



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.38035/dijemss.v6i6>
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Kimbap as a Postcolonial Arena: Culinary Contestation and the Repositioning of Korean Cultural Identity towards Japan

Faris Asyraf Widiatoro¹, Adi Kristina Wulandari²

¹University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia, faris.asyraf@ui.ac.id

²University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia, milenia7703@gmail.com

Corresponding Author: faris.asyraf@ui.ac.id¹

Abstract: The Hallyu phenomenon has increased global interest in Korean cuisine, including kimbap. However, the history of kimbap raises debates over its origins, whether it is a Joseon tradition (Bokssam) or an adaptation of Japanese sushi during the colonial period. This article analyzes how kimbap became a symbol of resistance to the repositioning of postcolonial Korean cultural identity. Using a qualitative method with a literature review, this study shows that South Korea's attempt to separate kimbap from sushi is a cultural strategy to assert autonomy and uniqueness. Kimbap functions as a "symbolic resistance" to Japanese culinary heritage, with Korea creating a narrative of authenticity. This analysis is supported by Stuart Hall's theory of identity that views identity as a fluid entity shaped by historical and cultural relations, as well as Homi Bhabha's concepts of hybridity and "Third Space" that explain the negotiation of new identities amid colonial influence. Kimbap becomes a dynamic manifestation of Korean cultural identity, continuously negotiated through daily culinary practices.

Keywords: Kimbap, Cultural Identity, Gastrodiplomacy.

INTRODUCTION

The era of globalization has given rise to dynamic transnational cultural flows that have led to the rise of South Korean culture. The phenomenon is known as the Korean wave or Hallyu. In (Kim et al., 2015) hallyu or Korean Wave is a phenomenon of Korean popular culture that became popular in Southeast Asia and China in the late 1990s. The term hallyu is known as "hanliu" which was first coined by Chinese media in the late 1990s to describe the popularity of South Korean pop culture in China. The Korean wave or hallyu in this case is not just an imitation of Western modern style, but has become a major agent in east Asian popular culture on par with Western popular culture. The problem formulation contains article questions that must be explained in the discussion and answered in the conclusion.

In recent years, the popular culture can then increase interest in cultural products (Kim, 2023). The Korean wave phenomenon has become a significant global force in influencing several aspects of life, including music, movies, and food. Hallyu (Korean Wave) plays an important role as a driver of cultural globalization by spreading various entertainment products such as dramas, movies, K-pop music, and variety shows.

The increasing popularity of Korean food is a new phenomenon, so the popularity seems to be utilized by Korea in its culinary promotion to improve its image. The utilization of the popularity of Korean food then becomes a tool for the practice of diplomacy. In this case, diplomacy using food is known as gastrodiploamacy. *Hansik* then attracted the interest of the international community because of its influence in the Korean wave or Hallyu. By using kimbap as its spearhead, South Korea has promoted its cultural identity in the global arena.

Although kimbap is now globally recognized as a South Korean dish, its history raises an interesting debate. The similarities in processing and use of ingredients to Japanese cuisine, particularly sushi or onigiri, have sparked questions about its origins. This debate revolves around the claim that kimbap has existed since the Joseon Dynasty era through a dish called Bokssam, or as a modification of a Japanese creation during the colonial period. This paper will explain that the historical debate surrounding kimbap and South Korea's attempts to actively differentiate it from sushi is not simply a culinary dispute. Rather, it is a profound cultural strategy, in which kimbap became a symbol of resistance and the repositioning of post-colonial Korean cultural identity. Through kimbap, South Korea asserts its cultural autonomy and uniqueness amidst the legacy of Japanese influence and globalization.

METHOD

Using a qualitative method, the author digs deeper into kimbap as a symbol of resistance and repositioning of post-colonial South Korean cultural identity against Japanese colonization. As for data collection related to this article, the author uses the literature review method. As series of literature studies according to (Zed, 2004) includes data collection, reading and recording, and processing research materials. There are at least four main characteristics that need to be considered. First, the author deals directly with the text, not with direct knowledge from the field. Second, the writer does not go directly to the field but deals with secondary sources. Third, the data obtained is generally secondary. Fourth, library data is not limited by space and time. Data collection in this research is carried out by examining several journals, books, and documents as well as data sources that are considered relevant to this research.

In addition, the author also digs deeper into kimbap as a symbol of resistance and repositioning of postcolonial South Korean cultural identity by focusing on scientific publications that discuss the history of kimbap, South Korean gastrodiploamacy, Korean cultural identity, and postcolonial theories, especially the works of Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha. In this case, the focus of the analysis in this article is on how the narratives surrounding kimbap are constructed and reconstructed to assert the authenticity of South Korean culture and distinguish it from Japanese influence. Stuart Hall's concept is used to analyze the fluid nature of identity and how identity is shaped by historical, cultural, and globalization factors. Meanwhile, Homi Bhabha's concepts of hybridity and third space are used to understand the ambivalence in the identity of kimbap that intersects with sushi, and how this ambivalence becomes an opening for symbolic resistance and the formation of a new identity.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

How kimbap becomes a "symbolic resistance" to Japanese culinary heritage

The kimbap, as an iconic Korean dish, has generated international interest. In Korean, Kim means seaweed, and bap means rice. Technically, Kimbap is a South Korean food consisting of rice with various fillings such as vegetables, eggs, fish cakes, and meat, which are rolled in sheet-shaped dried seaweed (Vita, 2022). Generally, Koreans make Kimbap as a meal when traveling or a snack for a picnic. This food is similar to the Japanese specialty, onigiri sushi because of the similarities in processing and use of raw materials (Mandl, 2018).

In its development, food processing in East Asia adapted from the ingredients available in the region. The influence of factors such as cultural exchange, adaptation to the environment, and different processing techniques have created a rich diversity in the region. For example, the use of rice as a staple food in East Asia dates back thousands of years. Rice has come to symbolize agriculture and life in many East Asian cultures, with different varieties developed according to local climate and soil conditions. Another example is the discovery of seaweed, which has been used by East Asians for a long time, especially to bring out the umami flavor, and the two ingredients created a dish called kimbap (Mandl, 2018).

There is debate about where kimbap originated. These differing narratives are not simply historical details, but rather reflections of larger efforts at shaping South Korea's cultural identity. One strong historical narrative states that kimbap is an evolution of a dish called Bokssam, which dates back to the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897). In (Cam, 2020) referring to a book written during the Joseon era, *Dongguk sesigi*, there is a food similar to kimbap, but it is

explained to be bokssam. Bokssam itself refers to rice cooked with dried seaweed which is usually consumed during punrama month celebrations or can be referred to as *Jeongwol Daeboreum*. The philosophy contained in wrapping bokssam using dried seaweed is the Korea belief that eating these foods can bring blessings such as luck to health.

In the past, seaweed in Korea was used as a luxury commodity that was usually used during celebrations or on special days only. Seaweed became popular around the 1980s when innovative processing through better technology was introduced, with seaweed production reaching around 19,500 tons annually (Vita, 2022). The statement argues that kimbap is an evolution of a dish called bokssam, with Koreans believing that eating seaweed-wrapped food like bokssam can bring blessings. Kimbap has since evolved across the world, and in its modern version, has become a simple, belly-filling meal that can easily be found at your local supermarket.

In another version, kimbap is also believed to have originated in the early 20th century during the Japanese colonization of Korea. In this case, Koreans liked the Japanese onigiri sushi creation and modified the way it was made. Thus, they created the recipe using Korean ingredients and created their own cooking technique to make kimbap (Lee & Leonard, 2020). Kimbap is characterized by neat and uniform nori rolls with colorful fillings densely arranged, reflecting aesthetics and practicality. The rice used in kimbap is seasoned with a mixture of sesame oil and salt for flavor, often using different types of rice (white, red, black). This contrasts with sushi rice which is seasoned with vinegar and sugar.

According to (Hae-won, 2022), kimbap itself is a word that only entered the Korean language in 1958, this statement is based on a daily newspaper company founded in 1920 under the name *Dong-a Ilbo*. Since 1950, kimbap has gradually been adjusted to the taste of Korean society. At first, Koreans made kimbap by mixing vegetables and other ingredients without mixing raw fish, because Koreans themselves do not really like raw fish. Then there is the addition of sesame oil to the rice combined with salt to add to the flavor of kimbap (Houston, 2007). Furthermore, quoted from (Kwon, 2021), according to the Federation of Korean Cultural Centers, kimbap was made in the Japanese style, with rice seasoned with vinegar and sugar, until the 1970s when it transitioned to a more savory one.

Arguably, this view of kimbap's origins through Japanese colonization is Korea's move to break away from its colonizing past. The Korean culture attached to kimbap allows Koreans to define what is theirs, which further shows how kimbap can be considered a symbol of South Korea's renaissance in the past. Food has helped Korea build a new identity after the second world war. It is a form of Korean acceptance and development throughout the 20th century as a symbol of South Korea's rise and independence (Lee & Leonard, 2020).

This is also discussed in (Kim, 2013) regarding how Korean food during the colonial period was perceived as an inferior dish, such as in the narrative of kimbap being termed as

"Korean sushi", indicating that there was an attempt to simplify the culture thus creating false stereotypes in the global sphere. In another example, "chili seasoning" in Korean cuisine is considered a practice of "barbarism" by the Japanese, while sugar in Japanese cuisine is considered a civilization. This indicates that this practice is a form of colonialization that degrades elements of Korean cuisine. In addition, according to (Oum, 2005) validations from the West such as "healthy food" or "alternative food" are also very influential on Korean food in releasing the inferior status of Korean cuisine. Thus, kimbap and Korean cuisine in general transformed from an object of degradation to a symbol of national awakening and independence, although this journey towards recognition involved dynamics as well as validation from abroad.

Discourse review: how Korea erased the image of "Korean sushi" and created a narrative of authenticity

It has been explained how Koreans use their own ingredients and kimbap-making methods to create this food. This shows how Koreans have defined what is their own. In this sense, kimbap can be considered as a symbol of Korea's post-colonial renaissance and helps to build a new identity after the second world war. The attempt to assert kimbap's difference from sushi is an integral part of asserting cultural identity. It is a claim to cultural belonging after a period of foreign domination, a marker that distinguishes and solidifies Korean identity.

Today, kimbap has become part of a diplomatic practice known as gastrodiploamacy. In (Rockower, 2012), Gastrodiploamacy utilizes soft power that combines cultural diplomacy, culinary diplomacy, and branding. As a soft power tool, South Korea promotes kimbap not only to introduce its cuisine, but also to convey cultural values and national identity. Gastronomy is described in (Sormaz et al., 2016) as a combination of art and science that covers all aspects of food, from production to consumption and its role in human life. According to (Jong et al., 2018) gastronomy has a wide range of meanings, including eating procedures, food chemistry, digestion, physiological effects of food, food choices, and customs and traditions associated with food. The goal is to maintain human health with the best nutrition possible, as well as ensuring the enjoyment of life and eating. Explained in (Yarapirom & Riadil, 2023) gastronomic identity reflects the commitment of a region or country that aims to introduce its cultural diversity and culinary narratives based on a gastronomic understanding of how the environment and culture affect the aroma, texture, and taste of food or drink.

In relation to how South Korea erased the image of "Korean sushi". South Korea launched the "Global *Hansik*" program that promotes gastronomic values in the form of health benefits and the uniqueness of the food (Lai et al., 2019). In (Kim, 2017), the Korean government strategically chose Joseon Dynasty court cuisine as a representation of *Hansik* to project Korea's culinary heritage and enhance the country's image. *Hansik* or "Korean Food for the World" is a form of implementation in an effort to globalize Korean food. Furthermore, the program is under the Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs (MAFRA) of Korea, but in practice it requires public involvement in order to become a medium for cultural exchange. The campaign then invites international interest to share the rich gastronomic culture with some iconic Korean dishes, including kimchi, bulgogi, kimbap, and other foods that are iconic to Korea.

In (Juniarti et al., 2021), it is explained that the establishment of institutions such as the Korean Food Promotion Institute (KFPI) aims to improve the quality of life of the community in national economic development by strengthening competitiveness in the southern Korean food industry, both locally and abroad. KFPI itself is trying to attract the attention of the international community about Korean food by cooperating with several countries. The method used by KFPI is to fight and cooperate with local Korean communities and related

restaurants to be able to open branches in certain countries. With some of KFPI's goals, it is expected to increase the awareness of the international community about Korean food.

Another strategic step in Korea's efforts to erase the image of "Korean sushi" and create a narrative of authenticity is through the popular K-drama *Extraordinary Attorney Woo*. This drama, as described by (Park, 2022), significantly increased the popularity and sales of kimbap worldwide. In the story, the drama features a lawyer with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) who exclusively consumes kimbap as a daily meal, and whose father owns a kimbap restaurant. Many scenes implicitly feature kimbap, not only as a functional food, but also as a symbol of childhood memories that evoke emotional recollections. This narrative emphasizes kimbap as a dish rooted in South Korean culture and daily life.

On the other hand, as communities around the world evolve, kimbap continues to transform to stay relevant through innovations. Over the past decade, kimbap has naturally evolved along with the growth of the South Korean diaspora (Kwon, 2021). Several diverse variations of kimbap have emerged in the United States, particularly at Ssam Bar restaurant in New York, which reimagined kimbap by exploring the boundaries of tradition. The restaurant modified the kimbap filling with foie grass and raw bluefin tuna, and in another menu, combined kimbap vegetables with toppings such as spicy raw scallops with pickles such as shiso, onion, and cucumber. Another innovation was created by Sarah and chef Won-il lee who combined kimbap with sauces such as ssamjang sauce with a blend of mayonnaise and vegan seaweed sauce. This shows the adaptability of kimbap as a South Korean dish that has gone global and can be used to embrace and express identity between countries.

The promotion of South Korean cuisine through the development of culinary events such as festivals can serve as an attraction for tourists, especially can have a significant impact, especially in shaping the narrative that kimbap is a South Korean identity. In this case, food promotion through events can serve as a platform in introducing Korean cuisine and culture in particular to the global community. So that it can create a positive economic impact, especially for the region that organizes it. The use of food festivals involves various stakeholders, especially in the food industry. This then creates a network that supports the development of the culinary industry. It can also strengthen the Korean community abroad, which is an important aspect in the development of culture and tourism. That way, Korea focuses not only on gastronomy, but also on strengthening intercultural relations, which is certainly in line with global trends (Choi et al., 2021).

Kimbap as a Symbol of Post-Colonial Identity Repositioning

In this case, Homi Bhabha in (Bhabha, 2012) explains that globalization gave birth to hybrid cultures, namely cultures that emerged from the meeting of different cultures, where colonial history and culture continue to intervene in the present, demanding a transformation in the understanding of cross-cultural relations. Such encounters create a "Third Space", a liminal space where new identities are formed through the fusion of local and global elements, resulting in new cultures that are innovative and accepted across countries.

In the context of kimbap, its historical intersection with sushi creates an "ambivalence" in its identity, but this ambivalence also opens up a space of negotiation where a colonized identity can become a hybrid of one's own and the colonizer's culture, as well as an opening for resistance. Kimbap, by acknowledging past intersections yet actively asserting its difference and uniqueness through the appropriation of Korean spices and fillings, operates as a form of symbolic resistance and creative negotiation of identity, showing that culture can hybridize and adapt without losing its essence (Lok, 2020).

While there are similarities in the shape of rice rolls and seaweed, the visible differences between kimbap and sushi lie in the seasoning of the rice (sesame oil and salt in kimbap vs. vinegar in sushi) and the types of fillings (cooked vegetables, eggs, meat in kimbap vs. raw fish in sushi). These historical intersections create an "ambivalence" in

kimbap identity, a concept relevant to Homi Bhabha's theory, where colonized identities can be hybrids of one's own culture and the colonizer's culture, but also open spaces for negotiation.

Kimbap not only "exists" as food, but is actively "spoken" as Korean identity through a series of historical and contemporary processes. Debates over origins, customization of ingredients, and global promotion are forms of assertion. This shows that the identity of kimbap is not just a food, but an active construction of meaning. Kimbap becomes a representation of South Korean culture, where tradition (Bokssam) and modernity (adaptation, globalization) meet to create new politically and socially relevant cultural meanings. The implication is that cultural identity, especially in a post-colonial context, is not a static inheritance, but rather a project that is constantly constructed and negotiated. Kimbap in the context of "resistance" does not always have to be a direct confrontation, but can also be realized through the redefinition and repositioning of everyday cultural symbols.

In line with (Hall, 2015), identity does not develop linearly and is fixed, but is fluid and can be formed through ever-changing historical and cultural relationships, and is influenced by economic, political, social and cultural factors. In this context, food can be used as a tool in building national identity while promoting culture, and even creating new identities that are the result of interactions between countries in the midst of the globalization process. Kimbap, as an iconic South Korean dish, is actively used in gastrodiploamacy strategies to not only introduce its cuisine but also convey cultural values and national identity.

The view that attributes kimbap's origins to Japanese colonization, and Korea's attempt to break away from that narrative, shows how Korean culture attached to kimbap allows them to define what is "their own". It is a strategic act of reclaiming the historical narrative, asserting that kimbap has deep roots in Korean tradition, despite its similarities to Japanese sushi.

This endeavor is a symbolic manifestation of South Korea's post-Second World War renaissance. Kimbap reflects the process of acceptance and development of Korean identity throughout the 20th century, making it a symbol of national awakening and independence. By asserting the authenticity of kimbap, Korea not only promotes the dish, but also implicitly rejects the cultural dominance of former colonizers and reasserts its cultural autonomy on the global stage.

CONCLUSION

Kimbap has proven to be a complex symbol of South Korea's dynamic and evolving cultural identity in the postcolonial arena. Debates over its history, involving claims of origins from the Joseon Dynasty and Japanese colonial influence, highlight how historical narratives are actively constructed to assert cultural autonomy and escape the shadow of domination. Through the lens of Stuart Hall's identity theory, kimbap reflects a fluid identity, shaped by changing historical relationships and globalization, serving as an important tool in the formation of post-war Korean national identity. The application of Homi Bhabha's concepts of hybridity and "Third Space" explains how kimbap, by acknowledging past intersections yet actively asserting its difference and uniqueness. Kimbap becomes a tool that allows South Korea to define what is their own amidst the complexities of history and globalization.

In postcolonial studies, this article highlights the context in which national food is a product of interests. The example is South Korea's attempt to erase the image of "Korean sushi" and assert the narrative of kimbap's authenticity. Whereas in the East Asian context, the culinary contestation between Korea and Japan specifically defines how state identities in East Asia become territories for asserting national identities and resisting colonial legacies even among Asian countries. Furthermore, this study can be extended to see how other

countries also use food as a medium for postcolonial cultural repositioning in a global context.

REFERENCES

- Bhabha, H. K. (2012). *The Location of Culture*. Routledge.
- Choi, K., Kang, H. J., & Kim, C. (2021). Evaluating the efficiency of Korean festival tourism and its determinants on efficiency change: Parametric and non-parametric approaches. *Tourism Management*, 86, 104348. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2021.104348>
- de Jong, A., Palladino, M., Garrido Puig, R., Romeo, G., Fava, N., Cafiero, C., Skoglund, W., Varley, P., Marciano, P., Laven, D., & Sjolander-Lindqvist, A. (2018). Gastronomy tourism: An interdisciplinary literature review of research areas, disciplines and dynamics. *Journal of Gastronomy and Tourism*, 3(), 131–146. <https://doi.org/10.3727/216929718X15281329212243>
- Eun-Shil Kim (2013) The Postcolonial Politics of Food: Creating ‘Locality’ through Local Knowledge, *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 19:4, 7-38, DOI: 10.1080/12259276.2013.11666164
- Gadjeva, Nadejda. (2022). “Japan's "Kind Diplomacy" : Conceptualizing Japanese Foreign Cultural Policies”. *The Ritsumeikan journal of international studies*, p.525-548. <https://ndlsearch.ndl.go.jp/books/R000000004-I032067279>
- Hae-won, Hwang. (2022). *Gimbap: Comfort Food in a Roll*. Korean Foundation. <https://www.kf.or.kr/koreana/na/ntt/selectNttInfo.do?nttSn=115217&bbsId=1116>
- Hall, S. (2015). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory* (pp. 392-403). Routledge.
- Houston, L. M. (2007). “Making Do”: Caribbean Foodways and the Economics of Postcolonial Literary Culture. *MELUS*, 32(4), 99–113. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30029834>
- Jung, H. (2019). Agenda-setting in the realm of popular culture: The case of the Korean Wave in East Asia. *Global Media and Communication*, 15(3), 361-377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1742766519872782>
- Juniarti, S., Hidayat, A., & Safitri, P. (2021). Analisis Strategi Gastrodiplomasi Korea Selatan dari Segi Peningkatan Kunjungan Wisatawan Asing di Korea Selatan (2014-2019). *Indonesian Journal of Global Discourse*, 3(1), 20-34. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29303/ijgd.v3i1.30>
- Kim, C.-H. (2017). Let Them Eat Royal Court Cuisine! Heritage Politics of Defining Global *Hansik*. *Gastronomica*, 17(3), 4–14. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26362456>
- Kim, J. (2023), Immigrant Entrepreneurship and the Rising Popularity of Korean Cuisine: Korean Restaurant Businesses in Frankfurt*. *Pacific Focus*, 38: 288-313. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pafo.12235>
- Kwon, Giaae. (20 July, 2021). Kimbap, Never “Korean Sushi”. *Taste Cooking*. <https://tastecooking.com/kimbap-never-korean-sushi/>
- Lai, M. Y., Khoo-Lattimore, C., & Wang, Y. (2019). Food and cuisine image in destination branding: Toward a conceptual model. *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 19(2), 238-251. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1467358417740763>
- Lee, Annie and Leonard, Kate. (18 November, 2020) A Gastronomic Study of 20th and 21st Century Korea: Retracing Korean Food from Japanese Colonization to Modern Times. <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/545067250fb54025937084555246f728>
- Lisa Cam. (18 June, 2020). Which came first, sushi or kimbap? Japan and Korea tangle over the origin of rice and seaweed rolls. <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/style/well-being/article/3089435/which-came-first-sushi-or-kimbap-japan-and-korea-tangle>

- Lok, J. (2020). Representing Home: Reading the Aesthetics of Food in Postcolonial Literature . *Journal of Literary Studies*, 36(1), 43–59. Retrieved from <https://unisapressjournals.co.za/index.php/jls/article/view/11486>
- Mandl, M. (2017). East Asian Foodways: How Ingredients Speak of Regionality. *Vienna Journal of East Asian Studies*, Sciendo, Vol. 9 (Issue 1), pp. 167-199. <https://doi.org/10.2478/vjeas-2017-0006>
- Oum, Y. R. (2005). Authenticity and representation: cuisines and identities in Korean-American diaspora. *Postcolonial studies*, 8(1), 109-125.
- Park, Mina. (17 September 2022). Netflix K-drama Extraordinary Attorney Woo has boosted kimbap sales worldwide, but what is this Korean food, and where did it come from?. *South China Morning Post*. <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/food-drink/article/3192678/netflix-k-drama-extraordinary-attorney-woo-has>
- Prameswari, N. M., Susiatiningsih, H., & Windiani, R. (2022). Gastrodiplomasi Korea Selatan dalam Upaya Nation Branding di Indonesia sebagai Negara Muslim Terbesar. *Journal of International Relations Diponegoro*, 8(4), 675-689. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jirud.v8i4.35562>
- Rockower, P. S. (2012). Recipes for Gastrodiplomacy. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 8, 235–246. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1057/pb.2012.17>
- Samara Yarapirom, P. ., & Ikrar Genidal Riadil. (2023). Gastronomy Tourism Promotion of Halal Food of Ethnic Chinese Peranakan Culinary in “Glodok” Jakarta Chinatown. *Journal of International Studies, Prince of Songkla University*, 13(1), 217–254. retrieved from <https://so03.tci-thaijo.org/index.php/jis/article/view/264563>
- Sormaz, U., Akmeshe, H., Gunes, E., & Aras, S. (2016). Gastronomy in tourism. *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 39, 725-730. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671\(16\)30286-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2212-5671(16)30286-6)
- Syam, A. P. H., & Ichwan, M. N. (2023). The Korean Wave phenomena in youth and halal industry: opportunities and challenges. *Likuid: Jurnal Ekonomi Industri Halal*, 3(1), 1-17. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15575/likuid.v3i1.21548>
- Vita. (2022). *Studi Sejarah: Gimbab Korea dan Sushi Jepang*. Skripsi. Universitas Indonesia: Depok.