallyu, Korean Wave, Korean Culture

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Introduction

It took roughly two decades. What began as the spread of South Korean popular culture in parts of East and Southeast Asia in the late 1990s, Hallyu "the Korean wave," made its landing and mark in a new cultural context in Latin America years later nearing the end of the first decade of the 21st century. The spread of the Korean wave in Asia (i.e. the first wave) has often been referred in relations to "the growing popularity of South Korean popular culture, especially music, TV dramas, movies, and fashion styles" (Park 2006, p. 244). This was an opportune factor that uplifted the image and pride of the South Korean state in the aftermath of the 1997 financial crisis by facilitating the commerce of Korean products overseas and attracting citizens of other states to develop a positive perspective of Korea (Kim and Ni 2011, pp. 143-4). New markets for the large-scale export of Korean cultural products were opened and the economic situation of the neighboring Asian countries that were also affected by the crisis allowed for a preference shift from the "more expensive Western imports" to the more affordable Korean products (Jin 2002, pp. 215-28). Some scholars also pointed to "racial proximity" and "recognizable Asian-ness," as variables that contributed to the diffusion of Hallyu during this period (Erni and Chua 2005, p. 7; Kim 2007, p. 48; Ryoo 2009, p. 139).² As it will become clear in our study, these explanations that

¹ In the "Significance of the Korean Wave in South Korea" Kim notes that there still remains some vagueness as to what the term *Hallyu* truly means. It covers areas such as TV shows, entertainment, and popular music but also encompasses "Korean lifestyle such as food, fashion and sports and so on" (2007, p. 47). As a result of this variance in definition, average Koreans cannot readily "label cultural products as *Hallyu*" (Kim 2007, p. 47). Other scholars have noted that a cultural product can "only" be labeled as *Hallyu*, if it has been exposed to foreign audiences and has done so successfully. Korean dramas, television shows, or music that have remained within the domestic sphere therefore, cannot be labeled as *Hallyu* or *Hallyu* related (Kang 2005, pp. 221-2). The Korean government has identified *Hallyu* as a "means of serving national interests at a political level" (Kim 2007, p. 53). For this reason, it has focused on exporting Korean dramas most recently to the Middle East to improve bilateral relations and to "help establish a positive image for Korea" (Kim 2007, p. 53). For the purposes of this study, we have decided to use the descriptions provided by Park (2006, p. 244) and Kim and Ni (2011, pp. 143-4), which defines *Hallyu* as Korean popular music, dramas, films, cuisine, and lifestyle.

² Park argues that Korean popular culture's success can also be explained in terms of cultural proximities among Asian countries. This has to do with the depiction of "social relationships based largely on Confucian ideology" within family relations that are portrayed in Korean dramas for example that can cater to the Asian population that shares some level of Confucian cultural tradition (Park 2007, p. 253). Similarly, Ryoo regards cultural proximity, high income levels in South Korea, and the affinity they share with neighboring Asian countries have made South Korean cultural

focus on race and cultural proximity are limited in explaining the first Korean wave within the geographical context of Asia.

Compared to the first wave of Hallyu, the association of Hallyu with Latin America is a recent phenomenon that follows in the second wave,³ which includes both the Middle East and Europe. Overcoming geographic, cultural, and linguistic differences, Hallyu has been able to proliferate and make its presence known not only to specific Hallyu related groups but also to the mainstream public in the last five years. In 2012 alone, national newspapers and television networks of numerous Latin American countries officially recognized the "arrival" and "landing" of the Korean wave (Frecuencia Latina 2012; RPP 2012; Leitura Dinâmica 2011). But how did *Hallyu* suddenly emerge in this part of the international system? What factors led to its development? A growing number of research have recently emerged addressing the ways in which Korean culture became diffused in Latin America. Some focused on the effect of *Hallyu* in specific states, such as Mexico, taking note of the long established South Korea-Mexican diplomatic relations from 1962, the recent impact of the Korean wave on Mexican society (López Rocha 2012, p. 581), and how Hallyu may be now regarded as a subculture within the majority culture in Mexico (Álvarez 2014). Others regarded Hallyu as an element of cultural strategy that positively reconstructed the image of Korean culture, increasing tourism to South Korea from Argentina and other Latin American states (Fernández 2014, pp. 95-8). Despite existing studies on *Hallyu* in Latin America however, there is a significant lack of literature that comparatively examines states and their experiences in-depth with Hallyu.

This study aims to fill the gap in the literature through a two country comparative case study on the phenomenon of *Hallyu* in South America. The two countries were chosen as they represented different diffusion approaches to *Hallyu*. Peru was one of the first countries in Latin America that followed what we call a provider-based model of *Hallyu* diffusion. This model functioned on the basis of the Korean government supplying, as the provider,

products much more popular in the region (Ryoo 2009, p. 140).

³ The second wave refers to the second stage of *Hallyu* expansion in the first decade of the new millennium where Korean popular music (K-pop) is gaining popularity once again in Asia but also in Europe and the Americas (Yang 2012, p. 138). Yang argued that compared to the first wave of *Hallyu* in East and Southeast Asia that was promoted by the Korean dramas, the second stage involves the expansion of K-pop through "idol groups" that have been trained in a business systemic model of entertainment (i.e. education in foreign languages, manners, dance choreography, acting lessons, and others) via new communication networks, such as social network services (Yang 2012, p. 138).

Korean cultural products to the designated agents, in this case the Peruvian state.4 In the case of Brazil, it followed a different framework of Hallyu diffusion, based on what we call a client-based model. Over the last two years, individuals (i.e. clients) interested in Korean music and entertainment spread their interests voluntarily via the Internet and eventually influenced the airing of some Korean-pop (K-pop) related media clips in their television networks. Examining the differences and similarities of the status of Hallyu seen through the two varying models of diffusion, taking into consideration the historical and societal context of both states, provides interesting insight into what factors have contributed to Hallyu reception in both states. Based on field research conducted in Peru and Brazil in the summer of 2012 with the support of the Academy of Korean Studies, we attempt to enrich academic knowledge on *Hallyu* in this region and examine the various factors that have contributed to the consequence of Hallyu and its implications for the future of Hallyu in Latin America. The results of our findings move the discussion away from arguments of culture and ethnicity that may have contributed to Hallyu diffusion in Brazil and Peru, both states of significant Asian migration reception. Instead, our observations point to socioeconomic explanations for which individuals became interested in Hallyu and the ways in which these factors along with other variables have influenced the diffusion of the wave in the region. Taken together, they also suggest possible ways through which the phenomenon can continue in the region and serve as a diplomatic tool for bettering relations between the South Korean and Latin American societies and governments.

History of *Hallyu* in Latin American Society

Brazil

Officially on December 13, 2011 with Cube Entertainment's United Cube Concert in São Paulo, the Korean wave landed in Brazil.⁵ The K-pop

⁴ From the 1990s onwards, the Korean government provided various Peruvian state television networks (e.g. Panamericana) with Korean dramas that were dubbed in Spanish. With the success of the drama Star in My Heart (trans. Un deseo en las estrellas) and All About Eve (trans. Todo sobre eva) in 2002, over twenty Korean dramas have aired on various national Peruvian networks (Korea Foundation 2012, p. 294).

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 5}$ Korean pop idol group MBLAQ visited Brazil in September 7, 2011 while filming the K-pop Road Show for the Korean television network MBC, a contest selecting the best K-pop cover dance

groups pertaining to this entertainment company (i.e. B2ST, 4Minute, and G.NA) were greeted by over 300 fans at the São Paulo-Guarulhos Airport two days earlier, on December 11. The concert was performed at Espaço das Americas (Space of the Americas) and the musicians' performance was aired on Brazilian television channel Rede Globo's primetime show Fantástico (Sunwoo 2011). This was the first *Hallyu* concert in Brazil that provided the Korean entertainment industry a possibility to "check the popularity of K-pop that's spreading across the world via YouTube and SNS media" (KOFICE 2012). Additional performances followed with JYJ's Xiah Junsu's Tarantallegra Concert at Espaço Victory on September 8, 2012 in São Paulo. The arrival of *Xiah Junsu* was reported in major Brazilian newspapers such as Folha de São Paulo and in one of the largest magazines of Brazil, Época, as the coming of the "fenômeno sul-coreano" (South Korean phenomenon) (Casaletti 2012; Folha de São Paulo 2012). Big Bang was also scheduled to perform on November, 2012 but cancelled their show due to unforeseen circumstances.

According to the Korea Foundation's *Global Status of Hallyu*, in the last couple of years the number of K-pop cover dance groups and *Hallyu* fan groups have drastically increased in the cities of São Paulo, Brasilia, and others (2012, p. 192). The presumed date of the beginning of the second wave effect in Brazil is around the late 2000s when the social network services and YouTube usage became more propagated in the region. *Hallyu* in Brazil is mainly concentrated in the sectors of Korean popular music (K-pop) and idol groups. Although there is an interest for Korean dramas and films, and major Korean television networks such as KBS (Korea Broadcasting System) and MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) have dedicated their efforts in promoting them, as Brazil's film industry is the "largest and best financed in the region" (Meade 2010, p. 17), it has been difficult for Korea to penetrate into the local film market.

Currently there are nine major websites that cater to the interest of the Brazilian *Hallyu* community. *K-Drama*, *K Box*, *K Pop Brasil*, *SUJU Br*, *Sarangingayo*, *YoDramas*, *KPop Station*, and *Asian Mix Store* are among the

groups in the world. The contest was held at a small theater in São Paulo that could hold roughly 80 people in total, where 20 K-pop cover dance groups that had passed the preliminary rounds performed. The area where the theater was located was immobilized as the 4,000 Korean pop fans that could not enter the building were surrounding the area for the possibility of catching a glimpse of MBLAQ's closing ceremony (Korea Foundation 2012, p. 193). However, as their visit was not organized separately as a form of MBLAQ music promotion but rather as part of the filming for the K-pop Road Show, it could not be regarded as being an official visit of a K-pop idol group.

many websites that provide news, videos, and information on Korean culture. popular music, dramas, and language instruction. Sarangingayo currently has the largest number of registered active members at 6,343 and provides an Internet radio channel for Korean music. SUJU Br has the second largest registered members at 3,934 and represents one of the most popular Korean idol groups in Brazil, Super Junior (Korea Foundation 2012, p. 194). Both websites (i.e. Sarangingayo and SUJU Br) are based in São Paulo and counts with at least one administrator level personnel from the Korean immigrant community. In addition to these websites, there are also print publications that aim to promote Asian culture in Brazil such as Neo Tokyo. The magazine recently published a special article about a Korean idol group, Super Junior, that received 2137 votes out of 2800 on a survey that was conducted by the Korean Culture and Industry Exchange Foundation entitled "Which is the group Brazilian fans most want to see live in their country?" Reporting on the fame that this group had in Brazil, Neo Tokyo dedicated 11 pages of its total magazine to Super Junior (Hanacinema 2010).

The areas where the majority of the fans gather to engage in discussions of *Hallyu* in São Paulo are in Bom Retiro and Liberdade (Bunkyo Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa e de Assistência Social), the two ethnic enclaves of the Korean and Japanese diaspora in Brazil. In particular, due to the large Korean immigrant community concentration in São Paulo (i.e. Bom Retiro neighborhood), the city has become the hub of most of the events related to *Hallyu*. According to the Overseas Korean Foundation, there were 50,523 Koreans living in Brazil in 2007 (Im et al. 2008-9, p. 1). Korean immigrants in the city of São Paulo alone form a community of over 40,000 people (2006 estimate) and they own more than 100 trading companies that "promote commercial exchange between Brazil and Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and other Asian countries" (Guimarães 2006, p. 1).

That is not to say however that *Hallyu* related cultural activism and events are only occurring in São Paulo and not in other parts of Brazil. On March 26, 2011, in the city of Taguatinga (city in proximity to Brasilia), a K-pop cover dance festival took place at the Teatro da Praça (Theater of Praça). Over 260 seats were pre-reserved online and the most famous Brazilian K-Pop cover dance crew *Super Junior Girl* celebrated their three-year anniversary with performances (K Drama, 2011). Also, in July 2011, fans from Rio de Janeiro collaborated with Dream Stage Korea to organize a flashmob event in efforts to attract more Korean entertainment companies to Brazil (Peccilli 2011).

Peru

Unlike the presence of the Korean immigrant community in the second wave of *Hallyu* in São Paulo, Brazil, Korean migrants to Peru's involvement in *Hallyu* related fields has been limited. The economic stability of Peru during the early part of Alberto Fujimori presidency (1990-1999) opened the possibilities of economic investment in Peru. Korean investors took this opportunity to invest in the automobile, textile, and fishery industries and to also immigrate to Peru. The majority opted to immigrate to the cities where they formed the diaspora of Koreans in Peru. As their principal objective of immigration was based on investment related fields, when the economy turned sour, they migrated back to South Korea. In this aspect, they were temporary residents that did not interact much with the majority population and therefore only had a minimal influence in the spread of *Hallyu* in Peru.

The diffusion of the Korean cultural wave first began with the Korean dramas that were supplied to Peru from the Korean government during the mid-2000s. As dramas such as All about Eve and Dae Jang Gum reached five percent ratings in Peru's national television network Panamericana, interest in Korean dramas, actors, culture, and popular music increased significantly. Officially in 2002, the drama miniseries Star in My Heart aired on Peru's national television network Panamericana and brought the Korean wave. In the same year the fan club for the leading actor Jae-Wook Ahn was established (Korea Foundation 2012, p. 294). By 2011, twenty Korean dramas have aired on various Peruvian television networks (Korea Foundation 2012, p. 294) and annually there are roughly 10 supply requests for Korean dramas. The showing of the dramas The 1st Shop of Coffee Prince, Boys over Flowers, and Dream High 1 where most of the actors were in one way or the other related to a Korean music group or artist also increased the interest towards Korean popular music in the last two years (Korea Foundation 2012, p. 294). In response to the high level of demand towards Korean dramas, on August 22, 2012 the Korean embassy in Peru hosted the showcase of Korean media contents in Lima. Over fifty personnel from America TV and other Peruvian networks were invited to attend and various Korean media personnel were present to showcase Korean dramas, documentaries, popular music, and other media contents.

As a result of the growing public interest in Korean culture and media products, on March 11, 2012 Peru hosted the first concert of the Korean idol group *JYJ* in cooperation with Noizu Productions in Latin America. For the

press conference prior to the concert, roughly thirty media representatives from the daily El Comercio, TV Peru, and others were present to document the historic event. One reporter from El Comercio described the popularity of *JYJ* and compared their concert ticket sales to Justin Bieber and other American pop stars. The reporter described that on the day when *JYJ*'s concert tickets went on sale, in just "thirty minutes" all the tickets were sold (El Comercio 2012). Over 6,500 people were present at the concert held at La Explanada Sur del Estadio Monumental, inclusive of fifty government personnel of Peru and Korea, and Korean media outlets.

Following the concert of *JYJ*, the Korean idol group *Big Bang* also performed their world tour concert at the Jockey Club in an exclusive neighborhood of Lima, Peru on November 14, 2012. Despite their high prices at 785 SOL (equivalent to 307 USD) for the Kandavu area (nearest to the stage), 553 SOL (216.29 USD) for the VIP area (second in proximity), 325 SOL (127.11 USD) for the preference area (third), and 142 SOL (55.54 USD) for the general entrance, the tickets for the concert were sold out.⁶ To meet the high demand, the production company had to even consider the option of expanding the planned attendance of 9,000 people to meet the continuing demand for the concert (RPP 2012). The arrival of *Big Bang* was reported in major newspaper outlets such as El Comercio and La República, in the national radio of RPP, and in one of the national television network of Frecuencia Latina.

Currently there are 55 registered active fan clubs related to Korean pop music, actors, dramas, and culture (Korea Foundation 2012, pp. 298-311). Other recent scholarship estimates the number of *Hallyu* followers in Peru to be at 30 million (Molnar 2014, p. 162). This discounts the number of club organizations that operate within various Peruvian universities (i.e. Universidad Nacional Agraria la Molina and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú). The 55 fan clubs operate in various cities across Peru, with a large concentration of them in the capital city of Lima. The number of members per club ranges from as low as ten (i.e., B2ST Chiclayo) to as high as over three thousand (i.e., Cloud Peru), with an average age range of members from 15 to 30 years of age. These groups meet on a regular basis, host Korean culture related events, celebrate the celebrity's birthdays,⁷ and during months

⁶ The average income of a security guard working in a high-class neighborhood is 1200 SOL (469.34 USD) per month. Therefore, some of the tickets that were sold for *Big Bang*'s concert were nearly worth the male's one month salary. According to the currency exchange rate in December 2012, 1 USD is equivalent to 2.56 SOL and 1 SOL is worth approximately 420 KRW.

⁷ The project team that worked on producing this study was able to witness a fan-club event from

of festivities participate in various social campaigns in the name of the celebrity they support (Korea Foundation 2012, pp. 298-311). In 2011 alone, *Jaejoong Addiction, ELF Peru, Hato Peru, and SHINee Peru* were among the fan clubs that provided food donation and voluntary community services to poverty-stricken areas of Lima, Peru. Furthermore, different factions of fan clubs produce various different types of Korean pop magazines (i.e. *Pop Asia; Revista I Love Korea; Mundo Asia Pop; Club Kpop*) that are distributed around the Centro Comercial Arenales (Commercial Center of Arenales) in Lima's Lince district, where the majority of the *Hallyu* product selling stores are located.

Research Design and Results

For the exploratory study of *Hallyu* in Latin America, we conducted two surveys both in Brazil and Peru.⁸ The data collection was done with a convenience sampling approach targeting local fans and university students. To assess the key aspects that contributed to the expansion of *Hallyu* in Latin America, it was determined that a target group that already demonstrated a high level of *Hallyu* awareness would be more suitable than a random sampling of the entire population that would render indeterminate results, as it would even include individuals who either were unaware of or disinterested in the Korean wave. In this way, our convenience samples of those individuals interested in Korean cultural products allowed us to obtain a good exploratory data on the trend of *Hallyu* without the complications a randomized sample would render.

The convenience sampling method follows a similar line of thought as quota sampling that is often used in opinion polling, as a given quota of subjects of specified type (i.e. those individuals who were interested in *Hallyu*) are interviewed or surveyed about the methods and ways through which they became attracted to the Korean cultural products. Both types of sampling techniques are useful in detecting patterns and phenomenon in addition to providing descriptive statistical data that make reference to some

Clouds Peru in the summer of 2012, where over 200 fans gathered together in a sports stadium overlooking the ocean that was rented specifically for this event to celebrate the birthday of Super Junior's member Yesung. Fans participated in making poster boards, dance numbers, and singing that was recorded by video to be uploaded to YouTube and Twitter for Yesung to see.

 $^{^{8}}$ For more information on the survey results, please refer to Appendix I of the article that includes figures of some of the principle questions for Peru and Brazil.

possible correlative relationships among different phenomena. Despite the positive elements associated to convenience and quota sampling, the findings using the selected samples may differ from the results of the entire population, it needs caution to generalize the findings to population of each country from the current study.

The core of the data collection effort is based on a two country categorical survey.9 Approximately three hundred individuals were surveyed during the months of July and August 2012, in the two major cities of Hallyu interest concentration, Lima and São Paulo. The surveys took place in commercial establishments where Hallyu fans gather (i.e. Centro Comercial Arenales), university settings with Korean culture classes (Universidad Nacional Agraria la Molina), cultural centers (i.e. Bunkyo Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa e de Assistência Social), and fan club meeting areas (i.e. Centro Comercial Arenales). The surveys were not gender specified, that is to say that it did not specifically target one gender group over the other, introducing a level of purposeful skewness into the data results. Nonetheless, as the survey results will reveal, there was an uncontrollable skewing of the data towards one particular gender interested in following *Hallyu* in both countries. The predominant presence of one gender group will be further discussed in reference to the notion of escapism related to Hallyu.

The data collected in the survey also included demographic variables and respondent's opinions on matters ranging from *Hallyu* interest and identification with specific Korean pop idol groups to political tendencies. In this way we acquired approximately two hundred and twenty five surveys for Peru and ninety-three surveys for Brazil.¹⁰ Essentially in this survey, we collected both quantitative and qualitative data by also conducting informal interviews on the perception of Korean culture, Korean popular music, Korean male and female figures, and Korean people from a small pool of surveyed individuals from Peru and Brazil. Informal interviews took between 15 to 20 minutes to administer and subjects took approximately 30 minutes to complete the surveys following standard protocols.

⁹ More information on the original survey questions for Peru and Brazil can be found in their respective languages of Spanish and Portuguese in Appendix II of the article.

¹⁰ The surveys that were not fully completed (for instance, only five questions out of a total of 50 were answered) were discarded as being irrelevant for the purpose of the research.

Demographic Patterns

The demographic variables in the survey examined gender, ethnicity, education level, and annual personal and family income level of the respondents. The gender proportion was somewhat correspondingly distributed for both countries. Females dominated the proportion of respondents, with 90.2 percent in Peru and 77.4 percent in Brazil. The presence of males for Brazil at 22.6 percent was mainly seen in the K-pop cover dance groups, where males participate in performing the dance choreography of the Korean male idol groups. In Peru, when males were asked as to their participation in *Hallyu* related events, several identified the fashion of the Korean male idol groups as a reason for their attraction to Korean cultural products. However, they only consisted 7.6 percent of the population sample. The significant presence of females was not a surprising observation, as predominant female participation in following *Hallyu* had already been reported in various media outlets all across Latin America (Molnar 2013; Ramírez 2013; Molnar 2014).

For the case of Peru, the categories of ethnicities encompassed: Indigenous Peruvian, Asian Peruvian (Peruvians of Asian descent, such as the Japanese, Chinese, or Korean-Peruvians), Mestizo (Peruvian of European and Indigenous ancestry), Peruvian-American (children of Peruvian and a Caucasian person of American citizenship), Foreigner, and Other. Chinese and Japanese migration to Peru began in 1821 and 1873 and their diaspora's presence in the political, economic, and social spheres of the Peruvian state had been well established. Given the cultural and racial proximity that Chinese, Japanese, and Korean people shared and its correlation to *Hallyu* that was emphasized in the research of the first Korean wave related to Southeast Asia (Erni and Chua 2005; Kim 2007; Ryoo 2009), we were originally hoping to find a high level Asian-Peruvian ethnic concentration in Peru's *Hallyu* related groups. The results of our survey however, indicated that while culture and race were important elements in attracting an individual to *Hallyu*, that in fact that was not the principal variable that

¹¹ With a century long history of migration, the Japanese and Chinese diaspora have established themselves successfully in Peruvian society. The largest supermarket chain in Peru is owned by the Chinese family Wong, the 107th president of the state was Alberto Fujimori a man of Japanese descent, and over 63 percent of the total Japanese population in Peru has acquired at least some form of high-level education and hold respectable professions in the fields of engineering, medicine, accounting, law, and administration (Shintani 2006, p. 89).

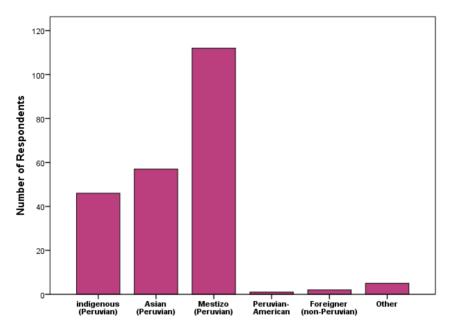


Fig. 1.—Ethnicity distribution of surveyed population in Peru

determined one's interest.

As Figure 1 indicates, out of 225 respondents and two that remained unidentified, the Mestizo population made up the largest proportion with 49.8 percent and 112 individuals. Following this population were the Asian Peruvians at 25.3 percent with 57 respondents, Indigenous Peruvians at 20.4 percent with 46, and 2.2 percent in the Other category. Foreigners and Peruvian-Americans made up 1.3 percent of the total surveyed population. In other words, nearly 70 percent of the respondents who were interested in *Hallyu* were of non-Asian descent. According to the ethnicity frequency distribution, the arguments related to *Hallyu*, race, and culture were therefore not significantly relevant. What was more important, as will become clearer in the findings of the income distribution and residential areas of *Hallyu* interested respondents, was that 49.8 percent of *Hallyu* followers of Mestizo descent fell under the lower income category of society.

In the case of Brazil, the categories of ethnicities encompassed: Indigenous Brazilian, Asian Peruvian (Brazilians of Asian descent, such as the Japanese and Korean-Peruvians), Mestizo (Brazilians of European and Indigenous ancestry), European Brazilian, Brazilian-American (children of

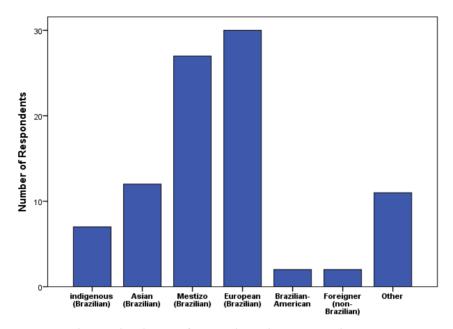


Fig. 2.—Ethnicity distribution of surveyed population in Brazil

Brazilian and a Caucasian person of US citizenship), Foreigner, and Other. The indigenous Brazilians referred to a different category of ethnicity than Peru, as it was more identified with the 227 distinct indigenous peoples that currently make up 0.4 percent of the total national population of Brazil (International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs 2012). Similarly, the Mestizo in Brazil referred to those of indigenous and European descent. As Brazil experienced a significant amount of European migration during the 1820s with the agricultural colonization movement that involved mostly German and Italian speaking European farmers (Klein 1995), an additional category of European Brazilians was added to accommodate the demographic setting of the state. Similarly to the case of Peru, our research team was under the impression that again, due to cultural and racial proximity and the significant level of Japanese and Korean diaspora presence in São Paulo¹² that the majority of those interested in *Hallyu* would be of

¹² Brazil opened its doors to 781 Japanese migrants aboard the ship *Kasatomaru* in 1908 at the port of Santos (Yamanaka 2000, p. 128). According to a 2008 estimate, there are an approximately 1.5 million people of Japanese descent living in Brazil (Duffy 2008). The immigrant community is mainly concentrated in the neighborhood of Liberdade in São Paulo, the city that is located near the

Asian-Brazilian ethnic descent. The results of the survey reconfirmed the findings of Peru.

Shown on Figure 2, European-Brazilians made up the highest percent of the respondents who showed interest in *Hallyu* with 32.3 percent and 30 people. Trailing behind was the Mestizo population at 29 percent with 27 individuals, followed by the Asian-Brazilians with 12 percent and 12 respondents. The remaining percentages were shared by the Indigenous Brazilians, Brazilian-Americans, Foreigners, and Others. Hence, 61.3 percent of the total individuals who showed an affinity for the Korean wave surveyed were of European and Mestizo and not of Asian descent. Despite their cultural and racial differences, these individuals represented the leading force in the *Hallyu* movement in Brazil.

Following the trend in ethnicity distribution and *Hallyu* interest, the two states also displayed similar annual personal and family income level patterns. Although the currency of the two states differed in terms of their weight vis-à-vis the US dollar, the frequency distributions for both countries were quite similar. The categories for income distribution were developed with respect to the national average net-adjusted disposable income for Brazil (modeling OECD standards) and the average annual income per family for Peru (following Asociación Peruana de Empresas de Investigación de Mercado (APEIM) standards). 13 For Brazil, the majority of the surveyed population at 29.3 percent responded that their annual family income was less than 7,500 REAIS (equivalent to 3,608.00 USD). The second largest concentration of percentage was at 19.5 percent with an annual family income between 7,500 and 15,000 REAIS (from 3,608-7,216 USD). Comparing this finding to the average net-adjusted disposable income in Brazil at 22,387 USD (OECD 2012; OECD 2011), the respondent pool of our survey fell under this average disposable income. Considering the average to be the mean of the total population net-adjusted disposable income, then, this could only indicate that the majority of those who were interested in

first Japanese port of entry to Japan, the port of Santos.

¹³ The categories for Peru, both individual and family annual income, were divided between: less than 10,000 Sol, from 10,000 to 20,000, 20,000 to 30,000, 40,000 to 50,000, 50,000 to 60,000, 60,000 to 70,000, and more than 70,000 Soles. For 2013, the average annual household income in metropolitan Lima (including the outskirts of Lima, which encompassed the areas where our surveys were conducted) was 43,188 Soles (APEIM 2013). In the case of Brazil, both individual and family annual income, were divided between: less than 7,500 Reais, from 7,500 to 15,000 Reais, 15,000 to 22,500, 22,500 to 30,000 Reais, 30,000 to 37,500, 37,500 to 45,000, 45,000 to 52,500, and more than 52,500 Reais. For 2011, the average net adjusted disposable income was 10,310 USD (equivalent to 23,548 Reais) (OECD 2011).

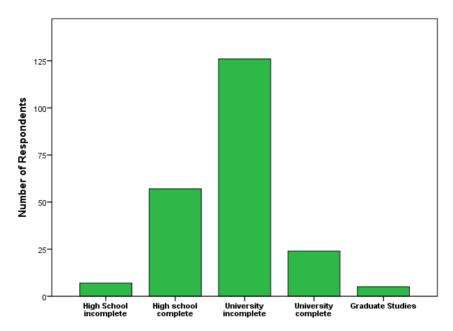


Fig. 3.—Highest Level of Education Achieved-PERU

Hallyu fell under the low-income household category in Brazil.

Similarly for Peru, the largest concentration of respondents fell under the less than 10,000 SOL (equivalent to 3,844 USD) category at 28.2 percent, followed by 26.2 percent in the 10,000-20,000 SOL (from 3,844-7,768 USD) range. Despite the 4.9 percent that responded as having a family annual income more than 70,000 SOL (27,189 USD), with more than half of the surveyed population reporting their income levels in the lowest two categories outweighed the effects of the other categories. In comparison to the average family household income in metropolitan Lima and neighboring districts at 43,188 SOL (15,127 USD) (APEIM 2013), the majority of respondents categorized their income level far lower than the average. Furthermore, comparing this family income range with an average security guard that works in the exclusive neighborhoods of Lima, with a monthly salary of 1,300 SOL and an annual salary at 15,600 SOL, the survey results suggested that most of those who were interested in Hallyu came from families that earned a lower annual income than a security guard and thereby could be seen as falling under the low-income section of the Peruvian society.14

In terms of education level, the two countries varied to some extent in the population distribution. Aside from the six individuals who preferred to remain unidentified of their education status, the majority of respondents for Peru at 57.5 percent were in the process of completing their university degrees. 11 percent had received their university diploma and five people at 2.3 percent of the total convenience sample were even pursuing their graduate studies. Comparatively to these numbers, the percentage of the people that had not completed high school was at a low 3.2 percent. As the Figure 3 indicates, of the 225 individuals who were interested in Hallyu the majority of them had a higher than high school level education. The distribution of their ages fit this education pattern, as 50 percent identified as being 20 years of age, which would indicate a status of age with a high school diploma and a possible pursuit of higher education in university, and the other 50 percent were at 22 years of age, which would correspond with a completed university diploma and for those who were willing, a graduate education. This statistic is significant, as the amount of people enrolled in public and private universities in Peru in 2008 for instance made up 0.25 of the total population (700,199 enrolled / 27,834,304 population) (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática INEI 2008). Additionally, as the 2007 census conducted by the Peruvian government showed, between the ages of 17 and 24, only 38.4 percent (1,592,568 out of 4,144,502) were regularly attending and pursuing any form of education (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática INEI 2007). Assuming that a significant amount of difference was not manifested in 2012, the proportion of individuals of higher level education in the convenience sample of the population involved in the Korean wave at 70.8 percent (added sum of people with high school diplomas, university enrollment, university completion, and graduate studies) was an interesting demographic trend that had not been regarded before. These individuals in their twenties belonging to an exclusive group of the population were likely going to make up the higher stratum of the professional workforce. Hence based on these facts, we could hypothesize that their future status aligned with their continuing interest in Hallyu could perhaps be extended to the development of closer ties for both states in the long term.

¹⁴ To help the reader understand, Carranza Ko (2013) notes that the average opera ticket, enjoyed by the traditional wealthy families in Lima, is roughly 220 Soles. In other words, "a leisure activity of the wealthy is worth nearly 25 percent of the average doorman's [security guard's] income in Lima" (Carranza Ko 2013, p. 417).

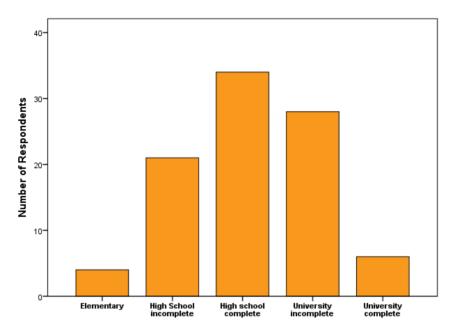


Fig. 4.—Highest Level of Education Achieved-Brazil

As Figure 4 indicates, comparatively to the case of Peru, the education level of the convenience sample for Brazil was skewed more towards the completion of the high school degree. 22.6 percent did not complete their high school education, 36.6 percent reported that they obtained their high school degrees, and 30.1 percent indicated their entrance into higher education at the university level. The frequency distribution of education corresponded with the age group of the respondents with 66.7 percent of the 93 surveyed identified as being 19 years of age. Most likely this proportion of the population surveyed was either completing their high school degrees, finished their education level at the high school stage, or were already enrolled in the university. The other remaining 6.5 percent that answered as having completed the university degree¹⁵ were likely to have come from the age group of individuals that ranged from 52 to 22 years of age. The distribution of age and education revealed that 36.6 percent of the individuals interested in *Hallyu* were pursuing a higher degree of education while 63.4

 $^{^{15}\,}$ According to the Censo de la Educación Superior of 2011, 14.6 percent of Brazilians between the ages of 18 and 24 pursued a university degree (ABC 2012).

percent had a high school level education.¹⁶ Given the context of the late arrival of the second wave of *Hallyu* in Brazil the results of the education variable implied that *Hallyu* was better accepted and regarded from the young population of Brazilians and that perhaps it appealed more to people at a lower education level than others.

Media and Method of Interest in Hallyu

The ways in which Peruvian and Brazilian Hallyu followers became first interested in *Hallyu* reflected the historical process through which the Korean wave made its second landing in both countries. As the major television networks of Peru have continued to air Korean dramas since 2002 that are accessible to both the population with or without cable service, it was no surprise that television would be identified as one of the principle medium through which individuals became aware of the Hallyu phenomenon. 23.5 percent of the total convenience sample answered that television was one of the ways through which they became interested in Hallyu. The diffusion of the Internet in Peru during the 21st century also reflected the method of interest, as 76.4 percent of the people pointed to the Internet as another source through which they first gained access to Hallyu. Official fan clubs of Korean pop idol groups such as ELF, currently has a Peruvian branch with ELF Peru, whose members follow the news of their artists via social network services and through English translated Korean music media forums. As one administrator of ELF Peru noted, some members of the fan club who have linguistic capabilities also personally translate articles from English to Spanish in order to allow non-English speaking ELF Peru members to have access to the same type of information source. Also, the Internet is used most frequently during Korean music awards season during November and December, when Peruvian Hallyu group sites publish the link to the online voting page for the awards to allow the *Hallyu* fans from Peru to vote in support of their artists. In this way, the Internet also provides a means through which Peruvian Hallyu fans can become connected to Korean cultural products directly.

The Internet was also the method through which individuals became

¹⁶ The representation of a large number of *Hallyu* followers under the age of 20 (with only 6.5 percent that responded as being over 20) who were obtaining or had obtained a high school level of education was not significantly different to that of the population of adults from ages 25 to 64 in Brazil, where 43 percent obtained at least a high school education (OECD 2014).

interested in Hallyu in Brazil. 72 of the total 93 individuals surveyed (77.4 percent), identified the World Wide Web as the medium they used to become interested in Korean cultural products. The result correlated with the status of Hallyu in Brazil that became propagated through the social networking services and YouTube (Korea Foundation 2012). Furthermore, the statistic provided the explanation for the large number of registered members of Hallyu websites that were based in São Paulo. The surveys also pointed to the importance of friends and family in the diffusion of Hallyu for Brazil. 41.9 percent of the population answered that friends and families were also a way through which they gained access to the Korean wave. Looking at this percentage through the K-pop cover dance groups, a friend of a K-pop dance crew member who was previously not aware of Korean popular music could be drawn into it through their friends. The number of festivals related to K-pop cover dance, which would imply a demand for K-pop cover dance groups, therefore could have also promulgated the level of *Hallyu* exposure in Brazil.

Consequences of Korean Wave

Aside from demographic patterns, our research team dedicated several questions in examining the influence of Hallyu on peoples' social relationship, academic pursuit, and culinary expeditions in Peru and Brazil. The results of the survey suggested the significant role and influence that Hallyu demonstrated in all three aspects of society. On the individual's social relationships, the researchers asked the respondents to rate the level of influence that Hallyu had in influencing their decisions on seeking friends of Korean ethnicity. For Peru over 83 percent of the population acknowledged an 'average to more' effect of Hallyu in their amicable pursuit of making new Korean friends. Brazil's results indicated that aside from the 10.1 percent of those who answered that *Hallyu* had little to no influence, 79.7 believed that Hallyu impacted their decision on building friendships and relations people of Korean descent. Extending the argument of culture, one could argue that the exposure to Korean cultural products through various mediums (i.e. television and Internet) increased a level of familiarization and awareness of Korean values and traditions that through time became accepted as nonforeign to the Brazilian and Peruvian public interested in Hallyu. As a result of this process, active participants in the Korean wave were less intimidated and more welcoming towards the prospective of having Korean friends.

The importance of the Korean wave could be more visibly seen through its influence in the academic fields. Over 91 percent of the total convenience sample in Peru answered that they became much more interested Korean language and culture instruction through Hallyu. As described by the Korea Foundation, Korean language classes are currently offered in Lima at one of the most prestigious national universities of Peru, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and at the top ranking private university, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP). The Sejong Institute on Korean Languages opened on May 25, 2012 at the PUCP and due to the high demand of students wishing to take the classes, there is currently a waiting list for the registration (Korea Foundation 2012). Korean culture classes on history, education, and religion are also being offered at the Universidad Nacional Agraria La Molina in Lima, a top ranking national university where former President Alberto Fujimori once taught. In addition, regional national universities such as the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo have been offering Korean language classes from the mid-1990s. On a more critical side, the high demand for Korean language instruction from the *Hallyu* effect has also seen the rise of non-certified Korean language instruction classes in private institutions that are not accredited by the Ministry of Education of Peru. During our field research in Lima, we were able to see the flyers from these private institutions that were offering Korean classes to Hallyu interested fans in multiple occasions at the Centro Comercial Arenales.

The majority of the population that was surveyed in Brazil also showed a high level of influence of Hallyu on their pursuit of Korean language instructions. 87.8 percent in total indicated that the exposure to Korean cultural products had significantly impacted their decisions on learning Korean. As the Korean wave landed years after it had done so in Peru, the level of Korean language classes offered at the university level however has been limited (Korea Foundation 2012). Starting from July 2012, the Universidade de São Paulo, with the support of the Korea Foundation, is the first university to offer a degree program in Korean language and literature in Brazil. Despite a significant concentration of the Korean diaspora's presence in São Paulo, there has been a limited effort in establishing Korean language schools at a higher education level. For this reason, people are getting their Korean language instruction via the Internet and through some of the Brazilian *Hallyu* websites that offer support in this field. This is comparatively different to the case of Japanese language programs that have been offered throughout numerous universities in Brazil.

The level of interest towards Korean culinary culture has also been

affected by the Korean wave phenomenon in both countries. 89.6 percent of those who were surveyed in Peru and 79.3 percent in Brazil pointed to the influence of *Hallyu* in their attraction towards the Korean cuisine. From 2008, Peru annually hosts the world famous ten-day gastronomic food fair that has become one of the most important food events in Latin America (McLaughlin 2011). Peru's influence in the culinary world has been well documented with celebrity chefs (i.e. Gastón Acurio) and the nation expresses a strong pride for its culinary culture that dates to the Inca civilization and has also been fused with Chinese and Japanese diaspora's cultural traditions (McLaughlin 2011). In this context, the rise of six Korean restaurants in Lima over the last two decades has been a remarkable achievement. Most *Hallyu* interested groups hold their meetings regularly in these restaurants (Korea Foundation 2012). In Brazil's case, the Korean diaspora's Bom Retiro neighborhood provides an ample variety of Korean food for the *Hallyu* fans in São Paulo.

Comparative Analysis

The results of the descriptive statistics of the survey portray somewhat of a different reality than what our research team had presumed in the beginning. As both countries counted with a large concentration of the Asian diaspora community that continued its customs based on Confucian ideology and Asian traditions, we were expecting to see a strong relationship between the Asian diaspora and the interest in Hallyu. This was based on our understanding of cultural hybridity that is used in postcolonial studies to describe the "newness of the many different forms of migrant or minority discourses flourishing in the diasporas of the modern and postmodern epochs" (Ryoo 2009, p. 143). As diaspora in Brazil and Peru that have already been integrated into the local cultures would rediscover themselves through the Korean cultural products, a form of hybridization was likely to occur. Contrary to our assumptions however, the majority of the individuals interested in Hallyu from both countries were of non-Asian descent. In Peru, the Mestizo and in Brazil, the European Brazilian population represented the highest level of proportion of the *Hallyu* groups. The results once again challenged the cultural and racial arguments related to Hallyu, as neither European nor Mestizo traditions, cultures, or races were of proximity to South Korea.

Without cultural and racial proximity, how can we go about explaining

the phenomenon of *Hallyu* in Peru and Brazil? The possible answer to this question lies in the income level distribution that was manifested in our surveyed population sample. More than half of the respondents in Peru and Brazil reported their annual family income level in the lowest two categories of the income spectrum that was provided by the research team. This was in some cases below the average net-adjusted disposable income at the national level. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents (22.4 percent)¹⁷ identified their residence in lower income districts of Los Olivos, Ate, San Juan de Lurigancho, and San Martín de Porres for Lima, Peru. According to Asociación Peruana de Empresas de Investigación de Mercado that measured zone distribution per socioeconomic levels from 2013 in Lima, the majority of residents in Los Olivos and San Martín de Porres belonged to the category C, in the low income class of society. Economic levels fluctuated further down in Ate and San Juan de Lurigancho, where the majority of the population were situated in category D, a class lower than C (APEIM 2013).¹⁸ Similarly for São Paulo, Brazil, the majority of the respondents (56.1 percent) resided in Centro, Sul (neighborhoods: Palheiros, Santa Amaro, and others), Sudeste (neighborhoods: Villa Prudente and Aricanduva), Leste 1, Leste 2, and Centro, which represent the lower income neighborhoods in the city (Fundação Sistema Estadual de Análise de Dados 2000).

From the lower economic status and residential areas of the majority of the active followers of the Korean wave, it could be inferred that a possible form of escapism was occurring amongst this population. In other words, *Hallyu* accessed through television and the Internet provided a way through

¹⁷ 61.9 percent of the respondents checked off the 'other' category in identifying their residential neighborhoods in Lima. As the category of residential neighborhoods listed most of Lima's districts of San Isidro, Surco, San Borja, Lince, Jesús María, Los Olivos, San Miguel, La Molina, Other (San Martín de Porres), Other (ATE), and Other (San Juan de Lurigancho), the remaining category of 'other' could only imply lower income neighborhoods in the outskirts of Lima. However, given the ambiguity of the 'other' category of response, the 61.9 percent was disregarded as being labeled with the lower income residences. Instead, the 22.4 percent that represented the total sum of the lower income neighborhoods that were specified in the question was placed in comparison to the total percentage of residents in the remaining middle to higher level income neighborhoods at 15.7.

¹⁸ APEIM defines five socioeconomic levels ranging from Nivel A to Nivel E. Nivel A represents the highest class on the socioeconomic ladder, with measures that include level of education of the head of the family (equivalent to a Doctorate or Master's degree), accessibility to medical consultation (to the level of private clinic or private doctor), number of people living in the house, raw construction material of the house (i.e. marble), and number of rooms per house (for Nivel A, it would be five or more) (APEIM 2013). Nivel D that was predominantly represented in the survey population, belonged to the lower class of society, with the head of the household having completed a high school level of education, accessing medical services of the Ministry of Health, and with 2 or less rooms in the house inhabited by 7 to 8 people, covered by unpolished cement.

which individuals escaped from the social reality in which they found themselves and transferred their status to a different geographic, economic, and cultural context. As noted in the MK Business News overview of *Hallyu* and as our survey results affirmed, cyberspace has been particularly important in the diffusion of *Hallyu* via social networking services and other mediums such as YouTube and Google (MK Business News 2012, pp. 60-3). During our research, 76.4 percent in Peru 77.4 percent of the surveyed population in Brazil reported that they used the Internet to access *Hallyu* related news and events, among many other things. Moreover, when asked with what frequency in their daily conversation *Hallyu* was a topic of discussion, 62.4 percent in Brazil and 65.8 percent in Peru indicated that they engaged in daily talks of *Hallyu* with their peers. The dominance of *Hallyu* in the respondents' conversations, along with the continuous access of *Hallyu* related news via the Internet, demonstrated a high level of individuals' engagement in a space away from their reality.

An interview of a Peruvian student with *Yonhap* News Agency reflected this perspective further. Although she was pursuing a higher level of education by attending a university, she was well aware of the class divisions in Peruvian society that limited the reduction of income gap between the rich and the poor. Understanding her own limits, as an individual from the lower class of society, she stated that she felt attracted to Korean dramas that gave people "hope of triumphing and achieving class mobility" (*Yonhap* 2012). *Hallyu* and Korean dramas portrayed a reality of hope where "social upward mobility" was possible and "provided a new idealization of the future, of the possibility of a better life distinct form the one in which they existed" (Carranza Ko et al. 2014, p. 340). Interpreting these observations in a critical manner, it could be argued that *Hallyu* provided individuals with layers of illusion that, in extreme circumstances, lead to an escapist tendency to the point where individuals isolate themselves and sustain certain beliefs (Evans 2001, p. 10).

If the pursuit of escapism was based on nostalgia, then the experience may be a positive gainful experience of the individual involved. However, if escapism involved the transporting of oneself to a different reality of the present in which the individual is foreign to, then it placed the person in a "false present or future" (Orlik 2009, p. 173). As long as the person participating in this situation is aware of the falseness of the reality, the situation becomes manageable. When escapism becomes the dominant form of life and overshadows all other aspects of life or takes over it, then it becomes a social problem (Orlik 2009). Therefore, the continuous immersion

in Hallyu, Korean dramas, films, and pop idol stars to the point where the majority of one's own personal time, income or the family's income is dedicated to the viewing, pursing, and purchase of Hallyu related products, can clearly be a dangerous situation where a false present exists in parallel with a reality that is unwelcomed and rejected. From the brief interviews that were collected during our research, we were able to see glimpses of these escapist trends within the followers of *Hallyu* in both countries. If the respondents were in their teen years, perhaps such fanaticism towards certain idol stars could be understood as a phase of adolescence. But at the age between 19 to 22 and in the process of pursuing a higher education, the level of dedication to Korean idol stars (i.e. continuous coverage of idol star tweets for more than 10 hours a day) seemed to imply an escapist tendency in this population. Although the danger level of escapism that generates the hikikomori¹⁹ phenomenon in Japan is absent in the population following the Korean wave, the elements that indicate a certain level of escapism from the socio economic reality of the individuals from both countries reveal a possible danger in the future for those immersed in the new virtual Korean reality that is likely going to pop at some point in the near future.

An alternative way of viewing the Hallyu phenomenon in Peru and Brazil can also be seen through the disproportionate amount of females in our survey. Masculinity and the image of the male in Latin American society are associated to the long-lived tradition of Spanish and Portuguese conquest and colonization of the Americas (Strasser and Tinsman 2010). War, sexual violence, conquest, and power are portrayed in Latin American telenovelas in relation to the male protagonist that is involved in a high level of sexual exposure and violence. This depiction of masculinity contrasts sharply with the image of the Korean male that accompanies the *Hallyu* phenomenon. In analyzing the effects of the Yonsama syndrome in Japan (part of the first wave of Hallyu), a Korean scholar Kim Eun-Shil argued that actor Bae Yong Jun's character Kang Joon-Sang portrayed the image of an idealized man (Jung 2011). He is not overly macho but has a level of manly charisma and feminine tenderness. The South Korean man portrayed through Korean dramas and Korean idol groups also reflect this image and are often associated with sweetness, gentle manners, tender charisma, and caring words towards women. In one word, they exemplify the image of "versatile masculinity"

¹⁹ *Hikikomori* is a "culture-bound disorder" of "severe withdrawal" from society, where individuals suffering from this syndrome "sequester themselves in their rooms for months and years at a time" occupying themselves busy with television, video games, and internet surfing (Ferraro and Andreatta 2010, p. 45).

(Jung 2011, p. 170) or more feminized version of the traditional conception of masculinity that is opposed to the male figure in Latin American society. When asked during our interviews why they liked Korean idol groups, ELF Peru administrators replied that it had to do with their soft look, cuteness, gentle manners, and sweetness. Even men that were interviewed from a Peruvian television network RPP prior to *JYJ*'s concert noted that they were attracted to the group because of their "beautiful" faces (RPP 2012). Hence, perhaps the large population of *Hallyu* followers that are represented by the female gender were attracted to Korean idol groups and *Hallyu* in their search for an alternate image of the over-masculine Latin American male.

Conclusion: A Look into the Future

Spanish, Portuguese, and Korean; Caucasian, Indigenous, Mestizo, and Korean; Latin America and East Asia, all of these terms are in one way or the other connected through the terms different and distant. How was it possible for people of such distinct backgrounds to become interested in a culture not related to their ancestry, language, or culture? For over two months while conducting our field research in Lima and São Paulo, this was the main question of inquiry that we kept coming back to. In our attempts to answer the question that puzzled not only our research team but also was left unanswered in the greater scholarship of *Hallyu*, we have looked at different demographic and opinion related categorical variables. Several conclusions were drawn from the results of the survey on explaining the status of *Hallyu* and its landing in Peru and Brazil.

The current wave is distinguished from the first wave, which led to the theorization of ethnicity and cultural associations as important variables in explaining the phenomenon of *Hallyu* in Southeast Asia because such variables were insignificantly related to the diffusion of the Korean wave in Latin America. From our survey research we identified that the majority of the public that followed *Hallyu* were of non-Asian descent. This group was characterized by a high level of education status in addition to a low economic status as determined by their net average annual income and the regions in which they resided. These individuals became attracted to Korean cultural products with the diffusion of Internet usage through social networking services and YouTube that provided them with direct access to *Hallyu* related news. With Korean dramas being aired on national television networks in the case of Peru, it also provided a second medium through

which individuals reached their *Hallyu* products of interest. All these factors combined, the public to which *Hallyu* catered towards were people of European or indigenous descent who made up the mainstream ethnic group in Peru and Brazil that had a high level of educational achievement, a lower than average socio economic status, and who were able users of the mediums of communication.

Once the groups of Hallyu followers had been established in Peru and Brazil, the Korean wave made its imprint in society by affecting the behavior of these groups in the realms of education, social relations, and culinary traditions. The interest for learning Korean, making Korean friends, and seeking Korean cuisine were naturally manifested in these groups. The behavioral change of a group of Latin American individuals residing in a geographically, linguistically, and culturally different region of the world as a result of the diffusion of South Korea's cultural influence was remarkable. It was an unprecedented phenomenon that shed light to the significance of culture and cultural products as a potential behavioral change variable. *Hallyu* provided a small state like South Korea, the opportunity to positively influence the awareness of Korean culture and educational development in different states in Latin America. At the same time, it also provided the Korean state with the possibility of a new consumer group of Hallyu interested people and a new market for exporting its culture and products. In these ways, the cultural phenomenon provided the Korean government with an additional mechanism that brought the economies, education, government, and peoples of both Latin America and South Korea together.

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Appendix I - Additional Figures of Survey Results

1. Peru

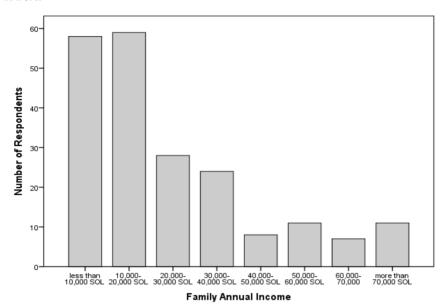
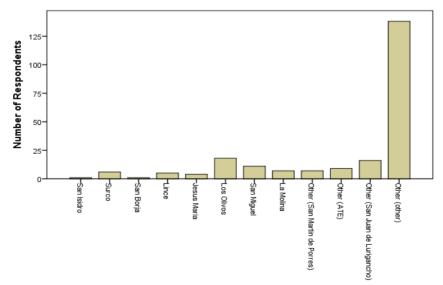


Fig. 5-1.—Distribution of Family Annual Income-Peru



Residential Neighborhood in Lima (barrio de Lima)

Fig. 5-2.—Residential Distribution-Peru

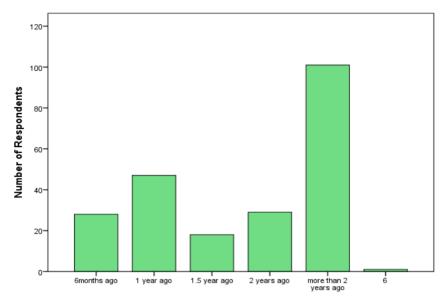


Fig. 5-3.—Approximate start of *Hallyu* interest (time period)²⁰

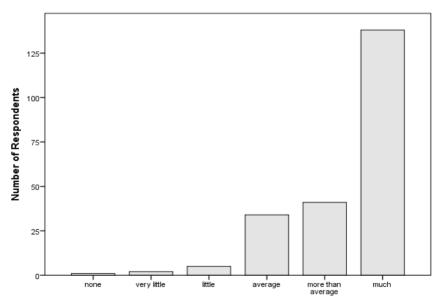


Fig. 5-4.—Frequency of following *Hallyu* news

 $^{^{\}rm 20}\,$ Category 6 was a not applicable answer obtained by the surveyed respondent.

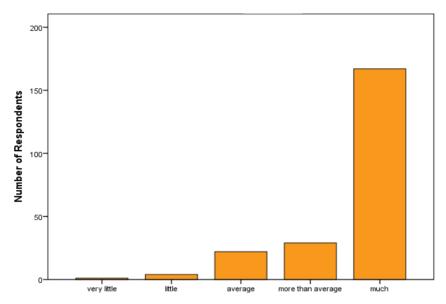


Fig. 5-5.—Interest in K-Pop

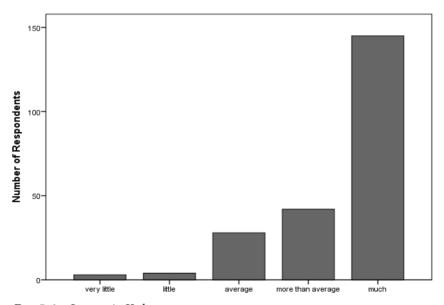


Fig. 5-6.—Interest in K-drama

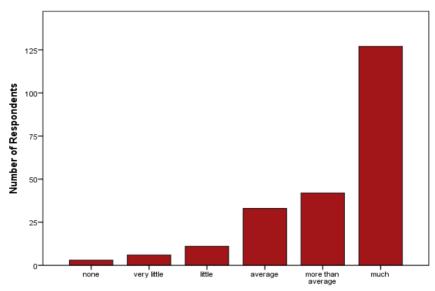


Fig. 5-7.—Influence of *Hallyu* on learning Korean (level)

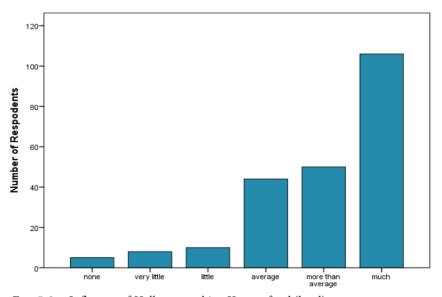


Fig. 5-8.—Influence of *Hallyu* on seeking Korean food (level)

2. Brazil

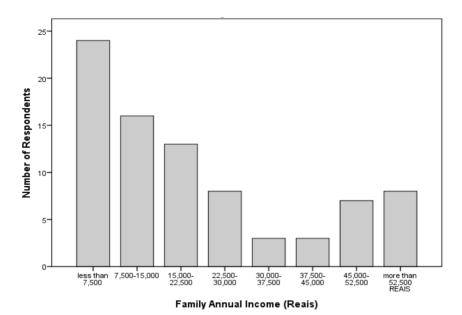


Fig. 5-9.—Distribution of Family Annual Income-Brazil

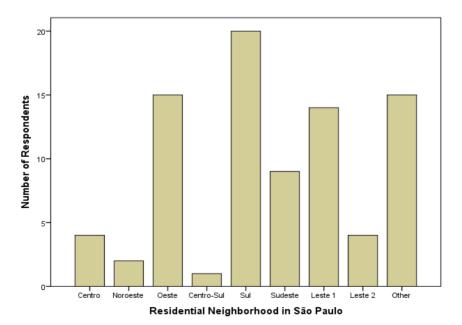


Fig. 5-10.—Residential Distribution-Brazil

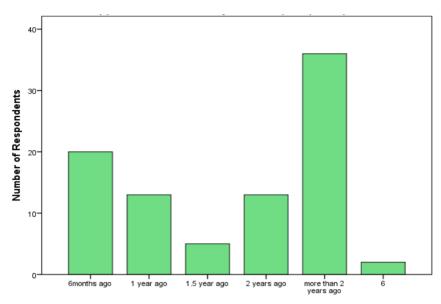


Fig. 5-11.—Approximate start of *Hallyu* interest (time period) ²¹

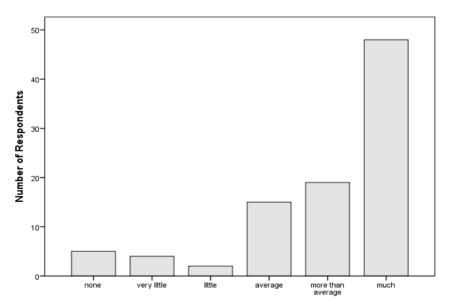


Fig. 5-12.—Frequency of following *Hallyu* news

 $^{^{\}rm 21}\,$ Category 6 was a not applicable answer obtained by the surveyed respondent.

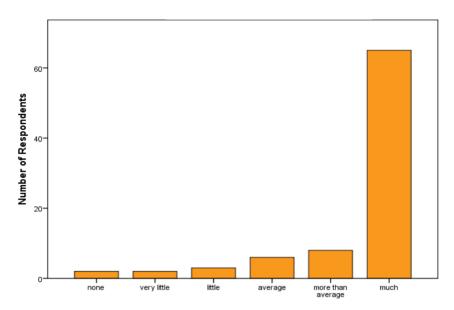


Fig. 5-13.—Interest in K-Pop

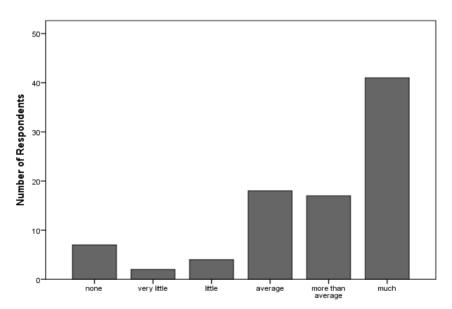


FIG. 5-14.—Interest in K-drama

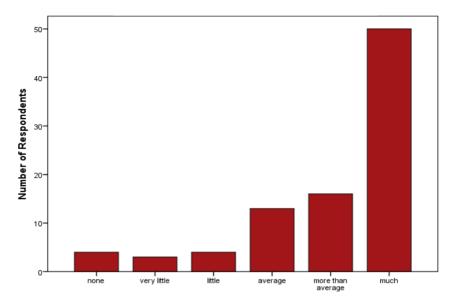


Fig. 5-15.—Influence of *Hallyu* on learning Korean (level)

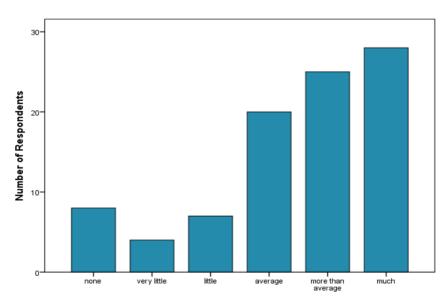


Fig. 5-16.—Influence of *Hallyu* on seeking Korean food (level)

Appendix II - Surveys

1.	Encuesta	para Perú	(trans.	Survey	for Peru)
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¿Es usted Peruana y tiene más de 18 años? Si su respuesta es afirmativa, nos
puede ayudar contestando esta encuesta. Por favor ponga una marca al lado
de su respuesta correcta y escriba en imprenta. Esta encuesta es Totalmente
Confidencial.

puede ayudar contestando esta en	e 18 años? Si su respuesta es afirmativa, nos ncuesta. Por favor ponga una marca al lado a en imprenta. Esta encuesta es <i>Totalmente</i>
1. ¿En Perú, usted se identifica co	on mayor frecuencia como:
θ Indígena (Peruano)	θ Asiático (a) (Peruano)
θ Europeo (a) (Peruano)	θ Mestizo (Peruano)
θ Peruano-Estadounidense	θ Extranjero
θ Otro	
1a. [Si se identifica como Asiá	atico (a)] ¿Usted se identifica con mayor
frecuencia como parte de que gr	upo étnico?
θ Japonés (a) θ Coreano (a)	
θ Vietnamita θ Chino (a)	
θ Taiwanés θ Otro	
2. ¿Cuál es el nivel de educación	mas
alto que ha obtenido?	
θ Primaria	
θ Secundaria incompleta	
θ Secundaria completa	
θ Universidad incompleta	
θ Universitaria completa	
θ Estudios de postgrado	
3. Sexo	
θ Mujer θ Hombre	
4. ¿En qué año nació? ∟∟∟∟	
5. ¿Dónde nació?	
[Si nació en Perú]:	
Provincia LLLLLLLL	_

Departamento L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L L
6. Cuál es su estado civil? θ Soltero/a θ Divorciado/a θ Casado/a θ Separado/a θ Viudo/a θ Unión libre
7. ¿En dónde vive usted aquí en Lima? [MARQUE EL LUGAR Y ESCRIBA EL BARRIO]
Barrio θ San Isidro □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
8. ¿Cómo describiría a la mayoría de sus vecinos de barrio? θ Indígenas θ Mestizos θ Europeos θ Asiáticos θ Extranjeros θ Otros
9. ¿Cuál es su principal ocupación? LLLLLLLLLLL LLLLLLLLLLLL
10. [Si recibe remuneración por su trabajo] ¿Cuál es su ingreso personal anual aproximado SIN DEDUCIR EMPUESTOS? θ Menos de SOL 10,000

 $\theta\,$ De 10,000 a menos de 20,000

- θ De 20,000 a menos de 30,000
- θ De 30,000 a menos de 40,000
- θ De 40,000 a menos de 50,000
- θ De 50,000 a menos de 60,000
- θ De 60.000 a menos de 70.000
- θ Más de 70,000

11. ¿Cuál es el ingreso de familia anual aproximado SIN DEDUCIR EMPUESTOS?

- θ Menos de SOL 10,000
- θ De 10,000 a menos de 20,000
- θ De 20,000 a menos de 30,000
- θ De 30,000 a menos de 40,000
- θ De 40,000 a menos de 50,000
- θ De 50,000 a menos de 60,000
- θ De 60,000 a menos de 70,000
- θ Más de 70,000

12. ¿En los últimos tres años, cuántas veces ha viajado usted a Corea?

- θ 0 veces
- θ 3 o 4 veces
- θ 1 o 2 veces
- θ 5 o más veces

12a. [Si ha viajado] ¿Cuál ha sido el principal motivo de esos viajes?

- θ Eventos familiares
- θ Negocios
- θ Turismo (influido por hallyu : k-pop, k-drama, etc.)
- θ Turismo (influido no por hallyu)
- θ Otros eventos

13. ¿Cuál es su religión?

- θ Católica
- θ Cristiana no católica/protestante
- θ Ninguna
- θ Otra

14. ¿Con qué frecuencia asiste usted a servicios religiosos?

- θ Más de una vez por semana
- θ Una vez por semana
- θ Una vez al mes

θ	Solo	en	ocasiones	especial	les
-					

 θ Español θ Inglés θ Portugués θ Lenguas Asiáticas θ Otro

- 16. ¿En los últimos dos años, ha participado en alguna de las siguientes organizaciones o actividades? [MARQUE TODAS LAS QUE APLIQUEN, POR FAVOR]
- θ Organizaciones cívicas o comunitarias que apoyan actividades de Corea
- θ Iniciativas políticas relacionadas con Corea y organizadas por coreanos aquí en el Perú (ej. Reunión política, marcha)
- θ Actividad recreativa organizada por coreanos aquí en el Perú (fiesta, baile, acto cultural, encuentro deportivo)
- θ Actividad religiosa organizada por coreanos aquí en el Perú
- 17. ¿En general, cuanto interés tiene usted en la cultura Coreana (lengua coreana, comida coreana, historia coreana)? [MARQUE UN NÚMERO POR FAVOR]

0 1 2 3 4 5 Nada Mucho

- 18. ¿Con qué frecuencia habla usted de la cultura coreana con otras personas?
- θ Diario
- θ Algunas veces por semana
- θ Algunas veces por mes
- θ Rara vez
- θ Nunca
- 19. Como se interesaron en la cultura coreana? ¿Por qué medio? [MARQUE MÁS DE UNA SI ES NECESARIO]
- θ Internet
- θΤΥ
- $\theta\,$ Actividades culturales de Corea (organizado por los coreanos en el Perú)
- θ Clases en los institutos o universidades
- θ A través de amigos o familiares
- θ Otro \bot \bot \bot \bot \bot \bot \bot

20. ¿En general, cuanto interés tiene usted en hallyu (k-pop, k-dramas, etc.)? [MARQUE UN NÚMERO POR FAVOR]
0 1 2 3 4 5
Nada Mucho
21. ¿Con qué frecuencia habla usted de hallyu con otras personas? θ Diario θ Algunas veces por semana θ Algunas veces por mes θ Rara vez θ Nunca
22. Como se interesaron (primero) en hallyu? ¿Por qué medio? [MARQUE MÁS DE UNA SI ES NECESARIO] θ Internet θ TV θ Actividades culturales de Corea (organizados por los coreanos en el Perú) θ Clases en los institutos o universidades θ A través de amigos o familiares θ Otro ΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕ
23. Aproximadamente cuando comenzaron sus intereses de hallyu? θ Hace 6 meses θ Hace 1 año θ Hace. 1.5 años θ Hace 2 años θ Hace más de 2 años
24. ¿Cuánto está siguiendo las noticias de hallyu (k-pop, k-dramas, etc.)? [MARQUE UN NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5 Nada Mucho
25. ¿Qué medios utiliza para seguir estas noticias? [MARQUE MÁS DE UNA SI ES NECESARIO] θ Radio θ TV θ Prensa θ Internet θ Otro

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0	1	2	3	4	5									
Nada				Muc	cho									
27. ¿C	on cuá	l de los	siguie	ntes ar	tistas	co	rear	108	de k-	pop	se id	lentif	ica m	ás?
	er Juni	or												
θ Big	Bang													
ө јүј														
θ DBS														
θ B2S														
		ls Gene	eration))										
θ Tee														
θ KAI														
θ MB														
				. L L L	_									
θ Nin	guno													
club d FAVO	le algú R]	identi n club	de afi	cionad	dos? [S	SI	_	NC	-					
[MAR	QUE U	ieral, o JN NÚ	MERO	POR	FAVO			sted	l en	K-d	ram	a de	Core	ea?
0	1	2	3	4	5									
Nada				Muc	no									
29. ¿C	on cuá	l de los	siguie	ntes di	ramas	со	reai	nos	se ide	entif	ica r	nás?		
-	am Hig		O											
θ Play	ful Kis	s (con l	Kim Hy	un Jo	ong de	e SS	S501	l)						
		le Cielo												
θ Воу	s befor	e Flowe	ers (F4)											
θ Roo	ftop Pr	ince (c	on Parl	c Yoo (Chun d	de	JYJ))						
θ Otro	оЦЦ	トレレ	ㄴㄴㄴ	. L L l	_									
θ Nin	guno													
30 ·II	ctad ti	ene am	istades	cores	naci									
		ne ani. A A		COTEAL	1145;									

31. ¿En general, cuanto influyo sus intereses de hallyu en buscar amistades coreanas? [MARQUE UN NÚMERO POR FAVOR]
0 1 2 3 4 5
Nada Mucho
32. ¿En general, cuanto influyo sus intereses de hallyu en aprender el coreano? [MARQUE UN NÚMERO POR FAVOR]
0 1 2 3 4 5
Nada Mucho
33. ¿Alguna vez ha aprendido el coreano?
θ Sí θ Νο
33a. [Si han aprendido] ¿En dónde y cuáles medios utiliza para aprender el Coreano?
θ Universidad
θ Clases particulares
θ Instituto de Lenguas (privado sin relación con la universidad)
θ Internet
θ Otro
34. ¿En general, cuanto influyo en sus intereses de hallyu en su búsqueda de comidas coreanas? [MARQUE UN NÚMERO POR FAVOR]
Nada Mucho
35. ¿Ha participado en votación por los artistas coreanos (k-pop/k-drama/etc.) por el Internet $$ para los eventos/ceremonias de música/drama/cine? $$ $$ 0 No
36. [Si sí votaba] ¿Por qué lo hacía?
θ Por apoyar un artista
θ Por presión de ser miembro de un fan club
θ OtroL_L_L_L_L
37. ¿Usted se considera más interesado en la política peruana o coreana?
θ Peruana
θ Coreana

- θ Me interesan las dos por igual
- θ No me interesa ninguna
- 38. En política en general, cómo se considera usted, de izquierda, derecha o de centro?
- θ Izquierda θ Centro θ Derecha θ No sabe
- 2. Encuesta para Brasil (trans. Survey for Brazil)

Você é brasileiro e tem mais de 18 anos? Se sua resposta for sim, você pode nos ajudar a responder esta pesquisa. Por favor, Maque sua resposta correcta e escreva por extenso. Este questionario é totalmente confidencial.

- 1. No Brasil, você frequentemente se identifica como:
- θ Indígena (Brasileiro)
 θ Europeu (a) (Brasileiro)
 θ Mestico (Brasileiro)
- θ Brasileiro-norte americano θ Extrangeiro
- θ Outro
- 1a. [Se você se identifica como asiático(a)] Você frequentemente se identifica como parte de qual grupo étnico?

 θ Japonês (a) θ Coreano (a) θ Vietnamita θ Chinês (a) θ Outro

- 2. Qual é o maior nível de escolaridade que você atingiu?
- θ Ensino Fundamental
- θ Ensino Medio incompleto
- θ Ensino Medio completo
- θ Ensino Superior incompleto
- θ Ensino Superior Completo
- $\theta \,$ Estudos de pós-graduação (Latu $e\,strictu\,sensu)$
- 3. Sexo
- θ Mulher θ Homem θ Otro

θ Outros

4. Em que ano	você nasceu? ∟∟∟∟
5. Aonde você r	nasceu?
[Se você nasce	eu no Brasil:
Estado ∟∟∟	
Município∟L	
	eu fora do Peru]:
País ∟∟∟∟	
6. Qual o seu e	stado civil?
θ Solteiro	θ Divorciado/a
θ Casado/a	θ Separado/a
	θ União estável
	cê vive aqui em São Paulo? [MARQUE A REGIÃO E
ESCREVA O BA	-
	Bairro
θ NoroesteLL	
θ Oeste \bot \bot	
θ Sul \bot \bot \bot	
θ Leste 1 \square \square	
θ Leste $2 \square \square \square$	
0 Outro LLL	
	lescreveria a maioria de seus vizinhos no bairro?
θ Indígenas	
θ Mestiços	
θ Europeus	
θ Asiáticos	
θ Extrangeiros	

9.	Qı	ıal	l é :	a s	ua	0	cu	pa	ção	p	rir	ıci	pal?
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ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı	ı

10. [Se você recebe uma remuneração pelo seu trabalho] Qual é a sua renda anual aproximada ANTES DA DEDUCÃO DE IMPOSTOS?

- θ Menos de R\$ 7.500,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 7.500,00 porem menos de R\$ 15.000,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 15.000,00 porem menos de R\$ 22.500,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 22.500,00 porem menos de R\$ 30.000,00 REAIS
- $\theta\,$ De R\$ 30.000,00 porem menos de R\$ 37.500,00 REAIS
- $\theta\,$ De R\$ 37.500,00 porem menos de R\$ 45.000,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 45.000,00 porem menos de R\$ 52.500,00 REAIS
- θ Mais de R\$ 52.500,00 REAIS

11. Qual é a renda familiar anual aproximada ANTES DA DEDUCÃO DE IMPOSTOS?

- θ Menos de R\$ 7.500,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 7.500,00 porem menos de R\$ 15.000,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 15.000,00 porem menos de R\$ 22.500,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 22.500,00 porem menos de R\$ 30.000,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 30.000,00 porem menos de R\$ 37.500,00 REAIS
- $\theta\,$ De R\$ 37.500,00 porem menos de R\$ 45.000,00 REAIS
- θ De R\$ 45.000,00 porem menos de R\$ 52.500,00 REAIS
- θ Mais de R\$ 52.500,00 REAIS

12. Nos últimos três anos, quantas vezes você já viajou para a Coréia?

- θ 0 vezes θ 3 ou 4 vezes
- θ 1 ou 2 vezes θ 5 ou mais vezes

12a. [Se você tiver viajado] Qual foi a principal razão para essas viagens?

- θ Eventos familiares
- θ Negócios
- $\boldsymbol{\theta}$ Turismo (influenciado por Hallyu: k-pop, k-drama, etc.)
- θ Turismo (não influenciado por Hallyu)
- θ Outros eventos

13. Qual é a sua religião?

θ Católica

- θ Cristão não católico / protestante
- θ Nenhuma
- θ Outra
- 14. Quantas vezes você assisti à serviços religiosos?
- θ Mais de una vez por semana
- θ Uma vez por semana
- θ Uma vez por mes
- θ Somente em ocasiões especiais.
- 15. Que língua você fala em casa?
- θ Espanhol θ Inglês θ Português θ Línguas Asiáticas Asiáticas θ Outra
- 16. Nos últimos dois anos, você participou em qualquer das seguintes organizações ou atividades? [Marque todas as opcões que se aplicarem, por favor]
- θ Organizações cívicas ou comunitárias que apóiam as atividades Coreanas
- θ Iniciativa politica relacionadas com Coreia e organizado por coreanos aqui no Brasil (Ex: Reunião politica, marchas)
- θ Atividade recreativa organizada por coreanos aqui no Brasil (festa, dança, evento cultural, evento esportivo)
- θ Atividade religiosa organizada por coreanos aquí no Brasil
- 17. Em geral, Quanto interesse você tem na cultura coreana (língua coreana, comida coreana, história coreana)? [Por favor circular um número]

0 1 2 3 4 5 Nenhum Muito

18. Com qual frequencia você fala da cultura Coreana com outras pessoas?

- θ Diariamente
- θ Algumas vezes por semana
- θ Algumas vezes por mês
- θ Raramente
- θ Nunca
- 19. Como você se interessou pela cultura coreana? Qual foi o meio? [MARQUE MAIS DE UMA SE NECESSARIO]
- θ Internet

 θ TV θ Atividades culturais da Corea (organizado pelos coreanos no Brasil) θ Aula nas escolas ou universidades θ Através de amigos ou familiares θ Outro LLLLLLLLL
20. Em geral, quanto interesse você tem tiene no Hallyu (k-pop, k-dramas etc.)? [MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5 Nenhum Muito
21. Com que frequencia você fala sobre o Hallyu com outras pessoas? θ Diariamente θ Algumas vezes por semana θ Algumas vezes por mês θ Raramente θ Nunca
22. Como você se interessou por Hallyu? Qual foi o meio? [MARQUE MAIS DE UMA SE NECESSARIO] θ Internet θ TV θ Atividades culturais da Corea (organizado pelos coreanos no Brasil) θ Aula nas escolas ou universidades θ Através de amigos ou familiares θ Outro ΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔ
23. Aproximadamente quando começaram os seus interesses no Hallyu? θ Fazem 6 meses θ Faz 1 ano θ Fazem 1.5 anos θ Fazem 2 anos θ Fazem mais de 2 anos
24. O quanto você esta seguindo as noticias sobre o Hallyu (k-pop-k-dramas, etc.)? [MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5 Nada Muito

25. Que meios você utiliza para seguir estas noticias? [MARQUE MAIS DE UMA SE NECESSARIO] θ Radio θ TV θ Jornais, revistas θ Internet θ Outro
26. No geral, quanto interesse voce tem em K-Pop Coreano? [MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5 Nenhum Muito
27. Com qual dos seguintes artistas coreanos de k-pop você se identifica mais? θ Super Junior θ Big Bang θ JYJ θ DBSK θ B2ST θ SNSD (Girls Generation) θ Teen Top θ KARA θ MBLAQ θ Outro ΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕΔΕ
27a. [Se você se identifica com um grupo de k-pop] Você é membro de um club ou fã club? [SE SIM, INCLUIA O NOME POR FAVOR] θ Sim
28. Em geral, quanto interesse você tem no K-drama de Corea? MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5 Nenhum Muito
29. Com qual dos seguintes dramas coreanos você se identifica mais? θ Dream High

 θ Playful Kiss (con Kim Hyun Joong de SS501) θ Escaleras de Cielo θ Boys before Flowers (F4) θ Rooftop Prince (con Park Yoo Chun de JYJ) θ Outro LLLLLLLLLL θ Nenhum 		
30. ¿Você tem amigos (as) coreanos (as)? θ Sim θ Não		
31. Em geral, quanto o Hallyu influenciou os seus interesses em buscar amizdes coreanas? [MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5		
Nada Muito 32. En geral, quanto o Hallyu influenciou os seus interesses em aprender		
Coreano? [MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR]		
0 1 2 3 4 5 Nada Muito		
33. Você ja estudou coreano? θ Sim θ Não		
33a. [Se você ja aprendeu] Aonde e quais os meios que você utiliza para aprender a lingua coreana? θ Universidade θ Aulas particulares θ Escolas de Linguas (particular sem relação com a universidade) θ Internet θ Outro		
34. ¿En geral, quanto o Hallyu influenciou os seus interesses pela comida coreana? [MARQUE UM NÚMERO POR FAVOR] 0 1 2 3 4 5 Nada Muito		

	otação em favorde artistas coreanos (k-pop/k-drama/ a os eventos/ceremonias de música/drama/cinema?
θ Sim θ Não	
36. [Se sim votava]	Por quê razão? [MARQUE MAIS DE UMA SE
NECESSARIO]	
θ Para apoiar um artist	a
θ Por pressão de ser mo	embro de um fã club
θ OutroLLLLL	LLLL
37. Você se considera n	nais interessado na política brasileira ou coreana?
θ Brasileira	
θ Coreana	
θ Me interesso pelas du	ias de maneria igualitaria.
θ Não me interessa ner	ıhuma
38. Em termos gerais	na política, como você se considera, de esquerda,
direita ou de centro?	
θ Esquerda	θ Centro
θ Direita	θ Não sabe