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Université de Montréal

**Cultural Representation in Korean TV Drama  
-- Case of « Han Liu »**

par

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Mémoire présenté à la Faculté des études supérieures  
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Université de Montréal  
Faculté des études supérieures

Ce mémoire intitulé :

**Cultural Representation in Korean TV Drama  
-- Case of « Han Liu »**

présenté par

Xiangyi Zhang

a été évalué par un jury composé des personnes suivantes :

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## Sommaire

« Han Liu » est un nouveau phénomène culturel faisant allusion à la grande popularité des produits de divertissement coréens dans les pays asiatiques, particulièrement en Chine. Dans cette thèse, nous examinons ce phénomène en mettant en phase le téléroman coréen diffusé à la télévision chinoise et qui est devenu le premier programme étranger favori des jeunes téléspectateurs chinois.

En examinant le contexte culturel de «Han Liu», nous arguons que le confucianisme, la pensée philosophique chinoise introduite et développée en Corée à partir du I<sup>er</sup> siècle, constitue le fondement de la tradition et la culture coréennes d'une part, et d'autre part, a créé une proximité culturelle entre la société chinoise et la coréenne. Les valeurs traditionnelles d'inspiration confucéenne représentées dans le téléroman coréen aident les téléspectateurs chinois à mieux comprendre le contenu du téléroman coréen (les personnages, les relations interpersonnels, etc.). Le but de notre présente étude est d'analyser la représentation des valeurs traditionnelles dans le drame coréen de TV. Ainsi la théorie de S.Hall sur la représentation culturelle est examinée comme cadre théorique. Parmi les arguments théoriques de Hall, nous retenons pour notre analyse de cas celui portant sur la sémiotique de Saussure, spécifiquement sur la représentation de la langue à la culture. Nous avons aussi examiné le rôle du téléroman qui contribue au champ de représentation culturelle.

A l'appui du cadre théorique adopté, nous répondons à la question de recherche: Comment les valeurs traditionnelles confucéennes sont-elles représentées dans le téléroman coréen comme un discours ? L'analyse des personnages du téléroman « Stock Flower », leur comportement d'interaction, leur dialogue, leur relation et problème interpersonnel nous permettra de démontrer que le téléroman représente non seulement les valeurs traditionnelles confucéennes, mais également la transformation de ces valeurs dans la société coréenne modernisée.

**Mots clés :** Han Liu, représentation, téléroman, tradition coréenne, valeurs confucéennes.

## **Abstract**

“Han Liu” is a new cultural phenomenon, which means the popularity of Korean entertainment in East Asian countries, especially in China. This thesis will focus on a Korean TV drama, which was broadcast on Chinese TV and became very popular among the Chinese youth.

By exploring its cultural context, it will be shown that Confucianism, which originated in China and was transferred to Korea, is one of the proximity cultures between China and Korea, and the representation of the Confucian traditional values in Korean TV drama helps Chinese audience to understand the content of Korean TV drama.

Thus the object of the present study is to analyze the representation of Confucian traditional values in Korean TV drama. S. Hall’s theory on cultural representation was explored as the theoretical frame. Hall introduced some theories on representation among which Saussure’s semiotic theory on representation from language to culture seems to fit my analysis. In addition, I explored how TV drama contributes to the field of cultural representation.

Based on these theories, I analyzed how Confucian traditional values are represented in Korean TV drama as discourse. The analysis mainly focused on the characters provided by Korean TV drama: their behaviors, dialogues, relations, problems and so on. The analysis will prove that not only the Confucian traditional values, but also the conflict between tradition and modernity, as well as certain transformation of those values are represented through Korean TV drama.

**Key words:** Han Liu, TV drama, Confucian values, tradition, representation

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## Introduction: What is “Han Liu”

Over the last several years, Chinese pop culture has been turning its attention towards South Korea. Moreover, Korean entertainment — music and drama — recently has become popular in many East Asian countries. Cho says that: “The recent efflorescence of interest in Korean films and pop stars ... is a phenomenon that has been experienced all through Asia” (as cited in Mandy, 2002, p.189). Whereas Korean drama is receiving a high audience rate across the entire mainland of China, Hong Kong and Taiwan; Korean pop music is enjoying an unprecedented success as well. Leung also mentions that “Korean media and cultural products have swept across Asia around 1999 with a magnitude so sudden and (hence) so intense that it has been deemed the ‘Korean wave’”. (Leung, 2004)

The cultural phenomenon of the popularity of Korean entertainment products in East Asian countries is called “*Han Liu*.”<sup>1</sup> Cho (2002) defines “Han Liu” as the popularity of the Korean mass culture — music, drama, fashion, film, etc. — among the population, especially the youth of Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Vietnam, since the second half of the 1990’s. Many news media have reported on this phenomenon. For example, Yonhap News once reported the situation of a fan club:

Liu Hung-bin surfs the Internet and rummages through magazines to gather information about Korea after school hours. ... [H]e chairs China’s largest Korean pop music club Do-re-mi which has around 10,000 members spread over Beijing, Yanbian, Shanghai and other parts of China. Over 3,000 new members ranging from high school teens to college students join the club every month. The club gained the government approval in June for the first time in Mainland China (Yonhap News, Aug. 10, 2002, Seoul).<sup>2</sup>

From 2000 to 2001, twenty-two South Korean TV dramas (21% of all the dramas imported<sup>3</sup>) were imported into China. In February, 2003, the Chinese newspaper “*Jing*

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<sup>1</sup> In Chinese “*Han*” means “*Korea*” and “*Liu*” means “*popularity*” or “*flow*”. Since “Han Liu” is a new cultural phenomenon in East Asian countries, few academic studies have been produced, although some data of its existence can be found in newspapers, magazines, and on the Internet.

<sup>2</sup> Shim Sun-ah. Internet source: <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/asianamericanartistry/message/1319>

<sup>3</sup> This number is calculated from data found at <http://www.sarft.gov.cn/index3.htm>, although the data does not include

*Hua Shi Bao*” (in English “*Jing Hua Times*”), an affiliate of the “*People’s Daily*” (the official government newspaper), did a special 3 page report on the phenomenon of “*Han Liu*,” focusing on Korean drama, actors, and singers. The report suggested that Korean drama had already succeeded in developing the Asian market, and had become the great capital of the Korean entertainment industry.

As journalists have argued, the success of Korean popular entertainment in China is helping disseminate Korean culture:

Korean TV networks are humming all the way to the bank. with their drama productions breaking new highs in exports and bolstering the ongoing demand for Korean pop culture in Asia. ... Last year, the three nationwide TV networks - KBS, MBC and SBS - raked in a combined revenue of \$17.7<sup>4</sup> million in overseas sales for their soap operas (*Korea Now [biweekly magazine], April, 5, 2003*<sup>5</sup>).

Since “*Han Liu*” is such a new cultural phenomenon in East Asian Countries, Cho (2002) says that “we still cannot grasp its [*Han Liu*] orientation,” and much analytical work is left to do. In order to “grasp its orientation”, we first need to understand why the cultural phenomenon of “*Han Liu*” appears in East Asian countries and what its social and international underpinnings are. Cho (2002) analyzes some of the potential factors that contribute to the phenomenon of “*Han Liu*” such as the characteristics of Korean culture, the “culture of violence” of developed countries, and the anti-Japan perspective of East Asian countries. In the case of China, economic factors cannot be neglected because South Korea developed much faster. Many of the sceneries, including those high buildings, modern town house, and so on, were depicted in Korean drama. Also the Chinese TV drama market opens its doors to Korean drama because “idol dramas” are rarely produced in China. Lastly, research needs to be focused on the historical context of East Asian countries. For example, in China, Japanese drama is less popular than Korean drama. Cho (2002) suggests that this unpopularity may be a reflection of the “anti-Japan tendency” of the Chinese population, brought about by Japan’s past wars of aggression. So, in order to understand the phenomenon of “*Han Liu*,” many fields of research must be

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films. The number of the dramas imported are: Hong Kong, 26; South Korea, 22; Taiwan, 21; US, 12; Japan, 11; France, 5; Singapore, 4; Germany, 2; Australia, 2; Italy, 1; Mexico, 1

<sup>4</sup> According to Kim’s report (2004), this number is almost 68% of all the exported media products.

<sup>5</sup> Choe Yong-shik. Internet source: [http://kn.koreaherald.co.kr SITE/data/html\\_dir/2003/02/08/200302080055.asp](http://kn.koreaherald.co.kr SITE/data/html_dir/2003/02/08/200302080055.asp)

examined, and a study analyzing the potential factors that contribute to “Han Liu” is the first step towards a more comprehensive understanding.

This thesis will focus on Korean TV drama which is a part of the phenomenon of “Han Liu”. The Korean TV drama became popular in many East Asian countries after the 90’s, and it can be considered as the starting point of “Han Liu”. Some typical dramas are “*Kaur Tonghwa*” (“Autumn Tale”), “*Pitanhyangkkoch’mu*” (“Stock Flower”), “*Pyorun nae kasum-e*” (“Star in my heart”), and so on. Usually the drama contains 16 or more episodes, representing a complete story. In South Korea, a drama is usually presented by showing one episode daily and two episodes per week on Monday and Tuesday or Wednesday and Thursday, by KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) or MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation). Korean TV dramas have swept across Taiwan, Hong Kong and mainland China, and they have reached the highest audience ratings than those of any other countries. (See Leung, 2004)

Like most TV dramas, Korean TV drama portrays the everyday life and describes people’s emotions. In these dramas, romantic love is the most common subject. It usually adopts the themes of love, friendship and family life as the subjects expressing the Korean ethics and the historical vicissitude of Korean society. Sometimes it also criticizes the weakness of human nature. It not only brings cheerful sense to the audiences, but also encourages youth to conquer the difficulties they are facing. Furthermore, the Korean TV drama emphasizes the unimportant and marginalized persons, such as an orphan or a poverty-stricken girl who will usually become the leader role in the drama.

This thesis will examine one of the fundamental factors that contribute to the popularity of Korean TV drama. It will be shown that a similar cultural context between China and Korea helps the Chinese audience understand Korean TV drama. Here, in a similar cultural context, I will mainly focus on Confucianism which originated in China and was transmitted to South Korea. Through the introduction and analysis, we will see that the Confucian traditional values are not only the moral standards in traditional society, but that they also regulate people’s thought and behavior in modern South Korea. The representation of such values in Korean TV drama can help Chinese audience

understand the drama.

In order to study the representation of Confucian traditional values in Korean TV drama, I will first introduce some information on Confucianism as the cultural background and why I focus on Confucianism in Chapter 1. As we will see, Confucianism addresses many social aspects, which cannot be all mentioned in this thesis. Thus, the present study will focus on some Confucian traditional values on individual cultural identity and personal relationships, including its teachings on filial piety, fraternity, etiquette, humanity, loyalty, righteousness, honesty, reciprocity and so on. For the study of the representation of Confucian traditional values, the theory of cultural representation will be analyzed as the theoretical frame. S. Hall linked many theories on representation and gave a systematic analysis on cultural representation. Among the theories, my analysis will be mainly based on the general approach by Saussure to the study of “signs” in culture as a kind of “language” which is known by the term “semiotics”. Some of the elements in Korean TV drama, such as the background images, characters’ language and behaviors, etc. are then seen as the “signifier” for the cultural representation. Some other concepts such as “discourse” from M. Foucault are also mentioned; these are shown at the point where the whole Korean TV drama will be put into a wider social context for analyzing the problems produced in the drama. Then, since this thesis focuses on the representation of Confucian traditional values in Korean TV drama, the approaches on TV drama and its relation to representation will be addressed in this chapter as well, as a part of the theory.

Chapter 2 is concerned with the research methodology. A Korean TV drama named “Stock Flower” is picked for the analysis and the reason will be explained further on. Concerning the cultural context of Confucianism, this study takes qualitative method, which can help me focusing both on the textual analysis and on the cultural context of Korean TV drama, rather than a content analysis. According to the relation between scene and drama, I will mention how I chose the scenes; the relationship between the character and drama will help me stress on the analysis of some main characters in the drama “Stock Flower”.

Chapter 3, the analysis section, has been divided into four main parts. I at first introduced the story line of the Korean TV drama “Stock Flower”. Then, some background images and music, as well as verbal language and non-verbal behaviors are analyzed as text. Based on these texts, I analyzed the personal qualities of the main characters in the drama and the relationships among them in order to see the representation of Confucian traditional values.

In Chapter 4, the discussion part, I took the whole drama as a discourse so as to discuss the problems emerged in the drama of “Stock Flower”, putting them in the social context of Confucian tradition. What is interesting is that through the analysis we will see that the emergence of the problems represented that Confucian traditional values are still regulating Korean people’s everyday life; while the solution of some problems in the end of the drama represented the transformation of people’s changing attitude to those traditional values.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion where I summed up the main findings of this analysis and posed some questions for future studies.

The study of the cultural phenomenon “Han Liu” will involve the social aspects of culture, economy, politics and so on. This study will be seen as the first step in the research of “Han Liu”.



## Chapter 1 Research problems and theoretical framework

It can be said that “Han Liu” is a complex phenomenon, involving culture, economics, and politics, and its study is an important link to the research being done on the modern societies of both China and South Korea. Many questions can be asked: For example, what caused this phenomenon? What are its effects on both Chinese and South Korean society? How long can this phenomenon continue? As a starting point, this thesis will explore “Han Liu” from a communication studies point of view, with a focus on its media aspect.

According to the historical records<sup>6</sup>, China not only is one of the oldest societies in the world, but it is also the cultural origin of East Asia. Even though some East Asian countries have developed different cultural forms, the main cultural characteristics of China have been retained throughout a long history. For example, the philosophy and ethics of Confucianism originated in China and were transmitted to almost all other East Asian countries. As Hung-Chao Tai said, “The cultural setting of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore has been to a considerable extent shaped by Chinese experiences, which have been, in turn, heavily influenced by Confucianism” (1989, p. 6). The origin of Confucianism can be traced back to thousands of years ago, but some of its traditional values still regulate people’s thinking and behavior in East Asian countries nowadays.

In this chapter I will introduce some general information about Confucianism and how it developed in South Korea, as well as how its traditional values influence Korean people’s everyday life in modern Korean society. Then, based on the semiotics theory on cultural representation, I will discuss the representation of such Confucian traditional values, taking Korean TV drama as the text.

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<sup>6</sup> i.e. Qian, 2003.

## 1.1 Confucianism: Cultural background

### 1.1.1 General introduction to Confucianism

Berling argues that “Confucianism is often characterized as a system of social and ethical philosophy rather than a religion. In fact, Confucianism built on an ancient religious foundation to establish the social values, institutions, and transcendent ideals of traditional Chinese society. It was part of the Chinese social fabric and way of life.” (1996, p. 5)

One of the famous originators of Confucianism is Confucius. Liu says that Confucius (Master Kong or Kong Fu-Tzu, 551-479 B.C.) “was the key figure in the formation and development of the Confucian tradition.” (Liu, 1998, p. 15) Confucius was born in the state of Lu (Shandong Province in nowadays). He lived during the Chou dynasty. In his life, he traveled through many states of China, giving advice to their rulers. His teachings dealt primarily with the morality and ethics standards of the human being, and the proper exercise of political power for the rulers. As Liu discussed, “He [Confucius] has been honored as the greatest teacher and the only sage without the position of an emperor. Even today, consciously and subconsciously, most Chinese intellectuals adopt Confucius’s philosophy of living. Confucius has created a personal ideal for later generations.” (ibid, p. 29)

A lot of research<sup>7</sup> has been concerned with the fact that most of the Confucian teachings were collected by *Zhu Xi* (1130-1200 CE) during the Song dynasty, which includes *Si Shu* (or Four Books) and *Wu Jing* (or Five Classics). The *Si Shu* includes the *Lun Yu* (the Analects of Confucius), the *Zhong Yong* (the Doctrine of the Mean), the *Da Xue* (the Great Learning), the *Meng Zi* (the teachings of Meng Zi, a philosopher, who also traveled from state to state, giving advice to the government rulers.). Also *Wu Jing* includes *Shu Jing* (Classic of History: writings and speeches from ancient Chinese rulers), the *Shi Jing* (Classic of Odes: 300 beautiful poems and songs), the *Yi Jing* (Classic of Changes), the *Chun Qiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals: a history of the state of Lu from

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<sup>7</sup> For example, Liu, 1998; Xu, 2004, etc.

722 to 484 BCE), the *Li Jing* (Classic of rites).

The development of Confucianism has two stages: Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. The former concerns mainly the teaching of Confucius, Mencius, etc. The latter developed mainly in Song Dynasty (960-1279) in China. Among the Neo-Confucianism philosophers, Zhu Xi is one of the greatest ones. His teachings “are the essence of the former philosophers and became the orthodox thought of Neo-Confucianism”, and “Zhu Xi’s description of individual fulfillment expresses one of the highest ideals of Song thought and scholarship.” (Theodore de Bary, 2003, p. 95) Later philosophers, such as Huang Daozhou (1585-1646), Dai Zhen (1724-1777), etc. tried to liberate Confucian thinking from other religious influences and assumed that man acts only following the universal order and not his own will.<sup>8</sup> The teachings of Neo-Confucianism advocate mainly some human virtues such as etiquette, righteousness, benevolence, trust and so on.

### 1.1.2 Development of Confucianism in Korea

In history, Confucianism has been transmitted to many East Asian countries, including Korea where it was intensively developed. McNaughton says that “Korea ... was subject to Chinese influence and to ‘Confucianization’”. (McNaughton, 1974, p. 11) Deuchler also points out that “[a]s a part of Chinese culture, Confucianism reached the Korean peninsula at various stages of its development” (1992, p. 14). From the early Three Kingdoms Era (57 B.C. to A.D. 676) through Koryo society (918-1392) and the Choson Era (1392-1910) up to modern society, the Confucians of China and Korea never stopped exchanging Confucian philosophical and ethical thought. The earliest record of the movement of Confucianism in Korea, according to Palmer, was in *Samguk sagi*, a Korean historical source, where it says, “as early as A.D. 372 the king of the northern Korean state of Koguryo (37 B.C. to A.D. 668) established a college where sons of the nobility studied the Chinese Confucian classics. (Palmer, 1986, p. 17) It was during the

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<sup>8</sup> See Qian, 2003.

period of Koryo that some writings of Zhu Xi are brought from Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368) to Korea. Kim says that in this period, “Confucianism played a significant role in the formation of political ideology and government structure.” (Kim, 1991, p. 88) Kim also introduced that in the early Choson period, a number of Confucians who played a leading role in founding the Choson Dynasty led a movement against Buddhism and they later established Confucianism as the official ideology of the new state. The Korean Confucians, like Kim says, “regarded Confucianism as universal truth applicable to all civilized societies.” (ibid, p. 91) Then in the late Choson era, Neo-Confucianism was developed to a significant amount, especially on the study of etiquette of family rituals. Kim says that “Zhu Xi’s thought on family rituals was regarded as the definitive work on civil etiquette.” (Idem.)

Palmer says that even in modern society, “Confucianism is alive among Koreans today in large measure because of the continuing impact of that people’s ritual traditions, as carried out for centuries in the family.” (Palmer, 1986, p. 14) Most of the Confucian tradition practiced in South Korea comes from the teachings of Neo-Confucianism. And Yi T’oegye (1501-1570), a scholar-teacher in Choson dynasty (1392-1910), has been seen as a “leading figure of Korean Neo-Confucianism and has been respected as the ‘Zhu Xi of Korea’ or Korean Neo-Confucian synthesizer”. (Chung, 2003, p. 204) Following him, Korean Confucianism emphasizes faith, loyalty, filial piety, harmony, and so on. The values of Confucian tradition have provided a social ethic for the everyday life of Korean people.

Thus, Korean Confucianism cannot be seen as the past. It is alive today and its teachings are still offering the moral standards to help forming the moral character of individuals and a moral social order. From this degree, we say Confucianism is a “living tradition”.

### 1.1.3 Confucianism: a living tradition

Following Shils, “Tradition means many things. In its barest, most elementary sense, it means simply a traditum; it is anything which is transmitted or handed down from the past to the present.” (1981, p. 12) Gopalan also conducted a research study on how tradition influences social life, in which he sees “tradition” as an “intermediary” between the individual and the society:

The organic and reciprocal relationship that exists between the individual and society helps tradition to influence the individual by giving him a background against which he acts. (p.28) Certain principles which ought to regulate the various social institutions—be it the state, property, marriage or punishment, to instance only a few—is to acknowledge the *moral fabric* enveloping the domain of *human thinking*. Traditions thus provide the social institutions with the necessary background to formulate certain principles to govern them. (1973, p. 29)

Therefore, tradition plays an important role in forming the beliefs and prejudices, loves and hatreds, hopes and fears, aspirations and disappointments, etc. of human beings in a society. In his research, Gopalan illustrates this point of view with some traditions, including Confucianism. He says that “The dynamic role of tradition in shaping the social institutions is clearly recognized in the Chinese philosophy, especially in the Confucian system of thought. ... It [Confucianism] has been a tradition influencing the view and way of life of the Chinese—their culture and institutional structure.” (1973, p. 62) He takes Confucianism as “an ethical system” which “could motivate social conduct and were thus criteria-determining in character.” Further more, “[t]he reason for accepting and pursuing the value-system was that it would promote social unity and ensure social stability. The kinship-needs of the agrarian society of ... China could not be met so fully and successfully by any other set of values.”(ibid, p. 68) Even nowadays, Confucian tradition is still playing an important role in people’s everyday lives. Thus, Confucianism can be said that it is a “living tradition” that effectively organizes social lives.

In Chung’s article, it is also acknowledged that Confucianism is a “living religious tradition” in South Korea. He points out that Confucianism “still provides this country with the ethico-religious vitality of their cultural identity... Confucianism, a living tradition, can play a crucial role in shaping its new cultural identity.”(Chung, 1994, p. 20)

He also argues that “we can still speak of Confucianism as a living religious tradition, in terms of its ritualistic forms, its organizational structures and activities, and its value system.” (Chung, 1994. p.15) For him, firstly, “Most people, whether or not they acknowledge Confucianism as religion, share and admire much of the Confucian tradition as part of their everyday culture.”(Idem.) The second reason comes from “family”, as “The arena of the family still maintains an essential life of its own, especially in terms of family solidarity and family continuity with social and political implications...”(Idem.) For Chung, the veneration of ancestors that is maintained in Korean families is a living religious element of Confucianism. Finally, as far as the problem of identity is concerned, Chung believes that “what an average citizen seems to worry about is not what it means to be simply modern, but what it means to be an individual in a Confucian-oriented family and society. Especially its ethico-spiritual integrity must be safeguarded by maintaining important traditional values to promote an orderly and harmonious society.”(ibid, p. 18) Through the following analysis and discussion on Korean TV drama, with “Stock Flower” as the analysis sample, we can find out how this point of view helps explain the development of the story in the drama.

Confucianism is a wide concept. It stresses that there must be a harmonious and continuous relationship between the individual and the universe, between learning and self-cultivation, and between family regulation and social political orders, among which “self-cultivation” and “family regulation” are seen as the basic values (See Keum, 2000). According to Gopalan, Confucius maintains that “if family as the smallest social institution is not harmonious enough to enable the individuals in it to develop a proper attitude towards the other individuals in society, the various social relationships become mere names.” (1973, p. 80) Keum (2000) also points out that by focusing on the family consciousness, Confucian traditional values are helpful for constructing a “perfect social order”:

Family consciousness is the basis of social consciousness, and extended even further, family consciousness becomes the basis for social consciousness. If man follows the ordinances of Heaven and achieves his perfection in the human situation by harmonizing with Heaven a perfect social order will be the result (p.15).

“The Confucian tradition is known for its strong moral and ethical teachings.” (Ro, 2003, p. 226) In general, the ethical teachings of Confucian tradition include ritual, propriety, etiquette, love within the family, righteousness, honesty, trustworthiness, benevolence and humanity towards others, loyalty to the state, etc. (See Keum, 2000) On the one hand, Confucian tradition stresses family solidarity and family continuity, while on the other hand, it stresses the relationship and order between different classes of people. Moreover, Confucius concerns the practical matters of daily life and personal relationships. For example, a famous Confucian maxim is: “What you yourself do not want, do not do to the other man.” (McNaughton, 1974, p. 28) Whereas with regards to the Neo-Confucianism, Liu says:

The Neo-Confucian philosophers were not only interested in individual selves. They believed that whatever one does would have profound effects on others and the world. Hence, they urged the rulers to have strict self-discipline, to make their wills sincere, and to run a government of humanity with a view to bringing about peace in the whole world.” (1998, p. 126)

This quote shows that Confucian tradition was aimed at “developing human nature and bringing about a morally good, well-balanced society. (Palmer, 1986, p. 19)

This thesis will not focus on all the aspects of Confucianism, but only on its traditional values. Gopalan argues that the scientific approach to tradition should involve an analysis of its values. (See Gopalan, 1973, p.15) In the following part, we will see what the advocated traditional values on personal cultural identity and personal relationships are under the auspices of Confucianism.

### **1.1.3.1 Individual cultural identity in the Confucian tradition**

Every human being plays different roles in a society, from the private roles in the family to the public roles in social politics, economy and so on. Tu discusses that in the Confucian culture, “there is an acceptance of the legitimacy of powerful individuals and groups determining the role set of individuals.” (Tu, 1992, p. 42) That is, the cultural identity of a human being depends little on the individual per se but more on other

individuals or groups and the relations among them. For example, if we say a person is filial, this is to his or her parents; and if we say a person is sincere, this is to his or her friends or colleagues, etc. Therefore, one will play different roles on many different social levels because he or she is a member of many different groups.

Among these different social levels, family is one of the most important ones in the context of the Confucian tradition. As Tu says, “What seems to be happening in capitalist East Asia is that the cultural identity now includes the legitimacy of entrepreneurship, based not just on the individual as expected in the West, but also on the family. Because of various situational factors, entrepreneurship and privacy have been strengthened within capitalist East Asia.” (Tu, 1992, p. 43)

Then what should people do to fulfill self-cultivation following the Confucian tradition? We can find the answer in the Confucian Classics. For example, Confucius once said to his students, “ You men! Why have not you studied these Songs<sup>9</sup>? They’ll stir your emotions, sharpen your vision, perfect your manner, correct your resentments. At home, they’ll help you serve your father; and abroad, they’ll help you serve your government.” (See McNaughton, 1974, p. 27)

Given the importance of the family as a small social institution, rules and regulations governing it had to be articulated and enforced. Confucian traditional values<sup>10</sup> stress the “filial piety” (“*Hyo*”) and “fraternity” (“*Je*”) in a family, the smallest social institution. Other values include: “ritual” or “etiquette” (*Ye*); “benevolence” or “humanity” (*Yin*), which is the most important moral quality and the fundamental basis that gives rise to all other virtues; “loyalty” (*Seong*); “righteousness” (*Eui*); “honesty”, “creditability” or “trustworthiness” (*Sin*); “reciprocity” (*Su*); “kindness” (*Ja*); and “liberal education” (*Ji*)<sup>11</sup>.

For a better understanding of Confucian traditional values on self-cultivation, I will

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<sup>9</sup> The songs refer to the Classic “Shi Jing” or “Classic of Odes”, which are composed of 300 poems and songs.

<sup>10</sup> Following Keum (2000), there are six core values, including *Hyo*, *Ye*, *Eui*, *Sin*, *Yin*, and *Seung*. Here I identified about ten values from some other studies on Confucianism, such as Ho, 2003 etc.

<sup>11</sup> The words in the parentheses are the Korean characters. In Chinese, they should be: *Xiao*, *Di*, *Li*, *Ren*, *Cheng*, *Yi*, *Xin*, *Shu*, *Ci*, and *Zhi*.



discuss some of the details of the values.

**Hyo:** References to filial piety in traditional Confucianism require not only looking after the physical needs of the parents, but also showing reverence and obeying to them. Ho says that “filial piety could simply be invoked to impose a moral ... duty to provide maintenance and emotional support to parents.” (Ho, 2003, p. 291) This value can be seen as different of that of Western countries. As Ho discusses, “a Confucian society would differ markedly from a liberal society, in that in the latter each generation only owes a duty to look after the following generation(s). However, in the former, the children also owe a duty to look after their own parents in old age. In such a society, there would be an extra source of support for providing for the elderly.” (ibid, p. 291-292)

The reason why filial piety is important is because in East Asian countries—where the Confucian traditional value takes deep roots—if people receive some favors from other people, they will also give favors by some ways as a means to allow for repayment. People give the filial piety to their parents because they consider it as a kind of repayment to the unpayable debts to their parents. Keum introduces that “in Confucianism one’s greatest duty is to recognize and express appreciation for the grace of one’s parents for giving birth ... One’s physical body is not one’s own—it belongs to one’s parents as well, for it is they who give a child life.” (2000, p. 14) In such a context, people receive great favor from their parents and there is no way for them to repay what has been given to them. Whereas filial piety—the “gratitude and those virtues, such as “respectful reverence” (Lee, 2003, p. 143)—allows us to make such a repayment.

**Je:** “Je” is “fraternity”, which is the other regulation in family system, as Ho says:

in classic Confucianism, fraternity between brothers involves the submission of the juniors to their superiors: There is fraternal submission—therewith elders and superiors should be served. This notion of fraternity reinforced the authority of the eldest male heir as head of the family. ... With the emergence of nuclear families as units of consumption rather than production, the justification for submission to superiors does not hold anymore. Fraternity should accordingly be interpreted as involving mutual love and respect between brothers (as well as sisters). (2003, p. 292)

Fraternity is a rule not only in the family system, but also in the whole society. As it

has been considered by Confucius, “A young man should be filial at home and younger-brotherly outside the home. He should watch out he keeps his word. Although he may love most people, let him keep company with the fully humane.” (See McNaughton, 1974, p. 23) Seeing the whole society as a big family, the ideal Confucian traditional value considers all the old people as the parents and all the young brothers and sisters as the young who should respect the old; there is fraternal relation throughout the whole society. To fulfill such a big family and keep such relations among the family members, the individual should cultivate him or herself to become a person with a noble character and such a kind of person was named “superior man” (“Jun-zi” in Chinese characters). So, self-cultivation is seen as the most important process for someone to become a “superior man”. As Ro discusses, “the Confucian ideal for human beings is to realize sagehood through self-cultivation”. (Ro, 2003, p. 231)

The concepts of “filial piety”, as well as “respect” and “fraternal love” express the Confucian values that regulate people’s spirit and behavior—“filial piety signifying a state of spiritual communion in the eternity of time, and fraternal love signifying a state of communion in the infinity of space.” (Ch. Chai and W. Chai, 1973, p. 35)

**Ye:** For the simplest explanation, Ye means, “respect for social and religious forms”. (McNaughton, 1974, p. 4) And depending on the context of Confucian traditional practice, Ye can be translated as “religious rites, ceremony, deportment, decorum, propriety, formality, politeness, courtesy, etiquette, good form, good behavior, [or] good manners.” (Cua, 2003, p. 252) It includes actually two kinds of practices: the first one is very solemn which enforces the religious rituals such as marriage or birth and death services; the other one is “what we call etiquette or, more accurately, those reasonable and humane learned conventions that make up the ethos of a culture.” (Lee, 2003, p. 144)

Hahm also discusses Ye as “a behavioral norm that operates by being internalized by the person, so that in effect it becomes part of his or her entire being.” (Hahm, 2003, p. 43) Here Hahm articulated Foucault’s theory of “discipline” where he says, “He [Foucault] saw it [discipline] as a form of power directed at the common people for increased control and efficiency.” And since “Ye operates by ceaseless and constant

application, so that it penetrates into the body's movements and becomes a part of its reflex system", "Ye ... [can be seen as] a similar form of power, or restraint, which was directed not only at the common people, but also at the political elite, including the monarch." (ibid, p. 44)

**Yin:** In Chinese characters, the word "Yin" means "two persons". It can be explained as "natural human feelings for others". Simply, "Yin" means to love others, and from this angle, it is equivalent with "benevolence". The contrary is true too according to "Yin", where "[a]ll men have this heart that, when they see another man suffer, they suffer, too". (McNaghton, 1974, p. 61) Chai and Chai discuss that in the *Lun Yu*<sup>12</sup>, we can find that "Yin has a great scope and a great depth, yet it is familiar and appears to be simple and practical; it has flexibility and versatility, yet it dominates the thought of Confucius as the central thesis of the whole system." (1973, p. 35) Also, the love that arises from Yin "manifests itself in different degrees of intensity. It originates with the bonds of a common parentage and extends to other relationships until it culminates in the stage of Yin." (ibid, p. 35)

On the other hand, the love that comes from "Yin" does not mean to spoil or to love anybody without distinguishing whether he is "good" or "bad". As Liu indicates, "Confucius points out that only the man of Yin knows how to love and how to hate people. Although no men are intrinsically worthy of hating, in order to really love men, we have to hate their evildoings so that they may be forced to become educated as better men. (Liu, 1998, p. 18) So, to a certain degree, even though "Yin" is a benevolent attitude towards people, it in the same time teaches people to be intelligent enough to distinguish "good" from "evil". Only through this way can an individual grasp the spirit of "Yin" and should he "be able to find out what he must do in a given situation". (ibid, p. 19)

**Seung:** Seung means "sincerity". It is at first being faithful and completely honest with oneself, and then being sincere to others. In the background of Confucian traditional values, "sincerity" is something that is forever true and without deceit. Ro discusses that "One of the best ways to explore the idea of spontaneity in Confucianism is to understand

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<sup>12</sup> Lun Yu (The Analects of Confucius) is one of the Confucian Classics.

‘sincerity’ (Seung). Sincerity ... is not only a moral principle but a metaphysical principle and a spiritual force for realizing sagehood.” (Ro, 2003, p. 239) And also, “the entire process of self-cultivation can best be seen when we understand the meaning of Seung.” (ibid, p. 242) Through this we can see how important “Seung” is in Confucian value.

**Eui:** Eui, for a long time, was translated as “righteousness.” It has also connotations of “justice, equity,” or “a sense of justice,” as well as the connotations of the word “charity.” Nowadays, regardless of existing in a Korean TV drama or in actual social life, “Eui” always represents the “righteousness” between friends. If we see “Yin” as the “human heart”, then “Eui” the “human way”. (Ch. Chai and W. Chai, 1973, p. 50)

Following Gopalan, “[t]he righteousness of the individual in society consists in filling his place in society by living a life of social responsibilities and this is for him the ‘ought’ of the situation—the requirement for effecting improvements in society”. (1973, p. 80) Thus, “Eui” is actually a kind of social duty in Confucian tradition, and it can be achieved by “developing Ren<sup>13</sup> or human heartedness”. (Idem.)

**Sin:** Sin is “trustworthiness”. Usually “Sin” is considered to be one of the fundamental elements which “unite individuals in human relations” and “the Analects of Confucius mentions both ‘mutual understanding’ and ‘public trust’ as commendable virtues. (Keum, 2000, p. 25)

**Su:** In Chinese characters, the word “Su” is written within two symbols that mean “be like” and “heart”. We can understand it as knowing how it would feel to be the other man. So, it mentions the state where one is in complete understanding and sympathy with other persons. McNaughton indicates that “Confucius himself once picked out ‘Su’ as the core of his thought.” (McNaughton, 1974, p. 4)

**Ja:** It is kindness. According to Confucian tradition, a “superior man” (Jun-zi) is supposed to extend family virtues to all his social life in order to make his society a bigger family. And if everyone does so, all the society will finally become a big family where all people become brothers and sisters. Just from this idea, Ho discusses that “I treat

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<sup>13</sup> “Ren” is the Chinese version of “Yin”.

with the reverence due to age the elders in your own family, so that the elders in the families of others shall be similarly treated; treat with the kindness due to youth the young in your own family, so that the young in the families of others shall be similarly treated. In sum, benevolence can be manifested at the outermost level of social relationships as treating people with kindness.” (Ho, 2003, p. 293)

**Ji:** “Ji” is a liberal education. McNaughton asserts that this is “an education that was primarily literary and that was focused on ethics, morality, and social stability or “harmony.” (McNaughton, 1974, p. 5)

All these values have relations among them. For example, Liu says that “since Seung means none other than the full development of the heart of Yin within the self, and Su the extension of this heart to others, they are beyond doubt two sides of the same coin. ... Seung and Su are indeed the two most important aspects of Yin.” (Liu, 1998, p. 20) Also, Ro discusses that “through Seung (sincerity), we are able to realize the true principle (Ye) of the universe.” (Ro, 2003, p. 244) We can see that all these virtues are not abstract ideas, as Chai and Chai’s discussion, “[they] are visions of a cultivated mind, imbued with a profound sense of purpose and an intense concern for the well-being.” (Ch. Chai and W. Chai, 1973, p. 35) Also, these values teach Korean people how to be a “good” person in the “Confucian-oriented family and society” (Chung, 1994, p. 18).

### **1.1.3.2 Relationships in the Confucian tradition**

Gopalan says that “A proper understanding of tradition requires that we consider the various ways in which it influences man’s relations with the others.” (1973, p. 1) Confucianism stresses the values and moral norms of behavior in primary social institutions and basic human relationships.

The basic ideal relationships among human beings that were advocated by Confucian tradition are mainly focused on “Yin” (love and benevolence), “Seung” (sincerity), “Su” (reciprocity) and “Sin” (trustworthiness). Keum indicates that “Yin” can

be said to be a basic concept of the relationship, where he says "... the value Yin, which implies 'two people', shows the basis upon which Confucian values are founded. ... The primary relationship of two persons exists between 'I' and an 'other'. In a Confucian context, this relation is neither one of opposition or separation, but mutuality, based on the concept 'I' which is oriented to an 'other'." (Keum, 2000, p. 24)

In understanding the ideal Confucian relationships, the reciprocity (Su) refers to the mutual understanding. It "is derived from the agreement of moralities between my moral principle and that of others" and "it signifies the mutual understanding and agreement between two people in different circumstances." (Keum, 2000, p. 25) On the other hand, for Sin, the trustworthiness between persons, "is generally recognized as the element which unites individuals in human relation". (Idem.) Keum also indicated that "If Su is the method or means by which men are united, Sin can be seen as the condition and result of unity. The Analects of Confucius mentions both 'mutual understanding' and 'public trust' as commendable virtues." (Idem.) Another element "Seung" is defined the sincerity and honesty between "I" and "other".

Finally, "Yin" can be seen as both the basic element of all and the result of unifying all the other virtues. If in a society, every individual is sincere to others, tries to understand others, trusts others and thereby loves others, a universal harmony can be achieved. Going further, as Keum discusses:

[The values which] bring men into union may also operate in contemporary societies divided by country and race. If we can gain insight into the psyche of others by putting ourselves in their shoes, the conflicts of modern society may, for the most part, be resolved and the unity of society be strengthened. (ibid, p. 29)

Confucian traditions are concerned with five important relations: the relations between prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife, young and old, and friends: "Parent and child should stick by each other [or filial piety between father and son]; ruler and minister should be honest with each other; husband and wife should not take advantage of each other; old and young should know their place with each other [order between old and young]; and friends should stand by their word with each other

[trust between friends].” (McNaghton, 1974, p. 41-42) Tu discusses that “Each of the five relationships has its own inner logic which is not transferable. For example, the father/son relationship is a natural bonding, which cannot be disowned. The ruler/minister relationship, however, is voluntary association: if the ruler is not righteous, one can criticize him, or leave, or even launch a revolution.” (Tu, 1992, p. 56)

Thus, Confucian traditional values offer a set of moral standards in East Asian countries. This is not to say that it is a very special moral standard that is absolutely different from all the others. For example, to be an honest person might be a standard in most societies.

All these are not to say that the moral system of Confucianism is a perfect one. Keum discusses that “traditional Confucianism placed more emphasis on the establishment of order through the maintenance of authority and has taken a passive role in developing an ethical value appropriate to a modern age based on equality.” (Keum, 2000, p. 24) The emphasis of Confucianism on that subordinate must obey to the superordinate and the order between old and young and between man and woman, stresses the differences of class, generation, and the sex of human beings. This “is oriented to social discrimination rather than equality.” (ibid, p. 23) To a certain degree, Confucianism can be criticized as undemocratic. However, as Keum says, “Korean society today operates on a modern system of values influenced by the West. Democracy, which is based on freedom and equality, and capitalism, founded on private ownership and competition form the basic structure of Korean society.” (ibid, p. 27) As a result, the society is confronted with a conflict between Confucian traditional values and the Western values. In order to make the Confucian values adapt to the developing modern society, Keum suggests that “the hierarchical order ... should be overcome and a system founded on the basic Confucian virtues, as handed down through the classics and tradition, should be established.” (ibid, p. 24) Tradition does not mean to be invariable through long history. As Gopalan discusses, “traditions are not simply ideas handed down by the preceding generations to be accepted without reflection or modification.” (1973, p.33) Tradition is changing with social development.

Confucianism has its influence on both China and South Korea. It can be considered as one of the proximal cultures between the two countries. Concerning the reasons of the popularity of Korean TV drama, Leung discusses that “Cultural proximity has been seen as the major reason for the widespread and simultaneous popularity of Korean dramas across Asia.” (Leung, 2004) He illustrates some opinions from a Chinese newspaper: “Korean dramas are favored because they are rich in the more traditional Confucian values, which place emphasis on familial relationship, filial piety and sibling love.” (ibid.)

Therefore, in the present study, the discussion will focus on the main Confucian ethical values practiced in South Korea today, keeping in mind that these moral standards have ancient cultural roots. The **hypothesis** here is that such Confucian traditional values on individual cultural identity and relationships among people, as well as their transformation are represented in Korean TV drama. The study on this representation may help explain the popularity of Korean TV drama in China since the representation of Confucian values in Korean TV drama makes it easier for a Chinese audience to understand the content — the personal characteristics, the relationships among the roles, the conflict, and so on.

Thus, the central problem of the thesis will be on how the Confucian traditional values about the moral standard and interpersonal relationships are represented through the Korean TV drama. In order to solve this problem, the present study will adopt the theories on representation and how TV drama contributes to cultural representation as the theoretical framework.

## **1.2 Theories of representation**

Following Stuart Hall, the concept of representation has been very important in the study of culture, because “[r]epresentation connects meaning and language to culture.” (Hall, 1997, p. 15) Here, we will see what cultural representation is and the theories on cultural representation.



### 1.2.1 Language and representation

Hall defines “representation” as “the production of the meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the ‘real’ world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events” (Hall, 1997, p. 17). This definition mentions two processes of representation, which, in terms of Hall, are called “system of representation”: the conceptual system where “meaning depends on the system of concepts and images formed in our thoughts which can stand for or ‘represent’ the world, enabling us to refer to things both inside and outside our heads” (Idem.), and the language system where “[o]ur shared conceptual map must be translated into a common language, so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images”. (ibid, p. 18) Thus, meaning refers neither to an object nor a thing, but is “constructed by the system of representation”, and it is “constructed and fixed by the code, which sets up the correlation between our conceptual system and our language system.” (ibid, p. 21)

Therefore, language plays an important role in representing meanings because it is the language system that represents our concepts. Following Hall, the term “language” will be “used in a very broad and inclusive way” (ibid, p. 18). For example, written and spoken language, visual imagery, and expression of gesture will be included in the concept of “language.”

Hall in his article introduces three theories of the representation of meaning within language: the reflective or mimetic approach, in which “meaning is ... to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world”, and language “functions like a mirror to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world” (1997, p. 24); the intentional approach, which states that “it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language” (ibid, p. 25); and the constructionist approach which “do[es] not deny the existence of the material world” and, “it is not the material world which conveys meaning: it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts” (ibid, p. 27).

The reflective approach did not mention the function of “code” which “sets up the correlation between our conceptual system and our language system” (ibid, p. 21). The intentional approach limits “language” to a “private” tool to express one’s meaning. But for Hall, “the essence of language is communication and that ... depends on shared linguistic conventions and shared codes” (ibid, p. 25). Among these theories, the last one “has had the most significant impact on cultural studies in recent years” (ibid, p. 15), because it studies the “public” and “social” characters of language. (ibid, p. 25) The semiotic approach is one of those constructionist approaches.

In order to understand the semiotic approach, we have to turn to Saussure’s work, for “his [Saussure’s] general view of representation and the way his model of language shaped the semiotic approach to the problem of representation in a wide variety of cultural fields”. (ibid, p. 31) Saussure sees language as “a system of signs”. A sign is something that represents or stands for something else in the brain. It is constituted by a word, sound, or symbol, and so on. Saussure defines “sign” as being composed of two elements: the “signifier” (the form such as word, image, etc.) and the “signified” (the idea/concept). “Both are required to produce meaning but it is the relation between them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation.” (Idem.) For Saussure, signs “are members of a system and are defined in relation to the other members of that system”. (Idem.) Another important point indicated by Saussure, according to Hall, is that “words shift their meaning” (ibid, p. 32). This can implicate that “all meanings are produced within history and culture” and that “[t]hey can never be finally fixed but are always subject to change, both from one cultural context and from one period to another.” (Idem) Just from this aspect, we can say that language is a social phenomenon. “It cannot be an individual matter because we cannot make up the rules of language individually.” (ibid, p. 34) Hence, “the author decides what she wants to say; but she cannot decide whether or not to use the rules of language, if she wants to be understood.” (Idem.) The conclusion for this part is what Hall discusses, “Their [the language’s] source lies in society, in the culture, in our shared cultural codes, in the language system—not in nature or in the individual subject.” (ibid, p. 34)

Here, “language” is not limited to the common meaning of verbal language. As Manning and Cullum-Swan analyze:

Although semiotics is based on language, language is but one among many sign systems of varying degrees of unity, applicability, and complexity. Morse code, etiquette, mathematics, music, and even highway signs are examples of semiotic systems. ... Social semioticians see social life, group structure, beliefs, practices, and the content of social relations as functionally analogous to the units that structure language. By extension of this semiotic position, all human communication is a display of signs, something of a text to be “read.” (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994, p. 466)

### 1.2.2 From language to culture

Now we will see how semiotic approach links language to culture. As indicated by Hall, Saussure’s theories had been a “foundation” for “a general approach to language and meaning, providing a model of representation which has been applied to a wide range of cultural objects and practices”, and “this general approach to the study of signs in culture, and of culture as a sort of ‘language’ ... is now generally known by the term semiotics.” (Hall, 1997, p. 36)

In the previous part of the theory, we have seen that meanings can be effectively communicated among people only when these people belong to the same culture, that is, they are sharing a similar conceptual map and the same way of interpreting the signs of a language. It is from this degree that Hall analyses “[o]ne way of thinking about ‘culture’, then, is in terms of these shared conceptual maps, shared language systems and the codes which govern the relationships of translation between them.” (ibid, p. 21) Moreover, following Hall, the French critic Roland Barthes brought “a semiotic approach to bear on ‘reading’ popular culture, treating these activities and objects as signs, as a language through which meaning is communicated.” (Idem.) Also, in a similar way, the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss “studied the customs, rituals, totemic objects, designs, myths and folk-tales ... in terms of what they were trying to ‘say’, what messages about the culture they communicated.” (ibid, p. 37) For example, in order to study the meaning

of a television program, “we have to treat the pictures on the screen as signifiers, and use the code of the television soap opera as a genre, to discover how each image on the screen made use of these rules to ‘say something’ (signified) which the viewer could ‘read’ or interpret within the formal framework of a particular kind of television narrative.” (Idem.)

In the semiotic approach, not only words and images can be seen as the signifiers, but also the “objects themselves can function as signifiers in the production of meaning”. (Idem.) From the example that an evening dress may signify “elegance” and jeans may signify “casual dress”, we moved from the “narrow linguistic level” to “a wider cultural level”. Roland Barthes, a French critic, called the first step from “clothes” to the “evening dress” “denotation”, and the second level from the evening dress to “elegance”, “connotation”. “Denotation is the simple, basic, descriptive level, where consensus is wide and most people would agree on the meaning.” And “connotation” links the language to a “wider semantic fields of ... culture”. (ibid, p.38)

Thus, based on Saussure’s semiotic theory on representation, the Korean TV drama (the dialogue, appearance of the characters, the behaviors of the characters, etc.) can be seen as the “signifier” through which I may analyze the cultural representation—the “signified”. Following the way Saussure’s semiotic theory links language to culture, we will see how Korean TV drama represents Korean culture, especially the Confucian traditional values.

Another concept I want to mention here is “discourse”. Following Hall, semiotic theory concerns only the linguistic scope of representation. However, subsequent research goes deeply to see representation as a kind of source for the production of social knowledge through discourse. Hall linked what M. Foucault has studied on the research on representation through discourse, not just language. In explaining “discourse”, Hall argues that “in a culture, meaning often depends on larger units of analysis—narratives, statements, groups of images, **whole** discourses which operate across a variety of texts, areas of knowledge about a subject which have acquired widespread authority” (ibid, p. 42.) “Discourse” is then “a group of statements which provide a language for talking

about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment.” (ibid, p. 44) And individuals, differing as to their “social class, gendered, ‘racial’ and ethnic characteristics”, cannot take any meaning “until they have identified with ... [the] positions which the discourse constructs”. (ibid, p. 56) So, for Hall, “identity” is how we represent ourselves in a historical discourse using language and culture: identity is constructed within representation.

The concept of “discourse” mentioned in Foucault’s theory offers a theoretical basis for my analysis of Korean TV drama—the narratives, dialogues, images, etc. that operate in Korean TV drama become the whole discourse for the analysis of the Korean cultural representation. Then, in the following part, we will see how TV drama contributes to cultural representation.

### **1.3 TV drama and representation**

For my purpose, TV drama is to a certain degree similar to what Anger defines “soap opera” as a kind of TV program:

- a) consisting of multiple storylines which continue from episode to episode,
- b) for which an eventual end is neither foreseen nor written toward,
- c) which air more than once weekly, and
- d) which derive their story content primarily from emotion and affairs of the heart. (Anger: 1999, p. 16)

A TV drama is then a continuous fictional dramatic television program. A lot of research on TV drama focuses on its relation to “real society”. Anger says that “Soaps speak to emotions and situations known to all of us—love, pain, family relationships—whether or not their external worlds are familiar.” (ibid, p. 23) Above all, myth or fiction can be said to be one of the most fundamental characteristics of TV drama. As Fiske says:

A myth is a story by which a culture explains or understands some aspect of

reality or nature. Primitive myths are about life and death, men and gods, good and evil. Our sophisticated myths are about masculinity and femininity, about the family, about success, ... about science. A myth, ... is a culture's way of thinking about something, a way of conceptualizing or understanding it. (John Fiske, 1982. p. 93. In Tulloch, 1989. p. 6)

TV drama, then, tells domestic and romantic stories, and it brings in every aspect of life. These stories "have provided fertile ground for media analysts." (Anger, 1999, p. 37) Many of the storylines of TV dramas deal with the practicalities of everyday life. Anger says that "soaps can be seen as reflecting the contours and texture of our own lives. We do not know when tragedy or happiness may occur in the lives of soaps characters any more than we do in our own lives. We can predict and hope for a certain outcome, but we never really know the future in soaps, as in life". (Anger, 1999, p. 18-19) Thus, following Anger, TV drama can be seen "as replicating real life in which many events occur simultaneously, and resolution of one problem may well create or be replaced by another."<sup>14</sup> (idem.) Thus, TV drama as discourse represents the social lives.

TV drama also represents a version of life through a way, that following Mumford, "viewers can recognize as somehow coherent with their own experience". (Mumford, 1995, p. 9) Hobson also analyzes that "the soaps have consistently reflected areas of interest to the audience and have tried to reflect issues and concerns which have connected with their own experiences". (Hobson, 2003, p. 139) Just in this way, following Mumford, TV dramas are different from other forms of fiction programs, in that they "provide many aids that permit relatively inexperienced viewers to make sense of their narratives, including backstory, repetition, dialogue whose sole purpose is exposition, extremely slow story development, and the use of conventions drawn from other familiar dramatic forms." (Mumford, 1995, p. 7) While Mumford was analyzing the TV dramas, she found herself "intervening in a number of current debates about popular culture, television, and ideology." (ibid, p. 9)

TV drama as a discourse has intimate relations with "reality". Not only does it represent real social lives, but it also represents social changes. Let us see Hobson's

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<sup>14</sup> The discussion of Anger seems more like a reflective approach. My objective in using this analysis here is not to use it as theory, but to show the relation between TV drama and real social life.

discussion on this perspective:

The reality of soap operas is fictional. Soap operas may be based on a representation of reality but they are always from the imagination of their creators. The soap opera is a constantly evolving form, which can be changed and developed, expanded and renewed. It has a never-ending narrative form, which enables it to respond to nuances of change in the lives of its characters as they reflect changes in society. Indeed, its storylines have to respond to the 'reality' on which the soap operas are based. All soap operas reflect the time when they are conceived and are first produced, but their capacity to evolve is the secret of their longevity. ... It is an intricate pattern woven with the structures that are the warp and weft of the series—the locations, the sets, real or constructed, and the characters, enhanced and developed through storylines which can incorporate changes in the personal lives of the characters and their environment and reflect changes happening in the 'real' world on which the soap operas are based. It is both a diachronic and a synchronic approach to the representation of reality and fiction. The historical reality is the history of the soap opera, of the fiction, as well as of the world which is represented. (Hobson, 2003. p. 107)

Through such a discussion, we can see that TV drama plays an important role in reflecting the changes which have occurred in family and social life.

Following Hobson, TV dramas also contribute to "identity", because "[t]hey [soap operas] not only reflect our identity; they are part of the cultural artifacts which construct and shape the same." (ibid, p. 121) Gauntlett also discusses TV drama's role in contributing to cultural identity by indicating that the media, "domestic or romantic dramas" become the main reference points in showing the audience how and what we deal with the relationships between neighbors, friends and lovers (see Gauntlett, 2002.) because "the mass media"—"whether serious drama, or celebrity gossip"—"is ... likely to influence individuals' perceptions of their relationships". (ibid, p. 98)

TV dramas not only can be the discourse of the research of representation, they on the other hand can also shape the audiences' social perspective through the representation. (See Anger, 1999.) As Anger discusses, "[TV drama] have demonstrated, can influence ... our perception of social realities. And it can do so in a myriad of complicated ways." (ibid, p. 45) For Anger:

[S]oaps are particularly tricky for understanding the interplay between fiction and real life and the relationship of viewers to the stories they watch. First is the

type of stories told, which are identifiable to some extent with viewers' lives and concerns. The second factor is those stories' longevity: soap fans may have "known" characters and families for most of their lives, and their relationship to their story and to other fans must be carefully teased out. (ibid, p. 46)

The content of TV dramas, focusing on social life and love stories, "hardly fail to send messages about appropriate or expected behavior. That is, they take on a normative hue; the very act of presenting and attending to certain behaviors and events rather than others showcases or "privileges" the ones selected, for television is about all a medium of glamour". (ibid, p. 110)

Thus, the present study will adopt the theoretical position that TV drama is a kind of social discourse that represents the real social world by showing viewers how the characters identify themselves. In particular, it will show how Korean TV drama represents Confucian tradition and what "good" subjects are in South Korean society.

#### **1.4 Research questions**

I have indicated that the central problem to be solved in this thesis is how Confucian traditional values are represented in Korean TV drama. In analyzing the Korean TV drama, the major analytical questions will focus on different aspects of the problem.

As discussed above, the whole (Korean) TV drama will be analyzed as discourse for the representation of Confucian traditional values. In the previous part we have seen the definition of "discourse" as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about ... a particular topic at a particular historical moment." (Hall, 1997, p. 44) As for TV drama, discourse should include whatever we can see and we can hear in the drama: groups of images—background or environment, music, the language with which the characters communicate, their behaviors and actions, and so on.

Therefore, I will have to analyze how the Confucian traditional values are represented through these elements. Focusing on the characters provided by Korean TV



drama, the questions of the representation of Confucian traditional values through a variety of texts of Korean TV drama should be answered. Moreover, what kinds of personal characteristics are illustrated through the discourse—Korean TV drama? How about the relations among the characters? And what kinds of problems and conflicts were produced by the discourse? How should I analyze the representation of Confucian traditional values through these relations and problems or conflicts?

All these questions are to be solved in the present study. And this thesis will make a contribution towards understanding how particular aspects of Confucian traditional values are represented in Korean TV drama.

## Chapter 2 Methodology

### 2.1 Korean TV drama “Stock Flower” as discourse

Since the beginning of the phenomenon “Han Liu”, many Korean TV dramas have been exported to China and attracted Chinese audience’s attention. Most of them are concerned with sincere love stories. For my analysis of a concrete example of South Korean TV drama, I chose “Stock Flower”<sup>15</sup> for two reasons. The first one is that this drama gets the highest audience rating in both South Korea and China.<sup>16</sup> “Stock Flower” was broadcast in South Korea from April 2001 to May 2001 by KBS (Korea Broadcasting Station) and was imported to China in 2002 by Mingyang Limited Company and Jinan TV Station<sup>17</sup>. Since then, it has been broadcasted by almost all TV stations in China, including those in Beijing and Shanghai. Many audiences expressed their love of this drama. One viewer known as “You-er” reflected that “Stock Flower” evoked her enthusiasm for life; another known as “Shang-gan” said that she was deeply touched by the story, and loved it very much.<sup>18</sup>

Secondly, this drama tells a story about Young-ju, an unwed mother who raises her son with great love despite the scorn and jeer from common customs. Comparing with other dramas, this one not only stresses the sincere love, but it also illustrates a social conflict—the emergence of unwed mothers in modern Korean society and the scorn towards them by persons from different social classes. I chose “Stock Flower” as my analytical sample, because as a breakthrough drama, it has raised the level of discussion on the hardships faced by unwed mothers in Korean and Chinese society.

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<sup>15</sup> **The Plot of Stock Flower:** Young-ju falls in love with Min-hyuk and they live together despite the disagreement of Min-hyuk’s family. They decide to marry after they find that Young-ju is pregnant. Unfortunately, Min-hyuk dies in an accident on their wedding day. Young-ju bares their child “Hanul” and brings him up with great love. Life is very difficult for her, since, as an unwed mother, she is treated badly. Woo-hyuk, Min-hyuk’s brother, loves Young-ju, but all that he can do is console her when she is hurt, because she is his brother’s wife. Min-hyuk’s friend Seung-jo also loves Young-ju. In the end, Young-ju becomes successful both in love and her other endeavors.

<sup>16</sup> This information comes from: [http://www.hnetv.com/movie/typlay/point/20021227/hnetv\\_new2.html](http://www.hnetv.com/movie/typlay/point/20021227/hnetv_new2.html)

<sup>17</sup> Jinan is the capital of Shan Dong Province, the Chinese province nearest to South Korea.

<sup>18</sup> This information comes from an Internet discussion group in which audience members talk about their experience of viewing “Stock Flower.” The names given may not be the real. The web address is: [http://www.hnetv.com/movie/typlay/point/20021227/hnetv\\_new4.html](http://www.hnetv.com/movie/typlay/point/20021227/hnetv_new4.html)

“Stock Flower” is composed by twenty episodes which narrated a whole story from the beginning to the end. Based on the semiotics theory of representation, the story produced in the drama, including narrative, statements, and images function as discourse. I cannot analyze anything without this discourse, because “physical things and actions exist, but they only take on meaning ... within discourse”. (Hall, 1997. P. 45)

## **2.2 A qualitative method**

Many analyses on television take the content analysis method which is “a quantitatively oriented technique” (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994, p. 464) However, the content analysis “has been unable to capture the context within which a ... text has meaning.” (Idem.) Thus, concerning with the cultural context of Confucian tradition and the popularity of Korean TV dramas in China, instead of the quantitative analysis, the present study will take a qualitative method which allows me to analyze Korean TV drama in the cultural context.

Following Denzin and Lincoln,

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals’ lives. (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2)

Qualitative researchers use the analysis of semiotics, narrative, content, discourse, and so on, and the qualitative analysis has been used in many disciplines. For example, “textual, hermeneutic, feminist, psychoanalytic, semiotic, and narrative analysis in cinema and literary studies; archival, material culture, historical, and document analysis in history, biography, and archaeology; and discourse and conversational analysis in communications and education.” (ibid, p. 3) Thus, from the discipline of communication and cultural studies, the qualitative approach offers me a textual analysis inspired by

semiotics in analyzing Korean TV drama.

Semiotics focuses mainly on “language”. For the verbal language, qualitative analysis considers that “vocabulary provides worthwhile clues to the way people define their situation; words indicate levels of trust, the nature of cohesiveness, status categories, authority structures, and personal bias.” (Christians and Carey, 1989, p. 360) So in studying Korean TV drama, the analysis of dialogue becomes an important part. For the other elements of “language”—nonverbal and graphic, “all of them [verbal, nonverbal and graphic] are useful ... as sources for understanding meaning, for interpreting the mental content from which these expressions spring.” (ibid, p. 361) The qualitative analysis demands the researcher “[to] learn confidence and freedom with regard to symbolic sources, examining them all in order to gauge preoccupations and prevalent values.” (Idem.) For the analysis of Korean TV drama, the qualitative research also demands the analysis of the “verbal, nonverbal and graphic” elements in the drama.

There are four criteria for qualitative research: naturalistic observation, contextualization, maximized comparisons, and sensitized concepts. (See Christians and Carey, 1989. Or Hsia, 1988.) The qualitative approach “emphasizes naturalistic observation as the way of determining human interpretations.” (Christians and Carey, 1989, p. 360) Such research demands an observation of a situation inside the Korean TV drama so as to “recreate in imagination and experience the thoughts and sentiments of the observed”. (Idem.) Contextualization is a second step in the qualitative research process. It has been said that:

Researchers attempting to bring out all the distinctive elements of the case being studied must become masters of context. Because symbols carry meaning invested by the situation, environments become crucial for proper understanding. A description is meaningful to the degree we can grasp the various arenas in which things stand. In this view, meaning is not determined by statistical indexes of external behavior, but by context. (ibid, p. 362)

Maximized comparisons refers to comparing all the concrete instances “where humans meet through the agency of communication”, for example, “the operative principles of television drama”, “the relations between news sources and journalists”, etc.

(ibid, p. 367) Lastly, by sensitized concepts, “we mean taxonomical systems that discover an integrating scheme within the data themselves.” For example, “a portrait, illustrative story, or description of ritual behavior that crystallizes sentiment and lifestyle.” (ibid, p. 370)

Qualitative analysis offers a series of research processes and methods. Following Denzin and Lincoln’s indication (1994, p. 12), first, the traditional and applied qualitative research locates the researcher in history and cultural context. For my analysis, this cultural context points to Confucianism. Then, I define my study as a cultural study, since “Cultural studies scholars may do close textual readings and discourse analysis of cultural texts” (ibid, p. 14). And the cultural text of my analysis is Korean TV drama. Thirdly, concerning the object of the present study of the representation of Confucian traditional values, I apply S. Hall’s theory on representation, especially the link between representation and semiotic theory which “provides a set of assumptions and concepts that permit systematic analysis” (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994, p. 466) as the grounding theoretical frame. Fourth, for the methods of collecting and analyzing, I take Korean TV drama as discourse and precede a narrative strategy. Lastly, I organize the analysis and draw a conclusion. Thus, I can process my analysis systematically following these research processes provided by the qualitative method.

As for using this qualitative method for my analysis, since the whole TV drama “Stock Flower” has been seen as the discourse, the qualitative method will help me first of all focus on the textual analysis of the drama. Even though semiotics is based on language, this “language” is “but one among many sign systems of varying degrees.” (Idem.) And here the “language” points to every unit component of Korean TV drama. Taking the position of one of the observers of the drama “Stock Flower”, I will take both what we can see and what we can hear in the drama as the texts to be read. For example, the environment where the story takes place, the language with which the characters are talking, the behaviors or actions of the characters, everything in the drama can be analyzed as a sign. We will see what meaning has been represented by these signs.

Then, as Manning and Cullum-Swan discussed, “textual analysis sees the ...

representation of society and groups ... as marking, dramatizing, and constructing often complex social relations” (ibid, p. 465). The characters in the drama and the relations among them will be analyzed based on the whole discourse. Thereby, through the meaning represented by these relations, I can do a narrative problem analysis to see what kind of problems have been produced.

### **2.3 Scenes, characters and problems**

The Korean TV drama “Stock Flower” will be seen as the discourse for the present study of the representation of Confucian traditional values. This drama is constructed by 20 episodes and in every episode, there are about 80 scenes. Williams says that “A scene represents one concept, one story.” And “a scene is a ‘set-up’” for a drama. (Williams, 1992, p. 180)

Scenes contain many things. For example, some scenes contain the environment, the sky, country field, a building, etc., whereas some others contain people, in terms of “character”. Williams did a research of soap operas and points out that “most scenes involve two, up to perhaps eight, people.” (Idem.) Also, if the scene involves only one character, usually he or she is thinking. The scene then brings “together in one place a number of characters (and stories)”. (Idem.) All these can be analyzed as signs for representation. Thus, if we see the whole drama as the corpus, one single scene will then become the fundamental unit on which my analysis will be based.

Following Williams, character is one of the most important elements of a TV drama, because “soap opera is character-driven”, and in a continuing drama, “character dominates action.” (ibid, p. 127) By focusing on the characters, “we see the archetypes as central in soap story.” (ibid, p. 128) Manning and Cullum-Swan also consider that “the functions of characters are stable elements”. (1994, p. 464) Thus the character is an analytical unit of a scene, and its representation of meaning will depend on the scene, no matter whether the scene contains the character’s dialogue, behavior, or their thought, etc.

Then we will see the problems in TV drama. Every continuing TV drama contains at least one problem. Williams says that “[s]howing ‘how tough, how unsolvable’ some problems can be takes time, and for that reason soap operas could be the ideal medium for messages from real life.” (Williams, 1992, p. 95) Through Williams’ discussion between character and some issue problems, we can see that firstly, the problems, in her term of “issue stories”, in TV dramas, are a kind of realism; and secondly, in a TV drama, whether being solved at the end or not, the problems are what the characters will face or are already facing. Thus, the problems are represented by the characters through their dialogue or behaviors in a scene.

In the Korean TV drama “Stock Flower”, there are about 1500 scenes. It is impossible to analyze all of them. Taking into consideration the important role of characters in a TV drama and the relation among scenes, characters and problems, after having observed the drama for several times, I selected some representative scenes focusing on the main characters and through which we can understand what kind of problems they are facing, what their attitudes are to the problems and whether such problems are solved at the end of the story. After reviewing the content of every selected scene, I regrouped them following the different characters.

#### **2.4 Focus on the analysis**

The main analysis of the present study will focus on the characters of Korean TV drama “Stock Flower”.

Following Williams, characters are not real persons, but they can be seen as “representations”, which “embody discourse”, of ‘simple characterization’<sup>19</sup>. (Williams, 1992, p. 139) By “simple characterization”, we mean “the good, the bad, and the weak.” (Idem.) Thus the characters can be classified by their characteristics, or in terms of their personal qualities. Simultaneously, Williams suggests that when the soap characters are

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<sup>19</sup> Williams says “simple characterization” is one of the four elements of soap opera that were seen by early soap analysts. The others were “Understandable Predicament,” “Centrality of Feminine Characters,” and “Philosophical Relevance.” See Williams, 1992, p.139.

looked at from a social perspective, their social relationships cannot be neglected. (See Williams, 1992, p. 129) Thus, this study will focus on the characters' personal qualities and their relationships, as well as on their problems through the textual analysis—the characters' dialogue and behaviors.

The textual analysis will be concerned with “language”. According to Hall's definition of “language” and semiotic theory, both the actors' dialogue and behaviors are included in the concept of what counts as “language.” Thus, this analysis will be concerned with how “language” represents Korean culture, especially the interpersonal relationships depicting respect of the young for the old.

In order to see how “language” was linked to culture, I will follow the two levels in the representation process of Saussure's semiotics theory: denotation, where representation goes through from the code/signifier to the sign, while in the second level—connotation—the sign in the first level becomes the signifier and new depth sign/meaning (cultural level) will be produced (See Hall, 1997). For example, we may analyze an image full of Kimchi—we can see in the image some pickled cabbage in chili powder, and some persons are eating Kimchi, this is the signifier of the first level. With the signified as “Kimchi, Korean people”, we may get a sign as “Kimchi is a kind of Korean favorite food”—this becomes the “signifier” of the second “cultural level”. And in the cultural level, we may get a new sign, which is called “myth/meta-language” in Barthes's study, (ibid.) of “Korean-ness”: Kimchi is a kind of Korean food culture. This process of representation brings us from the level of language to the level of culture.

Following this method and process, I can analyze the representation of Korean culture from Korean language itself, the content of the dialogue, and the behaviors of the characters, etc. in the drama.

Then, some of the main characters will be analyzed in terms of their psychology and behavior, especially as those personal qualities that relate to the values of Confucian tradition, such as *Ye*, *Hyo*, *Eui*, *Sin*, *Yin*, and *Seong*, etc. Taking into account that subject-positions for characters are established through the discourse of TV drama, this



study will analyze how characters' identities are portrayed and how these identities are linked to the values of Confucian tradition, and how they deal with interpersonal relations; in other words, how characters act as "good" persons according to the Confucian traditional values, and how Confucian traditional values are represented by Korean TV drama.

For the relationships among characters, I basically divided the relationships into two levels with an emphasis on the central role of Young-ju, the unwed mother. The first level includes the roles that have direct relations with Young-ju, such as Min-hyuk, Woo-hyuk, Seung-jo, Sin-hee, grandmother, Hanul and Hae-bin, etc. The second level is concerned with Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's parents.

In particular, the relationships of the first level will be discussed from four angles: the love affair level which is concerned with Min-hyuk, Young-ju's school boyfriend Woo-hyuk, and Seung-jo; the family affair level which is concerned with grandmother; the friend affair level which is concerned with the relation between Young-ju and Sin-hee; and lastly, the job affair level which is concerned with Hae-pin and other Young's colleagues, such as Min-su and Mr. Song, etc.

As for other character roles, I will mainly discuss the relationship between the father and son in both Min-hyuk and Seung-jo's family, and the friendship between Seung-jo and Woo-hyuk.

Lastly, following the development of every main character's story, I identified four main problems in the drama of "Stock Flower". When the same problem concerns two or more persons, it will be discussed from different angles. For example, Min-hyuk's father did not agree Min-hyuk's marriage with Young-ju. Seeing this problem from the angle of Min-hyuk's father, his disagreement can be understood under the background of Confucian tradition since Young-ju's condition was not matched well with that of Min-hyuk. While seeing this from the Min-hyuk's angle, his father's disagreement put him into a conflict between obedience to his father and choosing Young-ju. Through the narrative problem analysis, we can see how the stories develop following the Confucian

tradition, and how such values influence the characters' thought, as well as the conflict in modern society.

All above is an overview of the steps involved in this present study. They offer me an analytical frame with which I could solve the research problems and in the meantime provide me a with basic set of directions about what to do and how to do it during the research.

## Chapter 3 Analysis

In this chapter, I will analyze the Korean TV drama “Stock Flower” in details.

### 3.1 Presentation of the main story line

The Korean TV drama “Stock Flower” tells the story of Young-ju, an unwed mother who raises her son with love despite personal hardship.

The story begins when Young-ju was a high middle school student. Her father died when she was very young. She lived with her mother and they depended on each other for survival. Among her classmates, she made good friends with Sin-hee and Woo-hyuk. Young-ju made friend with Woo-hyuk because Woo-hyuk dared to fight with Kyong-ch’ol, a hoodlum student, in order to protect other students. Knowing that Woo-hyuk was born on the same day as her, Young-ju sent Woo-hyuk a birthday card with “stock flower”—their birthday flower—on it, and encouraged him to live like a “stock flower”. She told Woo-hyuk that persons who belong to the stock flower would live with a strong vitality and would be able to overcome any difficulties.

When Woo-hyuk found himself falling in love with Young-ju, Min-hyuk, Woo-hyuk’s brother appeared in Young-ju’s life as an intern teacher at her class and attracted her. They fall in love with each other.

Min-hyuk was the elder son of the family. Comparing with Woo-hyuk, he was more obedient. He would soon graduate from a famous university, while Woo-hyuk had problems in even entering even a university. Their father, President Kang of “Choun Ach’im”<sup>20</sup> loved both of them. He lost his wife when Min-hyuk and Woo-hyuk were very young. Like most of other Korean parents, he tried his best to bring them up and he made many important choices for them. Min-hyuk followed every demand from him but Woo-hyuk did not. He never liked studying and always fought with his other classmates. So, the father showed great hope for Min-hyuk. However, Woo-hyuk always did things

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<sup>20</sup> “Choun Ach’im” is the name of the company that Min-hyuk’s father operates. It produces stationery.

following his own desire, this made him go further and further from his father's will. Both of these two brothers loved Young-ju. Considering the fact that the brother's condition was better and hoping that Min-hyuk could give Young-ju a happier life, Woo-hyuk hid his love only in his heart and never told anybody. But this was found by Sin-hee, Young-ju's best friend, who loved Woo-hyuk.

After Young-ju passed the examination for university, her mother died at that time because of cardiopathy—all her savings for Young-ju to go to university was taken away from her, because she was cheated. (See annex B, episode 3) Min-hyuk was settled by his father to go abroad to study at that time. But Min-hyuk did not want to leave Young-ju alone because nobody could help her. So he wanted to marry her first to make her a member of the family so that his father and Woo-hyuk could take care of her while he studied abroad. However, Min-hyuk's father not only dreamed Min-hyuk to be successful in his career, but also dreamed him marrying a girl who was highly educated and who belonged to a relatively high social class. However, Young-ju graduated only from high school and had almost no family. Thinking of his son's future, the father refused Young-ju to be his daughter-in-law. No matter how much Min-hyuk had begged, his father did not change his mind. When Min-hyuk insisted to marry Young-ju, Kang felt so disappointed that he drove Min-hyuk out of the family. He hoped through this way, Min-hyuk could realize his wrong choice and come back to him. Min-hyuk also decided to leave home and live together with Young-ju.

Young-ju at first did not agree to live with Min-hyuk, but later she was touched by his love and they began to live together. Seung-jo, Min-hyuk's best friend who is a lawyer, asked Min-hyuk to go back home and told Min-hyuk he should not give his future up because of love. But Min-hyuk told Seung-jo he was very happy. Life was very difficult for them at the beginning because they were short of money. Woo-hyuk sold his motorcycle which he loved very much in order to help them. Min-hyuk and Young-ju decided to marry after they found out that Young-ju was pregnant. After learning Min-hyuk and Young-ju were living a happy life, Woo-hyuk decided to go abroad after their wedding. On the wedding day, Young-ju was waiting for Min-hyuk at the church.

Min-hyuk saw Woo-hyuk on his way to the church and he walked across the road to go together with Woo-hyuk. Tragedy happened at this time. Min-hyuk was hit by a car and died.

When Min-hyuk's father got the bad news of Min-hyuk's death, he thought that all these were caused by Young-ju and he began to hate her. He did not even let her take a last look at Min-hyuk. In the meantime, he made Woo-hyuk go further from him by doing this because Woo-hyuk thought it was his father who made Young-ju unfortunate.

Even though many people tried to persuade Young-ju not to bear the child, she insisted to have the baby because of her love of Min-hyuk. After Min-hyuk died, Young-ju left. Woo-hyuk tried to look for her everywhere but he could not find her. He then went abroad.

Later, Young-ju accidentally met grandmother Kkut-sun who operated a small restaurant (See annex B, episode 5). They lived together and helped each other like real family members. Several years later, when Hanul, Young-ju's son, was six years old, Woo-hyuk came back from abroad. He found it difficult to forget Young-ju even after these years and he was worried about how she was living. He asked help from both Seung-jo and Sin-hee to look for her. In the meantime, Young-ju and grandmother began to face the difficulties of life because their little restaurant was confiscated (See annex B, episode 6). Young-ju wanted to find a lawyer to help them and she met with Seung-jo by chance.

Woo-hyuk's appearance brought more happiness to Young-ju's family. Especially for Hanul, the love he gave him was like that of a father. But it was more difficult and unreasonable to express his love now because Young-ju became his sister-in-law. All he could do was to console her when she was hurt. When the little restaurant was confiscated, he borrowed some money from his father, but Young-ju did not accept it. After Woo-hyuk came back from abroad, his father, President Kang, planned to let Woo-hyuk work in the program designing department of "Choun Ach'im" in order to learn how to do business and thereby help him later. But Woo-hyuk did not follow this

plan. After Young-ju persuaded him, he began to work delivering worker to deliver the products of “Choun Ach’im” to small stores.

Young-ju and Grandmother Kkut-sun lost the case because they did not have a legal lease for the restaurant. Young-ju decided to look for a job. But she was turned down by many companies because she was an unwed mother. One day she saw an advertisement indicating that ZEUS<sup>21</sup>, a big company in designing and producing cultural products and stationeries for children, were collecting designs, and once the design was selected, the designer would be hired. Young-ju designed a lovely dog whose name was “ch’ang-ch’ang” and won the first prize. Yet again, knowing she was an unwed mother, the company decided to fire her. Woo-hyuk did not want Young-ju to be hurt and asked Young-ju to give up. He tried many ways to look for another job for her. But Young-ju did not accept it because she had her own plan. She did not give up this time and strived to President Yu with reasonable proof. At last, she won her legal right and began to work at ZEUS in the designing department.

Seung-jo, as the law representative of ZEUS, saw how Young-ju struggle for her rights. He was attracted by Young-ju’s strong persistence and fell in love with her. At first she did not feel the same way, but little by little, she was moved by his sincere love.

Woo-hyuk was very upset when he found out that Seung-jo loved Young-ju and he had to face to the truth again that Young-ju would belong to another person.

But Seung-jo and Young-ju’s love could not be accepted by Seung-jo’s family because of Young-ju’s “bad” situation.

Seung-jo’s mother, Jeong-hee worked at a woman association, where people helped women solve their problems, especially about women’s right. Jeong-hee sometimes got the chance to meet with some unwed mothers and helped them in find jobs. She said that not all the unwed mothers were bad persons; people should not judge them by their situations, but by their personal qualities. Also people should not scorn at them, but help them get a new life full of hope. Seung-jo felt proud of his mother because she had an

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<sup>21</sup> ZEUS is the name of the production company.

open heart. But when her own son fell in love with an unwed mother, her theory about unwed mother was not tenable. Actually she liked Hae-pin, President Yu's daughter, because she was well educated and her father owned a big company. She hoped that Seung-jo would marry her. She tried to persuade Seung-jo to date Hae-pin many times but Seung-jo did not like Hae-pin at all. On the other hand, Seung-jo's mother could not accept Young-ju as her daughter-in-law.

When Jeong-hee found it was no use to let Seung-jo give up, she went to talk with Young-ju, saying that if Seung-jo insisted to marry her, she would not see her son again in her lifetime. Young-ju began to move away from Seung-jo but this did not make Seung-jo give up at all. He, on the contrary, encouraged Young-ju to overcome the difficulties together. After a period, when Jeong-hee found out that Seung-jo still had not given up, she talked with Young-ju's grandmother, saying again that she could not accept this marriage. This behavior made both Seung-jo's father and Seung-jo angry. Seung-jo's father at first did not agree this marriage either. But when he saw Young-ju's grandmother left Jeong-hee crying, he made his mind up and told his wife he would agree Seung-jo's marriage to Young-ju.

In the meantime, Hae-pin, President Yu's daughter and the director of the designing department, loved Seung-jo. Even though Seung-jo told her many times that he did not like her and he did not want to marry her at all, she was very self-confident about her condition. Plus Seung-jo's mother's love to her, she believed that a marriage with Seung-jo would come true sooner or later. When she found out the woman that Seung-jo loved was Young-ju, an unwed mother, her proud heart was hurt and she became very jealous of Young-ju. She started to make Young-ju's life difficult.

After Young-ju entered ZEUS, Hae-pin became her supervisor and they had to work in the same department. Hae-pin got many chances to destroy the love relationship between Young-ju and Seung-jo. For example, she lied to Young-ju that she had been engaged to Seung-jo to make her become distant. At work, during the first period of Young-ju's work, Hae-pin did not allow her to design, but to sell their products in a

branch shop as a seller. Later, in order to participate in an appraisal conference, Young-ju made “ch’ang-ch’ang”—the white lovely dog that she designed by herself—day and night. But when she finished, Hae-pin did not allow her to show it because the raw material Young-ju used was expensive. Young-ju explained that the original material of the company shed feathers and that was not good for the health. She later found another kind of material which had a better quality than the original one with almost the same price. But when “ch’ang-ch’ang” was to be produced, Hae-pin told the production department to use the original material without letting Young-ju know. At last, “ch’ang-ch’ang” became another product that is shedding feathers. Young-ju was very angry and sad, but she could do nothing.

Min-hyuk’s father, President Kang, became more and more disappointed at Woo-hyuk. On the other hand, Kang could not help thinking of his grandson Hanul. He always watched Young-ju and Hanul on the road from far away. Hanul was getting on well with Woo-hyuk. Once Hanul wanted to look for his uncle to play and went to “Choun Ach’im”. Kang saw his grandson and played a little while with him and this made him make mind to keep Hanul beside himself. But Young-ju refused this. From Woo-hyuk’s attitude to Young-ju, the father detected Woo-hyuk’s emotion to Young-ju, and he was very angry at Woo-hyuk.

Once Young-ju found that lots of products imported contained lots of poisonous materials which were very harmful to children and she asked the president to take all the products back. Being refused, Young-ju went to all the shops to ask the staff not to sell those products. This behavior made President Yu and his daughter Hae-pin very angry and they wanted Young-ju to quit the company. Young-ju thought that she should not work for such a company as well.

At the same time, President Yu, the president of ZEUS, wanted to merge “Choun Ach’im”<sup>22</sup> which was operated by Woo-hyuk’s father. He used many unscrupulous ways. He first negotiated it with Min-hyuk’s father. Actually, “Choun Ach’im” produces the cultural products and stationeries. Through the dialogue between the president and the

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<sup>22</sup> The meaning is: Beautiful Morning



employees, we understand that from design to production, they paid more attention to the quality of every kind of the goods, and that their objective was to create the products in Korean style. While ZEUS was famous with its imported products, especially those from Japan. In producing, they used the cheapest raw materials in order to get more benefits, but they did not mind whether the materials were good or not to the health. (See annex B, episode 13.) Min-hyuk's father never liked ZEUS, so when President Yu suggested that he should do business together as partners, he refused. (See annex B, episode 14) President Yu then asked his secretary to secretly buy many exchange bills of "Choun Ach'im" and went to change all of them at the same time. On the other hand, he divulged the news that "Choun Ach'im" was facing closure in order to prevent the banks to give them loan. This made "Choun Ach'im" face closing down, and because of this strike, Woo-hyuk's father fell into a coma because of cerebral haemorrhage and after he woke up, he became paralysed. Only at that time, Woo-hyuk took up all the responsibilities to save the company. He implored the creditors, saying that they would take part in the stationery show in New York three months later and that they would try to get export orders. Under his effort, he got three more months to save the company, and the only hope was to win export orders in New York.

Woo-hyuk asked help from Young-ju. Even though Woo-hyuk's father still had not accepted her as a family member, Young-ju agreed to help them. Also, after Woo-hyuk's father became paralysed, he lost all his hope for life. Young-ju let Hanul make friends with his grandfather and thereby encourage him.

Young-ju designed an excellent product—a blue bear named "Hanul"—and won the export orders. Seeing his plan going to be in vain, President Yu asked Kyong-ch'ol (one of Young-ju and Sin-hee's classmates) to copy Young-ju's design by giving him a lot of money and applied the patent before Woo-hyuk and Young-ju did. At last, Kyong-ch'ol, under Sin-hee's persuasion, testified the truth and thereby saved Woo-hyuk and Young-ju. Yu lost his plan and his reputation.

Woo-hyuk's father was moved by Young-ju's behavior, he asked forgiveness from Young-ju and at last accepted her as a family member. Moreover, he talked to Seung-jo's

mother that he regretted what he had done to Young-ju and persuaded her to accept Young-ju. After this talk, Jeong-hee, Seung-jo's mother, began to hesitate. She told Seung-jo's father that she still did not know how to do. This can be seen as a hint that even though she did not say she would agree their marriage, she would not insist against that either.

Young-ju at last succeeded in both her career and her love life.

### **3.2 Analysis of the text**

TV drama, as a kind of TV program, offers first of all some fundamental elements that we can see and hear, such as the background scenes—the environment, the buildings, the houses, the music and so on. In this part, I will firstly introduce and analyze such elements so as to see some characteristics of Korean TV drama. Then we will see the verbal language and non-verbal behaviors of the characters provided in the drama of “Stock Flower” in order to see the representation of Confucian tradition. All these elements, to a certain degree, belong to what Hall calls “language” when he discusses the representation from “language” to “culture”. This is evident at the point where he says:

[language] is being used in a very broad and inclusive way. The writing system or the spoken system of a particular language are both obviously ‘languages’. But so are visual images, whether produced by hand, mechanical, electronic, digital or some other means, when they are used to express meaning. And so are other things which are not ‘linguistic’ in any ordinary sense: the ‘language’ of facial expressions or of gesture, for example, or the ‘language’ of fashion, of clothes, or of traffic lights. (Hall, 1997, p. 18)

#### **3.2.1 Background elements in the TV drama**

By “some fundamental background elements” I mean what we can see in the screen of Korean TV drama—the background of the scenes, the images of the drama characters,

etc. and what we can hear as the background music.

Following Leung, one of the characteristics of Korean TV drama that attract the audience is its “urban appeal” (Leung, 2004). This is shown where he says “These [Korean] dramas offer an appeal of the ‘urban’ which is associated with novelty, glamour, the fashionable, youthfulness”. (idem.) Most of the Korean dramas are shot in cities, especially in Seoul. In “Stock Flower”, we can see many images of tall buildings, quiet and gentle cafés, busy traffic on the streets, public transports (subway, buses, taxis ...) and so on. For example, in the building where ZEUS lies in, we can see the luxurious marble floor, commodious elevator, modern office equipment, etc; Seung-jo used to take Young-ju and Hanul to play on the top of the “6.3 building”— the tallest building in Korea which contains 63 floors—where there are plenty of leisure spaces; All kinds of stores stood one by one in the shopping center; Some times in the evening, Woo-hyuk or Seung-jo went to the riverside of “Han-Kang”<sup>23</sup>, seeing the neon lights light up the dark river. In the houses of Seung-jo and Woo-hyuk’s family, we can see a big television and sofa in the parlor, beautiful tables in the dining room, one or two cars in the garage, etc. These scenes are the signifiers for “the representation of ‘modernity’” (signified) in Korean TV drama. (See Leung, 2004) Leung says that “the aura they [the scenes of Korean TV drama] evoke instil a level of fantasy among both the urban and rural audiences. The representation of ‘modernity’ exudes the appeal of ‘novelty’ for the local audiences.” And “This same ‘trendiness’ has even been seen as a unique genre, so much so that the Korean producers adopted the formula in their new dramas, constituting a wave of ‘Korean trendy dramas’ which scored success in the Asian market.” (Leung, 2004)

On the other hand, the style of the house where Young-ju lives is traditional, because we see “Ondol”<sup>24</sup> in her family. “Ondol” is a kind of the traditional life style in Korea, and it is a kind of heating system under the floor. Since heat emanates from the floors, we can see Young-ju, as well as Grandmother and Hanul, sit and sleep on the floor

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<sup>23</sup> Name of the river that goes through Seoul.

<sup>24</sup> Traditionally, because of the freezing winter climate, most Korean homes do not have many windows or doors. They use the Ondol system to heat the rooms through a network of pipes under the floor. Usually the floors are covered with lacquered paper which turns yellow with age.

to take advantage of the warmth. There is no bed or chair in the living room. Through the image of “Ondol” (signifier), we can see the representation of “traditional style” in Korean TV drama.

Then, following Leung, the handsome actor, the beautiful actress is another important characteristic of Korean TV drama. Until now, Korean dramas have already produced many idols for Chinese audience. Almost all the young people know Song Hye-kyo and Song Seung-hun (in “Autumn Tale”), Pak Jin-yun and Yu Jin (in “Stock Flower”), Kim Hee-sun and An Jae-wuk (in “Goodbye, my love”), etc. Leung says that “The idol effect even causes the audience to choose their next Korean dramas by the same idols. This loyalty to certain idols serves as guarantee for sales of Korean dramas, a factor which was bound to affect the media corporations’ casting policy when producing trendy dramas.”(idem.) In “Stock Flower”, the images of most characters are of typical Korean style: for females (Young-ju and Sin-hee, for instance), long straight black hair (some times with a hairpin), a bit long and round face, small double-fold eyelids, small mouth, etc; and for males (Woo-hyuk, for instance), short black hair, single-fold eyelids, etc. Whereas the clothes the characters wear are of Western style, but not the traditional Korean clothes. Even for the wedding ceremony, for example, in episode 4, Young-ju is waiting for Min-hyuk, wearing a set of white wedding dress, but not Korean traditional “Jokoli-chima”<sup>25</sup>. This image consists of a Korean woman—Young-ju, who wears a Western wedding dress in her wedding ceremony. From this “signifier”, we can see a combination of Eastern and Western culture (signified).

Leung considers the melodious music as another characteristic of Korean TV drama. (See Leung, 2004) As he says, “the luscious/ lavish use of music ... makes the drama even more unforgettable”, and “The use of music is also a feature of these ‘trendy’ dramas and adds up to the stylization of TV dramas.” (2004) The melodious music includes both Korean and Western songs. For example, a Korean TV drama named “Autumn Tale”, adopted a famous Western classic “Romance d’amour” as its theme music to evoke a romantic aura. In “Stock Flower”, the theme song is lyrical and it is

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<sup>25</sup> This is the name of Korean traditional clothes for woman.

sung in Korean language. It appears at the beginning of every episode, and sometimes in the middle of an episode when there is a need for the development of the plot, especially when the main characters are feeling sad. The main meaning of this theme song is:

No one can replace my fate. All the painful years are part of my life. I will never give up confidence.

The smiling in the mirror is my tears and my trist. I will bear all the pains with tears. Because all the endless pains will at last finish.

This song encourages people to conquer the difficulties with confidence and hope. One of the fans named “Qian Duoduo” says that “the theme song moved my heart. Whenever it sounds, my tears cannot help shedding.”<sup>26</sup>

From these fundamental background elements as the text, one of the characteristics of Korean TV drama—combination of Eastern and Western culture—was represented.

### 3.2.2 Verbal language as text

In order to better understand the dialogue among the characters in the drama, we will have to know some characteristics of Korean language.

According to Sohn, “Korean is an honorific language, in that sentences can hardly be uttered without the speakers approximate knowledge of his [the speakers’] social relationship with his [the speakers’] addressee and referent in terms of age category (adult, adolescent, or child), social status, kinship, in or out-groupness, and/or the speech act situation.” (Sohn, 1999, p. 16) Therefore, a Korean speaker has to make a decision to speak in honorific or plain terms in a position where he or she stands vis-à-vis the addressee and the referent before he or she can tell a sentence.

Sohn claims that “The grammatical pattern of Korean honorifics seems to be the most systematic among all known languages.” (Sohn, 1999, p. 16) And for the concrete

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<sup>26</sup> This information comes from an Internet discussion group in which audience members talk about their experience of viewing “Stock Flower.” The names given may not be the real. The web address is: [http://www.hnetv.com/movie/tvplay/point/20021227/hnetv\\_new4.html](http://www.hnetv.com/movie/tvplay/point/20021227/hnetv_new4.html)

usage, he introduces that “Honorific forms appear in the following categories: address-reference terms; nouns and verbs; pronouns; verbal suffixes, and ... speech levels based on the speaker-addressee perspective.” (Idem.)

Let us first see the “address-reference terms” of a name in Korean language. In Korea, the address of a name is absolutely different with that of Western countries. For example, in Western countries like America, an old person can be addressed by his or her name (even if he or she is a father or mother in-law), while in East Asian countries, they can never be called by name, because that would be seen as impertinence. In Korea, younger people do not address older people by their given names. Even in a family among the sisters and brothers, a girl addresses her elder brother as “oppa” and her elder sister as “onni”, whereas, a boy addresses his older brother as “hyong” and his older sister as “nuna.” But they may address their younger brother or sister by their given names. Here “oppa” and “hyong” mean elder brother, while “onni” and “nuna” mean elder sister. In the drama of “Stock Flower”, Woo-hyuk not only called his own brother Min-hyuk “hyong”, but also called Seung-jo, his brother’s friend as “hyong”.

Also, children usually call their parents as “aboji” (Dad) and “omoni” (Mom). But what should be paid attention is that a daughter-in-law usually calls her parents-in-law as “abonim” and “omonim” (honorifics of Dad and Mom) to show them respect. Also when a person is outside of the family but is intimate with the family refers to the parents of the family, he addresses them as “abonim” and “omonim” too. In the drama we can often hear Young-ju, when she talked to Min-hyuk or Woo-hyuk, that she addressed their father as “abonim”, and she addressed Seung-jo’s mother as “omonim”.

In a working environment, a person is usually addressed by his or her general title. For example, in the drama “Stock Flower”, the president of the company ZEUS was always addressed as “hoejangnim” which means “president”; Hae-pin, the doyen of the Design Department, was called “sirjangnim” which means the “doyen”, the suffix “nim” always represents “respect” to the addressee. And when a person calls a colleague who is younger, he usually puts a suffix “ssi” after the given name. For instance, Young-ju was called by her colleagues “Young-ju-ssi”.

Secondly, I will discuss how Korean people express their respect through a word, including a noun, verb, pronoun, etc. When the person that the speaker talks to or wants to refer to is an older person, he or she should use the corresponding word. Some of the Korean words have different forms for “plain” and “honorific”. The following figure gives us some examples:

	Plain	Honorific	Gloss
Noun	pap	sigsa/jinji	rice, meal
	irum	seongham	name
Verb	jata	jumusita	sleep
	issta	kesita	stay, exist
	meogta	japsusita	eat
Pronoun	na	jeo (humble)	I
	neo	tangsin	you

Table 1

So, if we want to say “Grandmother is sleeping”, we have to use the verb as “jumusita”, not “jata”. Except for some exceptional verbs, we put the suffix “si” right after a predicate stem to express respect. For example, in the drama, when Young-ju asked her son Hanul to make friends with his grandpa, she told him:

(Episode 19)

Young-ju (to Hanul): Halapeoji-ka mani apu-si-keotun.  
 Grandpa-ka/very much/sick-si-keotun.  
 (Grandpa is sick.)

This sentence was from Young-ju to her son, so she used “kotun”—the “plain” at the end of the sentence. While “apu” is the predicate stem of the meaning “suffer”, the subject of “apu” (suffer)—the person referred to—was Min-hyuk’s father, so she put a “si” after the stem “apu” to express her respect. There are many kinds of expressions like

that in the drama.

Lastly, let us see the speech levels of Korean language. Sohn says that “Korean has a systematic set of ... addressee honorific levels (styles, or ‘registers’) represented by sentence enders.” (Sohn, 1999, p. 413) According to the social status or age of the addressee, there are different sentence endings in expressing the declarative, interrogative, imperative sentences and proposition. We can see the example from the drama:

(Episode 3)

Young-ju: (To Min-hyuk's father) Jo-e taehan paelyo kamsana-pnita. Hajiman  
I-e/to/consideration/thanks-pnita. But/

toum-i piryo haeso yoki-e on ko ani-eyo.  
help-i/need/here-e/come/not-eyo.

(Thank you for your consideration. But I'm not come to ask for help.)

Here “-pnita” and “-eyo” are the honorific sentence endings for expressing a declarative sentence. However in the following examples, “-e” is a plain sentence ending:

(Episode 7. Young-ju is talking to Sin-hee, an adolescence friend.)

Young-ju: na-n neo-lur mit-e.  
I-n/you-lur/believe-e.  
(I believe you.)

(Episode 8. Young-ju is talking to her son Hanul.)

Young-ju: Omma-n Hanuli-ka issoso jongmar haengpoka-e-e.  
Mum-n/Hanul-ka/have/really/happy-e.  
(I really feel happy because of you.)

So, in Korean language, “human relationships are linguistically coded. Every utterance has to be marked by specific forms denoting concrete degrees of deference and intimacy, expressing the speaker’s attitude toward the addressee and the referent.” (Kim-Renaud, 1986, p. 153)

When Korean TV dramas are broadcasted in China, the dialogues are actually dubbed in Chinese. Chinese language has some honorific expressions too, but not as



systematic as in Korean. In order to keep the characteristics of the Korean language, we need to pay attention when we translate. For example, Young-ju called Min-hyuk as “Oppa”, but not his name. While in the Chinese version, the audience will hear that she called him “Gege” which means “brother”. In ZEUS, when Young-ju called Hae-pin as “Siljangnim” and President Yu as “Hoejangnim”, Chinese audience will hear “Shizhang” instead of “Zhuren” which means “director”, and “Huizhang” instead of “Jingli” which means “president” in Chinese characters. Also, in episode 1 (scene 49), when Min-hyuk’s father came back home, Mme Kim (a house-lady in the family) told him:

Mme Kim: Jeonyeog sigsa jeoni-sijyo?  
Evening/supper/before-sijyo?  
(Did you have supper?)

When translated into Chinese, it became:

你 还 没 吃 晚 饭 吗?  
nin nai meiyou yong wancan ma?  
You/still/not/have/supper-ba?  
(Did you have supper?)

Here, in Korean, “sigsa” is the honorific form of “meal”, while “wancan”, instead of “chifan”, is the honorific form of “supper”. “-sijyo” is the honorific sentence ending for the interrogative, but in Chinese there is not a honorific sentence ending, instead, Chinese audience will hear “nin” (honorific form of “you”), instead of “ni” (“you”) in the beginning of the sentence.

In the drama, almost every sentence of the dialogue contains such honorifics or plain expressions. If we take the honorific expression (a name, a word or a sentence ending) as the “signifier”, we can see the representation of “respect” as the “signified”, which is one of the most important Confucian traditional virtues that incarnated from children to parents at a family and from young to old in the whole society. Such characteristics of Korean language can be seen as one of the fundamental elements in understanding Korean TV drama.

### 3.3.3 Non-verbal behavior as text

The characters' behavior is an important element in Korean TV drama. In Korea, the "Non-verbal behavior parallels the ... hierarchical verbal expressions." (Sohn, 1999, p. 16) For example, one bows to an older person such as one's professor when greeting or leave-taking, while the older person does not bow to a junior. For people of East Asian countries who share a similar conceptual map, this gesture represents respect. In the drama of "Stock Flower", this gesture can be seen here and there. For example, when Young-ju went to Min-hyuk's family, she bowed to Min-hyuk's father; When Hanul met Seung-jo, he bowed to Seung-jo while saying "annyoenghaseyo ("How are you") to him.

There are also some other "non-verbal behaviors" that indicate the good manners of respect. For example, no matter in a drama or in everyday life, when receiving or passing something to another person, one should use two hands instead of just one hand. In "Stock Flower", episode 15, when Young-ju gave the production test report to the president of the company, she used both of her hands. Also, when a younger person drinks with an older person, it is a sign of good manners of the younger person to pour the wine or hold the cup with two hands and to turn to the side so as not to face the older person while drinking. We can see that in the drama, episode 17, when Seung-jo is drinking with his father, he held the cup with both hands and turned aside to drink.

These "good manners" are practiced not only from the young to the old, but also from the subordinate to the superordinate. They are actually a part of so-called "Li" (etiquette) according to Confucian traditional virtues. (See Cua, 2003.) Not only in the drama "Stock Flower", can you find such kind of manners, but in all the Korean TV dramas as well, and these manners have become the conduct rules of everyday life in modern Korean society. Like what Liu says, "From Confucius's point of view, humans are always living in a social context, and our behavior is governed by various rules of propriety (Li), and the ideal of a civilized life is a life of Li." (Liu, 1998, p. 21)

Respecting body language is always a part of social practice of Confucian tradition. This kind of image represented the Confucian traditional value is still ruling people's

behaviors in modern Korean society.

### **3.3 Analysis of the personal qualities of the main characters**

In this part we will see how the cultural identities of the main characters, especially the heroine Young-ju, are represented in the TV drama of “Stock Flower”.

#### **3.3.1 Young-ju: a “good” person**

We will first see Young-ju’s personal quality as “filial piety”. Young-ju grew up mostly with her mother. In the drama, her mother died almost at the beginning (the second episode) of the story. Even though there is not a lot of plot between the mother and the daughter, through the following “signs”, we can still see the maternal love and the daughter’s filial piety.

In order to make ends meet and save some money for Young-ju to go to university, Young-ju’s mother delivered some goods to the corner stores. Young-ju felt sorry to see her mother working so hard and sometimes she stealthily delivered milk and newspapers in the morning so as to help her mother. This can be seen as the first representation of Young-ju’s filial piety. Young-ju’s mother deposited her money to a friend for a higher interest. Then, right after Young-ju passed the examination to the university, her mother found she was cheated. In order to get the money for Young-ju to go to university, she then sold her ring which she treasured a lot because it was her wedding band. She died the same day. Knowing the importance of the ring to her mother, Young-ju did not keep the money but bought the ring back and put it back on her mother’s dead body.

After Young-ju met the grandmother, they loved each other and cared for each other like real family members. Young-ju felt very fortunate to meet the grandmother and showed her full filial piety to her like she was Young-ju’s real grandmother.

(Episode 5, scene 80. After Young-ju met grandmother and began to live with her, she said to Min-hyuk's photo one night.)

Young-ju: Oppa<sup>27</sup>, now I got a very warm family!

(Episode 7)

Young-ju: (Holding Grandmother's hands.) Grandmother, do not worry. No matter what I do, I will try my best. Believe me. You just take a good rest. That's my will.

Grandmother: Your will is only this?

Young-ju: Yap, that's enough. I just wish grandmother is healthy, Hanul grows up well. That's all my will.

Grandmother: Me too.

On the other hand, even though Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's mother are not Young-ju's parents, she showed her "respect" and "obedience" to them as well. Once they told her that they did not agree the marriage, she decided to give up. For example, after Seung-jo's mother talked with Young-ju, she decided to leave Seung-jo:

(Episode 15, scene 57.)

Seung-jo: I'm sorry for what my mom have done today. But I think you can understand.

Young-ju: Omonim<sup>28</sup> is a good person.

Seung-jo: (Looking at Young-ju) ...

Young-ju: In fact, I began to realize my situation after talking with Omonim. ... I was really happy during this period because of Seung-jo-ssi. That was enough for me!

Seung-jo: You are saying good-bye to me?

Young-ju: ...

Young-ju not only showed her filial piety, but also persuaded Woo-hyuk to be filial to his father. The following dialogue happened between Young-ju and Woo-hyuk after Woo-hyuk came back from abroad.

(Episode 8, scene 64.)

Young-ju: I have a request. Will you promise me?

Woo-hyuk: Ok.

Young-ju: You ... Now it is the time that you help your father. With your help, father will be

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<sup>27</sup> "Oppa" means "elder brother". Young-ju uses this address to present her intimate relation with Min-hyuk.

<sup>28</sup> Young-ju's address to Seung-jo's mother.

encouraged. People always say that we should be good to our parents. That's true. After my mom died, I always regret that sometimes I was not good to her. I do not want you regret later.

Woo-hyuk: (Thinking) ...

I cannot say that Young-ju is a “great woman”. But her behavior is perfectly coherent with what the Confucian traditional value teaches. She not only loved and respected her own mother and grandmother, but also extended the filial piety to other persons.

Then we will see Young-ju's sincere love to Min-hyuk. Actually Young-ju was a very sincere girl. When she found herself falling in love with Min-hyuk—her teacher at that time, she expressed her love to him and from then on, this love became the strength almost in all her life. I say Young-ju's love was sincere, because the most convinced proof was that she bore Hanul after Min-hyuk died. Being a girl in South Korea, she knew very well what she would face in the future as an unwed mother. Many persons persuaded her not to bear this baby, but seeing Hanul as the kin of Min-hyuk, Young-ju begrudged aborting this baby because of her sincere love.

The definition of “sincerity” refers to being completely honest to everyone. When Young-ju had problem in finding a job because she was an unwed mother, her friend Sin-hee asked her to change her registration by saying Hanul was not her son. But Young-ju refused. She said it was not honest to the employers and not fair to Hanul and she would never do such a thing. On the first day that Young-ju worked at ZEUS, she was sent by Hae-pin to sell products. Seung-jo felt sorry about this and in order to augment her sales, he sent his secretary to buy many things from Young-ju. After Young-ju found out about this later, she became angry at Seung-jo because she thought this was not honest.

To be sincere is one of Young-ju's maxims in her life. When conflict appeared between being honest and any other kind of confrontation, no matter what it is, she would choose to be sincere. She showed her sincerity and righteousness in solving the problems of ZEUS with the President Yu when she found some of the imported products were

poisoned.

(Episode 7. In the president's office.)

President Yu: Ok, I will listen to your story.

Young-ju: Please take back all the imported products.

Hae-pin: What?

President Yu: Why?

Young-ju: (Giving a test report to Yu with two hands.) According to this test report, these products contain lots of poison materials. If we do not take them back, they are going to be harmful to the children.

President Yu: This is not a big problem. The products are qualified up to the standard in our own test.

Young-ju: But..,

President Yu: Do not talk about it again.

Young-ju: (Resolute) We cannot do this.

President Yu: (Surprised) We cannot do this?

Young-ju: If the product is poisoned to my child, I cannot sell it to other children. We should not do this! That is not allowed.

Here we can see not only Young-ju's honesty, but also her righteousness. In the Confucian value of hierarchy, usually the subordinate should obey the orders from the superordinate, no matter what kind of order it is. That was why President Yu felt surprised when Young-ju did not agree with him. For Young-ju, sincerity and righteousness were more important. When she found out that from that order only the president of the company could profit, while it would be harmful to the consumers, she insisted to take all the products back. President Yu and Hae-pin wanted to give Young-ju money to ask her to stop the "stupid" thought and behavior, but Young-ju refused. For her, a businessman should think of the benefit not only for himself, but also for the consumers. This, to a certain degree matches with the Confucian idea of "reciprocity". Confucius says that "What you yourself do not want, do not do to the other man". (In McNaughton, 1974, p. 28)

On the other hand, Young-ju was only an employee of the company. She did not have the authority to decide what the company should sell and what it should not sell.

Nonetheless, she went to all the shops, asking the sellers not to sell the poisoned products. This behavior represents another Confucian traditional value named “Puk’o-erh-wei”, which means “keep working on it”. The Confucian value expected humans to keep working for the good even though they seem to be getting no result, this is evident, where it says that “If there’s something he has not put into effect, or if he’s put it into effect and it has not really worked, he does not push it aside.” (McNaughton, 1974, p. 38) Even though Young-ju knew there might not be any result for what she had done, she felt that she should have done it.

Let us see now some other personal qualities of Young-ju. She is a very independent woman and she never asked someone else to do something for her. Whatever difficulties she met, she would overcome them herself. When Woo-hyuk gave her some money when she and grandmother were having very difficult times, she refused; both Seung-jo and Woo-hyuk wanted to look for a job for her, but she refused everything, like what Confucius said, “The superior man [Jun-zi] looks for everything in himself”. (McNaughton, 1974, p. 33)

Another characteristic of Young-ju is “trustworthiness”. This was represented from mainly two angles: she trusted her friends and was trusted by her friends. I have told that when “Choun Ach’im” fell in a very difficult situation, the only person that Woo-hyuk thought was reliable was Young-ju. And Young-ju indeed helped him. On the other hand, Young-ju’s trust encouraged her friend Sin-hee. The following dialogue happened after Sin-hee came out of the prison and Young-ju brought her to Young-ju’s home to live.

(Episode 7)

Sin-hee: Why do not you ask me?

Young-ju: I do not want to know anything.

Sin-hee: You make me feel worse... Be angry to me! Abuse me! Otherwise I cannot breath... I know I’m dirty. Be angry to me!

Young-ju: (Emotional, holding Sin-hee’s hands.) Everybody has the experience going to a wrong way in the life. At that time, you just turn back, that will be Ok.

Sin-hee: It’s too late.

Young-ju: No, it’s not late. You have other chance.

Sin-hee: Other chance?

Young-ju: The time left in your life is longer than that you have passed. Let us begin for another time.

Sin-hee: ...

Young-ju: I believe in you! You will do it better.

Young-ju was kind not only to her family members, her friends, but also to other people. Facing the disagreement of the marriage from Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's mother, she showed not resentment, but understanding, especially to Min-hyuk's father. As discussed above, we can say that all of Young-ju's unfortunate situations came from his disagreement of her marriage. On the other hand, when Min-hyuk's father saw Hanul, the emotion of kin made him want to keep his grandson close to him. Even though Young-ju refused because Hanul was her whole life, she showed understanding to his feelings. She never resented him. On the contrary, she not only showed her respect to him, but also persuaded Min-hyuk and Woo-hyuk to be filial to him. And when he was sick, knowing he liked Hanul very much, Young-ju decided to ask her son to encourage him.

(Episode 19, scene 42.)

Young-ju: Last time when you want to see your uncle, you met the grandpa?

Hanul: Yap.

Young-ju: That's your real grandpa. That is to say, he is your father's father.

Hanul: Really?

Young-ju: Now your grandpa is ill and he is suffering. I would like you to make friends with him.

Hanul: How?

Young-ju: You may tell interesting story to him, eat with him and read to him. ...

Lastly, Young-ju is indomitable. No matter being in whatever kind of a bad situation, Young-ju never lost hope and she never flinched. This represents another Confucian attitude about life—hope. “Confucianism is optimistic. Hope is never lost, no matter how severe circumstances may become.” (Keum, 2000, p. 14.) For example, when she was fired by ZEUS, she did not give up, but tried to use the labor law to protect herself and at last won her legal right. At the last episode, she told Sin-hee:

“In this world there is no absolute despair. When mother died, I thought everything finished at that time. But Heaven sent me Oppa [Min-hyuk]. While



when Oppa left me, I got Hanul. You cannot possess everything at the same time, but you will not loss everything at the same time too. The most important thing is there is always a hope! ...”

So, through these analyses, we can see Young-ju’s filial piety, reverence, sincerity, righteousness, honesty, trustworthiness, reciprocity, kindness, etc. She loves people but only those who are lovable; she can distinguish who is “good” and who is “bad”. In sum, all of her characteristics represent her “benevolence” and “humanity” which is called “Yin”. The Confucian “ethico-spiritual integrity” has been maintained and Young-ju have tried to be an individual in the “Confucian-oriented family and society” (Chung, 1994, p. 18). From this degree, we say Young-ju is a “good” person in the context of Confucian tradition.

### 3.3.2 Personal qualities of other main characters

#### Min-hyuk

Min-hyuk had a dream to become an artist, but in order not to disappoint his father, he gave up his dream and followed whatever his father wanted him to do.

Min-hyuk is in fact a filial boy. The most typical example to show his “obedience” to his father was that he gave up his dream as an artist in order to follow his father’s wish to study Economical Management. Whenever he talked with his father, he stood with a ritual position to show his respect to his father. Also, Min-hyuk always talked to Woo-hyuk about how difficult their father was to make Woo-hyuk better understand their father. For example:

(Episode 1, scene 51. Min-hyuk and Woo-hyuk are drinking Soju.)

Min-hyuk: Woo-hyuk, I hope you can understand father. Sometimes he was not good at you. but you know that’s because you always disobey his wish. He was hurt a lot because of you.

Woo-hyuk: (Looking at his brother) ...

Min-hyuk: Actually he loves you very much. I know this. You really resemble him, even being obstinate. ...

Woo-hyuk: (Smiling and looking at his brother) ...

In order to avoid making his father angry, Min-hyuk tried his best.

To Woo-hyuk, he was a fraternal brother. In order to help Woo-hyuk go to university, he decided to work as a trainee at Woo-hyuk’s school. On their father’s birthday, Woo-hyuk made a model plane with his own hands, but the father did not show even a little interest. Min-hyuk was afraid that this would hurt Woo-hyuk, so he told his father that Woo-hyuk created the model the whole night and he hoped his father could be pleased. In order to be “filial” and “fraternal”, Min-hyuk did many things to improve the relationship between his father and Woo-hyuk.

Min-hyuk showed his sincere love to Young-ju. For this love, he gave up his “good” conditions: his family, his studies abroad, as well as the future development of his career.

Min-hyuk and Young-ju rented a small house and lived a very simple but happy life. This is shown in the same way with what Min-hyuk told Seung-jo when Seung-jo wanted to take him back to his father:

(Episode 4, scene 4,)

Min-hyuk: I'm very happy now.

Seung-jo: Happy? You think you will happy forever? Do not think about now, care about your future, too!

Min-hyuk: For me, now is the most important!

Seung-jo: Now?

Min-hyuk: Yep. I want to pile up such substantial life to one day, one month, one year, ten years ...

Seung-jo: Min-hyuk, ...

Min-hyuk: Then one day in the future, when I look back my life, I could still say my choice at that time was the best one. That would be, for me, the best future.

In sum, Min-hyuk is a person that has been well educated with Confucian traditional value. I will discuss his “disobedience” to his father about his marriage later.

## **Woo-hyuk**

Woo-hyuk is a person who puts every thing inside his heart, despite the unhappy things or sorrows. He never told anyone about his secrets—he just wanted to bear every thing by himself.

Woo-hyuk's story represents firstly his “brotherliness” (which is another family code conduct). For example, his motorcycle was his best friend. Whenever he felt unhappy, he went out with it. But when his brother was in a difficult position, he sold it to help him.

Woo-hyuk had reason for his “disobedience” to his father. Woo-hyuk's mother was suffering from an incurable disease when Woo-hyuk was very young. She was in so much pain that she often asked Woo-hyuk's father to help her end her life. Once Woo-hyuk's

father could not bear seeing her in pain, he wanted to take off the equipment of oxygen therapy, but then he gave up because he found he could not. However, Woo-hyuk saw this. (See annex B, episode 2 and 17.) He was too young to understand and he thought his father was a bad man and began to disobey every thing his father asked him to do. But he did not tell this to anyone, including his brother Min-hyuk, because he did not want Min-hyuk to be sorry for this. In spite of his disobedience, Woo-hyuk also showed his filial piety to his father. Especially after his father became paralysed, Woo-hyuk showed his loving care of him. He on one hand gave massage to his father, and on the other hand often encouraged him and gave him strength to live.

Woo-hyuk's love to Young-ju was his other secret. He suffered a lot for this love especially after Young-ju became his sister-in-law. Yet this love was very sincere. When Sin-hee, Young-ju's friend, told Woo-hyuk that she loved him, he answered:

(Episode 9, scene 46.)

Sin-hee: Woo-hyuk, cannot I act as Young-ju?

Woo-hyuk: ?

Sin-hee: I know my condition is not good. But I like you. Every time I see you difficult, I feel difficult too.

Woo-hyuk: Sin-hee, do not feel sorry for me. I ...Young-ju is my only love in all my whole life ...

Later, when Woo-hyuk's love to Young-ju was found by Seung-jo, he told Seung-jo that he loved Young-ju more than his own life.

(Episode 14, scene 67.)

Seung-jo: You ... love Young-ju?

Woo-hyuk: (Avoiding Seung-jo's eye sight) No.

Seung-jo: Look at my eyes and answer me. No matter what your feeling is, my emotion will not change. Answer me! Do you love Young-ju?

Woo-hyuk: Yes. I love her more than my own life!

Seung-jo: (Astonished) ...

Knowing that his love could never come true, Woo-hyuk never expressed his love to

Young-ju, because he did not want to make Young-ju feel sorry, and he decided to suffer in silence. In his heart, he wished he could, even for only one time, tell the truth to Young-ju, and he would feel satisfied. But all he could do was just to help Young-ju make her become happy. For him, his only dream was to see Young-ju live a happy life.

As we can see here, Woo-hyuk cares little for himself and more for others. From this angle, we can say he is a “good” person too.

### **Seung-jo**

Seung-jo was Min-hyuk’s best friend. He was the only child in his family and both he and his father were lawyers. His parents were proud of him because he was outstanding in his career. As a person educated in the Confucian tradition, he knew that he should be filial to his parents, and he was. During the period he grew up, he respected his parents and never had any conflicts with them.

Being a lawyer, Seung-jo relied heavily on reason. There should be a reason on whatever he did. When Min-hyuk moved out of the family and lived with Young-ju, Seung-jo tried to persuade Min-hyuk to go back home because for him, there was no reason for Min-hyuk to abandon everything he owned because of a girl and to disobey his father. Let us take a look at this dialogue:

(Episode 4, scene 4.) At Min-hyuk’s room where Min-hyuk and Young-ju live. Seung-jo and Min-hyuk are drinking “Soju”<sup>29</sup>)

Seung-jo: How far are you going to live like this? This way of life is not suitable for you! Love is not as important as your future! Let us go!

Min-hyuk: Go? Where?

Seung-jo: I came to take you home.

Min-hyuk: Seung-jo, ...

Seung-jo: You should live a way that fits you.

Min-hyuk: I’m very happy now.

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<sup>29</sup> A kind of white wine in Korea.

Seung-jo: Happy? You think you will happy forever? Do not think about now, care about your future, too!

At that time, Seung-jo did not get many chances to meet Young-ju and he knew almost nothing about her. His story with Young-ju began several years later when he became the law representative of ZEUS and Young-ju began to look for a job. When he first met Young-ju, he was attracted to her temperament and demeanor, and he began to understand Min-hyuk's emotions. But he thought she was married because she had a son. Later on, when he knew that Hanul was Min-hyuk's son, he was very surprised and found this unreasonable again:

(Episode 8, scene 48.)

Seung-jo: So you bore Hanul after Min-hyuk died!

Young-ju: ...

Seung-jo: You are really irresponsible!

Young-ju: (Looking at Seung-jo)?

Seung-jo: Why did you bear a baby who has no father? Do you think this is your loyalty to Min-hyuk?

Young-ju: You are really rude! Do you always do things following your own judgment? A life should not lose his right to be born just because he does not have a father. And there is no woman who bears a child just because of loyalty to her husband. Hanul is very precious for both Oppa [Min-hyuk] and me, and I cannot lose him. If you call this irresponsible, I do not have anything to say! (Leaving)

Seung-jo: (Looking at Young-ju's leaving like a statue)...

We may see that the "reasons" that Seung-jo relies on relates to Confucian traditional values. For example, he thought Min-hyuk should obey his father's will; Young-ju should not have lived with Min-hyuk without marrying him first and should have not given birth to Hanul. Seung-jo thought that he would never do a thing without a reason. But when he could not help loving Young-ju, an unwed mother, he could not explain his emotion with any reason and he called himself "crazy":

(Episode 9, scene 1. Seung-jo realized that he missed Young-ju very much and he decided to express his love to her. He waited outside of her house until she came back.)

Seung-jo: Last time, I was rude<sup>30</sup>. I'm sorry.

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<sup>30</sup> Refers to the content on whether Young-ju should bear Hanul in episode 8 mentioned above.

Young-ju: You do not need to. I'm familiar with that. Good night. (Walking towards her house.)

Seung-jo: I missed you! I came because I missed you!

Young-ju: (Looking at Seung-jo with surprise) ...

Seung-jo: Every morning when I wake up, I will think of you; and every night before sleeping, I will think of you too. I know I must have been crazy. I tried to stop this crazy emotion but I cannot.

Young-ju: What do you mean?

Seung-jo: I know this is absurd. Until now everything I did, there must exist a reasonable explanation. But this time, even me, I cannot understand myself.

Young-ju: Kim Seung-jo-ssi, I ...

Seung-jo: I'm not coming to listen to your answer. What you will think of this is not important for me. I just want you to know that I am missing you and I am worrying about you. That is the most important thing!

Young-ju: ... Even though, I do not care about your emotion. What I want is just how to give Hanul a happy life, that's all, only this. (Leaving again.)

Seung-jo: I will not give up!

Since then, Seung-jo has showed his sincere love to Young-ju. Whenever she was hurt, he consoled her and encouraged her to face all the difficulties in her life. When she got fired by ZEUS, he on one hand sang songs for her to make her laugh, and on the other hand encouraged her to vanquish the difficulty, especially her bad situation as an unwed mother, like Beethoven vanquished his deafness. He told Young-ju that:

(Episode 11, scene 63. Seung-jo is expressing his love to Young-ju)

Seung-jo: I really do not want to see you being suffered nor tough. Because of love, I cannot bear your hardships.

Young-ju was touched by such a sincere love. Little by little, their relation became closer and Young-ju began opening her heart to Seung-jo.

Just at that time, Seung-jo's family found out about their love and Young-ju was not accepted by Seung-jo's parents again, especially his mother. She told Young-ju if Seung-jo married her, it would bring bad influence to his future career development and demanded Young-ju to leave her son. Even though Young-ju never thought of marrying Seung-jo, his mother's words hurt her a lot. Seung-jo had difficulties in solving this problem as well. But he did not move away from the family. Even though he did not obey

his mother's wish to leave Young-ju, he decided to wait until his mother agreed to his marriage:

(Episode 16, scene 73. Seung-jo and his mother are quarreling about Seung-jo's marriage.)

Seung-jo's mother: If you still insist to marry with Young-ju, I'd rather you go out to live. You live following your style, and me my style.

Seung-jo: I cannot live like that. Mom is more precious than anybody else. I will be waiting, till Mom accept Young-ju.

Seung-jo: I feel really sorry to Mom and Dad. But I cannot live without Young-ju. I know I will be punished because of the sin of being not filial.

Seung-jo believed that he could fulfill his responsibility as a filial son through this way.

Seung-jo is an honest and kind person. When President Yu stealthily bought many of the exchange bills of "Choun Ach'im" in order to close it down, Woo-hyuk misunderstood Seung-jo by thinking that it was Seung-jo who did this because he was the law representative of ZEUS. Facing such misunderstanding, Seung-jo felt sorry because Woo-hyuk did not trust him. Even though, he asked his father (a lawyer too) to help Woo-hyuk:

(Episode 18, scene 6.)

Seung-jo: Dad, I have a favor to ask of you.

Father: Favor?

Seung-jo: Yep. I'd like Dad help Woo-hyuk. If I say I want to help him, I'm afraid to provoke his antipathy. And I will try my best to help you. I think Woo-hyuk is very difficult now.

Father: Really? Why I see you are more difficult?

Seung-jo: (With forced smile) ...

On the other hand, he went to ask for support of "Choun Ach'im" from some social associations, the unique company that produced Korean style stationery. Woo-hyuk found out about all these later and considered Seung-jo as his best friend.

Seung-jo is also a person who is righteous and who knows clearly about what to



love and what to hate. For example, when he found out that his client was guilty, no matter how much they would pay him, Seung-jo would refuse to defend him. His salary was considerable for the job as the law representative of ZEUS. However, when he found out that President Yu used unscrupulous ways to do business, he quit.

All the personal qualities of the characters above represented different contents of the basic virtue of “Yin” which means “benevolence” and “to love people”. All of them do things with their kind heart and they do not care about their own “profit”. Through Confucian traditional value, “not only is Yin a supreme moral principle in human relations, but it is also a practical morality easy to attain. ... Everyone is able to take his own feelings as guide in dealing with others. So simple is the practice of Yin, yet one does not always do what one ought to do, because one is much concerned with profit.” (Ch. Chai and W. Chai, 1973, p. 37) In the following part, we will see the opposite characters—Hae-pin and Seung-jo’s mother.

### **Hae-pin**

Hae-pin matches the definition of a “mean person” or a “little person” (Xiao-ren) in Confucian tradition, which is opposite to the “superior person” (Jun-zi). Confucian tradition considers that “The superior man looks for everything in himself, the little man tries to get everything from somebody else”. (McNaughton, 1974, p. 33) Young-ju and Hae-pin are put into two opposite positions in the drama: Young-ju represents the “superior person” who tried her best to succeed on her own efforts, while Hae-pin represents the “mean person” who is jealous of Young-ju and tries to succeed by hindering Young-ju’s road through vicious ways. For example, in terms of their career: Hae-pin settled Young-ju selling the products as a sales person, even though Young-ju should work as a designer; Hae-pin changed the material of “Ch’ang-Ch’ang” to make it become a production that is shedding feathers; After “Ch’ang-Ch’ang” was produced, the company wanted to know the sales volume of it in order to compare it with the products imported from Japan. Hae-pin went to the shops and asked the sellers to put the Japanese

production in an important place in the showcase, while “Ch’ang-Ch’ang” in a corner; Hae-pin announced to everybody in the company that Young-ju was an unwed mother; Hae-pin ordered Young-ju to quit from the company after the poison production event because Young-ju made the company lose profits.

As far as the love affair is concerned: Hae-pin lied to Young-ju that Seung-jo was her fiancé. Young-ju really believed this and began to doubt Seung-jo’s love. Seung-jo could not understand why Young-ju was suspicious until he found out about the truth from Young-ju’s friend Sin-hee. He became very angry, but Hae-pin said she could do a more disgraceful thing in order to get Seung-jo:

(Episode 12, scene 68. Seung-jo and Hae-pin are talking.)

Seung-jo: You told Young-ju we’d been engaged?

Hae-pin: I did not know she could not keep secret. Yes, I did.

Seung-jo: (Angrily.) Why did you lie?

Hae-pin: I do not want you be seized by her. In order to get you, I can even do a more disgraceful thing!

Seung-jo: You are really irremediable! Do not interfere my life again! If something like this happens again, I will not forgive you and will not let it finish like this time.

Hae-pin did not give up willingly. She tried to force Young-ju to leave Seung-jo by threatening her. She humiliated Young-ju by saying that she was not chaste in order to make her believe that she did not matched with Seung-jo and thereby make her give up:

(Episode 13, scene 23. Hae-pin and Young-ju are talking in a Café.)

Hae-pin: Sorry for telling lies to you. You must have already known that Kim Seung-jo-ssi and I, we were not engaged.

Young-ju: (Feeling unexpected, and looking at Hae-pin.) ...

...

Hae-pin: I hope that from now on, you could keep what has happened between you and me. This time when that person<sup>31</sup> found I lied to you, he was very angry and scorned me. Me too, I will compete with you fairly no matter for love or for our career.

Young-ju: Till now I never told anything about Siljangnim<sup>32</sup> and me to him. Also I am not competing with Siljangnim. That’s not my object to work here. I only want to make my career substantial. That’s all. I’ll go back to work now.

<sup>31</sup> Means Seung-jo. Hae-pin used the word “that person”. This represents the relationship between them is not intimate.

<sup>32</sup> Means “doyen”, here means “Hae-pin”.

Hae-pin: You should give up that person! You are not matched with him. You should look for a man in the same condition with yours.

Young-ju: According to what kind of standard do you judge?

Hae-pin: Seung-jo-ssi is a lawyer. If he marries an unwed mother, he will have no future in his career.

Young-ju: If you just want to say this, I do not have to listen to you.

Hae-pin: The parents of Seung-jo-ssi will not agree too. Which parents will agree to such a marriage?

Young-ju: Do not you have confidence in yourself?

Hae-pin: (Surprised.) What?

Young-ju: Are you unconfident in saying this to me?

Hae-pin: (Angrily.) Lee Young-ju-ssi!

Young-ju: No matter I will marry to whom, it has nothing to do with Siljangnim. I do not think that I need to hear your advice.

Hae-pin: ... This is not an advice, but an order!

When she found out that no matter what she did to Young-ju, she could not destroy the love between Seung-jo and Young-ju, she asked for help from Seung-jo's mother. Seung-jo quit from ZEUS because he found President Yu use contemptible ways to do business. But Hae-pin told Seung-jo's mother that Seung-jo left because of Young-ju. She wanted Seung-jo's mother to prevent those two to become closer to each other.

McNaughton says that we can explain in one sentence one of the Confucian Classics—"Shih Ching"—as "hav[ing] no twisty thoughts". (McNaughton, 1974, p. 26) Nevertheless, what Hae-pin did was absolutely the opposite. Through Hae-pin's behavior, we can say she is neither righteous nor sincere nor honest. Whatever she wanted to do, her only concern was whether she could benefit from it, but never thought of the other person's feelings. Therefore, she is not "reciprocity". This kind of selfish person with twisty thoughts belongs to the "mean person" according to the Confucian tradition.

### **Seung-jo's mother: Jeong-hee**

Jeong-hee is a hypocritical person. All of her teachings concern the virtue values,

but her behavior is not the same. She hopes her son is filial to her to obey her orders, but she is not filial to a person older than her. When she heard from Hae-pin that Seung-jo quit from ZEUS because of Young-ju, she went to talk to Young-ju's grandmother rudely:

(Episode 17)

Jeong-hee: Our Seung-jo and your Young-ju, they are not matched to each other. I've talked to Young-ju, but ...

Grandmother: You told Young-ju that a woman like her should not even think of marrying with Seung-jo?

Jeong-hee: I mean she should find a person in same condition. She and Seung-jo, their conditions are not matched at all. There is too much difference between them.

Grand-ma: (Being hurt) Young-ju ... is a very good child. She is kind and sincere than anyone else.

Jeong-hee: Even though, whenever I thought of Seung-jo's marriage with her, I cannot bear.

Grand-ma: What do you mean?

Jeong-hee: I cannot accept the child who was born by a lascivious woman! I feel bloodcurdling even by thinking of it!

We can see that Jeong-hee did not show even little respect to an older person. She in fact despises people who belong to a relatively lower social class. Actually, her attitude to Seung-jo's marriage with Young-ju is understandable under the background of Confucian traditional thought. But the problem is that her acts are absolutely different from what she says. Since she is not a person of benevolence and with an open heart, she should have not pretended to be kind and should have not preached that people should not judge persons by their situations, but by their natural instincts. This can only make her a hypocritical person. Even her son Seung-jo felt sorry about her behavior:

(Episode 18, scene 7.)

Seung-jo: It's too much that Mom go to Young-ju's family, it was not like you!

Seung-jo's mother: How come you say that to me just because of a girl?

Seung-jo: Young-ju is a very good and honest person, she should not undertake any scorn.

Seung-jo's mother: It's enough. Do not talk about this again.

Seung-jo: Till now, my mother that I knew, was it all false?

Seung-jo's mother: What?

Seung-jo: For woman's problem, mother used to be more open-hearted than anyone else. Unwed mother problem too. But now, the mother before me, is not different at all with those

persons that mother used to reproach.

Seung-jo's mother: You are right. If you say so, I do not have anything to say. Theory cannot go through my own affair. If the person is sincere and honest, we should not judge her by whether she is an unwed mother. Yes, I used to say so. But I cannot use this at my son!

Even though Jeong-hee's disagreement to Seung-jo's marriage can be understood by the East Asian audience, a hypocritical person is not a kindhearted person according to Confucian traditional value.

### **Kyong-ch'ol and Mr. Song**

Kyong-ch'ol is a hoodlum. After having graduated from middle school, he wandered here and there without looking for a job. Sometimes he stole money and sometimes he was paid for committing violence. He never cared about what benevolence or sincerity was. For him, the most important thing was how to get money. Only one emotion made him vulnerable: his love to Sin-hee. Sin-hee used to be his partner in stealing money. But after she was captured by the police and after she got out of prison, she lived with Young-ju and decided not to steal again. Kyong-ch'ol knew that Sin-hee had chosen a better way, but facing her leaving, he could not help being jealous to Woo-hyuk because he knew Sin-hee loved Woo-hyuk. He decided to avenge. Later, as discussed above in the plot analysis, he copied Young-ju's design for President Yu. Sin-hee found out about this by chance and persuaded Kyong-ch'ol to testify. Kyong-ch'ol did not agree to do this, but at last, Sin-hee's persuasion evoked his conscience, and he testified for Woo-hyuk and Young-ju.

Mr. Song was a team leader in the Department of Design of ZEUS. That is, he was a subordinate to Hae-pin but a superordinate to Young-ju. At work, he was a follower of Hae-pin—the doyen of the department. When at first Young-ju was fired by ZEUS because of being an unwed mother, Young-ju wanted to discuss with the president and asked Mr. Song where the president's office is. But he did not answer. On the contrary, he told her, following Hae-pin, that it was useless. Here is another example: the following dialogue happened in the discussion of the material for “Ch'ang-Ch'ang”:

(Episode 13, scene 1. In the Department of Design of ZEUS, people are talking about “Ch’ang-Ch’ang”)

Young-ju: I have my reason to use this material. Because the original one sheds feathers, which is harmful to the children.

Hae-pin: Do you know how much is the material that you used?

Mr. Song: Yes! Many times expensive! Do not you know that we are trying to lower the produce price?

Hae-pin: If we produce this one following the way Young-ju-ssi does, others will say our level is too low. But we are not, are we? Timjangnim<sup>33</sup>?

Mr. Song: Of cause we are not!

Hae-pin: Young-ju’s production cannot be accepted. (Leaving)

...

Young-ju: (To herself but others can hear too) I will try to find another kind of material.

Mr. Song: You’d better follow the order. Why do you want to do the useless thing?

However, his attitude towards Young-ju was changing. After Hae-pin changed the material of “Ch’ang-Ch’ang”, Young-ju was very upset. When Hae-pin was not in, Mr. Song consoled Young-ju not to think too much about it and forget about it. Also, when Hae-pin made Young-ju quit, he told Young-ju that he would help her find another job.

The biggest change of Mr. Song happened after President Yu stole Young-ju’s design. President Yu promised to promote him, but that he should say something bad about Young-ju at the court in order for that to happen. After thinking it over, Mr. Song went to Seung-jo (lawyer for Woo-hyuk and Young-ju for the lawsuit), saying he would like to testify that the designer had never appeared in their department. Even though this did not help a lot, Mr. Song’s behavior was really a surprise to Young-ju and she felt appreciated by him.

I put Kyong-ch’ol and Mr. Song in the same group to discuss because there is a changing attitude to the “good” in them. As Keum discussed, “Confucianism sees man as a combination of physiology and character; the mind of man combines both of these, with the result being an integrated personality at the center. Man’s basic nature ... is seen as gentle and good. It is also something universal and indestructible. The mind, on the other

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<sup>33</sup> Here means “Mr. Song”. “Timjang” means “team leader”.

hand, struggles between good and evil; it is individual and destructible.” (Keum, 2000, p. 12) Also, “Confucianism ... firmly believes that this basically good nature can be retrieved even after falling into evil ways.” (ibid, p. 13)

### **3.4 Analysis of the relations among characters**

In the previous analysis we have seen the fundamental virtues, as well as the ideal relationships among people that are concerned by the Confucian tradition. I have also discussed that the characteristics of an individual depend more on his/her relations with others. As Keum discusses, “The moral values of Confucianism are established through human relations.” (Keum, 2000, p. 24) Therefore, the Confucian virtues will play an important role in analyzing the relationships among the roles of the TV drama “Stock Flower” as well. We will see now how the roles in the drama deal with their relations with others under this cultural background, and thereby to see the representation of Confucian traditional value through these relations among the roles.

To make it clear, the main discussion will firstly focus on Young-ju. I will analyze the relationship between them: with regards to the love affair, I will discuss Young-ju and her lovers, as well as her lovers’ family members; for the family affair, Young-ju and grandmother; for the friend affair, Young-ju and Sin-hee; for the job affair, Young-ju and her colleagues. As for other relations, I will discuss the relations between father and son in both Min-hyuk’s family and Seung-jo’s family, and then Seung-jo’s relation to Woo-hyuk as friends.

#### **3.4.1 Relationships around Young-ju**

##### **3.4.1.1 Love affair**

##### **Young-ju and Min-hyuk**

Young-ju and Min-hyuk happened to meet each other in some interesting situations before Min-hyuk became Young-ju’s trainee teacher. The first time was when Young-ju and Sin-hee went to a stationery shop, and Sin-hee stole something just for fun. Min-hyuk found out about this. The second time was when Min-hyuk and Young-ju went to rent some videotapes separately, but they met and took each other’s tape. After Min-hyuk



became Young-ju's teacher, they got more chances to be together and they found a righteous person in each other. For this first love, Young-ju's attitude was active. It was she who expressed her love first:

(Episode 2, scene 65.)

Young-ju: After I went to university, will you see me as just Lee Young-ju, but not a friend of your brother?

Min-hyuk: What do you mean?

Young-ju: I ... like you. Really ... like you.

Min-hyuk was indeed like Young-ju, too. But having much more social experience, he thought about it more than Young-ju. In South Korea, as well as in China, there is an important examination for being admitted in a university, which includes many disciplines, and this determines a student's future. After entering the last year of high middle school, there is only one object for the students: to prepare for the important examination. Min-hyuk worried whether the love would distract Young-ju. So he pacified her on one hand, and on the other hand he asked her to pay all her attention on her studies.

(Episode 3, scene 8.)

Min-hyuk: I ... I felt difficult to be frank to you. You are very special to me. But I cannot speak frankly now.

(Young-ju felt ease at this confession.)

Min-hyuk: Will you promise me?

Young-ju: What?

Min-hyuk: Do not think of other things until you enter university.

Young-ju: (Nodded her head with smile.) ...

After all the unexpected things happened and after being refused by Min-hyuk's father, Min-hyuk decided to leave his family. What he was worrying about was Young-ju's difficult situation: nobody could help her except him. But after hearing Min-hyuk's plan, Young-ju did not agree at all. What she was worrying about was Min-hyuk's future. She did not want Min-hyuk to lose his hopeful future because of her. Let us see their talk about this topic:

(Episode 3, scene 61. Min-hyuk went to find Young-ju with a bag. They met outside Young-ju's home and Min-hyuk told Young-ju about his plan.)

Young-ju: You think this is for me? Do not belittle me. Am I just an easy mark for you?

Min-hyuk: You know that's not the truth.

Young-ju: I do not know. I will never live a covert and ignoble existence with a runaway person. So, please go back home.

Min-hyuk: I see. But I do not have anywhere to go. Where I should go is you, and where I should stay is you, too.

Young-ju: No, not like that. There are many things you should do and many places you may go. If you give up your future because of me, ... that is for me my burden and load. Whenever I look at you, I will think of those things that you have given up for me, ... I do not like that kind of life.

Min-hyuk: I chose this way for myself. Till now I have never met a person for whom I would like to give all my life. But now I got one. If I leave her when she is in a most difficult situation, I will regret all my life.

Young-ju: You will regret for now one day.

Min-hyuk: No, I will not. I believe that. I have confidence in both my choice and our love.

Young-ju: I do not have confidence. Please go back.

(After saying this, Young-ju turned back to her room, leaving Min-hyuk alone outside.)

Both of them did not express their own needs at the first place, they only thought of each other. Every sentence is full of their emotion and their anxiety for each other. One insisted to stay and the other insisted not to accept the plan. Min-hyuk has made up his mind to stay with Young-ju. He stayed just outside Young-ju's home for the whole night. If Young-ju did not agree with him, he would never leave. Facing Min-hyuk's stubborn attitude, Young-ju was moved:

(Episode 3. Continued to the previous one. The second day morning. Young-ju saw that Min-hyuk was still there. She came out again.)

Young-ju: Why did you still stay here?

Min-hyuk: (Holding Young-ju's hand) Believe me. When you feel difficult, just lean on me; me too, when I feel difficult, I will lean on you. ...

Young-ju: (With tears in her eyes, looking at Min-hyuk) ...

After this big decision, their life became simple but very happy. At the same time, there still existed a hope for Min-hyuk because he thought his father would accept Young-ju sooner or later by recognizing her filial piety and her sincerity. However,

Young-ju was pregnant. Considering Young-ju's situation, Min-hyuk decided to marry her without his father's acceptance, because giving birth to a baby without being married would put Young-ju in a bad situation and it was not good for their child's future, too. For Young-ju, Min-hyuk was accused of not being filial.

This analysis was for us to see that both Young-ju and Min-hyuk followed the Confucian traditional virtues in dealing with the relationship between them.

### **Young-ju and Seung-jo**

There are mainly three obstacles in the development of the relationship between Young-ju and Seung-jo: Min-hyuk, Hae-pin and Seung-jo's parents, especially his mother. Because of these barriers, Young-ju refused Seung-jo three times for different reasons. I will analyze how Young-ju dealt with this relationship and how Seung-jo overcame all these obstacles.

When firstly Seung-jo found himself falling in love with Young-ju, he thought he was mad. He knew well that this love was not reasonable. He tried to forget Young-ju, but by doing this he kept thinking about her even more. So, even though he knew there would be many difficulties, he decided to be with her. The first person he should conquer was Min-hyuk. On one hand, they were friends. Min-hyuk used to tell Seung-jo that Seung-jo was his best friend; and Seung-jo used to be the only person who was invited to Min-hyuk's wedding ceremony with Young-ju. On the other hand, he knew how Min-hyuk and Young-ju loved each other and because of that great love, he might not have even a little chance to conquer Young-ju's heart. His dream would come true only by his sincere love and his desire to give Young-ju a happy life. When he expressed his emotion to Young-ju, he was turned down, (See the dialogue in the plot analysis about Seung-jo.) which was what he had foreseen. In the following days, he often called Young-ju for supper, but she turned all his invitations down.

Young-ju turned Seung-jo down because Min-hyuk still occupied Young-ju's heart

and she never thought of marrying again. Like what she told Seung-jo, her wish was just to see Hanul grow up. therefore, she did not want to receive Seung-jo's love at all. However, Seung-jo's care about her began to move her, especially after when she was fired by ZEUS.

Young-ju felt really upset after being fired. That evening, Seung-jo took her to a small bar operated by one of Seung-jo's friends. In order to rejoice Young-ju, Seung-jo sang and danced on the stage and sometimes tried to amuse people. All the audience was enjoying his performance, including Young-ju. Being influenced by Seung-jo, some other young people went on the stage to sing with Seung-jo. The entire bar was filled with a joyful and happy atmosphere. Young-ju also forgot her annoyance for the moment. On the way back, Seung-jo encouraged Young-ju:

(Episode 10, scene 31.)

Seung-jo: Was I like a mad man?

Young-ju: You just surprised me.

... (Young-ju and Seung-jo arrived at Young-ju's home.)

Seung-jo: I ... respect Beethoven.

Young-ju: (Listening) ...

Seung-jo: If he was not deaf, could he still become a famous musician? ... If I was he, I could have not succeeded. When I see you, I will think of Beethoven. I believe you can conquer your "deafness" handsomely.

At that moment, Young-ju was touched by Seung-jo. She finally found legal prove to protect her rights and be hired. Right on this time, when Seung-jo saw a little hope about Young-ju's attitude, Hae-pin lied to Young-ju that they were engaged. This made Young-ju think Seung-jo was not a sincere person. Young-ju made friends only with the persons who, like herself, followed the Confucian traditional virtues, but not the person who was not serious about love. Thus, her attitude to Seung-jo became cold again. But Seung-jo did not know the truth. He thought it was still because of Min-hyuk. So, he talked with Young-ju:

(Episode 11, scene 79.)

Seung-jo: Let us have a talk.

Young-ju: I do not have anything to talk with you. I do not have time, too.

Seung-jo: Is it because of Min-hyuk? ... Is it because of him that you want to escape from me?

Young-ju: You are really strange.

Seung-jo: I did not ask you to forget Min-hyuk. Like he is still living in my heart, you too, do not forget anything.

...

Seung-jo: In fact, me too, I'm very difficult.

Young-ju: (Looking at Seung-jo)?

Seung-jo: How you are precious to Min-hyuk, and how you love each other ... I'm difficult because I know all. ...

The more Seung-jo was sincere, the more Young-ju detested him because she thought all his sincerity was fake.

(Episode 11. Continued to the previous dialogue.)

Seung-jo: But love does not follow people's will, it arrives on you so suddenly that you do not have any time or reason to avoid. I know that for now, I am nothing in your heart. But I have confidence. I believe I can make you happy.

Young-ju: Do you think if only you will, you can play with anyone? I do not have time and I'm not interested in your play.

Seung-jo: Please do not think me that way. I can bear that if you do not want to receive my love, but I cannot bear that you misconceive my sincerity.

Young-ju: Sincerity? What is your sincerity?

Seung-jo: What do you mean?

Young-ju: I used to think you were sincere. And sometimes I was really confused by you and I was uneasy. ... But now I know that was not true.

Seung-jo: Why? What makes you think this way?

Young-ju: I do not want to explain.

Seung-jo was utterly disheartened by Young-ju's cold attitude. It was from Sin-hee that he learnt the truth. He angrily interrogated Hae-pin and Hae-pin at last told Young-ju she lied to her. After this misunderstanding was over, Seung-jo expressed his heart to Young-ju:

(Episode 13, scene 74.)

Seung-jo: In order to avoid meeting you, I escaped to Cheju Island<sup>34</sup>. But it was useless. I could hardly bear the situation that I could not meet you at the street even by chance. I firstly recognize that there is such kind of emotion in this world. I feel happy even to breathe in the same space with you. ... I wish you could live a happy life, and hope that happy life begins from me.

Young-ju: I ... I still have not prepared well for the new love. Min-hyuk still occupies most of my heart.

Seung-jo: (With warm smile.) Like I told you, I will not give up. I will wait till you open your heart to me, no matter when, my emotion will not shake. I will wait till your step to me is not heavy any more.

After both of them prepared to engage in love, a new problem appeared: the disagreement from Seung-jo's parents, especially his mother. Young-ju could understand Seung-jo's mother's attitude. In order to avoid putting Seung-jo into a difficult situation and in order to avoid hurting more people, Seung-jo's parents, grandmother, etc., Young-ju decided to secede.

(Episode 18, scene 65.)

Seung-jo: I decide to wait until my mother agrees our marriage.

Young-ju: (Looking at Seung-jo.) ...

Seung-jo: I've thought of the marrying without her acceptance, ... but I do not want you go through that kind of life for the second time. Will you wait for me?

(Seung-jo took out a ring out of his pocket.)

Seung-jo: I bought this because I want to propose to you.

(Seung-jo wanted to wear the ring on Young-ju's hand, but Young-ju drew out her hand.)

Young-ju: I never told you about my thinking till now. I ... I love you. I've known that I love you.

Seung-jo: (Deeply moved. Looking at Young-ju.)

Young-ju: But ... I will not marry with you.

Seung-jo: Why?

Young-ju: Because of me, there are too many people who become painful. Your parents, you and ... I cannot make so many people hurt for my own happy life. I cannot. I only want to live the way as now.

Seung-jo: Do not think like a fool!

Young-ju: I will keep in my heart your love, even those small things ... every time when I'm difficult, I will think of you and your encouragement.

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<sup>34</sup> Cheju Island is an island in the south of Korea, which is famous for its beautiful nature.

Seung-jo: Young-ju!

(Young-ju looked at Seung-jo for a while with tear in her eyes, and then wanted to leave. Seung-jo drew her and embraced her.)

Seung-jo: No. I will not give up like this.

(Young-ju wanted to cuddle Seung-jo too, but she stopped and drew back her hands.)

In sum, we can see for the first time that Young-ju refused Seung-jo, because Min-hyuk still occupied Young-ju's heart, and she did not want to marry again. Even though she was touched by Seung-jo, she turned him down for the second time, because she thought Seung-jo was not a sincere person. In addition, the last time Young-ju refused him, was because she did not want to hurt Seung-jo's parents. Her thought, behavior, and her ways to deal with the relationship with Seung-jo were totally ruled by the Confucian traditional virtues. While for Seung-jo, he first believed that Young-ju was a righteous and sincere person who was worth for him to face and overcome all kinds of difficulties. Secondly, he believed that the marriage with Young-ju could change Young-ju's bad situation and thereby bring both Young-ju and Hanul a happier life. So, all his thoughts and behavior were based on creating a happy life for Young-ju.

### **Woo-hyuk, Seung-jo and Young-ju**

Both Woo-hyuk and Seung-jo love Young-ju. Both of them do not want Young-ju be hurt and both of them want to see Young-ju live a happy life. When Young-ju is unhappy, they feel sorry, too. On the other hand, they love Young-ju in different ways.

Woo-hyuk wanted to be protective of Young-ju. When he found Young-ju after coming back from abroad, he told her that he would take care of her and Hanul from then on. When the little restaurant was levied, Woo-hyuk borrowed some money from his father for Young-ju. His fault lies on that he does not know Young-ju. She will never accept such kind of help. When Young-ju was fired by ZEUS, Woo-hyuk does not want Young-ju to see the people who treated her so badly ever again. He asked Young-ju not to go to that company again and he tried to find another job for her. However, Seung-jo

encouraged Young-ju to overcome this difficulty with the story of Beethoven.

As for Young-ju, what she needs is not a protector, but understanding and encouragement. What makes her feel comfortable with Seung-jo is the understanding of her situation and encouragement. It is Seung-jo who gave Young-ju a new hope for her life. On the other hand, Young-ju showed the same trust to Seung-jo. When Seung-jo was misunderstood by Woo-hyuk because of ZEUS and “Choun Ach'im”, Young-ju told Seung-jo that she believed it had nothing to do with Seung-jo. To trust and to be trusted is a very basic condition in the relationship between friends. Young-ju’s trust encouraged Seung-jo very much.

At the beginning when Woo-hyuk found out that Seung-jo loved Young-ju, he was actually jealous. But little by little, he realized that the happy life Young-ju was seeking could only come from Seung-jo. Like he told Seung-jo at last:

(Episode 20, scene 46. Woo-hyuk and Seung-jo talked at the riverside)

Woo-hyuk: I used to believe that when it was raining, people would need an umbrella, so I wanted to be an umbrella in Young-ju’s hand. But now I know I was wrong. What she need is a person who can go through under the rain with her together. But me, I can only become an umbrella. Now I will take back this umbrella. ...

### **For the second level: Young-ju and Min-hyuk’s father, Seung-jo’s mother**

In dealing with her relations with others, Young-ju always thinks by being at the other persons’ place. So, facing disagreement from Min-hyuk’s father and Seung-jo’s mother twice, Young-ju showed her understanding.

The first time Young-ju went to see Min-hyuk’s father, she was full of hope. But Min-hyuk’s father turned her down without giving her a chance. Young-ju did not express any word of disrespect; on the contrary, she showed her moral integrity to Min-hyuk’s father. Let us see this dialogue.

(Episode 3, scene 51. At Min-hyuk’s home.)

Min-hyuk’s father: (Looking at Young-ju.) Both of you are still young ... For me, I do not think



it is the time to talk about marriage.

Min-hyuk: It is me who suggested marrying.

Min-hyuk's father: (Continued to Young-ju.) I know my child very well. When eating some fruit, he always gives the best one to others and for himself, the worst. He is too kind hearted. ... How about this? We just put away marriage. I would like to help you continue your university; otherwise I can also help you find a job. Now for you, the most important thing is your hardships of life.

Min-hyuk: (Cannot keep listening, stood up.) ...

Min-hyuk's father: (To Min-hyuk, angrily.) What are you going to do?

Young-ju: (To Min-hyuk.) Sit down, Min-hyuk. Sit down.

(Both Min-hyuk's father and Min-hyuk looked at Young-ju.)

Young-ju: (To Min-hyuk's father. In a dignified manner.) Thank you for your thoughtful consideration for me. But I came not to look for help. I know my conditions are not good. ... Even though I'm poor, I can conquer the hardships by myself.

(Young-ju slowly stood up and bended to Min-hyuk's father.)

Young-ju: Sorry for bothering you. (Leaving.)

Min-hyuk's father kept his authoritative attitude to Young-ju. Once he met Young-ju in a stationery shop, he did not show any interest in Young-ju's expression of respect and just left her there. When he found out that Woo-hyuk was in love with Young-ju, he ordered Young-ju to leave Woo-hyuk. When he was in a coma, Young-ju helped take care of him. But after he woke up, he drove Young-ju away from the hospital. In order to keep his awful power, he has made Young-ju's life very difficult. But Young-ju respected him and considered him as a family member even though she was very upset. Like she said to Woo-hyuk after he came back from abroad:

(Episode 7. Woo-hyuk at last found Young-ju after coming back to Korea.)

Woo-hyuk: Why did you leave at that time? Why have not you connect with me? You must have wanted to forget my father and I.

Young-ju: No, I never complain and hate your father. He is a good person. And ... we are family members, are not we?

Young-ju did not expect that one day Min-hyuk's father could accept her. What she had done for him, for example, sending Hanul to make friends with him, being a designer for his company, and so on, were because she was indeed worried about him. But her "good" behaviors in dealing with her relationship with Min-hyuk's father resulted in a

good way. Min-hyuk's father not only accepted her as a family member, but also helped her persuade Seung-jo's mother to accept her as her daughter-in-law.

As for the relationship between Young-ju and Seung-jo's mother, Young-ju similarly showed her respect and in order not to hurt Seung-jo's mother, Young-ju decided to leave Seung-jo. On the other hand, Seung-jo's mother's disagreement of her son's marriage with Young-ju could be understood. But she wanted to stop the marriage by talking to Grandmother Kkut-sun, using some humiliating language. This represents her disrespect to old people. As a result, her behavior was criticized not only by Seung-jo, but also by Seung-jo's father and thereby, Seung-jo's father began to show his agreement to the marriage.

#### **3.4.1.2 Family affair: Young-ju and grandmother**

The relationship between Young-ju and the grandmother can be seen as one of the best examples that help us understand the harmony in the Eastern family style.

Young-ju and grandmother are not real family members. Young-ju left Woo-hyuk after Min-hyuk died. She wandered in the streets and entered a little restaurant by chance which was operated by grandmother. Young-ju fell down in the restaurant because she was too tired. Grandmother saved her and from then on, they lived together and formed a new family for both of them, because grandmother did not have any children. Young-ju and Grandmother cared for each other and we can see a real harmony in this family. The following are some examples.

Because grandmother did not pay attention on how to use law to protect herself, the little restaurant was confiscated. After then, grandmother and Young-ju lost their only economic source. Grandmother felt sorry for Young-ju.

(Episode 6, scene 49.)

Grandmother: Why did this happen to you? Till now you just lived sincerely with little Hanul. You have already suffered enough. But this time, ... this is all my fault, my misfortune.

Young-ju: Do not say this, grandmother. You do not know how I feel fortunate for meeting you.  
You helped me too much. How I appreciate it ...

Grandmother: It's me who should appreciate. It's my luck to meet you and Hanul.

Young-ju: Do not be so sad, grandmother. Everything will be ok.

On the other hand, when Young-ju had a difficulty, grandmother always calmed her down. When Seung-jo asked Young-ju why she gave birth to a child without a father, she was upset. But grandmother told her that she was the best mother in the world. When Young-ju knew that Seung-jo's mother talked with grandmother and grandmother was hurt, she felt so sorry for grandmother that in order to avoid hurting all the persons, she decided to break up with Seung-jo. Seeing Young-ju was suffering from this, grandmother went to beg Seung-jo's mother.

(Episode 19, scene 24.)

Grandmother: Could not you accept Young-ju ...

Jeong-hee: I think I have already expressed clearly last time.

Grandmother: I know. But they are really precious with each other. If they separate, I feel very sorry.

Jeong-hee: I do not want to see Seung-jo in bad situation, too.

Grandmother: So Young-ju asked to Seung-jo to separate because she does not want to hurt you and she does not want Seung-jo to be in a quandary. ... But you do not know how upset she is. Last night she did not fall asleep at all, ... Even me, I felt painful, how upset she would be. ... Even though Young-ju is not my real daughter, she is more intimate than a real one. So I came to ask you a favor, could you try to look on the good side of them and agree to their marriage?

Jeong-hee: If it's possible, I will not oppose. But I have to care for Seung-jo's future. ... Sorry, but I cannot agree.

This is actually a behavior beyond what grandmother should do, because the person she begged was younger than her; while in Korea, the young should respect the old. So we can see how grandmother cares about Young-ju who is not even her real daughter. At last, when Young-ju was accepted by Min-hyuk's father, grandmother was very happy, too.

(Episode 20, scene 42.)

Grandmother: (Holding Young-ju's hand.) Now it's Ok. Hanul's grandpa at last understood you and accepted you. I'm happy for you. Now I do not have any other dream.

Young-ju: Grandmother ...

Grandmother: You remember when you came here years ago? You gave birth to Hanul. ... too much hardships ... Now everything passed. It's great now.

Young-ju: I was not difficult at all because of grandmother.

We can see that in this family, one is happy when another member is happy, and one suffers when another member suffers. This is just the spirit of the harmony of a family. The Confucian tradition just aims to build a harmonic society, based on such kind of small harmonic institutions.

### 3.4.1.3 Friendships: Young-ju and Sin-hee

In the previous part I have discussed the trust and encouragement from Young-ju to her friend Sin-hee. Besides, they care for each other as real sisters.

After Sin-hee lived with Young-ju, she changed a lot and often helped Young-ju and grandmother. She knew Young-ju had a difficult life as an unwed mother and hoped she could find a good husband. She knew that Seung-jo came to see Young-ju often. One night she asked Young-ju about him, Young-ju, however, told her that Seung-jo had already been engaged to another girl. Sin-hee was very angry at this news, she felt this was unfair for Young-ju because she did not want anyone to hurt Young-ju. The second day, she found Seung-jo and told him:

(Episode 12, scene 65.)

Sin-hee: Do not call Young-ju again, and do not come to meet her at home, too.

Seung-jo: Young-ju said so? Did she say she detest my call?

Sin-hee: Please do not consider Young-ju at random as a frivolous woman that you can play with. Do not even think so.

Seung-jo: I do not know why I should listen to your denounce.

Sin-hee: If you continue to play your game, I will not let it go at that. And do not think I am just saying. I will tell all this to your fiancée.

Seung-jo: My fiancée?

Sin-hee: Do not pretend to be surprised. I tell you again, if you continue playing, I will not let it go at that.

This, as we know, on the contrary helped Seung-jo understand the reason for

Young-ju's cold attitude to him.

Young-ju cared for Sin-hee's future too. Once Woo-hyuk knew that Seung-jo wanted to marry Young-ju, he tried to forget her and asked Sin-hee to marry him. Sin-hee, knowing well Woo-hyuk's love to Young-ju very well, told Woo-hyuk that she could not turn him down. After Young-ju learnt about this news, she began to worry about the attitude of Woo-hyuk's father, because Sin-hee had a criminal record and Woo-hyuk's father would not agree to such a marriage. She worried that what had happened to her years ago would happen now to Sin-hee. So Young-ju talked to Woo-hyuk:

(Episode 14, scene 62.)

Young-ju: I heard you would marry Sin-hee.

Woo-hyuk: Yep.

Young-ju: I was surprised at this news. Did you tell your father?

Woo-hyuk: (Nodded his head.)

Young-ju: Everything about Sin-hee?

Woo-hyuk: Not yet. But I will deal with it. You want to see me because of this?

Young-ju: I just ... I'm worrying about her. Sin-hee looks fortitudinous from outside, but she is in fact very weak. I think she is worrying. Me, too. I'm afraid that she be hurt by your father.

Woo-hyuk: I see. Do not worry about this. I can handle.

Young-ju: I believe you. So I can be relieved now.

Sin-hee was actually very contradictive of her feelings for Woo-hyuk and Young-ju. She knew from the beginning that Woo-hyuk loved Young-ju when they were still middle school students, but she could not help loving Woo-hyuk. On one hand, she wished for Woo-hyuk to be happy, because when Woo-hyuk had a difficult time, she felt having a difficult time too. So she hoped he could get Young-ju's heart. But on the other hand, she would become a little jealous when she would see Woo-hyuk and Young-ju together. The latter happened especially after Woo-hyuk's proposal. Little by little she lost her confidence to Woo-hyuk when she saw how much he cared about Young-ju over and over again. She wanted to leave, but she found she still worried about Young-ju:

(Episode 18, scene 54.)

Sin-hee: (To Young-ju.) I ... in fact want to detest you. But when I want to leave, the only thing that I'm worrying about is you. Only you.

But Sin-hee at last left Young-ju. Young-ju was so worried about her that she looked for her all night when Sin-hee left. After that, Young-ju often called Sin-hee, for example:

(Episode 19, scene 35.)

Yong-ju: (Phoning Sin-hee.) It's me, Young-ju. How do you living now? Do you eat regularly? I ... believe one day you will come back. I believe that. Do not make me wait too long.

Sin-hee came back when her father died. Young-ju then encouraged her to face the future by telling her that there was always hope. After Young-ju's design was stolen, Sin-hee, knowing Kyong-ch'ol got a lot of money from this, tried her best to persuade Kyong-ch'ol to testify and she succeeded. From these stories, we can see the real concern between these friends.

#### **3.4.1.4 Job affair: Young-ju and her colleagues**

In this drama, Young-ju's colleagues mainly include Hae-pin, Mr. Song and Min-su. As discussed in the previous parts, Hae-pin hated Young-ju because of her love relationship with Seung-jo. So she made Young-ju difficult at work. While for Young-ju, Hae-pin was only a liar and her intentions related to nothing but profit. So, she did not like Hae-pin, either. Even though Hae-pin was in a higher position, Young-ju was never afraid of her and never curried favor with her like Mr. Song.

Among her colleagues, Young-ju made friends with Min-su who was the designer team leader. From the first day she met Young-ju, she saw Young-ju's skills in designing and little by little, she found out that Young-ju was a righteous person. No matter what others said about Young-ju as an unwed mother, she never listened to those discussions. And sometimes, she consoled Young-ju:

(Episode 12, scene 32. Young-ju heard some colleagues' discussion about her being an unwed mother and became sad; she went to the top of the building, crying. At this time Min-su came.)

Min-su: What are you doing here? (Looking at Young-ju.) Did you cry?

Young-ju: A little.

Min-su: Do not care about what they say. They just make useless noise till they feel tired. Are not you a strong woman?

Young-ju: I used to like crying. After I became a mother, I tried to be strong, but it seems still too far.

Min-su: When we want to cry, we should cry. But, even if you want to cry, buy me some thing to eat firstly, I'm so hungry.

Young-ju: (Smiling.) ...

Also, whenever Hae-pin gave Young-ju a hard time, Min-su would help Young-ju in overcome these difficulties. Sometimes she felt Hae-pin did too much to Young-ju, but both of them endured these situations. However, when Hae-pin asked Young-ju to quit because of the poisoned productions, Min-su could not endure this any more. She decided to quit too.

(Episode 17. Young-ju was preparing to leave ZEUS. Min-su was standing beside her. She was thinking of something. After a while, she made up her mind and went to Hae-pin's office.)

Min-su: I will quit, too.

Hae-pin: What? Why?

Min-su: I do not like to work under a doyen like you. We are not same kind of persons and we do not have same object in doing things. I cannot continue this job. I will give you my resignation before going home today.

ZEUS was actually a big company and it was not easy to get a job there. Young-ju felt terribly sorry because Min-su quit for her problems. But Min-su told her she had already had such an idea for a long time. At last, Young-ju invited Min-su to work together for "Choun Ach'im".

Being righteous and sincere to others made Young-ju make friends with people who were righteous and sincere to her as well. All these relations around Young-ju represented the Confucian traditional values on relationships among human beings based on "Yin", "Su", and "Seong". Next we will see the relationship between father and son, and the relationship between friends.

### **3.4.2 Other relations**

#### **3.4.2.1 Relationship between father and son**

There are two pairs of father and son in the TV drama “Stock Flower”: in Min-hyuk’s family and Seung-jo’s family. As discussed in the previous parts, the analysis of a human being’s cultural identity depends on his relations with others. Therefore, through the characters of Min-hyuk, Woo-hyuk and Seung-jo, we can see their relationship with their fathers as filial piety. Here, I will focus on how the fathers deal with their relationship to their sons.

Given the important position of the father figure in a family according to Confucian tradition, Min-hyuk’s father always wanted to show his authority before his children. No matter being with Min-hyuk or Woo-hyuk, whenever their opinion was different from him, his authority was represented. In order to sustain his prestige, he always showed the father’s power in the family. After Woo-hyuk disobeyed his wish, he began to show his “carelessness” to Woo-hyuk. When Woo-hyuk made a plane model for him for his birthday, he told Woo-hyuk he should use his time on studying, and not on doing those useless things. Every-time he talked with Woo-hyuk, he tried to impose his power. Even to Min-hyuk, who was his only hope, he scarcely talked with him like friends. When he wanted him to do something, he told Min-hyuk how he should do it, and then Min-hyuk obeyed. He never begged his sons to do something, he just gave orders, and if the order was disobeyed, he became angry. After Min-hyuk left home, he strongly wished that Min-hyuk could come back home. But because of his awe prestige, he never expressed himself. Also because of this, he could not take back what he had said, and he could only wait for Min-hyuk to recognize his fault and come back himself.

We can see that Min-hyuk’s father is a very conservative person. But on the other hand, every thing he did, including all his orders, actually aimed at his children’s benefit, especially at their future. The reason why he refused Min-hyuk’s marriage with Young-ju, was just because he cared about Min-hyuk’s future and hoped he could find a girl with a high social status. Seeing from the relationship between the father and the sons, this



family can be said to be a typical traditional Confucian family.

Comparing with Min-hyuk's father, Seung-jo's father showed more understanding and reason. Sometimes he treated Seung-jo like friend. Seung-jo used to ask his father to help Young-ju with some law questions. When the father found out that Seung-jo was falling in love with someone, he guessed it was Young-ju because he could read his son's heart.

(Episode 14, scene 21.)

Seung-jo's father: You said you would stay at "Cheju" island for one week. Why did you come back earlier?

Seung-jo: I missed a person.

Seung-jo's father: You shelved your work because you missed a person?

Seung-jo: Yes.

Seung-jo's father: Now you look like a human being! My son put his work aside because of love ... Your mother will never believe this. (Smiling. Thinking a little while)  
The person you missed, is it Young-ju?

Seung-jo: (Surprised, looking at his father.) ...

Seung-jo's father: (See Seung-jo's face.) I'm right!

Seung-jo: Yes. Dad, if I want to marry with Young-ju, will you agree?

Seung-jo's father: I'm not sure ... From the parents' position, it will be difficult to accept her ... Comparing with me, I'm worrying more about your mother.

Seung-jo: I can feel that.

Seung-jo's father did not give his son a lot of stress in his marriage problems. But he also showed the father's prestige. Once when he found out that Seung-jo's mother was very angry with this, he asked Seung-jo to give up. However, most of the time, he kept a passive attitude with Seung-jo's mother and Seung-jo in dealing with this problem, because he did not want to see Seung-jo in a difficult situation. Then, when he saw Young-ju's grandmother leaving his home, crying, he felt his wife did too much:

(Episode 19, scene 26.)

Seung-jo's father: Did Young-ju's grandmother come?

Seung-jo's mother: You met her?

Seung-jo's father: (A little angrily.) What did you say to her?

Seung-jo's mother: Why are you angry?

Seung-jo's father: I asked you what you said to an old woman to make her crying?

Seung-jo's mother: I told her I will not agree Seung-jo's marriage with Yong-ju even if she put a knife at my neck.

Seung-jo's father: (Angrily.) Why did you do this? Why should you say this to an older person?

Seung-jo's mother: If I do not say this to such kind of person, they will never finish bothering us.

Seung-jo's father: (Angrily and loudly.) Such kind of person? Which kind? She is a simple and honest person. More honest and righteous than you!

Seung-jo's mother: Why do not you be frank? You want to accept an unwed mother ...

Seung-jo's father: Unwed mother, unwed mother, cannot you stop this call? Is there any law that formulates an unwed mother cannot live a happy life forever? Should they receive others' denounce all their life?

Seung-jo's mother: You do not agree too, do you? Why do not you be frank?

Seung-jo's father: I have decided. If only Seung-jo likes, I will agree their marriage.

Seung-jo's mother: (Astonished, looking at Seung-jo's father.) ...

So, for the marriage problem, comparing with Min-hyuk's father, Seung-jo's father showed much more understanding towards his son.

#### 3.4.2.2 Relations between friends: trust

I have discussed the relationship between Young-ju and Sin-hee as friends. Here the topic will focus on Seung-jo and Woo-hyuk. Firstly I will introduce one of the poems in "Shih Ching" on the relationship between friends:

Do not boast of your new dresses,  
    peach tree and plum tree in blossom.  
Look at the pine and the bamboo,  
    green, green in sun or in snow.  
Those noble, lofty presences—  
    they do not change with the weather.

- Quoted in McNaghton, 1974, p. 55

This poem hymns the stable friendship and trust between friends, which is just what Seung-jo needed from Woo-hyuk.

After Min-hyuk died, Seung-jo considered Woo-hyuk not only as his friend, but also his little brother. Because Seung-jo and Min-hyuk were good friends, because of his feelings for Young-ju, Seung-jo felt sorry for Min-hyuk. So, he extremely needed Woo-hyuk's understanding and trust to a great extent. While Woo-hyuk just knew about Seung-jo's emotions, he could not help his jealous attitude, and at the same time he was afraid that this would hurt Young-ju another time. So, he doubted whether Seung-jo could really make Young-ju happy.

(Episode 14, scene 7. Seung-jo and Woo-hyuk are talking.)

Woo-hyuk: Your parents will not agree your marriage with Young-ju. Do you have confidence to conquer this?

Seung-jo: There will be some difficulties ...

Woo-hyuk: Young-ju has already suffered too much. Till now she has got too many hurts and injuries. Please do not add more on her.

Seung-jo: Woo-hyuk ...

Woo-hyuk: If this love is not as important as your life, if it will only bring to Young-ju more hurt, please give it up.

Seung-jo: It will not bring Young-ju hurt, I promise you. I never promise if I cannot do it.

Woo-hyuk: My brother promised too, but he did not keep his word.

Seung-jo: Do not you believe me?

Woo-hyuk: I do not believe anyone in this world.

Just from these conversations, Seung-jo perceived Woo-hyuk's love for Young-ju. A new wave arose when the previous one had barely subsided. The company of Woo-hyuk's father faced closure because of ZEUS where Seung-jo worked as a law representative. Woo-hyuk suspected Seung-jo again and he went to Seung-jo's office to talk to him:

(Episode 16, scene 83.)

Woo-hyuk: I came to ask you a question. Did you know this? Or maybe it's you who assumed this?

Seung-jo: (Looking at Woo-hyuk.) Sit down and listen to me.

Woo-hyuk: I do not want to listen to any explanation from you.

Seung-jo: Woo-hyuk, ...

Woo-hyuk: (Looking at Seung-jo angrily.) We will not lose! There absolutely will not be such thing!

Seung-jo: If you believe me, you should have not wavered.

Woo-hyuk: (Staring at Seung-jo angrily for a while and leaving.)

During that time, Woo-hyuk did not see Seung-jo as a friend because a friend should have not done this to him. For Seung-jo, he felt very upset because his friend did not trust him. When Woo-hyuk found out that Seung-jo quit ZEUS because of this event, he felt sorry for having misunderstood Seung-jo. And he went to Seung-jo's office again in order to express his appreciation to apologize.

(Episode 18, scene 45.)

Seung-jo: Did you succeed in the Foundations meeting?

Woo-hyuk: (Smiling.) The support of the social associations, it is your idea, is not it?

Seung-jo: I only offered some information.

Woo-hyuk: Thanks, ... and sorry for misunderstanding you.

Because of this event, Woo-hyuk began to trust Seung-jo. For Woo-hyuk, since his love to Young-ju was only a dream that could not come true, the fact that Seung-jo was a believable person comforted him. During the period that Young-ju designed for "Choun Ach'im", Woo-hyuk came to see that Young-ju was actually in love with Seung-jo, too. So, Woo-hyuk at last encouraged both Seung-jo and Young-ju to overcome their difficulties. The relationship between Woo-hyuk and Seung-jo showed the importance of trust between friends.

Through these textual analyses, we can see some representations of the Confucian traditional values in this drama. Now we need to go to the second level of the analysis to see the cultural representation through the whole discourse.

## **Chapter 4 Discussion: Problems in “Stock Flower”**

Until now I have done a textual analysis where I took the verbal language and non-verbal behaviors as the “signifiers” and analyzed the representation of the Confucian traditional values (“signified”) based on these “signifiers”. Through this textual analysis we have seen how these values affect Korean people’s everyday life as a “living tradition”.

In this chapter, my analysis will focus on the whole discourse so that we can see what kind of problems the characters are facing and what kind of roles the Confucian traditional values are playing in causing these problems. For example, Young-ju’s biggest problem is her situation as an unwed mother. This problem emerges only in such a given society where Confucian traditional values take deep root in people’s consciousness. The disappointments she had when looking for a job, as well as being looked down on from various social classes of people in the society represented that Confucian traditional values still regulate people’s social practices. Other problems include the disobedience from the children to their parents, Woo-hyuk’s love to Young-ju—his sister-in-law, and the children’s marriage problems for the parents. By analyzing these problems, we will see the representation of the Confucian traditional values in the discourse, a relatively wider context.

### **4.1 Problems in the drama**

I identified four main problems based in the TV drama “Stock Flower”.

#### **4.1.1 Problem of Young-ju: unwed mother**

The biggest problem for Young-ju is her situation of being an unwed mother. This problem has given her many difficulties in her life. Let us see the following examples

first:

(In episode 7, Young-ju decided to look for a job and firstly she found one as a clerk in a small gift store. This dialogue happened after her first day's work, between Young-ju and her boss.)

Young-ju is leaving.

Boss: Please wait a minute.

Young-ju: Why?

Boss: Let us have supper together.

Young-ju: I have to go back home. My son is waiting for me.

Boss: (hauling Young-ju's arm) Or let us just find a place to...

Young-ju: (Struggling from the boss.) What are you doing?

Boss: Do not pretend to be good! This is not your first time to do this, any way...

(Seung-jo came at this time and saved Young-ju.)

Young-ju was seen as a lascivious woman by her boss. Young-ju could not continue that job. During the following several days, she kept looking for a job, but she was always turned down for the reason:

“Your registration shows you did not marry, but you have a son...”

And this is also the reason why ZEUS decided to fire her when they found out her situation:

(Episode 9, scene 73)

Hae-pin (Doyen of the department): We usually do not hire married women.

Young-ju: This is not mentioned in the collecting advertisement. Would you tell me the real reason?

Hae-pin: (After thinking) Ok. The members of the company council are relatively conservative people; they cannot accept an unwed mother...

Young-ju: So, still because of this. If this is the real reason, I cannot accept! ...

Young-ju's identity as an unwed mother has become an obstacle in her career. Even though she had the ability to design, the company refused to hire her because she was an unwed mother. Besides these difficulties, Young-ju and her son had to face people's criticism:

(Episode 9, scene 25. Hanul fought with one of his friends named Young-jun.)

Young-ju: Did not I tell you to get on well with your friends?

Hanul: Yap.

Young-ju: Then why did you fight with Young-jun? Go to say sorry to him.

Hanul: No. I did not do anything wrong! I do not want to say sorry!

Young-ju: I will not like you if you are not a good boy.

Hanul: I do not like Mama too! You know nothing at all! Young-jun laughs at me every day because I do not have a father!

Young-ju: ... (does not know what to say, hugged Hanul softly.)

At work, Young-ju has to face the jeer and rumors from her colleagues.

(Episode 12, scene 30. Young-ju heard some talking by chance.)

Female staff 1: She really has ability on dealing with relations with men! A seductive woman!  
Even our President was induced by her!

Female staff 2: Are you kidding?

Female staff 1: You know the boyfriend of our director? She has relation with him, too!

Female staff2: Really?

Female staff 1: You presume that just anyone can be an unwed mother?

As for her love, Young-ju was also not accepted by Seung-jo's mother because she was an unwed mother. In episode 15, Jeong-hee (Seung-jo's mother) told Young-ju that none of the parents would accept such a kind of marriage from their children and if they insisted to marry, she would rather give up her son and never see him again.

Seeing these views from a macro angle, they go directly not just to Young-ju, but to all the unwed mothers in the society. In modern Korean society, with the advanced social development and increasing exchanges with Western countries, people, especially the new generation, are seeking more liberty from their parents and the traditional control. Keum (2000) says that "we are confronted with a confusion in values and an ongoing conflict between tradition and modernity" (p. 21). The attitudes of the youth towards sex and marriage are changing, and the number of unwed mothers has been increasing. According to the statistics of "The Ministry of Health and Welfare" in Kim's report, in 2000, the number of women giving birth to babies without marriage was 1,506, the figure

increased to 1,801 in 2001, 1,890 in 2002, and 2,246 in 2003. (Kim, 2005)<sup>35</sup> The emergence of unwed mothers has become a new social phenomenon in modern South Korea society.

However, even though the youth's attitude toward sex has changed, citizens still use the Confucian traditional moral standards to judge a person and to comment on their behaviors. As it has been reported by Kim:

In Korea a baby born to an unmarried woman often invites discrimination for both mother and child as many people consider having children outside marriage to be unacceptable. ...The child of an unmarried parent also suffers from problems related to his or her legal status. ... Many single mothers often face rejection even from their parents and families, as becoming pregnant as a single woman has traditionally been regarded shameful. ... Even though they decide to raise their babies rather than give them up for adoption, it is hard for them to stick to their decision and cope with all the difficulties. (Kim Rahn. *Magazine of Korean Times*. March, 2005)<sup>36</sup>

Because of the contrast between tradition and modernity, the emergence of unwed mothers has become a social problem in South Korea. Young-ju represented the unwed mothers in the Korean society; and the conflicts in the drama between Young-ju and the other persons who despised her just represented this social problem.

#### **4.1.2 Problem of Min-hyuk and Seung-jo: disobedience to their parents**

The main problem for both Min-hyuk and Seung-jo is the conflict between obedience to their parents and their love for Young-ju.

Min-hyuk can be considered as a perfect son, well educated in the cultural context of the Confucian tradition before he met Young-ju. Even he chose to live with Young-ju, he never stopped worrying about his father. When he left home, he asked Woo-hyuk and Mme Kim (who worked for the family as a house cleaner) to take good care of his father. When he and Young-ju decided to marry, Min-hyuk went back home:

(Episode 4, scene 48.)

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<sup>35</sup> According to Kim's report, "There are no exact statistics on the number of single mothers, as most hide the fact they have a child. The Ministry of Health and Welfare only has records for those entering welfare centers."

<sup>36</sup> Internet source: <http://times.hankooki.com/lpage/200503/kt2005030118042110230.htm>



Min-hyuk: (Standing at the gate of the parlor, to his father.) I have something to say... I will get married. I hope you could come to the wedding ceremony.

Father: (disappointed) I never agreed your marriage!

Min-hyuk: We would wait till father accepts Young-ju. But now Young-ju is pregnant. So we have to ...

Father: You think I will give up because of this?

Min-hyuk: I know you are hurt because of me, and I know I am not filial. But me too, I feel very sorry and (pointing to his heart) here... because I am worrying about father, my heart is very painful, and I'm really sorry...

Father: This is your own choice.

Min-hyuk: I know. But I indeed need your blessing! ...

On the other hand, Min-hyuk's choice of living with Young-ju can be seen as a problem between the parents and the new generations in modern society. With the influence of Western consciousness, more and more young people do not like their parents interfering in their marriage. Min-hyuk does not mean to hurt his father, but when the conflict appears, he chose love instead of obeying his father. The reason he chose his love is because Young-ju really needed someone taking care of her when her mother died and she did not have any money to go to university. If she had not had these problems, the result would be absolutely different. To a certain degree, Min-hyuk's behavior presents the new generation's thought: when they think that what they assert is right, they will choose to follow their own will.

As for Seung-jo, he faces two kinds of problems. The first one is his relationship to Min-hyuk and Young-ju. Traditionally, the love for a friend's wife or girlfriend is seen as not righteous and such behavior would be despised. If Min-hyuk was alive, Seung-jo's emotion would be scorned. This problem is not so serious because Min-hyuk has been dead for several years. Despite that, Seung-jo sometimes felt sorry for Min-hyuk:

(Episode 10, scene 36). Seung-jo entered his room. He took out a photo from a drawer. It's a photo of Min-hyuk and Young-ju which Min-hyuk sent to him before their marriage.)

Seung-jo: (Looking at Min-hyuk in the photo.) Will you mind? ... I fall in love with Young-ju.  
Will you forgive me? ...

Seung-jo's big problem has some similarities to that of Min-hyuk—he has to face

his parents' disagreement of his marriage. The only difference is that Young-ju was a student then but now is an unwed mother, which makes the situation even worse. In contrast to Min-hyuk, Seung-jo chose to wait until his mother accepted Young-ju. But this cannot solve his problem because he did not obey his parents to leave Young-ju but tried to persuade his mother to accept her. From this perspective, the conflict between obedience and love still exists.

#### **4.1.3 Problem of Woo-hyuk: love to Young-ju—his sister-in-law**

The biggest problem he met is his love for Young-ju after she became his sister-in-law. Min-hyuk's love cannot be accepted only by his father, but Woo-hyuk's love cannot be accepted by any Korean people because they are in fact family members. In Korea, where the concept of "family" takes deep roots into people's consciousness, Woo-hyuk will be considered only as mad. We can see how his father was angry and horrified when he knew Woo-hyuk was in love with Young-ju:

(Episode 12, scene 49-52. Woo-hyuk's father wants to keep Hanul. After Woo-hyuk knew this, he talked with his father)

Woo-hyuk: Till now, you have not taken even a little care to Young-ju. Then why you want to keep Hanul? Hanul is the whole life of Young-ju. If you keep him, it is the same thing to kill Young-ju!

Father: If she does not agree, I will not insist.

Woo-hyuk: (Seriously.) Please do not even think about this from now. If anyone hurts Young-ju, I will not forgive him, even though this person is father!

Father: (Feeling something awful) You ... do not have any special emotion to her, do you?

Woo-hyuk: I do not want to talk about this. (Leaving.)

Father: (Becoming angry.) Answer me!

Woo-hyuk: (Stopped) Yes. I love Young-ju! I love her!

Father: (Flapped Woo-hyuk's face) How dare you! Are you crazy?

..

Woo-hyuk's father staggered to the study room. He opened the drawer with trembling hands and took out a bottle of medicine. His hands trembled so much that the medicine were scattered here and there. He picked up one granule at random and ate it. Little by little, he calmed down. He could not even imagine such kind of thing could happen!

Even Mme Kim, a house cleaner, tried to persuade Woo-hyuk:

(Episode 13, scene 33.)

Mme Kim: You and Young-ju ... It's impossible! No matter how this society is changing, it is impossible! Even though it will be difficult for you, you should throw away this thought.

Woo-hyuk: Please stop.

Mme Kim: Who is Young-ju? She bore a child with your brother! How can you love this woman!

Woo-hyuk: Could you please stop!

Woo-hyuk knows his situation very well. Even though he loves Young-ju deeply, he never expresses it to her. At the beginning he helped and consoled Young-ju as Hanul's uncle. But when he found out about Seung-jo's feelings, he could not help being jealous and he began to think of taking Young-ju away from Korea.

(Episode 12, scene 15.)

Woo-hyuk: You... ever thought of leaving here? Go far away from here and live in another country?

Young-ju: ?

Woo-hyuk: New Zealand or Australia, or other place where there is no scorn on you because you are an unwed mother, neither any jeer on Hanul, too. Do you want to go?

...

We put aside Young-ju's attitude for the moment. It seems that to solve Woo-hyuk's problem, the only way is to leave Korea where the Confucian traditional value takes a deep root. This not only can solve his problem, but also, like what Woo-hyuk said to Young-ju, can take Young-ju far away from that jeer and scorn. At the end of the drama, when Woo-hyuk's father was moved by Young-ju, he also thinks of letting Woo-hyuk take Young-ju away:

(Episode 20, scene 11.)

Woo-hyuk: The designer of the product was Young-ju. Except for her, no one is credible. For you and for our company, she tried her best.

Father: (Surprised and moved.)... Woo-hyuk, if ... if I allow you both leave here, how do you think of this?

Woo-hyuk: ?

Father: Even I cannot see you all my rest life, if you will, take her leave here...

Woo-hyuk: (After thinking.) I will stay. This is the only way that I will not lose either father or Young-ju.

Thus, in the context of the Confucian tradition, Woo-hyuk's problem will never be solved.

#### **4.1.4 Problem of Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's parents: children's marriage**

The main problem that Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's parents are facing is their children's disobedience on their marriage.

In episode 3, when Min-hyuk's father heard that Min-hyuk wanted to marry, he did not say anything. But after he knew Young-ju's situation, he told Min-hyuk that Young-ju did not match with Min-hyuk and he did not agree with Min-hyuk marrying Young-ju. This event destroyed the relationship between the father and the son; also Min-hyuk's father became very disappointed with Min-hyuk, because Min-hyuk never disobeyed the father's will before. Both the father and the son felt upset about this.

As for Seung-jo's mother, she was very astonished and angry when she knew the girl Seung-jo wanted to marry was Young-ju:

(Episode 15, scene 26.)

Jeong-hee: I heard it from your father. But I cannot believe it; I have to have it confirmed by you.  
Is that Young-ju you want to marry?

Seung-jo: Yes. I like her. It was me who wooed her.

Jeong-hee: Are you crazy?

Seung-jo: I know you will be surprised, that's natural. Even though it will be difficult for you to accept this, I cannot live without her ... I hope Mom could think it over and accept her.

Jeong-hee: I do not need to think, no way. ... And you too think it over, which parent could accept this kind of marriage?

Seung-jo: Maybe not other parents. But I believe Mom could. Till now I was very proud of Mom because you always tell me condition is not important thing among people's relations.

...

Jeong-hee: Absolutely no way! As long as I live.

Seung-jo: Mom!

Jeong-hee: Do not even call me Mom! My son would not do this to his parents!

The disagreement of both Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's mother to their sons' marriage caused the conflict between the parents and their children. The topic of this kind of problem is common in Korean TV drama, like in, "Autumn Tale", "Tomato" and so on. It is not a new phenomenon in Korea.

The emergence of these problems has their cultural background. In the following parts, I will discuss why these problems emerge in Korean TV drama "Stock Flower" in such a cultural context and thereby to see the cultural representation in the drama. Also, what might cause interest lies in the solution of the problems where we may see a representation of people's changing attitude from the traditional consciousness. Even though this is not the object of the present thesis, I mentioned it here in order to lead to a future study on this topic.

#### **4.2 Emergence of the problems: Confucian traditional values as moral standard**

Let us see Young-ju's problem of being an unwed mother first. As analyzed above, Young-ju, as an unwed mother, received many jeers from other persons.

The difficulties that Young-ju met can be understood by the audience of a country where Confucian traditional values are seen as the fundamental moral standard. Nowadays, in most Western countries, "de facto spouse" has been considered as one of the marital status, but this word does not exist in either Korea or China and this phenomenon is still a kind of a moral problem in people's consciousness in these countries. This is because a traditional Confucian society like South Korea considers this kind of behavior to be immoral and unconventional and in the Korean society, unwed mothers are socially scorned.

As discussed in Chapter two, the emergence of Confucianism, no matter being in China or Korea, can be traced back to thousands of years ago. At that time, "after the age

of seven, girls could no longer associate with boys or men. They were more and more confined to the inner quarters of the house where they received instruction in domestic duties from their mothers and grandmothers". (Deuchler, 1992, p. 258) Since the girls could not contact with boys after the age of seven, the emergence of unwed mothers was impossible in the society. The marriage, at that time, was usually "arranged" by a "go-between" (matchmaker). (See Choi, 1977, p. 4)

On the other hand, the Confucian traditional value offers moral standards, including those feudal ethical codes for women. The Confucian image of woman can be concluded as:

[M]oral conduct—women need not have great talents, but must be quiet and serene, chaste and disciplined; proper speech—women need not have rhetorical talents, but must avoid bad and offensive language and speak with restraint; proper appearance—women need not be beautiful, but must be clean in dress and appearance; and womanly tasks—women need not be clever, but must pay attention to such duties as weaving and entertaining guests. (Deuchler, 1992, p. 257)

In the moral conduct, being a chaste woman before and after marriage was very important. After marriage, if a woman became a widow, she "for whatever reason preserved her 'chastity' by loyally serving her parents-in-law instead of giving in to her family's pressure to remarry was sure to be rewarded with public applause." (ibid, p. 281) However, the sex behavior before a marriage would always be reviled and could not be accepted by the society. According to these moral norms, a woman who is not a virgin before marriage or remarry will be seen as not chaste, and even more, as lascivious. This kind of woman belongs to the lowest class of a society and is scorned by all the other people. Though Young-ju is not such a kind of girl, she bore Hanul without being married and this makes her fall into such a situation.

The problem of Min-hyuk and Seung-jo comes from the conflict between their love for Young-ju and the rejection of their marriage from their parents. Min-hyuk chose to live with Young-ju and moved out of family, while Seung-jo chose to wait until his

parents agreed to their marriage. No matter what they chose to do, they disobeyed their parents' will to leave Young-ju. Confucian traditional value offers three codes of family conduct among which "filial piety" is the first one<sup>37</sup>. (See Keum, 2000, p. 15) As it has been introduced by Choi (1977):

Filial piety attaches the greatest importance to father-son relationship. [It] is the basis of all conducts and they [the Koreans] are educated along this principle. Parental instructions are considered as absolute demanding strict obedience. It is the son's moral obligation and duty to serve his parents with all sincerity. ... The greatest filial piety consists in serving parents politely and peacefully and obeying their wishes. (p. 7)

Just such kind of filial morality gives Min-hyuk and Seung-jo the problem of disobedience to their parents.

As for Woo-hyuk, through the analysis above, we see what the relation between Young-ju and Woo-hyuk is: Young-ju is Woo-hyuk's sister-in-law and Woo-hyuk is Hanul's uncle. The Confucian traditional values define that their relation cannot go beyond this because they are family members. The reason why people cannot accept Woo-hyuk's love is understandable by the audience in the context of Confucian tradition. Young-ju also understands this well and never lets herself fall in an embarrassing situation with Woo-hyuk. Even though sometimes she could sensitively feel that Woo-hyuk's emotion was not limited to that of Hanul's uncle, she ingeniously evaded it. Woo-hyuk's love will forever be a dream that cannot come true and this represents that Confucian traditional value is still powerful in ruling people's behavior in modern Korean society. This value might not be specific to the Confucian tradition, but it is a part of this culture and this can be accepted by the Chinese audience.

Lastly, let us see why both Min-hyuk's father and Seung-jo's mother refused Young-ju so strongly. We see from the drama that they would rather lose their sons than agree to the marriage. This plot presented the Confucian traditional teaching on marriage. Choi analyses that:

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<sup>37</sup> The other two are: brotherliness and parental affection. (Keum, 2000, p. 15)

[A] feature of Korean marriage can be found in the system of marriage within the same class. ... Its influence still lingers today; ...[H]ow good the stock of the opposite family was, how high the social position of the spouse's father was, and how influential he was were regarded as more important in arranging a marriage than the personality or ability of the spouse concerned. It is generally noticed in a class society that marriage between persons belonging to different estates is either prohibited or regarded as improper. (Choi, 1977, p. 5)

Young-ju grows up mostly with her mother who worked hard to make ends meet and for Young-ju to go to university. When Min-hyuk wanted to marry Young-ju, she just lost her mother and became an orphan. No matter what her social status or economic status is, Young-ju belongs to a relatively lower class and she is not well matched to Min-hyuk's status. Not being accepted from Min-hyuk's father just represented the Confucian traditional system of marriage within the homogeneous class.

Seung-jo's mother is deeply influenced by this teaching too. When she first knew that Seung-jo was in love with a girl, she asked him:

Seung-jo's mother: (To Seung-jo) Who is it? A lawyer? Your friend in university?

From this dialogue we can see that she wishes to have a daughter-in-law who comes from a high social class. Even though she always says to others that the condition is not so important in judging a person, she will not use this theory on her own son:

Seung-jo's mother: (To Seung-jo's father) Seung-jo is our only son. If Young-ju's condition is not too bad, why should I refuse the woman he loves?

Thus, the values of Confucian tradition on marriage become the social origin of the emergence of the problem of both Min-hyuk and Seung-jo's parents. It is not Young-ju, but the conditions of Young-ju that they cannot accept as her becoming their daughter-in-law. The emergence of this problem suggests that the Confucian traditional values still offers the moral and practice standard in people's everyday lives.

To conclude, through the emergence of the problems in the drama "Stock Flower",



we can see that Confucian traditional values still regulate people's social practices. As an example, we can see that in people's class-consciousness, the importance of obedience from the children to their parents in a family, scorning for unwed mothers, and so on. On the other hand, it represents different points of view on marriage between the parents and the new generation.

### 4.3 Solution of the problems: transformation of Confucian traditional values

In fact, the parents' disagreement to their children's marriage because of the different conditions is not a new topic in either the drama or real life. In the drama "Stock Flower", what is new is the parents' changing attitude to marriage and to unwed mothers. Such changing attitude helped solve the problems that emerged in the drama.

Let us first see the changing attitude of Min-hyuk's father. After he became sick, Young-ju on one hand sent Hanul to encourage him, and on the other hand designed new productions to save his company. Min-hyuk's father was moved and he realized his selfishness before. He asked for forgiveness from Young-ju and accepted her as a family member.

(Episode 20, scene 40. After Kang was sick, Young-ju sent Hanul to his home everyday. But every time she just waited outside and let Woo-hyuk take Hanul in. That morning, Woo-hyuk's father asked Woo-hyuk to let Young-ju in.)

Father: Young ju ...

Young-ju: (Looking at father) ...

Father: I made you too difficult ... Will you forgive me?

Young-ju: (Crying) It's Ok ... It does not matter...

Father: (Looking at Young-ju with tear in his eyes too) ...

Min-hyuk's father not only asked for forgiveness from Young-ju, but also persuaded Seung-jo's mother to accept her after he knew about the relationship between Seung-jo and Young-ju:

(Episode 20, scene 34. In a park)

Seung-jo's mother: You look healthy!

Min-hyuk's father: (Smiling) ...

Seung-jo's mother: You have something to tell me?

Min-hyuk's father: It has been seven years since Min-hyuk died. I felt very difficult and alone after he died. Whenever I thought of Min-hyuk, I would hate Young-ju. If they have not met each other ... But ... Now I realize that it was not her fault. It might be because of my selfish desire.

Seung-jo's mother: (Looking at him, surprised) ...

Min-hyuk's father: Love does not follow people's will ... During these years, I made many persons difficult because of my selfish desire ... Till now, I began to realize what is really important in life ...

Seung-jo's mother: (Listening and thinking) ...

After talking with Min-hyuk's father, Seung-jo's mother began to think whether she should agree to Seung-jo's marriage to Young-ju.

(Episode 20, scene 35.) In midnight, Seung-jo's mother is sitting in the parlor, thinking. Seung-jo's father comes out from the living room. He sits beside his wife quietly.

Seung-jo's father: It's Ok, let it be!

Seung-jo's mother: I do not know what should I do. I still need thinking.

Seung-jo's father holds his wife's hand.

This plot dropped an inkling, to a certain degree, that Seung-jo's mother would not insist on rejecting of her son's marriage.

What I want to focus here is the people's changing attitude to unwed mothers and to the marriage within same class.

In the TV drama, Young-ju became an unwed mother because of her sincere love for Min-hyuk. She received a lot of scorn and unfair treatments in her life. Young-ju's poor condition was not considered by Min-hyuk when he chose his girlfriend and her "bad" situation as an unwed mother did not become an obstacle for Seung-jo in choosing his girlfriend, either. Also, we saw at the end of the drama, that Min-hyuk's father asked for forgiveness from Young-ju and accepted her as a family member; Seung-jo's father said "Is there any law that formulates an unwed mother cannot live a happy life forever? Should they receive others' denounce all their life?" In the drama, Young-ju's fortitude, sincere attitude to others, and confidence to overcome all the difficulties were all

highlighted. To a certain degree, this drama helped evoke people's understanding to those unwed mothers. As Kim reported, "Fortunately, society is beginning to accept single mothers who raise children alone. ... [A]s television soap operas and documentaries featuring single mothers become more frequent, public sentiment is slowly changing. Someday people will not hold biased views against single women with children." (Kim Rahn. Magazine of *Korean Times*. March, 2005.)

This drama also represented people's changing attitude to the marriage. Firstly, Min-hyuk's father asked for forgiveness from Young-ju and he regretted that he had disagreed with Min-hyuk's marriage with Young-ju. For him, Young-ju's conditions are no more as important as her personal qualities. Therefore, instead of the family's political and economic conditions and a person's marital status in the traditional society, people begin to use the Confucian traditional values to judge the spouse by their personal qualities. Seung-jo's mother's changing attitude to Young-ju also represented such transformation. Also, Seung-jo's father said to Seung-jo's mother that "If only Seung-jo likes, I will agree their (Seung-jo and Young-ju's) marriage." This attitude represented that the parents begin to accept their children's choice. All these are not to say that people have abandoned the Confucian traditional values, but that they begin to use the values in a different way to regulate their social practices.

Yet, as far as Woo-hyuk's problem of his love to Young-ju is concerned, we see that this problem cannot be solved in this drama. Even though Woo-hyuk's father compromised because of Young-ju's "good" personal qualities, he has some conditions: Woo-hyuk must take Young-ju abroad and he will never see them again—that is, if Woo-hyuk and Young-ju left together, they could not come back to South Korea ever again. This showed that in the context of the Confucian tradition, the love of Woo-hyuk to Young-ju, his sister-in-law, still cannot be accepted by Korean people. Thus, we say that the transformation of Confucian tradition exists, but only at a certain level.

Shils says that "[t]raditions change because the circumstances to which they refer change. Traditions, to survive, must be fitting to the circumstances in which they operate and to which they are directed." (1981. p. 258) Gopalan also discusses that

“[t]raditions ... serve to avert conflicts between the various institutions in society, and when conflicts do arise, they try to resolve them.” (1973. p. 30.) In the Korean TV drama “Stock Flower”, based on people’s changing attitude to both unwed mothers and marriage, we can see that the Confucian traditional values have their power in regulating social practices in new ways.

In the theoretical part (1.2), I’ve mentioned that Hall linked M. Foucault’s study to the research on representation, which was able to broaden our understanding of the functioning of representation. Foucault concerns more with the production of new knowledge through discourse. Following Foucault, the transformation of Confucian tradition can be seen as the “new knowledge” represented through the discourse of the TV drama “Stock Flower”. Foucault “saw knowledge as always inextricable enmeshed in relations of power because it was always being applied to the regulation of social conduct in practice.” Thus the production of knowledge cannot be separated by “power”. Just the relation between discourse, knowledge and power “marked a significant development in the constructionist approach to representation.” (Hall, 1997, p. 47) For “power”, as it has been pointed by Foucault, “power relations permeate all levels of social existence and are therefore to be found operating at every site of social life—in the private spheres of the family and sexuality as much as in the public spheres of politics, the economy and the law”. (As cited in Hall, 1997, p. 50) Based on this point of view, we may see Confucian traditional values as the “power” in the discourse of the drama “Stock Flower”, because the values “permeate all levels of social existence” and regulate people’s daily life, and the people’s changing attitude to marriage and unwed mothers, can be seen as the “new knowledge” produced in Korean TV drama. Linked with Foucault’s theory, this point of view gives a new direction of later studies on the cultural representation in Korean TV drama.

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

This thesis studies one of the potential factors that may contribute to the popularity of Korean TV drama which is a part of the cultural phenomenon “Han Liu”: due to the similar cultural background of China and South Korea, Korean TV dramas are able to represent Confucian traditional values that can be easily understood by a Chinese audience. The Confucianism, which originated in China and developed well in South Korea, has been analyzed as the cultural context for present study.

The main object of this thesis is to analyze how the Confucian traditional values are represented in Korean TV drama. In doing this, the study takes Stuart Hall’s theory on cultural representation as the theoretical frame. Among the theories that Hall analyzed, Saussure’s semiotics theory on representation from language to culture plays an important role in my analysis. Also how TV drama as a kind of TV program contributes to the field of representation has been discussed.

Based on Saussure’s semiotics theory, the selected Korean TV drama “Stock Flower” was seen as the text, which in Saussure’s terms, is called the “signifier”, and the Confucian tradition is represented as the “signified”. By analyzing the characters’ behaviors and dialogue in selected scenes, we may find the following: firstly, the characters act and talk within the regulations that were shaped by the Confucian traditional values, especially the “*Ye*”—etiquette and respect; secondly, by analyzing the characters’ personal qualities and how the characters deal with relations to others, we see how they are identified as “good” or “bad” persons according to Confucian traditional values. The represented values, such as *Hyo, Je, Ye, Yin, Seong, Eui, Sin, Su, Ja, and Ji*, through the characters’ personal qualities and relations, proved that Confucian traditional values not only have been deeply entrenched in Korean people’s everyday lives of, but that they have also become the moral standard and conduct rules that regulate their thought and behaviors. Thus, the Confucian traditional values have been maintained to “promote an orderly and harmonious society” (Chung, 1994, p. 18); Thirdly, by analyzing

the problems of the characters in the drama “Stock Flower”, we see why such problems emerge in the context of Confucian tradition; also by the solution of some of the problems, we see the transformation of Confucian tradition and at certain level, this tradition begins to regulate people’s social practice in new ways.

This research has its limitations. Firstly, the cultural phenomenon “Han Liu” involves not only TV drama, but also films, pop music and so on. Yet the present study focused only on TV drama. The research on film and music are left for later studies. Secondly, with regards to the proximal cultural background between China and South Korea, besides Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, etc. are all originated in China and were transferred to Korea. Is there any representation of such culture in Korean TV drama? Or, going further, Western religion, such as Christianity, exists in modern South Korea society, too. Is there any representation of Christianity?

For the analysis of the TV drama, the third limitation of the present study lies on the theoretical frame of representation. In analyzing the cultural representation in Korean TV drama, this thesis was mainly based on Saussure’s semiotics theory. However, the representation theory, linked with what Foucault has studied about discourse and power by Hall, offers more intimate ways with people’s social practices, in which Foucault pays more attention to the new knowledge, than meaning, which is produced through discourse, not just language. In this thesis, the analysis of the representation of the transformation of Confucian traditional values—the new knowledge produced through the discourse of Korean TV drama, was based on such a theory. But the detailed analysis is left for future studies.

Also, for further studies on Korean TV drama, my suggestion is, on one hand, to focus on other factors that may contribute to the popularity of Korean TV drama. For example, the more developed social economy in Korea than that of China offers more capital plunge into the production of TV drama to give a better quality; also, the audience makeup and audience psychology need to be analyzed. And on the other hand, the analysis of the social influences of the popularity of Korean TV drama needs to be on the process. For instance, it was only after the popularity of Korean TV drama, that the

Chinese idol dramas began to appear in the mass cultural market, for example, “*Xiang Wu, Xiang Yu, You Xiang Feng*” (“Like fog, Like rain, and Like wind”), “*Qing Chun de Tong Hua*” (“Bloom Tale”), etc. The influence of Korean TV drama cannot be neglected. All of these contributing factors may be an opportunity for additional research into the phenomenon of “Han Liu.”

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## Appendix A - Introduction of Main characters in “Stock Flower”

Main characters	Occupation	Main relations to others	Gloss
Young-ju	- Character Designer in ZEUS	- Love relation to Min-hyuk and seven years after Min-hyuk died, to Seung-jo. - Woo-hyuk’s classmate and latterly, sister-in-law. - Hanul’s mother. - Sin-hee’s best friend.	“ZEUS” is a company that produces stationery productions.
Min-hyuk	-University student in Economic operation	- Love relation to Young-ju - President Kang’s son	
Woo-hyuk		- President Kang’s son - Min-hyuk’s little brother - Young-ju’s classmate - Hanul’s uncle	
Seung-jo	- Lawyer	- Min-hyuk’s best friend - Love relation to Young-ju	
President Kang	- President of “Choun-Achim”	- Min-hyuk and Woo-hyuk’s father - President of “Choun-Achim” - Hanul’s grandfather	“Choun-Achim” is a company that produces stationery productions.
Jeong-hee	-Head of a middle school - Work in woman association	- Seung-jo’s mother	
Seong-tae	- Lawyer	- Seung-jo’s father	
Hae-pin	- Doyen of Designer Department of ZEUS	- President Yu’s daughter - Want to marry Seung-jo	
President Yu	- President of ZEUS	- Hae-pin’s father	
Sin-hee		- Young-ju’s classmate and best friend	

Kkut-sun		- Young-ju's grandmother (not real)	Operates a restaurant
Kyong-ch'ol	- A hoodlum	- Young-ju and Sin-hee's classmate	
Mr. Song	- Team leader in Designer Department of ZEUS		
Min-su	- Designer in ZEUS	- Young-ju's colleague	
Hanul	- Six-year-old child	- Young-ju and Min-hyuk's son	
Mme Kim	- House lady in Min-hyuk's family		

## Appendix B - Summary of episodes

### Episode 1

Lee Young-ju is a high middle school student. She lost her father when she was young and lives a simple and tranquil life with her mother. Her mother works as a delivery worker, sending milk, newspapers, etc. to some small stores. Young-ju sometimes helps her mother in delivering the goods. One day after school, on the way home, Young-ju found her mother in a teahouse with a man. She became unhappy with this because she thought her mother would re-marry. She asked her mother in the evening to re-marry even though this is not her will, because she does not want to be her mother's burden. But the mother told Young-ju that she would not re-marry and the life with Young-ju was very happy.

At school, Young-ju and Sin-hee are best friends. Sin-hee's father lost job and always drinks, sometimes beats Sin-hee. Because of this Sin-hee lost her hope and confidence in study.

Woo-hyuk was transferred to Young-ju's school because he fought with other students at another school and was expelled. Young-ju once quarreled with Kyong-ch'ol, a hoodlum student, in order to protect Sin-hee. When Kyong-ch'ol wanted to hit Young-ju, Woo-hyuk protected her. Young-ju then made friend with Woo-hyuk. Knowing Woo-hyuk's birthday was same with her own, she made for Woo-hyuk a birthday flower card, indicating that they belong to the same "stock flower" and that persons who belong to stock flower would live with a strong vitality and could overcome any difficulties. Woo-hyuk found himself falling in love with Young-ju.

One evening, when Sin-hee was beaten by her father, she came out home and went to a stationery store with Young-ju. Sin-hee stole a small photo frame and run away with Young-ju. This was found by Min-hyuk, Woo-hyuk's elder brother who happened to be in the store. But he did not catch them. The second day, Young-ju demanded Sin-hee to returned the frame and Sin-hee said she had already returned it.

Another day, Min-hyuk and Young-ju met by chance in a video store and they recognized each other. Young-ju said sorry to him for the pilferage event.

Min-hyuk and Woo-hyuk lost their mother many years ago. Their father is the president of "Choun Ach'im", a company that produces stationery for children. It seems that the father cares more about Min-hyuk. Min-hyuk asked Woo-hyuk to understand the father and because Woo-hyuk always disobeyed the father's will. On the father's birthday, Woo-hyuk made a plane model for his father. But the father said he should have take more time on study for the exam to university. Woo-hyuk told his father he did not want to go to university. The contradiction between the father and the son is becoming bigger.

## Episode 2

Knowing Woo-hyuk did not want to go to university, the father was very angry. He then wanted Woo-hyuk went abroad to continue study with Min-hyuk, but Woo-hyuk refused. He thought this is because of his father's self-respect. Every thing that the father wants Woo-hyuk to do, he will do the opposite to hurt his father's heart. This is because in Woo-hyuk's remember, when he was young, he once saw by chance that his father wanted to pick off the equipment of oxygen therapy of his mother who was suffering from an incurable disease. From then on, he thought his father was a bad man and began to disobey every thing his father asked him to do. Even though Min-hyuk did not know all this, he asked Woo-hyuk not to destroy his future because his bias to their father.

In order to help Woo-hyuk with his study, Min-hyuk went to his school to work as a trainee teacher. There he got many chances to meet Young-ju, and they began to fall in love with each other.

Young-ju's mother heard her friend's advice and put all her save in the bank that the friend introduced because there is more interest.

## Episode 3

Min-hyuk asked Young-ju to study hard before the exam to university. Knowing the relation between Min-hyuk and Young-ju, Woo-hyuk decided to obey his father's will to go abroad in order to forget Young-ju.

Young-ju passed the exam to university and her mother was very happy. But just when they need money for Young-ju to go to university, the mother found she was cheated by her friend—the bank has already closed and the boss run away to abroad, taking all the money cheated. She died at this news because of cardiopathy. Min-hyuk decided to marry Young-ju after this to take her together to abroad. But Min-hyuk's father did not agree their marriage. Min-hyuk decided to move out of the family and live with Young-ju. Woo-hyuk sold his motorcycle to help his brother.

Young-ju firstly refused Min-hyuk because she does not want Min-hyuk to give up his future because of her. But latterly she was moved by his sincere love, and agreed to live with him. They rented a small house and their life began.

## Episode 4

One day, Seung-jo, Min-hyuk's best friend, came to see Min-hyuk. He told Min-hyuk that he should not live a such kind of life, but to concern more about his future



and asked him to go back home. Min-hyuk told Seung-jo he was living a very happy life with Young-ju.

When Seung-jo went back home, he found Hae-pin, who used to be his student<sup>38</sup>, was waiting for him. Hae-pin told Seung-jo that she had been a university student and asked him to treat her as an adult. She also said that she would sooner or later marry him. Seung-jo said he never thought of marrying Hae-pin.

Sin-hee's father drank again and hit her and her mother. Sin-hee decided to leave home.

Mme Kim, the house cleaner at Min-hyuk's family, asked President Kang to forgive Min-hyuk and accept Young-ju. President Kang said he believed Min-hyuk would come back one day.

Young-ju is pregnant. Min-hyuk decided to have wedding ceremony with her and then do the marriage registration. He went back home to tell his father about the wed. The father was very angry at this news and told Min-hyuk he would never accept them.

Mme Kim bought a set of wedding clothes for Young-ju. On the wedding day, Young-ju was waiting for Min-hyuk at the church. Min-hyuk saw Woo-hyuk on the way going to the church and he walked cross the road to go together with Woo-hyuk. Just at this time, Min-hyuk was stricken by a car.

## Episode 5

After Min-hyuk died, his father took his body home. Young-ju wanted to see Min-hyuk for the last time, but she was refused by Min-hyuk's father. Woo-hyuk quarreled with his father, saying the father's heart was too hard. After the funeral, Min-hyuk's father gave Mme Kim some money and asked her to bring Young-ju to the hospital to abort the child. Thinking of Min-hyuk's hope for the child, Young-ju decided to give birth to the child. Being afraid that Woo-hyuk always worried about her, Young-ju left the house where she lived with Min-hyuk. Two weeks later, Woo-hyuk left to abroad.

Sin-hee began to steal money after leaving home. Once she met Kyong-ch'ol and he asked to steal together. One day when they were stealing, they were caught by the police and Sin-hee became a person with crime record.

Young-ju went to look for Sin-hee but she did not find her. She then wandered at street, and by chance, she entered a small restaurant which is operated by Grandmother Kkut-sun. Young-ju fell down at the restaurant. The grandmother took her home and from then on, Young-ju lived with Grandmother Kkut-sun like real family members.

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<sup>38</sup> In order to pass the exam for university, many parents invite "home teacher" for their children when they are in the last year before the exam. The "home teacher" is usually a university student. Seung-jo was then Hae-pin's "home teacher".

Six years later, Hanul, Young-ju's son, grew up.

## **Episode 6**

Woo-hyuk came back from abroad. He tried his best to look for Young-ju, but there was no result. He asked Sin-hee and Seung-jo to help him. Seung-jo then works at the company ZEUS as a law representative.

Grandmother Kkut-sun has operated the little restaurant for more than 30 years. But at the beginning, she did not sign a lease with the landlord. Now the land was sold and the new landlord asked all the stores to move out. Grandmother cannot get any moving fee or indemnify because she do not have a lease. Grandmother felt it unfair and do not want to move. The new landlord hired some hoodlum, including Kyong-ch'ol, to throw the equipment. They not only destroyed the restaurant, but also hurt grandmother.

When Kyong-ch'ol found Young-ju in the restaurant, he hid away. And that evening, he told Sin-hee he found Young-ju. Sin-hee then told Woo-hyuk.

Because the grandmother was hurt, Young-ju wanted to look for a lawyer to sue the new landlord. She by chance met Seung-jo.

## **Episode 7**

Young-ju wished to find a person who can help them with law. But Seung-jo said that it would be difficult to win on the court because Grandmother did not have a lease, and for the case she was hurt, there should be at least a witness, otherwise, there would be no hope. Young-ju thought Seung-jo paid too much attention on reason and she told him he should at least try to find a way to help. When Seung-jo wanted to continue, Young-ju refused him. This was the first time that Seung-jo be refused by a client. He began to be attracted by Young-ju.

Woo-hyuk at last found Young-ju and Hanul. Hanul is very happy because he got an uncle. Woo-hyuk asked Young-ju not to leave him again.

One day, Hanul told Young-ju one of his classmates Young-jun's mother said Hanul's mother was an unwed mother and did not let Young-jun to play with Hanul. He also asked Young-ju what was an unwed mother. Young-ju was very trist on hearing this and she did not know how to reply Hanul's question.

Hae-pin came back from Paris. President Yu, her father settle her to be the Doyen of the Department of Design. President Yu decided to merger "Choun Ach'im".

One day Seung-jo called Young-ju to introduce his father to be the lawyer for their

case. It was Hanul who received the phone.

Seung-jo's father told Young-ju that if there was a witness, it would be helpful. Young-ju told Sin-hee about this. Sin-hee then asked Kyong-ch'ol to be the witness. But Kyong-ch'ol was bribed by the new landlord and he did not appear at the court. Young-ju and grandmother lost the case. Seung-jo's father said on the court that the law does not protect the benefit of the poor. Grandmother and Young-ju felt more comfortable at his word.

Kyong-ch'ol wanted to give Sin-hee the money that the landlord used to bribe him, and he said the grandmother could rent a place to operate another restaurant with that money. Sin-hee was too angry to him that she refused to receive the money.

Young-ju decided to find a job, but it is very difficult for her because she is an unwed mother. She lastly found a job at a stationery store as a seller. However, the boss looked Young-ju as a lascivious woman and asked her to go to a hotel. Young-ju was very indignant. Seung-jo came and saved Young-ju.

## **Episode 8**

Seung-jo asked Young-ju if the boy who received the phone was her nephew. Young-ju told him it was her son. Seung-jo thought Young-ju had been married.

Because of the difficulties Young-ju met, including the event of the boss of the stationery store, Young-ju told Woo-hyuk she felt sorry because of people's scorn to unwed mother. Woo-hyuk comforted her that he felt proud for her and she was a very good mother.

On the other hand, in order to help Young-ju and grandmother, Woo-hyuk borrowed some money from his father and told his father he would work in order to repay those money. Woo-hyuk was afraid that Young-ju would not accept the money, and he asked Sin-hee to give it to Young-ju. Even though, Young-ju refused.

Hanul was sick and Young-ju wanted to bring him to hospital. At that time, Seung-jo wanted to help Young-ju find a job and happened to drive to her home. At hospital, Seung-jo asked Young-ju Hanul was so sick, why his father did not come. Young-ju was so dumfounded by this that she only tell him Hanul's father was Min-hyuk. Seung-jo was astonished.

At ZEUS, Hae-pin told Mr. Song that they should lower the production price; while at "Choun Ach'im", President Kang asked his employee to improve the quality of the production, even though it would took little more cost.

Hanul told Young-ju all of his friends liked the small rabbit, bear, etc. that Young-ju made. Hearing this, Young-ju decided to do these beautiful characters and sell them on street. She on same time persuaded Woo-hyuk to be filial to his father and help him.

Woo-hyuk began to deliver the productions of “Choun Ach’im” to the stationery stores.

After Seung-jo knew Min-hyuk was Hanul’s father, he felt annoyed and perplexed. On one hand, Min-hyuk was his best friend, also Young-ju was an unwed mother; and on the other hand, he could not control his love to her. He thought he must have been crazy. One evening, he waited Young-ju at the gate of her home. After seeing Young-ju, he told her his emotion of love.

## **Episode 9**

Facing Seung-jo’s emotion, Young-ju told him that his emotion might be sympathy. Seung-jo said that even though it might be crazy, his love was true and he would wait for Young-ju forever.

Seung-jo’s mother asked Seung-jo to think of his marriage with Hae-pin. Seung-jo told his mother he would never marry Hae-pin. He also told Hae-pin that he loved someone else and he would not marry her. Hae-pin answered she would not give up.

The beginning of Young-ju’s business on street was good. But then she was driven by the boss of the stores near her business. When she was wondering on the street, she found an advertisement indicating that ZEUS was collecting design, and once the design was selected, the designer would be hired. Young-ju designed a lovely dog whose name was “ch’ang-ch’ang”.

Hanul fought with one of his classmates Young-jun because he said Hanul did not have a father. Young-ju felt sorry about this.

Woo-hyuk’s father asked Woo-hyuk to work at the department of program designing, but Woo-hyuk refused.

On the “Father’s Day”, Seung-jo went to the school where Hanul studied; Woo-hyuk went there a little late. Hanul was happier to see Woo-hyuk.

Sin-hee told Woo-hyuk that she loves him. Woo-hyuk said Young-ju would be his only love in his life. Sin-hee was very disappointed.

Young-ju’s designer won the first prize at ZEUS. However, knowing she was an unwed mother, the company decided to fire her.

## **Episode 10**

Seung-jo went to ask President Yu about Young-ju’s problem. At that time, Young-ju came too, to tell President Yu their decision was not correct, because it was not mentioned on the advertisement that unwed mother would not be hired. President Yu told

Young-ju he could give her money as compensation. Young-ju refused and told him what she wanted was her right.

Finding Seung-jo's care for Young-ju, Hae-pin perceived Young-ju might be the woman that Seung-jo wanted to marry. She felt her self-respect hurt because Young-ju was an unwed mother while her own condition was much better than Young-ju.

Young-ju told Woo-hyuk she would strive for her legal right. Woo-hyuk was afraid that she was hurt again and asked her give up and he would be responsible for her and Hanul's life. Young-ju refused and told Woo-hyuk she was a mother and she should behave as a mother. Woo-hyuk decided to look for another job for Young-ju.

On the other hand, Seung-jo brought Young-ju to a bar operated by one of his classmates. He sang there as a crazy person which made Young-ju laugh. He also encouraged Young-ju with the story of Beethoven to conquer her "deafness". Young-ju began to be moved by Seung-jo's sincere attitude.

Kyong-ch'ol asked Sin-hee to steal again and was refused. Young-ju let Sin-hee live with her and grandmother, and encouraged Sin-hee live a new life.

Young-ju found some supporting material through work law and argued again with President Yu. After knowing from Seung-jo that the material was true, President Yu agreed Young-ju to work at ZEUS. But this time Young-ju firstly refused and she told Yu she wanted only her right and Yu's apologize. Yu found her a special person and asked her to prove her ability on designing, and then he would apologize. Due to this, Young-ju agreed to work at ZEUS.

## **Episode 11**

Young-ju was very happy because she was approved. At that time Hae-pin told Young-ju she has been engaged with Seung-jo.

Woo-hyuk asked his friend to offer a job for Young-ju, but Young-ju has decided to work at ZEUS. Feeling that all that he had done for Young-ju were useless, Woo-hyuk was very disappointed.

Sin-hee asked Young-ju if Seung-jo was wooing her. Young-ju told her that Seung-jo had been engaged to someone else. Sin-hee found Young-ju like a person who lost love.

The first day of Young-ju's work was a mess. Firstly Hae-pin let Young-ju go to the store to work like a seller; then, she received a phone from home, saying Hanul was lost.

Hanul felt lonely at home. He phoned Woo-hyuk, but Woo-hyuk was busy at the time and did not receive the call. Hanul then went to "Choun Ach'im" to look for

Woo-hyuk. There he met his grandpa—President Kang, Woo-hyuk's father.

After finding Hanul, Young-ju had to go back to work without eating anything, because Hae-pin demanded her to finish the sale statistics. Woo-hyuk wanted to send her something to eat, but when he arrived there, he found Seung-jo was there, too.

## Episode 12

Seung-jo said that he had confidence to make Young-ju a happy life. But Young-ju thought he just wanted to play with her and she asked Seung-jo to leave her alone. Seung-jo was very trist at Young-ju's misunderstanding, and he decided to go to "Cheju" Island for a month.

Woo-hyuk asked Young-ju whether she wanted to go to other countries where she would not be despised by others. Young-ju just said that Woo-hyuk had done too much for her and Hanul.

Seung-jo's mother got to know her son fell in love with a girl. She was very anxious who it was and she asked Seung-jo to bring her home.

At ZEUS, there will be an appraisal conference on which new productions will be presented decision will be made whether the new production should be produced. Beside the "Dosimo" imported from Japan, President Yu asked Young-ju to make "Ch'ang-ch'ang" in three days. Young-ju said she would try.

Young-ju once heard some discussion about unwed mother from her colleagues. She was trist. Min-su, who helped a lot Young-ju at work, asked Young-ju do not mind.

After seeing Hanul, Woo-hyuk's father cannot help thinking of him. He asked Mme Kim to talk with Young-ju about growing Hanul up at his home. Young-ju refused. Being afraid of loosing Hanul, Young-ju asked Woo-hyuk to tell his father do not talk about this again. During the talk, Woo-hyuk's father found Woo-hyu's emotion to Young-ju. He was so astonished that he could not imagine it was true. He then demanded Woo-hyuk to go abroad again. But Woo-hyuk told him what he was worrying would not happen.

Sin-hee went to ZEUS to send a disk to Young-ju and she met Seung-jo at the corridor. She then told Seung-jo not to call Young-ju again, otherwise she would tell all to his fiancé. Seung-jo firstly was at a loss, but then he knew Hae-pin must have said something to Young-ju. He was very angry to Hae-pin and told her not to do this again.

In order to participate the appraisal conference, Young-ju did the sample of "Ch'ang-ch'ang" day and night. But after she finished, Hae-pin did not allow her to participate the conference because the material Young-ju used was expensive.

## Episode 13

Young-ju explained that the material she used was good to children's healthy. But Hae-pin said using an expensive material would decrease the company's benefit. Young-ju decided to find another kind of material of "Ch'ang-ch'ang" which is not too expensive and not harmful to the healthy. She finally found one which is only a little bit expensive than the original one. After the appraisal conference, the company decided to have a client research of both "Dosimo" and "Ch'ang-ch'ang". As for the result, there was no much difference between the two productions. President Yu demanded to produce both of them.

Hae-pin told Young-ju she lied about the relation between her and Seung-jo. She also asked Young-ju to leave Seung-jo because her condition did not match that of Seung-jo. On the other hand, Hae-pin asked Seung-jo's mother's help to persuade Seung-jo marry her.

Mme Kim tried to persuade Woo-hyuk to forget Young-ju because she was his sister-in-law. Woo-hyuk's father told Young-ju to stand away from Woo-hyuk.

Seung-jo went to "Cheju" Island. But he could not help thinking Young-ju and came back Seoul earlier. In the evening, he waited outside Young-ju's home till she came back. He told her again his love. After knowing the misunderstanding about his relation with Hae-pin, Young-ju did not refuse him this time, even though she did not say she would accept his love, neither.

When Woo-hyuk knew his father met Young-ju, he wanted to say sorry to her and came to Young-ju's home. He found Young-ju was with Seung-jo.

## Episode 14

In a bar, Seung-jo told Woo-hyuk he loved Young-ju. Woo-hyuk said that Seung-jo's parents would not agree his marriage, and he asked Seung-jo to give up. Seung-jo felt some special emotion from Woo-hyuk to Young-ju from Woo-hyuk's attitude.

Young-ju told Woo-hyuk that she did not want Woo-hyuk to ruin the relation with his father because of her. Woo-hyuk then told his father that he would marry someone else and he would go to work, following his father's will, at the department of program designing. He asked his father not to make Young-ju any difficulties any more.

Sin-hee said to Young-ju that since Seung-jo did not engage and he was a good person, Young-ju should accept his love. Young-ju told her she was afraid that there would be another person suffering from the relation with her because she was an unwed mother.

Seung-jo's father found Seung-jo in love with Young-ju, he told Seung-jo he was worrying about his mother.

President Yu wanted to merger "Choun Ach'im". President Kang told Yu that many of the productions of ZEUS were imported from Japan and he did not like Korean children using the foreign productions. Since their object was different, Kang refused Yu's suggestion. President Yu was angry and latterly, he asked his secretary to connect the band of "Hanju" where "Choun Ach'im" had the business account.

"Ch'ang-ch'ang", the production that Young-ju designed, was produced. When Young-ju went to check, she found the material had been changed. It was Hae-pin who did this. Young-ju was very trist. After Seung-jo knew this, he consoled Young-ju again and made Young-ju feel much better.

Woo-hyuk decided to marry Sin-hee. Young-ju worried about it because Sin-hee had criminal record and she was afraid that Woo-hyuk's father would hurt her. Woo-hyuk said he could deal with that.

On the other hand, when Seung-jo knew that Woo-hyuk wanted to marry right after he told Woo-hyuk he loved Young-ju, he suspected Woo-hyuk indeed loved Young-ju, and he went to ask Woo-hyuk.

## Episode 15

This time Woo-hyuk confessed his emotion and he told Seung-jo he loved Young-ju more than his own life. Seung-jo on one hand said he would not change his love to Young-ju and on the other hand asked Woo-hyuk to think again his marriage with Sin-hee.

Sunday, Seung-jo brought Young-ju and Hanul to play on the top of "6.3 Building"<sup>39</sup>. There, they happened to meet Seung-jo's parents. Thereby Seung-jo's mother got to know that the woman Seung-jo wanted to marry was Young-ju. She told Seung-jo she would never accept her.

The second day, Seung-jo's mother found Young-ju and asked her to leave Seung-jo. She said if Seung-jo married her, she would never see Seung-jo again. Young-ju did not want Seung-jo be suffering from this, she wanted to leave Seung-jo, but Seung-jo asked her to conquer the difficulty together.

In order to improve the sales of "Dosimo", Hae-pin asked the employee to put "Dosimo" in a main position of the showcase and put "ch'ang-ch'ang" only in a corner.

Young-ju heard a case of child's diarrhea because the child put their production into mouth. She asked Min-su to do a test of the production. Then she found the poison

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<sup>39</sup> The tallest building in Korea.



material that the production contained was exceeded a lot the standard. She then asked President Yu to take back all the productions.

## **Episode 16**

President Yu told Young-ju he would think of a way to solve the problem. But secretly he asked Hae-pin to give Young-ju some money to close her mouth. Young-ju refused. She went to the franchisees one by one to ask them not to sell the poisoned production. Since all the world knew it, President Yu had to take back all the productions and he was very angry. Hae-pin asked Young-ju to quit because she did not think of the benefit of the company.

Seung-jo's mother wanted to settle a meeting with Hae-pin's parents about Seung-jo's marriage, but was refused by Seung-jo. He told his mother he could not live without Young-ju.

Woo-hyuk wanted to make Sin-hee see his father. But at that time he heard from Haunl that Young-ju was sick. He hurried run to Young-ju's home and sent her to the hospital. Sin-hee was hurt because she saw Young-ju still stood an important position in Woo-hyuk's heart.

President Yu secretly bought many of the bills of exchange of "Choun Ach'im" and went to change all of them at the same time. On the other hand, he divulged the news that "Choun Ach'im" was facing closing to prevent the banks to give them loan. This made "Choun Ach'im" facing close. Woo-hyuk thought this was done by Seung-jo because he was the law representative of ZEUS. Seung-jo felt sorry because of Woo-hyuk's misunderstanding.

## **Episode 17**

After Young-ju heard about the bill of exchange, she asked it to Seung-jo, and she believed it was not Seung-jo who did this. Seung-jo felt consoled at this.

Woo-hyuk told Sin-hee that he could not forget Young-ju and he hated himself to say this to her. Sin-hee was hurt.

Woo-hyuk's father told Woo-hyuk about her mother: She was so painful that she often asked Woo-hyuk's father to help her finish her life. But Woo-hyuk said he could not understand it.

Seung-jo quitted ZEUS because he did not like the way President Yu did business. Hae-pin told Seung-jo's mother that it was because Seung-jo did not like the relation

between both parents about the marriage. Knowing this, Seung-jo's mother went to Young-ju's home and talked with grandmother, letting her tell Young-ju to give up. When Sin-hee saw grandmother crying, she went to Seung-jo's office and told him about this.

Young-ju was leaving ZEUS, Min-su was so angry that she told Hae-pin she would quit, too.

In order to save "Choun Ach'im", Woo-hyuk wanted to get private loan and he went to see Mme Son. Under Woo-hyuk's imploration, she agreed to meet with President Kang. But just before their meeting, President Yu told her that he would give her more benefits. Knowing the meeting was canceled, Kang felt hopeless and fell down. Woo-hyuk sent his father to the hospital.

## **Episode 18**

Outside the hospital, Woo-hyuk told Young-ju he began to understand his father now and regret what he had done before. Seung-jo went to see Kang, and he wanted to talk with Woo-hyuk, but Woo-hyuk refused.

After Seung-jo went home, he said to his mother that it was too much she talked to grandmother and asked his mother to accept Young-ju. But his mother refused.

Seung-jo asked his father to help Woo-hyuk, and on the other hand, he asked support of some social associations to "Choun Ach'im", for it was the unique company that produces Korean style stationery.

Under Woo-hyuk's effort, the production was resumed. But they still could not repay the bill of exchange. Woo-hyuk went to implore to Mme Son again. Mme Son was moved by Woo-hyuk, and because of her help, Woo-hyuk got the chance to postpone the repaying date till the creditors see that he could get exported order after the stationery show in New York. Woo-hyuk then asked Young-ju to help him.

Knowing he misunderstood Seung-jo, Woo-hyuk went to Seung-jo's office to say sorry to him. They became good friends again.

When Kyong-ch'ol knew Sin-hee was hurt by Woo-hyuk, he told Woo-hyuk he would get even with him.

Seung-jo proposed to Young-ju but was refused. Young-ju told him she did not want more persons hurt because of her.

## Episode 19

Sin-hee left Young-ju's home. She left Young-ju a message that she would come back when both of them were not too tired.

Grandmother went to talk with Seung-jo's mother to ask her accept Young-ju but was refused. Grandmother left Seung-jo's home, crying, and this was found by Seung-jo's father. He was angry at what Seung-jo's mother has done and told her he would agree Seung-jo's marriage with Young-ju.

After Young-ju refused Seung-jo, she was always absent-minded. Woo-hyuk told Seung-jo that he would not like to see Young-ju marry Seung-jo, but he felt more sorry to see Young-ju trist.

Woo-hyuk's father became paralysis after his sick and he lost hope to everything. In order to encourage him, Young-ju let Hanul make friend with him. Woo-hyuk's father was moved.

Young-ju asked Min-su to help her in designing. For the stationery show in New York, they designed a blue bear named "Hanul". In ZEUS, Mr. Song wanted to send "Ch'ang-ch'ang" to the show, but was refused by Hae-pin. Instead, Hae-pin designed another character.

Kyong-ch'ol received much money from ZEUS and he stole Young-ju's design. Sin-hee knew Kyong-ch'ol got much money and one night, she saw he gave something to a person, but she did not know what it was.

The stationery show in New York finished, Hae-pin's design got nothing, while Young-ju's design got export order. Woo-hyuk told Young-ju the company was saved. Just at that time, they got to know that "Hanul"—Young-ju's design, was registered by ZEUS.

## Episode 20

ZEUS not only registered "Hanul", but also accused that "Choun Ach'im" used their mark. Woo-hyuk asked Seung-jo to be their lawyer.

Woo-hyuk told his father the production was designed by Young-ju and the name was "Hanul". Woo-hyuk's father was moved again and he told Woo-hyuk if he would, he could bring Young-ju to leave Korea. Woo-hyuk said he would not leave his father.

Sin-hee's father died. Young-ju found Sin-hee through Kyong-ch'ol. She told

Sin-hee there would be always a hope no matter how difficult it was.

Knowing about Young-ju's problem, Sin-hee asked Kyong-ch'ol if the thing he gave to another person was Young-ju's design and she asked Kyong-ch'ol to be witness at the court.

Mr. Song said at the court that "Hanul" had never been in their design department. Even though, it was not enough to prove that "Hanul" belonged to "Choun Ach'im". Kyong-ch'ol at last appeared and saved Woo-hyuk and his company. Woo-hyuk was very appreciated to Kyong-ch'ol.

Seung-jo told his mother he would forever insist his love to Young-ju. His father talked to Woo-hyuk's father that Seung-jo's mother did not agree Seung-jo's marriage with Young-ju. Woo-hyuk's father then talked with Seung-jo's mother. After the talking, Seung-jo's mother told Seung-jo's father that she did not know how to do.

Another day, when Young-ju sent Hanul to Woo-hyuk's home, Kang asked Young-ju to come in and say sorry to her. He at last accepted her as the family member and bought her a present on her birthday. Young-ju was very happy.

Woo-hyuk told Seung-jo that when it was raining, he wanted to be an umbrella in Young-ju's hand, but what Young-ju need was a person who could go through the rain with her together. He encouraged Seung-jo not to give up.

Young-ju and Seung-jo lastly conquered all kinds of difficulties.