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PIETŲ KORĖJOS ŠVELNIOSIOS GALIOS YPATUMAI: PIETŲ KORĖJOS DRAMOS IR FILMO KAIP PIETŲ KORĖJOS POPULIARIOSIOS KULTŪROS SEGMENTŲ VAIDMUO

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DISTINCT PECULIARITIES OF SOUTH KOREA'S SOFT POWER WIELDING: THE ROLE OF THE CINEMATIC COMPONENT OF THE KOREAN WAVE

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SANTRAUKA

Šis magistro darbas „Pietų Korėjos švelniosios galios ypatumai: Pietų Korėjos dramų ir filmų kaip Pietų Korėjos populiariosios kultūros bangos segmentų vaidmuo“, kuris pasitelkia diskriptyvų ir analitinį tyrimo metodus, tyrinėja Pietų Korėjos dramas ir filmus Pietų Korėjos populiarios kultūros bangos kontekste per švelniosios galios prizme.

Tiek akademinuose tiek politiniuose diskursuose tarptautiniu mastu pernelyg daug dėmesio yra skiriama karinei ir ekonominei galiai ir per mažai švelniajai. Džozefas Nai teigia, kad būtent pastaroji galios rūšis, t.y. švelnioji galia, turinti neišnaudoto politinio potencialo, kuris gali būti panaudotas spręsti įvairias opias tarptautines problemas.

Šios darbo tikslas yra remiantis sėkmingu Pietų Korėjos švelniosios galios akumuliacijos pavyzdžiu pamėginti iš naujo interpretuoti švelniosios galios sąvoką ir išplėsti jos politinį legitimumą.

Atitinkami išsikelti uždaviniai yra šie: (a) sintezuoti Džozefo Nai diskursą apie švelniąją galią; (b) išanalizuoti Pietų Korėjos populiariosios kulūros vystymąsi ir plėtrą iš istorinės perspektyvos telkiantis ties populiariaisiais Pietų Korėjos drama ir filmu; (c) atskleisti populiariųjų Pietų Korėjos dramos ir filmo kaip esminių Pietų Korėjos švelniosios galios resursų unikalumą; (d) atskleisti Pietų Korėjos vyriausybinių strategijų siekiant akumuliuoti švelniąją galią unikalumą; (e) pasiūlyti konkrečias konceptualias kryptis, kurių laikantis būtų galima papildyti Džozefo Nai diskursą apie švelniąją galią ir praplėsti jos praktinio panaudojimo ribas.

Atliktas tyrimas leidžia daryti išvadą, kad sėkmingas Pietų Korėjos švelniosios galios akumuliacijos atvejis yra iš tiesų išskirtinis dėl šių priežasčių: (a) savo esminiu švelniosios galios resursu Pietų Korėja pasirinko populiariąją romantinę dramą, kone labiausiai nuvertintą meno žanrą pasauliniu mastu, ir pasitelkusi įvairius konstruktyvius metodus ją išgrynino ir praturtino; (b) savo švelniosios galios auditorija Pietų Korėja pasirinko moteris, vieną labiausiai politiškai nuvertintų visuomenės sluoksnių pasauliniu mastu, ir paskatino jas kvestionuoti konvencionalias visuomenės struktūras ir rėžimus; (c) viena esminių savo švelniosios galios akumuliacijos strategijų Pietų Korėja pasirinko teisinę ir finansinę paramą nepriklausomoms smulkaus masto kompanijoms taip nuolat skatindama visuomenės kūrybingumą.

INTRODUCTION

Within the contemporary theory of political science presently one can distinguish between military, economic and soft power. While the legitimacy of the first two usually remains unquestioned the latter, defined by Joseph S. Nye as "an ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion", seemingly has yet to prove its credibility. The newly coined political concept first appeared in Nye's book "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power" in 1990 and has since drawn to itself relatively great amount of scholarly attention. South Korea's soft power is generally equated with the worldwide spread of the Korean Wave or else *Hallyu*, which started around the late 1990s and up till now shows no serious sings of decline.

Research question: In what way and to what extend can a thorough study of South Korea's soft power wielding experience contribute to the overall theory on soft power and political science in general?

Problem: Within both academic environment and political circles internationally too much emphasis is placed on military and economic power and too little to soft power. While, according to Nye, out of the three modes of political power soft power has the greatest potential to deal with critical global issues and foster multilateral co-operation among states its application is usually severely restricted to co-ordination issues due to various preconceived positivistic assumptions on the part of both political scientists and political decision-makers.

Significance: The decisions of political leaders as well as the overall outcome of political power play have direct impact on the well-being of civic people. Therefore, political science cannot be regarded as a self-sufficient phenomenon but rather must always be viewed it its contextualization. Political actors' insistence to treat soft power as inferior to military and economic power is an eloquent example of subjecthood-and-segmentation-oriented worldview. Successful soft power implementation increases inter-state communication/cooperation, fosters peace keeping/making strategies.

Object: I have chosen South Korea's soft power wielding experience as the object of my MA thesis because I strongly believe that a thorough study of phenomenon in question can foster the thawing of some of the most prevalent misconceptions concerning the limitations of soft power and thus contribute to the overall theory on soft power.

Scope: I have restricted my research to the cinematic component of the Korean Wave because I consider cinema in all its apparitions to be by far the most precious, influential and revealing form of art. Due to the above stated characteristics it serves as a most powerful soft power tool.

Objective: This MA thesis aims at re-interpreting and therefore extending the legitimacy of soft power by means of thoroughly analysing South Korea's soft power wielding experience.

Tasks:

(a) to provide a concise introduction into Nye's discourse on soft power;

(b) to provide a concise historical overview of the development and spread of South Korea's popular culture;

(c) to reveal the uniqueness of South Korea's soft power content;

(d) to highlight the singularity of South Korea's soft power wielding strategies;

(e) to practically apply South Korea's soft power wielding experience in terms of revising the existing soft power theory;

Research Method: This descriptive-analytical thesis engages in the analysis and synthesis of relevant academic literature (see REFERENCES).

Methodology: Methodologically the thesis mainly derives insights from Nye (1991, 2004), Kim and Ni (2011), Lee (2009), Raphael (1996, 1999), Jin (2011) and Shim (2006, 2008).

The thesis comprises an Introduction, two Parts, Conclusions, Summary in Lithuanian and a List of References.

Chapter one "KOFIC and KOCCA as the Two Major Implementers of South Korea's Soft Power Wielding Strategies" provides a concise introduction into Nye's theory on soft power, discusses the role of KOCCA and KOFIC within the context of the historical development of the Korean Wave and attempts to assess whether *Hallyu* constitutes South Korea's soft power with regard to Nye's definition of soft power.

Chapter two "South Korea's Soft Power Wielding Experience as an Impetus for Further Soft Power Studies" discusses the popular reception of the Korean Wave in Taiwan, Mainland China, Japan and Lithuania, attempts to discern distinct peculiarities of South Korea's soft power content as well as that of South Korea's soft power strategies and highlights as to why South Korea's soft power experience deserves academic attention with regard to future scholarly endeavours in the field of soft power studies.

Conclusions answer the research question and summarize the main findings of the research.

1. KOFIC AND KOCCA AS THE TWO MAJOR IMPLEMENTERS OF SOUTH KOREA'S SOFT POWER WIELDING STRATEGIES

This chapter briefly discusses: (a) Nye's discourse on soft power with special reference to the definition of power and soft power, soft power resources on personal and state plane and the global circumstances such as the changing nature of power that contribute to the legitimacy of soft power and extend its applicability; (b) the composition and action sphere of KOFIC and KOCCA, which are the two major implementers of South Korea's soft power wielding strategies, and thus their role in bringing about desired soft power outcomes on the part of South Korea's government while at the same time taking into consideration the broader context of the historical development of the Korean Wave and its economic as well as political implications; (c) the legitimacy of the Korean Wave as South Korea's soft power with regard to two contracting scholarly approaches on the subject.

1.1. A concise overview of Nye's theory on soft power

The political concept 'soft power' first appeared in Joseph S. Nye's book "Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power" in 1990 and has since drawn to itself relatively great amount of academic attention. Thus within the contemporary theory of international relations one can roughly distinguish not only between military and economic but also soft power.

In his 2004 book "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics", Nye asserts that both political decision-makers and political scientists tend to correlate the presence of power with the possession of material resources. Consequently, a country is considered powerful if it has (a) a relatively large population and territory, (b) extensive natural resources, (c) economic strength, (d) military force and (e) social stability (Nye 2004a, 3).

Significantly, Nye contends that the propensity to view power as a concrete, measurable and predictable commodity is misleading because having the material power assets mentioned above does not necessarily guarantee the desired outcome on the part of the possessor of the material power assets. In order to illustrate the weakness of viewing power as a direct manifestation of material belongings, Nye refers to the calamity of September 11, pointing out that it did happen despite the fact that in 2001 the United States of America was considered the world's only superpower (ibid.).

Nye defines power *per se* as "the possession of the capabilities to affect the behaviour of others in order to get the desired outcome" and subsequently discerns three ways of exercising political power: (a) coercion with threats; (b) inducement with payments; (c) attraction and co-option (Nye 2004a, 2).

Nye defines soft power as "an ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion" and asserts that on the human plane soft power rests on (a) the skills of emotional intelligence, (b) vision and (c) communication; on the state plane it stems from (a) the attractiveness of culture, (b) the sincerity of values and (c) the legitimacy of policies (Nye 2004b, ———).

In comparison, in their joint article "The Nexus between *Hallyu* and Soft Power: Cultural Public Diplomacy in the Era of Sociological Globalism", Jeongnam Kim and Lan Ni defines soft power as "a collective sum of good held by members of a foreign public about a given country" and suggests that the extent of soft power of a country can be summarized into five somewhat more inclusive conceptual dimensions: (a) attracting foreign publics' favourability (public opinions); (b) cultural attractiveness (the amount of foreign export of cultural products such as movies, TV contents, music, exhibitions, publications, number of visiting artisans); (c) political attractiveness (the measures indicating people's satisfaction related with political systems such as political freedom, number of political prisoners, the number of exiles from other countries; (d) educational attractiveness (the number of international students coming for study, the expenditure the foreign students spend annually); (e) communality (the amount of responsiveness to the foreign social problems such as poverty, massacre, genocide, violence against powerless foreign publics, foreign aid without conditions, number of people who go for foreign countries for humanitarian purposes; (f) competent wielding of communication/information technologies; (g) attractiveness of economic achievements (Kim, Ni 2011, 134-136).

Furthermore, Kim and Ni notes that the mass media (news coverage) and people-to-people yet not necessary face-to-face interactions (international online communities, work-related travellers, tourists, diasporas) are likewise significant soft power generators in the sense that they can influence positive/negative perception and evaluation about a country among members of a foreign public albeit the former two works on a micro and non-governmental level (ibid. 136).

Nye suggests that a successful soft power wielding strategy of a country results in: (a) admiring of its values; (b) emulating of its example; (c) aspiring of its level of prosperity and openness (Nye 2004a, 5).

According to Nye, out of the three modes of political power soft power has the greatest potential to deal with critical global issues and foster multilateral cooperation among states, however, its application is usually severely restricted due to various preconceived assumptions on the part of both political scientists and political decision-makers (Nye 2004b, ———). For instance,

political leaders internationally refrain from incorporating soft power dimensions into their power wielding strategies because they fail to take into consideration the changing nature of power (Nye 2004a, 1).

With regard to the changing nature of power, Nye distinguishes between the pre-information age and the information age, arguing that before the information age power was much easier to assess and it was done so in international politics in terms of warfare (Nye 2004a, 3). Importantly, over the centuries alongside with industrial, technological and information revolution the means of warfare have evolved dramatically. Hence, it is misleading to assume that the contemporary distribution of political power can be accounted for by taking into consideration solely military or economic assets (Nye 2004a, 3).

Nye observes that the agenda of world politics has become like "a three dimensional chess game, in which one can win only by playing vertically as well as horizontally" (Nye 2004a, 4). In other words, to follow Nye's way of putting it and to use the case of the United States of America as an example, on the top board of classic interstate military issues, the United States of America can still be viewed as the only super power with global military reach. However, on the middle board of interstate economic issues, the distribution of power is multipolar. Lastly, on the bottom board of transnational issues like terrorism, international crime, climate change and the spread of infectious diseases, power is "widely distributed" and "chaotically organized" among state and non-state actors (ibid).

Nye holds that it is the latter set of issues or else the bottom board that the contemporary theory of international relations should pay considerable amount of attention to yet many political leaders still cling to classic military solutions. Nye refers to the latter set of political leaders as one-dimensional players in a three-dimensional game and maintains that in the long run their inconsiderateness is bound to produce a loss since obtaining favourable outcomes on the bottom transnational board often requires the use of soft power (Nye 2004a, 5).

All in all, Nye refutes the positivistic perception of power, which stresses material assets rather than admiration as the inherent component of power, and argues that in today's world as far as it pertains to the political power-play both components are indispensable. Consequently, a well-balanced application of both soft power and hard power results in what Nye refers to as 'smart power'.

1.2. KOFIC and KOCCA within the historical context of the cinematic component of the Korean Wave

South Korea's media liberalization, which started in the mid-1980s, was a crucial impetus for contemporary South Korean film as well as TV drama to eventually emerge.

In his article "Hybridity and the Rise of Korean Popular Culture in Asia" Doobo Shim provides that until 1987 only domestic film companies were allowed to import and distribute foreign movies in South Korean market, however, in 1988, due to the increasing pressure from the United States of America South Korea's government allowed Hollywood studios to distribute their films directly to local theatres (Shim 2006, 31). Consequently, by 1994, more than 10 South Korean film importers had shut down their businesses (ibid.) and, in 1993, homemade movies accounted for a record low of 15.9% of domestic market share, which led observers to predict the "inevitable demise" of South Korean cinema (Shim 2008a, 16).

Furthermore, when, in 1994, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was transformed into the World Trade Organization (WTO), all former member states of GATT, including South Korea, were obliged to open their markets in media communications and culture, which had been protected from foreign competition since the early days of GATT (ibid.).

Subsequently, South Korean press began to write that while culture was emerging as a new sector in global economic competition South Korea was "in danger of its indigenous culture being debased by foreign media" (ibid. 17). In other words, South Korea perceived the inevitable media liberalization as both a crisis and an opportunity (Shim 2008b, 209).

1.2.1. *Chaebols* and venture capitalists: The economic inclinations of the cinematic component of the Korean Wave

In 1994, the Presidential Advisory Board on Science and Technology proposed to President Youngsam Kim that South Korea should develop cinema and other media content production as a national strategic industry. What the proposal highlighted was the fact that the total revenue of the Hollywood movie "Jurassic Park" (1993) amounted to the foreign sales of 1.5 million Hyundai cars (Shim 2008a, 17; Shim 2008b, 210). According to Shim, the South Koreans, who had strongly believed that it was the heavy and chemical industries that would lead their country to a more prosperous future, found this information groundbreaking (Shim 2008a, 17). In 1995, the National Assembly replaced the existing Motion Picture Law (MPL) by a new one, which had it that the government would provide tax incentives for film production in order to attract corporate capital into South Korean cinema industry (ibid.).

Shim further asserts that major domestic conglomerates or else *chaebols*, including Samsung, Daewoo and Hyundai, had already been planning for cultural content production, hence, in no time did they make use of the governmental assistance and advanced into cultural industry (ibid.). However, when after several years their ventures proved to be loss-making, *chaebols* used the financial crisis of the late 1997 as an apposite excuse to exit from cultural industry (ibid. 19).

Shim stresses that despite its short-lived and seemingly unsuccessful character, the "*chaelbol* age of Korean cinema industry" actually laid the foundation for a renaissance of the South Korean cinema industry due to the following reasons: (a) *chaebol*-run film companies recruited fresh talents by holding independent film festivals and film scenario contests with considerable cash prizes; (b) *chaebols* supported young directors who had graduated from prestigious film studios all over the world and who would otherwise have had to wait for many years for their debut film; (c) many highly competent *chaebol*-staff members from diverse fields of business were put into the cinema business (ibid.).

All in all, to borrow Anthony C. Y. Leong's words from his book "Korean Cinema: The New Hong Kong", the *chaebols*' contribution transformed South Korea's film industry into a more professional and business-oriented infrastructure that integrated it all: production, distribution and exhibition (Leong 2006, 9). Furthermore, even after *chaebols* had folded their film businesses, a great number of ex-*chaebol*-employees remained in the cinema industry and it is common knowledge that many successful South Korean movies in recent years have been planned and marketed by these very people (Shim 2008a, 19).

More or less simultaneous to *chaebols'* withdrawal from the South Korean film industry was the appearance of fast-profit-oriented venture capitalists (Shin, Stringer 2005, 43). Shim observes that right after the Samsung Entertainment Group had officially announced its breakup the action thriller "Shiri" ("쉬리") (1999), which Samsung had planned and funded as his final project, proved to be a big hit, attracting 5.8 million theatre goers nationwide and thus setting a new box-office record in South Korea. The fact that "Shiri" ("쉬리") (1999) was likewise partly funded by a venture capitalist, further argues the scholar, gave many prospective investors cues to finance film productions. What is more, in 1999, South Korean government revised the Motion Picture Promotion Law, thus facilitating venture capitalists' funding of the film productions. Due to the above mentioned reasons, in 2000, venture capitalists funded (partly or exclusively) 23 out of 58 South Korean movies produced (Shim 2008a, 20).

Shim observes that the increased individual financing of film productions resulted in an increased number of blockbusters. According to the data gathered by the Korean Film Council (KOFIC) and highlighted by Shim, in 2001, the box-office record of "Shiri" ("쉬리") (1999) was surpassed by that of "Joint Security Area" ("공동경비구역") (2000). Several months later

"Friends" ("친구") (2001) sold an unprecedented amount of 8.2 million admission tickets. In 2004, "Silmido" ("실미도") (2003) set a still new box-office record by hitting 11.08 million in viewership and, in 2006, "King and the Clown" ("왕의 남자") (2005) drew more than 12 million audiences (ibid.).

Subsequently, South Korean cinema's domestic market share increased from 15.9% in 1993 to 35.5% in 2000 to over 50% in 2001, 2003, 2004 and 2005 (ibid.).

1.2.2. KOFIC and KOCCA: The political implications of the cinematic component of the Korean Wave

Shim notes that South Korean media began to cover the successful performance of South Korean popular culture starting from the late 1990s, thus informing the South Korean government that "the export-oriented economy had found a new overseas market in the midst of the "national plight" of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)-directed economic restructuring" (Shim 2008a, 28).

Impressed by the sensational economic performance of South Korean cultural commodities abroad, in February 1999, the South Korean government passed the Framework Act on Culture Industry Promotion and, in July 2001, established the so called "cultural technology" (i.e. the technology that produces TV drama, film, pop music, computer games, animation, etc.) as one of the six key technologies alongside with IT (Information technology) and BT (Bio technology) and pledged a huge amount of financial investment and administrative support to domestic cultural industries (ibid.).

Against this backdrop, in the same 2001, the South Korean government founded the Korean Culture and Content Agency under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism with an annual budget of USD 90 million and a purpose to systematically support and internationally promote South Korea's creative content (Lee 2011, 89).

According to the official booklet "In Quest of Excellence: Selected Public Policies of Korea" compiled by Office for Government Policy Coordination, governments throughout Asian region attempt to investigate the role of KOCCA in bringing about the success of South Korea's creative content industry in order to apply the findings in stimulating their own cultural industries.

The booklet informs that, inspired by the successful performance of the Korean Wave abroad, in 2002, the Taiwanese government initiated a policy to nurture its creative content industry and, in 2005, prior to actually founding a Taiwanese cultural industry promotion agency, sent a delegation of some 30 lawmakers and high-ranking officials to Korea to benchmark KOCCA.

Furthermore, in 2003, the Chinese government initiated a policy to promote its content industry and articulated a wish to create a governmental agency similar to that of KOCCA.

Even though Japan is one of the world's largest creative content producers, officials from Japan's Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Economy, Trade & Industry and the Digital Content Association of Japan (DCAJ) have visited South Korea repeatedly since 2003.

In 2005 alone, 105 people from a number of countries, including officials of the Vietnamese Ministry of Culture & Communication and the Australian Film Commission, travelled to South Korea to benchmark KOCCA's approach for fostering South Korea's creative content industry.

In 2009, the Korean Culture and Content Agency (KOCCA) was subordinated to the newly established Korean Creative Content Agency (KOCCA), which currently combines the previously separate Korea Broadcasting Institute, Korea Culture and Content Agency, Korea Game Industry Agency, Cultural Contents Center and Digital Contents Business Group of Korea IT Industry Promotion Agency.

According to KOCCA's official website, the intricate body of KOCCA, which roughly consists of five main divisions such as Creative Production Promotion Division, Global Business Division, Future Convergence Content Industry Division, HRD & Infrastructure Division and Management & Administration Division, is being supervised by a President & CEO and two Vice Presidents & COO.

Presently KOCCA runs official branches in Beijing, Tokyo, London and Los Angeles (Shim 2009, 302).

The wide action sphere of KOCCA includes: (a) production support; (b) overseas expansion support; (c) CT convergence content; (d) human resources development; (e) infrastructure establishment and management.

As far as it regards the area of production support, KOCCA sets itself the following goals: (a) to support the creation and production of excellent South Korean content that have potential to succeed in strategic international markets; (b) to promote the creation of various unique contents and strengthen the capacity of production companies; (c) to foster the production of marketable domestic comics and provide support for the development of fusion-style global character products with professional designs; (d) to provide the necessary infrastructure, marketing, etc., so that domestic online games can be directly serviced overseas; (e) to discover musicians of various genres and support the development of domestic music industry.

When it comes to the sphere of overseas expansion support, KOCCA seeks to attain the following objectives: (a) to foster export by strengthening business networks with foreign markets; (b) to give international expansion opportunities to competent South Korean contents.

As for the sphere of CT convergence content, KOCCA is adamant to accomplish the following aims: (a) to promote technology transfers and improve the technological strength and competence of domestic content companies; (b) to acquire core technologies for the production of 3D images; (c) to support the development of technologies that can be directly applied in content industries.

As far as it pertains to the sphere of human resource development, KOCCA focuses on the following ends: (a) to discover creative stories and nurture competent storytellers; (b) to engage South Korean universities, academies as well as international universities in nurturing creative designers; (c) to support content-related educational institutions, including high-schools, universities, etc., to train professionals; (d) to discover and train content-related professionals and technology-oriented experts.

In relation to infrastructure establishment and management, KOCCA pursues the following ambitions: (a) to ensure that independent production companies use expensive high-tech content creation systems which otherwise they would not be able to easily acquire on their own; (b) to support domestic broadcasting infrastructures in order to improve the international competitiveness of broadcasting contents; (c) to provide a venue for exchange among related professionals.

According to the official booklet "In Quest of Excellence: Selected Public Policies of Korea" compiled by Office for Government Policy Coordination, in March 2005, KOCCA hosted the 1st Asia Cultural Industry, which was attended by 18 officials from 7 Southeast Asian governments and public organizations.

While Mainland China, the United Kingdom and Germany have hosted various forums and seminars on ways to strengthen cooperative ties with South Korea as far as it pertains to the creation and promotion of creative content, KOCCA invited 34 prominent business persons from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, France, Japan, Hong Kong and Malaysia to visit South Korea's content developers and to build ties with them.

The Korean Film Council (KOFIC) was established long before the rise of the Korean Wave, i.e. in 1973, and presently, much like KOCCA, operates under the supervision of South Korea's Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism.

According to the official 2012 book "Korean Cinema", which is yearly published by KOFIC itself, KOFIC is being overseen by 9 commissioners (1 full-time chairman and 8 committee members) and is composed of 6 departments specializing in various key aspects of South Korea's contemporary cinema: (a) Domestic Promotion Department supports South Korea's film industry; (b) International Promotion Centre is in charge of the promotion and public relations of South Korea's films abroad; (c) Film Research and Development Center focuses on the compilation, analysis and publication of vital information regarding South Korea's film performance; (d) Korean

Academy of Film Arts, which was established in 1984, provides high-quality extensive education to future film professionals; (e) Technical Supports Department carries out research on future cinema technology such as digital cinema and 3D films; (f) General Management Department is in charge of the monetary film development fund.

Since July 2007, the above mentioned film development fund approximated USD 430 million in total where USD 172 million has been allocated by South Korea's government, another USD 172 million has been derived from box office ticket sale allotments and USD 86 million from existing film funds. The allotment on box office ticket sale amount to 3% of the ticket price and has been temporarily implemented for 7 years and 6 months from July 1, 2007 until the end of 2014.

Currently KOFIC initiatives and activities include: (a) a public campaign with the catchphrase "Be a Good Downloader", which promotes the use of legal film download services; (b) Nationwide Computerized Box Office Data System, which provides swift and accurate box office results and thus contributes to a transparent and fair distribution environment within the film industry; (c) mortgage loans for common and art film screening facilities; (d) an online animation and drama screenplay market, which introduces abundant and diverse ideas to the cinematic world and links writers and producers; (e) stimulation of film projects from mid-sized film production companies, producers and screenplay writers; (f) support for short and mid-length film productions irrespectfully of their genre; (g) support for 34 cinema theatres nationwide, including cinema theatres, which screen art films, multiplex cinema theatres, which screen diverse films, 3 cinema theatres, which specialize in independent films, and 1 cinematheque, which screens diverse films; (i) promotion of diverse films by purchasing the copyrights of foreign classic and art movies and building a public film library, which rents its cinematic resources free of charge to non-profit-oriented individuals or groups of people; (j) hosting of international film festivals in South Korea and encouraging international as well as domestic film submissions with an aim to stimulate global human resource exchange; (k) running of a PR booth and hosting of the 'Korean Cinema Night' event with an aim to promote South Korea's movies at major film festivals; (l) setting up of PR booths at international film markets with an aim to assist international sales of South Korean movies.

In order to sponsor international film co-production, in 2010, KOFIC launched the International Co-Production Support Team, which in its turn, in 2011, launched a USD 2.6 million project under the title "Location Incentive Program", which grants a cash rebate for foreign directors who choose to shoot their films in South Korea. In order to provide co-production consulting services and general information about South Korea films to foreign markets, KOFIC maintains a global online portal named KOBIZ.

KOFIC has 2 international offices, one is located in the United States of America and the other in Mainland China, both act as hubs for the international public relations and marketing of South Korea's movies. By means of resident employees in other major foreign countries, KOFIC undertakes foreign market research and accordingly initiates local promotion projects. KOFIC likewise publishes a number of books and magazines in English which cover various issues pertaining to the dynamics of South Korea's film industry (e.g. yearly book "Korean Cinema", bi-monthly magazine "Korean Cinema Today").

1.3. The Korean Wave as soft power vs. the Korean Wave as non soft power

Presently one can distinguish between two contesting approaches on whether the Korean Wave can be interpreted as an example of soft power of South Korea in accordance with Nye's concept of soft power.

In her MA thesis "Effect of the Korean Wave on South Korea's Soft Power in Japan", Veneta Parvanova argues that it is misleading to equate the phenomenon of the Korean Wave with a manifestation of South Korea's soft power and that any attempt to do so only reveals academic laziness and lack of substantial knowledge on the subject on the part of the researchers.

Implicitly contesting Hanaki et al., who in their 2007 article "*Hanryu* seeps East Asia: How *Winter Sonata* is gripping Japan" argue that the Korean Wave has greatly contributed to the thawing of the political as well as societal tension between South Korea and Japan, Parvanova seeks to prove that the Korean Wave has failed to bring about any substantial improvement in the diplomatic as well as civic relations between South Korea and Japan due to the fact that from the very beginning the Korean Wave has been an economically rather than politically driven occurrence.

According to Parvanova, the export of South Korea's contemporary culture does not constitute South Korea's soft power because it has been initiated by private sector agents with an intention to gain profit (Parvanova 2009, i). In order to illustrate the obstructive nature of the economic inclinations of the Korean Wave, Parvanova provides an example of K-idols who refuse to exert their substantial influence over their daily increasing fandom and thus pursuit favourable political outcomes due to their economic dependency on foreign markets (ibid. 37-38).

Parvanova attempts to solidify her point by comparing South Korea's soft power wielding experience with that of the United States of America, implying that the latter is an exemplary one and therefore could serve as a foil to highlight the reasons as to why the phenomenon of the Korean Wave fails to fit Nye's definition of soft power. Parvanova point out that by means of exporting its popular culture the United States of America also exports such politically and ideologically charged notions as 'freedom', 'democracy', 'free speech', 'human rights', etc. South Korea's creative goods,

on the contrary, possess no political colouring whatsoever in the sense that South Korea merely follows the global pro-democratic trend and offers no pioneering vistas of political thought (ibid. 25-26).

Furthermore, Parvanova implies that South Korea relies too heavily on its popular culture in order to produce efficient soft power wielding strategies and consequently fails to see the latent potential of alternative/complementary soft power resources such as (a) high culture (literature, art), (b) education and (c) foreign and domestic governmental policies (ibid. 28).

In addition, Parvanova argues that the Korean Wave, much as any other world's popular culture, is merely "a variation of global pop", i.e. a hybrid encompassing in itself a mixture of genres and formats (ibid. 27).

All in all, Parvanova maintains that the absence of innovative political message and the presence of underlying economic interest determine the weak character of the Korean Wave. The inability to make use of alternative soft power resources on the part of South Korea's government alongside with doubtful authenticity of South Korea's contemporary culture also plays a crucial role in denouncing the Korean Wave as an influential ambassador of South Korea.

In his article "A Soft Power Approach to the Korean Wave", Geun Lee assumes that the Korean Wave in its entirety is an example of soft power *par excellence* and hence investigates its potential to help South Korea attain certain foreign political and economic goals.

On the one hand, much in Parvanova's vein, Lee acknowledges that for its diplomatic goals South Korea should not rely solely upon its popular culture, on the other hand, he does not underplay the soft power potential of the Korean Wave and even ventures that soft power *per se* is much more powerful than it is usually deemed to be (Lee 2009, 124).

Consequently, unlike Parvanova, Lee argues that the Korean Wave is more than capable of inflicting substantial influence upon international arena on both civic and political plane. What is more, contesting Parvanova's stance, being fully aware that Nye's concept of soft power has been developed within the context of the hegemony of the United States of America, Lee does not take Nye's discourse on soft power for granted and attempts to broaden the category of soft power by focusing on its general practical applicability, undermining the popular conviction that only superpowers are endowed with the necessary means to transform their soft power resources into an efficient soft power wielding.

Lee observes that even though South Korea is the 13th largest world's economy and possesses a world-class military it cannot comfortably compete with other advanced industrialized countries in the area of hard power. Therefore, South Korea can and should make use of its distinct soft power resources such as high-quality human capital and flourishing contemporary culture (ibid.).

Lee further notes that the enthusiasm for South Korea's popular culture initiated by the Korean Wave has already resulted in a mass consumption of Korean symbols and ideas and that the Korean Wave has already proved to be South Korea's crucial soft power resource (ibid. 130). In order to verify his proposition, the scholar recounts the unprecedented success of the Korean Wave in Mainland China, Japan and Vietnam by discerning both internal and external success factors (all of which will be discussed in this paper in due course) and presents several additional facts pertaining to the Korean Wave, which he considers highly important in relation to South Korea's soft power potential and refers to as "outstanding characteristics" of the Korean Wave.

First of all, according to Lee, the geographical scope of the Korean Wave is not limited to Confucian East Asia and covers such non-Confucian areas as Malaysia, Egypt, Latin America, central Asia and Russia. For example, the recent South Korean TV drama "My Lovely Kim Samsoon" ("내 이름은 김삼순") (2005) was sold to markets in Mainland China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam and Japan. In addition, in 2008, the drama was broadcast in Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Peru, Puerto Rico and El Salvador (ibid. 132). Furthermore, the piece of work of art was a hit in the United Arab Emirates and the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), an American commercial broadcasting television network, acquired the remake rights of the drama. In other words, the gradually increasing universal appeal of the Korean Wave beyond Confucian cultural areas produces surplus potential for South Korea to project its soft power to diverse regions such as Asia, North America, Latin America and even Africa (ibid.).

Secondly, different TV dramas and K-pop stars are admired throughout different countries. For instance, in Mainland China, the Korean Wave was triggered by the TV drama "What is Love All About" ("사랑이 뭐길래") (1997), in the case of Japan, it was "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002). The Korean Wave in Vietnam started with "Medical Brothers" ("의가형제") (1997), as for Taiwan and Hong Kong, it was the TV dramas "Autumn Fairy Tale" ("가을동화") (2000) and "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003), respectively (ibid. 133). As seen from the examples above, the versatile and flexible nature of the Korean Wave produces its uniqueness or, to invoke Nye's terminology, efficiency in swaying a broad array of cultural areas in order "to make them do what you want". However, it is imperative to note that the latter characteristics of the Korean Wave by no means imply that different countries restrict their affinities towards some one distinct TV drama since, for instance, the appeal of "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003) is not just limited to Hong Kong but is likewise widely embraced by Japan and Mainland China (ibid).

Thirdly, the rapid spread of the Korean Wave throughout the Asian region and beyond has resulted in a number of backlashes in the form of anti-*Hallyu* movements and slogans in the countries where the Korean Wave inflicts substantial influence on the mind-set of local audiences

(ibid.). According to Lee, the apparition of negative reactions on the part of the recipient countries towards the penetration of South Korea's contemporary culture only attests to the successful performance of the Korean Wave, however, the scholar also admits that the emergence of anti-*Hallyu* sentiments primarily in such countries as Japan, Mainland China and Taiwan should be an alarm signal for South Korea's governmental officials to implement South Korea's soft power strategies more subtly so that South Korea's highly potential soft power resources would not prove to be "a double-edged sword" (ibid.).

All in all, unlike Parvanova, Lee views the Korean Wave as an immensely valuable soft power resource which, on the one hand, has already proved its worldwide efficiency as South Korea's most powerful soft power tool, on the other hand, can still be creatively mobilized and utilized to achieve many political and economic goals (ibid. 135).

2. SOUTH KOREA'S SOFT POWER WIELDING EXPERIENCE AS AN IMPETUS FOR FURTHER SOFT POWER STUDIES

This section discusses: (a) the popular reception of the Korean Wave abroad with special reference to Taiwan, Mainland China, Japan and Lithuania and the phenomenon of the anti-*Hallyu* sentiments which emerges in those regions, where the influence of the Korean Wave is substantial; (b) the distinct peculiarities of South Korea's soft power content with special reference to South Korea's TV dramas for this category of South Korea's cultural produce has been the main catalyst of the success of the Korean Wave overseas; (c) the distinct peculiarities of South Korea's soft power wielding strategies with special reference to South Korea's governmental support for South Korea's broadcasting system for the latter has been crucial in creating South Korean TV dramas as South Korea's crucial soft power resource; (d) future trends for theorizing and wielding of soft power in the global context based on South Korea's soft power wielding experience.

2.1. The popular reception of the cinematic component of the Korean Wave within the Asian region and beyond

As already noted previously in the paper, today South Korea's cinematic production, first and foremost including TV drama and film, has become widely consumed cultural commodities not only in Asia but also in the Americas and even to some extend in Africa and Europe.

Such South Korean TV dramas as "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002), "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003), "Full House" ("풀하우스") (2004), "The 1st Shop of Coffee Prince" ("커피프린스 1호점") (2007), "Boys over Flowers" ("꽃보다 남자") (2009), "You're Beautiful" ("미남이시네요") (2009), "Scent of a Woman" ("여인의 향기") (2011), etc., and such South Korean movies as "Shiri" ("쉬리") (1999), "Il Mare" ("시월애") (2000), "Joint Security Area" ("공동경비구역") (2000), "My Sassy Girl" ("엽기적인 그녀") (2001), "Oldboy" ("올드보이") (2003), etc., have enchanted daily increasing audiences not only domestically but also internationally.

To borrow Shim's observation presented in his 2008 article "The Growth of Korean Cultural Industries and the Korean Wave", the overwhelming popularity of South Korean contemporary culture in Asia, for once, is evidenced by the fact that it has become material for the Malaysian song

"I am not... Song Seungheon", where two male singers express the feelings of a man whose girlfriend is infatuated with the South Korean actor Seungheon Song (Shim 2008a, 16).

Shim provides that after the blockbuster "Shiri" ("쉬리") (1999) received international critical and commercial acclaim and earned USD 14 million from 1.2 million Japanese theatre-goers alone, many South Korean movies have been released for commercial run in foreign theatres and won prizes at such prestigious film festivals as Cannes, Berlin and Venice (Shim 2008a, 21). The table below (compiled by Dokyun Kim and Sejin Kim and displayed in their joint article "*Hallyu* from Its Origin to Present: A Historical Overview", partially highlights the extent of the international expansion of South Korean movies from 1998 till 2010 (Kim, Kim 2011, 27) (see Table 1):

Table 1 International expansion of South Korean movies (1998-2010)

Year of Production	Movie Title	Target Countries/Regions
1998	"Christmas in August" ("8월의 크리스마스")	Hong Kong
1998	"Shiri" ("쉬리")	Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, North America, Singapore, Taiwan
2000	"Joint Security Area" ("공동경비구역")	Japan
2001	"My Sassy Girl" ("엽기적인 그녀")	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China, Singapore, Taiwan
2003	"Old Boy" ("올드보이")	England, France, Japan, Malaysia
2003	"TaeGukGi: Brotherhood of War" ("태극기 휘날리며")	Benelux, England, German, Greece, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Mainland China, Malaysia, North America, Scandinavia, Singapore, Taiwan
2003	"Conduct Zero" ("품행제로")	Singapore
2003	"Marriage is a Crazy Thing" ("결혼은 미친 짓이다")	Singapore

2003	“My Tutor Friend” (“동갑내기 과외하기”)	Singapore
2003	“A Tale of Two Sisters” (“장화, 홍련”)	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam
2004	“Silmido” (“실미도”)	Japan
2004	“Windstruck” (“내 여자친구를 소개합니다”)	Malaysia
2004	“My Little Bride” (“어린 신부”)	Malaysia
2005	“The King and the Clown” (“왕의 남자”)	Japan, Mainland China
2005	“Typhoon” (“타이푼”)	North America
2006	“The Host” (“괴물”)	Argentina, Brazil, England, Japan, Mainland China, Malaysia, Singapore, United States
2007	“D-War” (“디워”)	United States
2008	“The Chaser” (“추격자”)	Benelux, France, Greek, Hong Kong, Japan, South America, United States
2008	“The Divine Weapon” (“신기전”)	Hong Kong, Sweden
2009	“Tidal Wave” (“해운대”)	Benelux, France, Greek, Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China, United States
2009	“Take Off” (“국가대표”)	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China, Malaysia, Taiwan

According to Shim, in 1995, a total of 15 South Korean movies reached foreign audiences and earned approximately USD 208 679 and, in 2004, a total of 193 South Korean movies were exported to 62 countries and earned approximately USD 58 million (ibid.). As for 2004, Minsun Kim's calculations somewhat contest Shim's as she provides that the overseas box-office revenues from South Korean films increased from USD 15 million in 2002 to USD 31 million in 2004 and USD 75 million in 2005 while the total revenue earned from products of the Korean Wave has ranged from USD 500 million in 2002 to more than USD 1 billion in 2005 (Kim 2011a, 475).

Shim further provides that, as of 2004, Japan was the biggest South Korean film importer, 33 South Korean films accounting for 69.3% of all South Korean film exports and a 10% share of the Japanese film market (ibid. 21-22). It is usually assumed that the majority of the Japanese audiences for the South Korean films in 2004 were middle-aged women spurred by their fandom of the television drama "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002), however, the article "Forced Invisibility to Negotiating Visibility: *Winter Sonata*, the *Hanryu* Phenomenon and *Zainichi* Koreans in Japan" somewhat contests the presupposition above, arguing that while the South Korean TV drama was "especially popular among middle-aged Japanese women, the hanryu wave cut a broader swath across socio-demographic groups, including men and woman of all ages, and notably teenagers" (Han et al. 2007, 156).

Shim notes that the worldwide popularity of South Korean dramas far surpassed the popularity of South Korean movies (Shim 2008b, 205).

The South Korean television industry began to export TV dramas around the early 1990s. In 1992, Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) sold "Eyes of the Dawn" ("여명의 눈동자") (1991) to Turkiye Radyo Televizyon (TRT), Turkey's national broadcaster, marking the first South Korean TV drama to be exported to a European country, and, in 1997, "What is Love All About" ("사랑이 뭐길래") (1997) to Hong Kong's Asia Television Ltd. (ATV) (Shim 2008a, 24-25). In the same 1997, the latter drama was aired by China Central Television (CCTV) and, in 1998, was again rebroadcast by the same broadcaster on popular demand (ibid. 25). The table below partially covers the worldwide expansion of South Korean TV drama from 1998 to 2010 (Kim, Kim 2011, 24) (see Table 2):

Table 2 International expansion of South Korean dramas (1998-2010)

Year of Production	Drama Title	Target Countries/Regions	Media Producer
1998	"What is Love All About" ("사랑이 뭐길래")	Mainland China	MBC
1999	"Stars in My Heart" ("별은 내가슴에")	Mainland China, Taiwan	MBC
2000	"Autumn Fairy Tale" ("가을동화")	Hong Kong, Malaysia, Philippines	KBS
2002	"Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가")	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China	KBS
2003	"Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금")	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China	KBS
2004	"Emperor of the Sea" ("해신")	India, Iran	KBS
2005	"My Lovely Samsoon" ("내 이름은 김삼순")	Philippines	MBC
2006	"Princess Hours" ("궁")	Philippines	MBC
2006	"Hwang Ji Ni" ("황진이")	Mainland China, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam	KBS
2006	"Jumong" ("주몽")	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Vietnam	MBC
2007	"The Legend" ("태왕사신기")	Japan, Taiwan	MBC
2008	"Gourmet" ("식객")	Hong Kong, Mainland China, Taiwan	SBS
2009	"Boys over Flowers"	Canada, Indonesia,	KBS

	(“꽃보다 남자”)	Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand	
2009	“Queen Seon Duk” (“선덕여왕”)	Japan, Taiwan	MBC
2010	“The Slave Hunters” (“추노”)	Hong Kong, Japan, Mainland China, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand	KBS

The total amount of South Korean television program exports dramatically increased from USD 5.5 million in 1995 to USD 71.4 million in 2004 (Shim 2008a, 27). The figures below display the exports of South Korean television programs in USD from 2000 till 2007 (Kim, Kim 2011, 26) (see Table 3):

Table 3 Exports of South Korean television programs in USD (2000-2007)

Year	Exports of South Korean Television Programs in USD
2000	13 111 000
2001	18 020 000
2002	28 813 000
2003	42 135 000
2004	71 461 000
2005	123 493 000
2006	147 743 000
2007	162 584 000

Sungjeon Sung’s article “Why are Asians Attracted to Korean Pop Culture?” infers that the cheerful background music, special emphasis on visual imagery, professional cinematography and impeccable acting that South Korean TV dramas are characteristic of have revised the former Taiwanese presupposition that the Korean people are “filled with roughness, violent tendencies, and lack of material and cultural refinement” (Sung 2008, 14).

In her study “Tasting the Mirage-Like Korean Wave” Jennifer Pai, a journalist at the Central News Agency of Taiwan, appreciates South Korea’s ability “to enhance its international image by emerging from the financial crisis relatively unscathed and simultaneously giving birth to the

graceful Korean Wave" (Pai 2008, 33) and argues that the popularity of the Korean Wave in Taiwan owes its existence to the fact that culturally Taiwan has never been a homogenous entity and therefore lacks "social stamina" to resist foreign influences (ibid. 34).

Below is a personal account of a Taiwanese office worker on her first encounter with South Korean pop culture:

> When I was a ninth-grader I first saw on cable TV what was being broadcast on Korea's Channel V: hit songs and music performed by H.O.T., Fin.k.l., Sechs Kies, Shinhwa and other bands. I was intoxicated by the Korean performers' cool and dizzying styles; I immediately fell in love with their looks, singing and dancing. I have been enamoured with them ever since (ibid. 35-36).

A Taiwanese fan of the South Korean singer Rain or else Jihoon Jung (정지훈), the male protagonist in the South Korean TV drama "Full House" ("풀하우스") (2004), is eager to fly to South Korea to buy his CDs and MVs before they are exported to Taiwan and admits that K-pop and South Korean TV dramas are "miracles that have added spices to her life and made her feel much younger" (ibid.).

Kathleen Morikawa, a writer residing in Japan, equates the climax of the Korean Wave in Japan with the Japanese "frenzy" over the South Korean drama "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002).

Produced by the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) in 2002, "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") was first broadcast on the Japanese satellite channel NHK BS2 in April 2003 and was re-aired on the same channel in December 2003. Due to overwhelming audience demand, NHK BS2 aired it for the third time on the NHK general channel from April to August in 2004 and the uncut version of the drama in the Korean language with Japanese subtitles made a forth run in December 2004, which was a record for a foreign program on the Japanese public broadcasting network (Shim 2008a, 26; Han et al. 2007a, 157).

Kim and Kim notes that NHK even hosted a classical concert featuring the melodic tunes from "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002) performed by South Korean musicians. Furthermore, former Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi is known to be a big fan of Jiwoo Choi, the leading female character in the drama, who in Japan is often referred to as "Princess Jiwoo", and the first lady Miyuki Hatoyama, wife of Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama, has often publicly expressed her admiration for the piece of work of art (Kim, Kim 2011, 30).

Morikawa stresses that the most popular South Korean dramas include "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002), "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003), "Stairway to Heaven" ("천국의 계단") (2003), "Beautiful Days" ("아름다운 날들") (2001) and "Hotelier" ("호텔리어") (2001) and that the contemporary Japanese fandom of the Korean Wave includes both sexes and all age

groups (ibid. 86). According to Morikawa, in Japan, South Korean TV dramas are perceived to be marked by (a) overall good quality (including professional direction and camera work, original and witty dialogues and plots, beautiful background music), (b) sincere and straightforward style, (c) free expression of emotions and (d) romantic male protagonists (ibid. 87-89).

According to the writer, today the *Hallyu* boom within the borders of Japan has transformed into a relatively calm yet widespread interest in South Korean popular culture, including South Korean customs, lifestyle and cuisine (ibid.).

In his article "China's First Taste of the Korean Wave" Jian Cai asserts that the Korean Wave has found the greatest success in Mainland China due to the 2005 airing of the South Korean TV drama "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003) (Cai 2008, 100-101). Eunmee Kim and Jiwon Ryoo's study "South Korean Culture Goes Global: K-Pop and the Korean Wave" in a way supports Cai's contention by providing that, in May 2005, the drama's final episode became the most-watched television broadcast in Hong Kong's history and arrested the attention of more than 40% of Hong Kong viewers (Kim, Ryoo 2007, 140). Cai solidifies his point by recounting top Chinese leaders' response to the drama.

General Secretary of China's Communist Party Jintao Hu publicly expressed his regret to the leader of South Korea's Uri Party that he could not watch "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003) daily because of his tight work schedule. Furthermore, Vice President Qinghong Zeng also admitted to having watched several episodes of the drama and Bangguo Wu mentioned that both he and his wife watched the show whenever they had time, a remark leading to the extensive Chinese media coverage of the unprecedented surge of the South Korean popular culture in the People's Republic of China (Cai 2008, 101-102).

Cai grounds the Chinese affection for "all things Korean" on the premise of common cultural background, which has stemmed from close historical relationships between the countries. In Cai's view, both China and Korea belong to the East Asian Confucian circle of culture in the sense that the civilization of Han has deeply influenced not only the Korean language but also values, customs, social structure and etiquette imperatives (ibid. 103).

Cai finds the popularity of the Korean Wave among Chinese audiences very significant beccause *Hallyu* might encourage the contemporary Chinese reassess their own undervalued cultural legacy and successfully merge the Orient and the Occident elements not only in economic but also cultural context (ibid. 105).

It is imperative to mention that much as "Jewel in the Palace" ("대장금") (2003) was praised for its acknowledgement of the Chinese cultural legacy in the Korean culture in the spheres of language, cuisine and traditional medicine it was likewise criticized for what some Chinese voices referred to as "cultural theft" on the part of South Korea's television industry:

> What Dae Jang Geum is doing is stealing others' cultural heritage and claiming them to be one's own! And somebody has the nerve to praise Dae Jang Geum as having preached goodness, kindness and beauty. This is absolute deception! Koreans deceive themselves, and think they can fool the world. They think they can use a kind and innocent Janggeum to construct an illusion (and easily accessible cultural products) for what was used to be China's subordinates – Korea! They even went on to try to convert the world's belief and identification that China is the core of Asian traditional culture, forcing one to think that Koreans are in fact the finest, in order to satisfy their own ethnic self esteem and vanity (Leung 2008, 65-66).

The personal account above of a certain internet user is an eloquent example of misplaced criticism towards the Korean Wave because it is common knowledge that the socialist China hardly ever considered its cultural legacy significant and thus worth of preserving, on the contrary, since its inception the regime has gone to extremes to supress the cultural heritage of the Han alongside with that of other numerous ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Mainland China.

To a greater or lesser degree the Korean Wave faces backslashes in many countries where its impact is prominent. One the one hand, *Hallyu* has changed the dynamics of the media landscape in Asia, challenging the characterization of globalization as a "Western-centric uneven cultural force", on the other hand, its increasing "volume and velocity" have generated a sense of discontent and tension in some Asian communities (Kim 2011b, 57). However, Kim observes a paradox that the new Korean nationalism, an expression of self-confidence, pride, inner passion and energy through popular culture, which induces the hatred of, say, the Japanese online community, is also the reason why the Korean Wave has powerful appeal across Asia (Kim 2011b, 58).

In Lithuania, the Korean Wave is hardly tangible, is cinematic aspect being no exception: (a) no South Korean TV drama has been aired by any of Lithuanian broadcasters; (b) the majority of South Korean films that have been screened in Lithuanian theatres have been subsumed under the schedule of local film festivals, which have been sparse and lacked advertising.

Nonetheless, an interest in the cinematic aspect of South Korean popular culture among Lithuanian audiences gradually grows, which is evidenced by relatively modest yet steady proliferation of online blogs and chat rooms discussing South Korean films and dramas.

The data provided in the internet website www.kinas.info, which is by far the largest online informational basis assessing the overall performance of foreign films in Lithuanian market and allowing the visitors to evaluate the selected pieces of art by means of either voting on a ten-point scale or contributing a comment or both, suggest the following inferences: (a) out of 16 South Korean movies broadcast by the four largest Lithuanian broadcasters from 2005 to 2009, 6 were directed by Kiduk Kim (김기덕); (b) the Baltic Channel (BTV) has been the most Korea-oriented Lithuanian broadcaster with a total of 19 séances of South Korean cinema from 2006 to 2009; (c) "Hwal" ("활") (2005) by Kiduk Kim (김기덕), "Out Live" ("비천무") (2000) by Youngyun Kim

(김용준) and “Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter... and Spring” (“봄 여름 가을 겨울 그리고 봄”) (2003) by Kiduk Kim (김기덕) have drawn the greatest amount of Lithuanian viewers’ attention with 288, 121 and 109 votes, respectively.

The data gathered in the official website of Vilnius International Film Festival show that, out of 14 South Korean movies screened in Lithuanian theatres in the time span from 2004 to 2009, 5 were directed by Kiduk Kim (김기덕) and 3 by Chanwook Park (박찬욱). The screening location of the South Korean movies was predominantly Vilnius and the screening duration of the cinematic goods in question was restricted to a single séance or a modest amount of séances extended through a period of several days. The audiences of any séance hardly exceeded a total of several thousand.

2.2. Distinct peculiarities of South Korea’s soft power content

The reasons as to why South Korean TV dramas and movies are popular among foreign audiences are multiple.

Sung discerns four reasons for the popularity of the Korean Wave in Asia in the following manner: (a) South Korean popular culture delicately and eloquently expresses Asian values and sentiments; (b) the economic decline in Asia in the late 1990s forced the television producers to dispense with the conventional expensive cultural goods and to seek out for cheaper South Korean cultural commodities; (c) South Korean popular culture expresses a considerable amount of healthy self-confidence and nationalism; (d) South Korean popular culture has managed to borrow the best of its Western counterparts while at the same time retaining distinct Korean characteristics (Sung 2008, 14).

In a somewhat similar manner, Shim argues that the successful penetration of South Korean TV dramas into Asian markets was a consequence of the favourable circumstances that surrounded the late 1990s: (a) East Asian governments, which had for a long time been “on the defensive against cultural influences from foreign countries”, followed the global trend and loosened their television programming import policies; (b) due to the economic downturn and the fact that the popularity of Japanese TV dramas was waning, Asian importers started purchasing cheaper South Korean TV dramas, which, as of 2000, were a quarter of the price of Japanese ones and a tenth of the price of Hong Kong ones (Shim 2008a, 25-26). Furthermore, Shim notes that for audiences in developing countries such as Mainland China and Vietnam South Korean TV dramas are more acceptable than Japanese or American ones because “the former retain traditional values while having achieved the technical sophistication comparable to the latter” (ibid. 27).

Minsuk Kim views the Korean Wave as a combined effect resulting from a variety of domestic/international, economic/political and historical/contemporary factors, some of which

include: (a) curb appeal factor (the success of South Korean TV drama is based on the performance and physical attractiveness of the actors and actresses themselves); (b) changing cultures (other nations have embraced the Korean Wave because of their own struggling with modernity); (c) political and social benefit (*Hallyu* helps subdue historical resentment that Asian countries may still hold towards each other) (Kim 2011a, 463-464).

In her study "Globalization of Korean Media: Meanings and Significance" Youna Kim writes that "the success of Korean popular culture overseas is drawing an unfamiliar spotlight on a culture once colonized or overshadowed for centuries by powerful countries" (Kim 2011b, 37) and subsequently points out Korea's historical victimhood as an "intriguing reason" behind the popularity of the Korean Wave (ibid. 54). The scholar observes that the favourable acceptance of South Korean popular culture in the Asian region benefits from the "lingering anti-colonial sentiments" for the phenomenon of the Korean Wave is interpreted by many as a timely periphery's talking back to the centre (ibid. 55).

Significantly, in their joint article "South Korean Culture Goes Global: K-Pop and the Korean Wave" Eunmee Kim and Jiwon Ryoo argues that the commonly available explanations about the success of *Hallyu* in the Asian region, including (a) cultural proximity, (b) common historical and cultural legacy, (c) common 20th c. experience of rapid industrialization in the region, etc., cannot adequately explain why *Hallyu* has taken Asia by storm while popular cultures form other Asian nations have not (Kim, Ryoo 2007, 117).

Drawing much from the insight above, this part of the thesis recognizes that a vast array of scholarly articles written on the subject of *Hallyu* so far have only partially accounted for the unprecedented success of the phenomenon and therefore attempts to fill the knowledge gap by coming up with alternative explanations.

The titles of the three chapters below correlate with Nye's assumption that the three soft power assets on the personal plane are (a) communication, (b) emotional intelligence and (c) vision, the underlying implication being that it was South Korea's employment of "personal" soft power resources on the state level or else the erasure of the distinction between the personal and the political that produced efficient soft power wielding strategies.

2.2.1. “Communication”: Approaching North Korea, Mainland China and the Middle East

The Korean Wave has managed to carve its way to such strategically significant yet closely-monitored and government-approved markets as North Korea, Mainland China and the Middle East - at varying degrees of success.

Kim and Ni provide that despite the risk of penalties North Korea’s demand and consumption of South Korea’s cultural commodities has increased dramatically and imply that the spread of South Korean TV dramas among North Korean citizens threatens North Korea’s political regime (Kim, Ni 2011, 143). Kim reinforces Kim and Ni’s observation as she writes that “the Korean Wave is finally making its way into isolated North Korea despite tight controls set by the regime’s authority” and gives an example of a young soldier who, in 2005, defected across the demilitarized zone for “he had yearned for South Korea after watching its television dramas with beautiful settings and lifestyles” (Kim 2011, 47).

Presently copies of South Korean TV dramas, movie DVDs and music CDs are increasingly smuggled across the border of Mainland China in North Korea by those who travel abroad for business. A Westerner working in Pyongyang asserts: “Once upon a time, one had to come back from an overseas trip with a truckload of cigarettes. Now my North Korean colleagues want me to bring movies, especially tapes of South Korean TV dramas” (Kim 2011, 48).

Kim notes that due to the higher risk of execution for smuggling South Korean DVDs are much more expensive than other foreign films on the black market in North Korea and cost USD 3.75 per piece while American DVDs are more than ten times cheaper. However, in some parts of North Korea, which have better television reception from Chinese signals, it is possible to watch South Korean TV dramas directly (ibid.).

According to Kim, the North Korean people know that their own media exaggerates the living standards in their country and expect the South Korean media to do the same, therefore, they find it hard to believe that the South Korean people eat meet daily or that many households have cars, however, there are certain markers of affluence and modernity that cannot be manipulated, e.g. “Seoul cityscape dotted with high-rise buildings and beautiful sceneries”. Eventually, the North Korean people start to doubt whether South Korea is a “land of hunger and destitution” as depicted in their official media propaganda (Kim 2011, 48).

Unlike the present American discourse on North Korea, which explicitly states that North Korea represents a tyrannical, illegal, provocative, violent, unpredictable, bizarre, un-communicable and irrational state (Lee, Han 2011, 157), South Korean creative goods do not downgrade the authorities of the rival regime but rather attempt to constructively albeit unconventionally communicate to its civic people. A defector from North Korea recounts: “North Koreans love the

fact that South Korean television drama is not about politics, but about love and life, the fundamentals of human existence anywhere in this world" (Kim 2011, 49).

Kim and Ni note that exiles from North Korea report that after watching South Korean TV dramas the younger generation, such as university students, begin to question their poverty and other unfavourable social conditions (Kim, Ni 2011, 143). Kim contends that the critical reflection of or else interrogatory attitude towards the prevailing dimensions of social constructions, which emerges after watching South Korean dramas, is a sign of coming change in awareness, even though such changes in awareness may not always lead to social transformation in the short run, i.e. weaken the regime's socialist ideal and decentralize its power (Kim 2011, 47).

In Mainland China, the disproportionate growth between economics and politics creates domestic tension and conflict, in other words, a favourable environment and opportunities for external cultural forces such as *Hallyu* to relatively easily penetrate the local market. Against this backdrop, South Korea perceives Mainland China as one of the most attractive foreign markets and seeks to make cultural inroads into this rich yet to a large extent unexplored and unpredictable area.

In her article "Mediating Nationalism and Modernity: The Transnationalization of Korean Dramas on Chinese (Satellite) TV", Lisa Leung notes that in the case of Mainland China, even though the political power has been decentralized, national press and flow of information are still under firm political grip in the sense that newspapers, websites and reporters, which have eloquently criticized governmental policies, are still being banned, forced to close down and arrested, respectively (Leung 2008, 53). What is more, due to strict governmental measures the local broadcasters, which are eager to buy foreign programmes, are not allowed to approach foreign distributors directly (ibid. 64).

Significantly, South Korean dramas have managed to escape the heavy scrutiny, which the Chinese government would have otherwise imposed on other foreign content produce, mainly because of their "politically de-odoured" character or else "apolitical sensitivity" (Leung 2008, 64). Leung cites the Programme Director of the Shanghai TV Station as saying that South Korean dramas "seem to be able to squeeze through the administrative screenings because of this [politically correct content]" and adds that Chinese governmental censorship is especially severe on the three modes of broadcasting produce, i.e. news, documentaries *and* contemporary dramas (ibid.).

In comparison, due to distinctive regulatory policies on the part of the Japanese government Japanese content produce such as *anime* and J-dramas likewise retains no political content (Jin 2011, 97), the underlying intention being to make Japanese cultural products more palatable to both Asian and non-Asian audiences and, given the legacy of Japanese imperialism, not to resurrect any repressed colonial memories (ibid. 103), nonetheless, as it has been demonstrated in the paper, it is

the Korean Wave which celebrates unprecedented popularity in Mainland China and other Asian countries.

Even though recently the Chinese administrative department for radio, film and television has limited the amount of time South Korean TV drama can be broadcast (Kim 2011a, 485), it is too early to speak about the waning of the Korean Wave in Mainland China because, to quote David S. Shin, director of Korean Institute for *Hallyu* Research, what is usually unrecognized is that rather than facing its worldwide decline "*Hallyu* has now spread to become part of people's lives and economy". Furthermore, given the current overwhelming Chinese consumption of unofficial/pirate South Korean DVDs and CDs, it is reasonable to assume that moderately stricter measures on the part of Chinese government will only increase the mass popularity of South Korean creative goods alongside with the impact of South Korea's soft power in the country.

While cultural proximity might be essential in determining the warm embrace of South Korean dramas by Asian audiences, it might be ill at ease at explaining as to why the Korean Wave has recently rippled across the Arab world, which is far from the Korean Peninsula both geographically and culturally. However, invoking Noh, it is possible to prematurely argue that the Muslim people find the traditional values of Confucianism closely aligned to Islamic culture, therefore, cultural proximity might in a way contribute to the success of the Korean Wave in the Middle East (Noh 2011, 340).

Much like in the case of Mainland China, Middle East broadcasters fail to satisfy the increasing South Korean drama thirst among Arabic audiences, which has encouraged Arabic fans to either illegally download or purchase pirate copies of South Korean dramas and movies on DVDs.

Even though the delicate way of representing emotions and passion without overt sexuality resonates with viewers in the Middle East and respective societal imperatives (Kim 2011b, 40), unlike the Chinese government, some authorities across the Muslim World have implemented certain modes of censorship on the creative goods of South Korea's television industry, thus enraging local fans: "[South Korean] dramas from Dubai don't please me because I know Dubai ruins series and their stories" (Noh 2011, 358).

2.2.2. "Emotional intelligence": Re-considering female sacrality, female sexuality and female body

The previous chapter had it that South Korean TV dramas are threatening the political regime of North Korea at a grassroots level via constructive communication to its civic people. This chapter implies that South Korean dramas challenge the patriarchal edifice on a larger scale via "soft empowerment" of one of the most marginalized societal stratum worldwide, i.e. women.

In her study "Winter Sonata and Cultural Practices of Active Fans in Japan: Considering Middle-Aged Women as Cultural Agents", Yoshitaka Mori argues that before the Korean Wave women have often been "marginalized or invisible as cultural practitioners in both journalism and academia" (Mori 2008, 131) and further elaborates:

> In the mainstream media, the middle-aged women *Winter Sonata* fans are often seen as passive, manipulated and poor 'consumers'. The pejorative perception is often uncritically reproduced both in academia and in the circle of critical leftist intellectuals. I would suggest that, on the contrary, once their activities are examined in detail a lot of complicated and interesting cultural, social and even political possibilities can be discerned. *Winter Sonata* has given me a good opportunity to discover the importance of middle-aged women as active cultural agents. My research is fandom of active audiences and the cultural and political potential within it (ibid. 132).

It is apparent that South Korea likewise realizes the latent political potential of empowered and active female audiences. Cf. Valerie Saiving's observation: "It is just possible that the unheard testimony of that half of the human species which has for so long been rendered inarticulate may have something to tell us about the holy which we have not known – something which can finally make us whole" (Saiving cited in Raphael 1996, 23).

Sueen Noh, a researcher who enrolled in an Egyptian online fan club of the Korean Wave with an intention to closely observe and subsequently produce an authentic account of the dynamics of the predominantly female fandom, compounds Mori's observation as she notes that even though the Arabic fans refer to themselves as "Korea fanatics" and "almost religiously" adore South Korea in its entirety, their pleasure does not lie in a passive escapism but rather in a serious and well-grounded understanding and appreciation of Korean culture (Noh 2011, 346).

According to Noh, the Muslim fans are not "mindless zealots blindly following the crowd" but rather very conscious agents who deal with the contemporary South Korean culture on micro (personal) and macro (social, cultural, global) levels (ibid. 343) while at the same time struggling with their own complex identity under the restrictions of such dominant structures as patriarchy and cultural hierarchy. Noh implies that, even though the Arabic women are perceived and perceives themselves as both gender and ethnic minorities, the Korean Wave might equip them with the

necessary means such as calling for and fostering international female unity and exploring female sexuality in order to challenge the dominant ideology (ibid. 359).

Kim and Kim argue that the popularity of South Korean television dramas has been "the main force behind the explosion of *Hallyu* in many countries" (Kim, Kim 2011, 23). According to Jin, as of 2007, the South Korean dramas accounted for the largest share of South Korean cultural exports, while South Korean animation, which is the most significant sector of Japanese cultural exports, consisted of only 0.6% (Jin 2011, 99). Chung and Lee provide that in comparison to other media content such as animation, documentary and movie TV dramas have dominated the media content market, comprising 64.3% of media content industry revenue in 2001, 89.7% in 2007 and 91.1% in 2008 while the sales for K-dramas was USD 12 million in 2011, USD 101.6 million in 2005 and USD 105 million in 2008 (Chung, Lee 2011, 438-439).

International audiences enjoy savouring the subtle emotional power and almost poetic imaginaries that South Korean dramas overflow with.

According to Kim, the delicacy of emotions that K-dramas are perceived to capture is achieved through "adept directional techniques". For instance, while American dramas tend to highlight events, South Korean dramas focus on producing a different "emotional language" for each character and this is being achieved by employing 10-20 writers for each drama season (Kim 2011b, 38).

Kim suggests that the political conflicts and socio-cultural tensions of the divided notion might also contribute to the creation of emotionally powerful contents and cites the producer of "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002) and "Autumn Fairy Tale" ("가을동화") (2000) as saying that "Korean dramas express sadness particularly well. The writer of "Autumn Fairy Tale" would cry when writing his script. The actors, during rehearsals, started crying too" (ibid. 54).

Noh observes that Egyptian fans prefer the contemporary South Korean culture over Western cultures as well as their own culture primarily due to the high emotional indulgence that South Korea's cinematic goods evince (Noh 2011, 354) and puts forth the following online entry contributed by a fan club discussion board member:

> Of course Arabic dramas never offer these kinds of feelings and pure emotions, they r mostly about social problems. In fact I think we all saw ACTING for the first time. We've never seen such acting before, it's so true that we even forget that this is drama and these r actually actors. We live inside the drama as if it's really happening and u keep thinking of it as if it's ur own problem. In English movies we don't see purity of emotions; in Arabic movies we don't even see emotions … Korean drama has them both. That's why we love it even when we know that it's not very realistic (ibid. 354).

Similarly, Angel Lin and Avin Tong's study "Re-Imagining a Cosmopolitan 'Asian Us': Korean Media Flows and Imaginaries of Asian Modern Femininities" based on interviews with the

fans of South Korean dramas from Hong Kong and Singapore stresses emotional intelligence as one of the key factors determining the international success of the Korean Wave. The researchers note that the interviewees often resorted to comparing South Korean dramas with their Japanese counterparts to the favour of the former and the majority of them admitted to having recently shifted their cultural interests from Japan to Korea due to what they referred to as the "emotional realism" of South Korea's cinematic goods.

First of all, much like the Egyptian fans, the Hong Kong and Singaporean respondents asserted that South Korean dramas "have more depth" than their Japanese counterparts in portraying characters because South Korean actors/actresses are "surprisingly good at expressing their emotions in a realistic way" (Lin, Tong 2008, 102):

> The real thing that attracted me to Korean dramas is absent in the Japanese dramas. Everything to them [Japanese dramas] is very cartoon-like, even in (the) way they present relationships. (Interviewer: Cartoon-like?) Yes, the same character. Yes, their values are appealing, but the way they deal with it lacks depth that the Koreans deal with human relationship … the ways they played it out is very two-dimensional, no complexity in their characters (ibid. 103).

Secondly, the majority of the respondents that Lin and Tong dealt with criticized Japanese dramas for their sexually explicit scenes and praised South Korean dramas for what they referred to as the presence of "restrained love" which may be interpreted as the subtlety of sexual expression:

> Those Korean dramas I watched … [are] very different from Japanese dramas; Japanese dramas always have sexual scenes! And then you discover, there has been no such restrained love [in TV dramas] for a long time, and [you finally] find it in Korean dramas! That is, just a kind of eye contact, just a little touch, [one] still gets very excited … [I'm] so surprised to find an ethnic group [referring to Koreans] who possesses such qualities! (ibid. 103)

In their study Lin and Tong concludes that judging from their informants' remarks, some of which are displayed above, both Hong Kong and Singaporean fans highly appreciate the abundance of subtle emotional expression and the lack of intimate shots in South Korean dramas and thus "subscribe to the dualistic division of love versus sex" (Lin, Tong 2008, 104), i.e. view the emotional dimension of human existence as superior to and in a way irreconcilable with the bodily aspect of human existence.

Such dichotomised worldview could be accounted for by invoking Kim who suggests that the Western-like sexual freedom is in particular tension with the pressures that the Confucian imperatives place on Asian females (Kim 2011b, 40). Similarly, in Lin and Tong's study, some informants described the romance portrayed in South Korean dramas as a direct product of "Confucianist culture" and "Asian culture", Lin and Tong themselves offer that the dichotomy of "Asian-ness" and "Western-ness" in relation to the artistic representation of human sexuality is an

artificial construct because, according to the researchers, the "dualistic view of love and sex has a long tradition in Western romance literature [too]" (Lin, Tong 2008, 104).

An alternative explanation might be that the female fans refrain from sexually explicit material not out of puritanical tendencies, be they enforced by Confucianism, Christianity or Islam, but because the mainstream cinematic depiction of human sexuality falls short of their perceived concept of the erotic, which Melissa Raphael defines "as an essentially biophillic capacity to spark and generate love through a wider connectedness than the genital union of bodies alone". Cf. Audre Lorde's observation: "the erotic is a resource within each of us that lies in a deeply female and spiritual plane, firmly rooted in the power of our unexpressed or unrecognized feeling" (Lorde 1984, ——). In other words, it is the Western and Japanese cinema's de-sacralization and de-emotionalization of sexual expression, not sexual expression itself, that the female fans find intolerable. The account of a Hong Kong fan below seems to attest to the latter inference:

> It [romance in Korean dramas] is very ideal … When I watch [the dramas], I find Western ones start [having sexual relations] very quickly, and have some stimulating scenes [sex scenes]. I do not feel the two characters have really deep affection for each other. But in Korean dramas, they at most give each other a hug, and will not do anything [further]. I feel it is real affection rather than [desire for] physical contact (Lin, Tong 2008, 104).

The school of thought, which comprehensively deals with female sexuality and female body in contemporary (post-)patriarchal context, is the second-wave feminism or else spiritual feminism. An attempt will be made to highlight its epistemological premises by comparing it to its secular counterpart.

Spiritual feminists regard secular feminism as a "pseudo man-made movement", the followers of which were appeased by the promise of socio-political equality and in return renounced their quest for the "numinous power of female being". Contrary to secular feminists, spiritual feminists assert that "patriarchy summarizes all ideologies - even liberal and 'progressive' ones" (Raphael 1999, 116). Cf. Daly observation: "All of the so-called religions legitimating patriarchy are mere sect subsumed under its vast umbrella/canopy. They are essential similar, despite the variations. All – from buddhism and hinduism to islam, judaism, christianity, to secular derivatives such as freudianism, jungianism, marxism, and maoism – are infrastructures of the edifice of patriarchy" (Daly 1978, 39).

Due to the above mentioned reason, spiritual feminists attempt to gain a considerable critical distance epistemologically distinct from that of patriarchal scholarship, i.e. they seek conscious dissociation from the patriarchal worldview (assuming it is attainable) so that their revision of the Western culture be as unbiased as possible.

Perhaps being rightly suspicious of any generalizations, dualism and dichotomies as well as any hierarchical divisions of reality, secular feminists have incorporated themselves under the

category of the androgyne (the cyborg) yet, as Goldenberg notes, "in many intellectual circles at present, men succeed and androgynes can succeed - but women still cannot" (Golderberg 1979, 78).

Spiritual feminists find secular feminists' insistence on women's socio-political rights as "self-evidently necessary, but not essentially transformative" (Raphael 1999, 116) and argue that the "patriarchal construction of female otherness need not be reversed into sameness but into a positive celebration of otherness as mark of holiness" (Raphael 1996, 35).

According to Raphael, spiritual feminism is "a profoundly political movement, though its invocation of power for political change is not typical of modern politics – feminist or otherwise" (ibid. 8).

The omnipresent patriarchal culture, "in which only masculine methods and the values which inform them are considered objective and normative" (ibid. 136), tends to analyse rather than synthesize reality, hence, human-being is conceptually dismembered into three distinct parts, i.e. mind, emotions and body, where the first is considered unequivocally superior to the other two.

Mary Daly asserts that the dichotomized worldview where mind enslaves emotions and body in the Western world is a result of various strict regulatory policies exercised by the institution of the Christian Church for more than two thousand years and provides an example of the "European witchcraze".

According to Daly, contrary to prevalent belief, the "European witchcraze" was not peculiar essentially to the medieval times but rather that characteristic of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, its peak coinciding with the spread of reformation and the introduction of printing press. Huge numbers of women were accused of "sexual impurity" and other multiple crimes and severely tortured until they confessed to whatever their tormentors were eager to hear (Daly 1978, 181). Below is a typical example of a young woman of twenty, who was tortured in Tettenwang, Germany, in 1600:

> Four days she made an unsuccessful attempt at suicide, and after that she told monstrous tales of herself – how she had had intercourse with the devil since she was eight years old, had killed numbers of children, 30 of whose hearts she ate, killed 8 old people by smearing them with ointment, raised 5 tempests, killed numerous cattle, been constantly to the Sabbat, renounced God and so forth. Both she and her mother were burnt, and she with others, to their confessors, withdrew their confessions and denunciations of others (Lea cited in ibid. 181-182).

Gage asserts that judging from historical records as much as nine million persons, the overwhelming majority of whom were females, were put to death for witchcraft during a period of three hundred years starting from 1484 and further elaborates that:

> During the reign of Francis I more than 100,000 witches were put to death in France alone. ... The Parliament of Toulouse burned 400 witches at one time, ... Remy, judge of Nancy, acknowledged to having burnt eight hundred in sixteen years ... five hundred were executed

> at Geneva in a single month. ...Thirty thousand persons accused of witchcraft were burned to death in Germany and Italy alone (Gage 1893, 98-100).

The fear that engulfed Europe during "witchcraze" was bound to leave its mark in the collective Western memory for up till for many Western film directors, for one, the female body designates an empty shell, which is displayed in such recent Western high-art movies as the Spanish "The Skin I live In" ("La piel que habito") (2011), the Australian "Sleeping Beauty" (2011) and the American "Blue Valentine" (2010), to name but a few.

As the storyline of "The Skin I live In" ("La piel que habito") (2011) unfolds the audience realizes that the attractive heroine, who has been imprisoned in a plastic surgeon's house for ten years, is in actuality a male, whose body the surgeon has impeccably transformed into a feminine one by force and out of personal revenge. "Sleeping Beauty" (2011) centres around a female student who accepts a weird job offer and agrees to being repeatedly put to sleep so that her unconscious body be sexually enjoyed by elderly males. "Blue Valentine" (2011) depicts the life of a married couple who is facing a marital crisis because the heroine fails to see her body as a symbolic locus of sacred generative capacities due to the patriarchal oppression that she has experienced in the past.

Against this backdrop, Raphael argues that Western women are in tension with their own sexuality for patriarchal Western religions have "owned women's bodies but disowned the sacrality of those bodies" (Raphael 1996, 319).

The undervaluation of female sacrality and female body has not been peculiar solely to the Western context as in many world's religions the recreative power of female have been denigrated as a natural fertility and in many world's regions male ownership of female's sexuality is considered an investment in the purity and stability of the society and women are subdued by the threat and actuality of male violence (ibid.).

Therefore, the revision of the human body as a "fluid site of somatic knowledges and shifting, even collective, identities that overflow rigid individualist models of the self" should be the foremost task in the agenda of modern international scholarly endeavours. The witty, emotional and subtly sensual South Korean dramas might initiate the dissolution of the boundaries between the powerful subject (mind) and its powerless objects (emotions and body) and encourage to erase or transcend all forms of "barbed wire frontiers and boundaries" (Raphael 1996, 319) in the interest of dialogue.

Significantly, the imminent need to reconcile the opposites on a worldwide scale should not become a pretext to deny the very existence of dualisms but rather an attempt to celebrate inter-dependence before distinction.

2.2.3. “Vision”: Imagining the cute male

Youna Kim provides that the “raw emotion” conveyed in K-dramas primarily through sensitive male characters is presently seen as a unique expression of Korea’s modernity and suggests that the cinematic feminization of masculinity witnessed first and foremost in South Korean dramas may challenge the clearly defined gender order in Asia while reflecting on an imaginary empowerment of women within Confucian society (Kim 2011b, 42).

However, unlike Youna Kim, this thesis advocates the significance of the image of the sensitive or more precisely cute male on a worldwide scale and infers that it was the successful creation and promotion of this very image that was one of the key success factors behind the boom of the Korean Wave not only in Asian context but also beyond.

By far no other world’s cinematic tradition has managed to reconcile the attributes of cuteness and maleness into a charming and affective cultural brand, which has already proved to be of extremely high demand worldwide. For instance, the Hollywood representative male can be powerful, aloof, charming, dangerous, ruthless, attractive, intelligent, out-spoken, shy, cruel, superficial, flirty, funny, etc., sweet at best but hardly ever cute by definition, i.e. cute in the baby-like manner.

The second-wave feminism notices that in today’s world the concept of masculinity is so closely conceptually related with the attribute of oppressive that it is hard to tell whether the former could survive without the latter, whether it would be self-sufficient on its own. For instance, Carol P. Christ points out that “in our world too many have experienced fathers as dominating others and the phallus as an instrument of rape” (Christ 1998, 95) while Melissa Raphael ventures that “if patriarchy (were) is an ontological or essential quality of masculinity – that which defines masculinity – there is little left to hope for” (Raphael 1999, 124) and adds that patriarchy has obscured and distorted not only femaleness but also maleness and that subsequently post-patriarchal men also have a “history of damaged, sapped and distorted energies” (Raphael 1996, 319).

Minsuk Kim writes that *Hallyu* may be the “most powerful catalyst in healing colonial wounds and alleviating postcolonial resentment between Japan and Korea” (Kim 2011a, 473). Similarly it can be argued that the subdued conventional masculinity that the Korean Wave celebrates may be the most powerful catalyst in healing the varied and multiple wounds inflicted by the patriarchal edifice on both micro (e.g. troubled politics of human body, sexuality) and macro planes (e.g. ecological devastation, worldwide social inequities).

Minsuk Kim informs that South Korean dramas often portray the male characters as sensitive and infers that this triggers the “popular fantasies among women” (Kim 2011, 466).

Five thousand middle-aged Japanese women screamed at *Hallyu* star Yongjun Bae when he arrived in Tokyo, subsequently, numerous newspapers reported that many of these fans were enthralled by Yongjun Bae's gentleness and kindness in "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002) and concluded that Yongjun Bae "has something that Japanese men do not have" (Kim 2011a, 466).

Youna Kim describes the protagonist of "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002) as not only handsome, intelligent and successful but also sensitive, caring and understanding towards women and suggests that it was the hero's unconditional love for a woman and his understanding of the woman's emotional needs that captivated many women in Japan (Kim 2011b, 39).

Youna Kim adds that the fans of "Winter Sonata" ("겨울연가") (2002) in Japan are usually women in their 30s and 50s and the depth of their adulation for the hero is striking: "If there was ever such a man in Japan, then I wouldn't be suffering like this"; "He's not like young Japanese men these days".

Youna Kim suggests that this can be read as a hidden criticism of Japanese men and society and explains that Japanese women project their needs which are unmet in modern society onto the Korean drama's idealized hero.

2.3. Distinct peculiarities of South Korea's soft power wielding strategies

According to the official booklet "In Quest of Excellence: Selected Public Policies of Korea" compiled by Office for Government Policy Coordination, the long-term aim of South Korea's government is to make South Korea's cultural industry the largest or at least one of the largest world's content powerhouses.

Lee and Chung contend that although *Hallyu* does not have a uniform style it is not simply a phenomenon that originates in South Korea and spreads to the world but rather is a multi-layered, multi-directional and dynamic force (Lee, Chung 2011, 447).

Much like in the case of South Korean film industry, the South Korean government has been deeply involved in the development of South Korean broadcasting system in terms of production and promotion from the early stage of the Korean Wave (Jin 2011, 107).

Jin argues that the South Korean and the Japanese have adopted very different cultural policies with regard to the growth and penetration of cultural products in East Asia (ibid. 102).

In 2000, the South Korean government began to support the growth of independent producers using legal and financial resources to encourage the growth of domestic cultural industries and further the development of the Korean Wave.

Against this backdrop, the South Korean government enacted a law which had it that network broadcasters must air programmes (other than films) produced by independent producers

(up to 40% of total programming) to develop domestic cultural industries (Broadcasting Act Enforcement Ordinance, Article 58) (ibid. 108). The same act also decreed that more than 15% of the networks' prime time content must be programs from independent producers in support of small independent production companies (ibid. 108-109).

According to Jin, as a result of this policy, in March 2003, there were 349 independent television program production companies compared to only 8 independent producers in the late 1980s. However, in June 2008, due to severe competition only 170 independent production companies were left (ibid. 109).

As of 2008, independent companies produced 35% of the television programs for MBC and SBS, 24% for KBS 1 and 40% for KBS 2. As of 2011, the South Korean network broadcasters still air many television programs produced by small independent producers (ibid.).

Jin further notes that, unlike Japan, where private broadcasting companies have been largely independent, South Korean network broadcasters and independent producers have developed a "precarious balance between conflicting and cooperative production" (ibid. 110).

Jin infers that the phenomenal growth of South Korea's domestic cultural industries and their regional presence would not have been possible without ambitious governmental cultural policies such as substantial support for independent producers (ibid. 115). According to Jin, by supporting independent producers and independent production companies or else applying the logic of globalization to media industries, the South Korea government has developed foundation for the growth of the intra-cultural flow of domestic pop culture in the midst of the globalization process on a much larger scale (ibid.).

Jin argues that the governmental resuscitation of South Korean film industry of the mid-1990s was based on the same logics of supporting independent sources of production.

In December 2006, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism established the "Film Development Fund" in order to promote the export of domestic films and support small producers and pledged USD 400 million in grants and subsides to the cultural industries until 2014 (ibid. 116).

Furthermore, according to Jin, the South Korean government attempts to promote its cultural products abroad by employing indirect promotion policies in order to avoid potential backlashes (ibid. 117). In 1999, in order to provide a systematic support to the cultural industry and thus further increase its regional and global presence, the South Korean government enacted the "Basic Law for Promoting Cultural Industries" which stated that the government supports: (a) co-production with foreign countries; (b) marketing and advertising of South Korean popular culture through broadcasting and the Internet; (c) dissemination of domestic cultural products to foreign markets (Article 20); (d) promoting domestic films internationally; (e) expanding the film-viewing population; (f) creating quality content (Article 7) (ibid. 116-117).

Jin provides that, based on this law, the South Korean government established a series of events in major cities overseas introducing Korean culture and arts. In addition, the government opened halls in Beijing, Shanghai and Hanoi as well as other cities where the produce of the Korean Wave was in demand. As for the international exchanges of films, South Korea manages booths introducing its domestic films at major film markets and international film festivals and organizes international film festivals at home (ibid. 117) (also see 1.3.2. KOFIC and KOCCA: The political implications of the cinematic component of the Korean Wave).

All in all, taking into consideration the substantial assistance for independent producers and production as well as multiple communicative strategies for international cooperation and exchange on the part of South Korea's government, it can be stated that Asian societies rightly perceives the contemporary social formation of South Korea as a healthy standard that "prizes public good and communitarian spirit without stifling individual freedom and market creativity" (Kim 2011a, 471).

> I want our nation to become the most beautiful nation in the world. I do not want out nation to become the richest and the most powerful nation in the world. Because I have felt the pain of being invaded by other nation, I do not want my nation to invade others. It is sufficient that our wealth is such that it is able to repel others' invasion. The only thing that I desire in infinite quality in the power of a highly developed culture. This is because the power of culture both makes us happy and gives happiness to others (Kim, Ni 2011, 151).

The passage above by Kim Koo, the late Korean national leader, might be said to capture the key characteristics of South Korea's soft power wielding, i.e. non-aggressiveness, slight detachment and infinite efficiency.

2.4. South Korea's soft power wielding experience as a critique of Nye's theory on soft power

Nye's theory on soft power can be criticized from a number of perspectives.

To begin with, the realist school doubts the significance of soft power and its very existence in the first place. According to Dora Albert, the realists tend to place unduly high value on power *per se* and thus refrain from distinguishing between different kinds of power, therefore, when it comes to realism, „all that matters is power and different forms of it are not as important as its role in protecting the state's national interest and increasing its dominance over others" (Albert 2011, 1).

Secondly, some scholars argue that soft power works differently in theory and in practice or that it result in the same resistance as the pressure of hard power (Albert 2011, 1).

Lee criticizes Nye's theory on soft power by pointing out that Nye's concept of soft power is concentrated on a single political goal of making other countries follow the leadership of the United

States voluntarily by using its soft power resources such as culture, education and ideology (Lee 2009, 124).

Lee believes that it is imperative to develop an alternative framework for soft power and soft power strategies and thus provides five categories of soft power: (a) soft power to improve the external security environment by projecting peaceful and attractive images of the country; (b) soft power to mobilize other countries' support for one's foreign and security policies; (c) soft power to manipulate other countries' way of thinking and preferences; (d) soft power to maintain unity of a community or community of countries; (e) soft power to increase approval ratings of a leader or domestic support of a government (ibid. 125).

Taking into consideration South Korea's soft power wielding experience and methodologically relying on Kim and Ni's observations, this part of the paper will discern three trends of enhanced soft power theorizing/wielding: (a) a shift from one-way flow of cultural influence to a two-way symmetrical approach to cultural exchange; (b) a shift from top-down (government-initiated) approach to bottom-up (individual-initiated) approach; (c) a shift in the role of the government from tight control to open acceptance and guidance (Kim, Ni 2011, 144).

2.4.1. Soft power "over" vs. soft power "with"

According to Kim and Ni, any organization may engage in one-way or two-way communication. In the former, the organization sends information to the public solely. In the latter, the organization not only sends information to the public but also seeks feedback so information goes from the public to the organization as well.

Furthermore, the communication between the sender and the public can be either asymmetrical or symmetrical. Kim and Ni notes that, in the case of asymmetrical communication, the sender aims to manipulate the public's way of thinking and preferences. In the case of symmetrical communication, the sender perceives the information exchange as a mutually beneficial act and is willing to change its own way of thinking and preferences, too.

Kim and Ni contend that currently cultural public diplomacy is often conducted in a one-way and asymmetrical manner and provides an example of the United States of America, where the American government only exports cultural products to foreign countries with a calculating intention to enhance its image abroad and is not interested in receiving any feedback form the target consumers of these products. In the case of South Korea's cultural public diplomacy, for example, the fans of South Korean dramas are given the possibility to alter the endings of some dramas.

Kim and Ni maintain that the purpose of current cultural diplomacy is often asymmetrical in the sense that governments internationally employ cultural commodities in order to secure their

national interests and augment their power. If in the process of soft power wielding the governments do not take into consideration the interests of the target nations, an imbalance in outcome will gradually appear and the efficiency of such cultural diplomacy will decrease. As it has been demonstrated in the paper, the Korean Wave benefits the target nations by inducing an interrogatory attitude towards harmful political regimes and social imperatives.

Kim and Ni conclude that cultural diplomacy should aim at bilateral influence rather than unilateral influence. In other words, the governments should not concern themselves so much about "gaining power over" as about "soft empowerment of" the culturally less powerful countries (Kim 2011, 144-146).

2.4.2. Top-down cultural public diplomacy vs. bottom-up cultural public diplomacy

According to Kim and Ni, soft power wielding strategies are often designated and initiated by the governments with an intention to maximize the potential effectiveness of the endeavor, however, such institution-driven cultural policies have inherent limitations in creating and maintaining soft power because soft power by definition is more controlled by individuals rather than governments or institutions. For example, government-initiated efforts are limited in encouraging foreign publics (focal communicants) to seek, select, forward and share information about cultural contents with others (peripheral communicants) in their social networks.

Kim and Ni further notes that the nexus between cultural produce and soft power is best secured at a grassroots level of individual interactions and that the best source of soft power is less governmental intervention and more "invisible hands". According to Kim and Ni, if the individual-based flow of information is ignored, excessive control from the government in the form of sponsored events with an intention to gain power over foreign public for national interests will only result in resistance among the target foreign public. For example, the declined soft power of the United States in the Muslim world cannot be undone by forcefully promoting American cultural commodities in the region.

Kim and Ni conclude that cultural public diplomacy should be "soft", i.e. subtle and sophisticated enough to nurture voluntarism in cultural consumption.

2.4.3. Governmental control vs. governmental guidance

Since the whole process of soft power wielding should be kept at the grassroots level, government should acknowledge and promote individual-agent based cultural diplomacy. In other words, according to Kim and Ni, the critical role of government with regard to soft power wielding

lies in its willingness and ability to respect, preserve and promote social diversity, which will encourage creativity among cultural producers.

The scholars likewise suggest that government should encourage foreign publics at their home by investing resources in cultural and academic programs (e.g. funding Korean language education in the target countries, granting resources for Korean studies in universities, providing language education among non-student groups). Another rewarding strategy is to attract a country's own diasporas or visitors/temporal residents in the target countries, who can play the role of strategic diplomatic agents and thus augment cultural influence (i.e. grassroots diplomacy or sociological public diplomacy).

Kim and Ni conclude that government has no direct capacity to create soft power through cultural public diplomacy but it is capable of destroying it by dampening the producers of cultural commodities via censorship or the exertion of regulatory control over cultural content and communication technologies.

CONCLUSIONS

From what has been theorized above the following inferences can be drawn:

1. According to Nye, soft power is based on co-option rather than coercion and thus can be defined as an ability to get the desired outcome through attraction rather than economic inducements or military threats. On the personal plane, soft power stems from (a) communication, (b) emotional intelligence and (c) vision; on the state plane it stems from (a) attractiveness of culture, (b) sincerity of values and (c) legitimacy of policies.

2. While it is possible that the Korean Wave has never been intended as a calculating attempt on the part of South Korea's government in order to increase its international prestige and might it is apparent that South Korea's government offered substantial support for the creation and development of its cultural industries from the early beginning of the Korean Wave.

3. The most thought-provoking aspects about South Korea's soft power wielding with special reference to South Korea's soft power content are the following: (a) as its crucial soft power resource South Korea chose the most universally denigrated and seemingly apolitical genre such as romance/drama and masterfully developed; (c) South Korea targeted one of the most universally marginalized and historically politically-inert societal stratum such as women and successfully empowered it by fostering interrogatory attitude towards the taken-for-granted societal imperatives and political regimes. However, given the asymmetrical distribution of societal powers, where in many societies worldwide multiple female initiatives are restricted by the threat and actuality of male violence, it is reasonable to assume that the changes in awareness that the Korean Wave implicitly advocates will not produce any tangible social shifts in the short run.

4. The unprecedented success of the Korean Wave with regard to South Korea's soft power wielding strategies lies in the fact that South Korea's government never stifled but rather fostered and encouraged grassroots creativity by legally and financially supporting independent producers and independent production companies.

5. Based on South Korea's soft power wielding experience, three trends of enhanced soft power theorizing/wielding can be discerned: (a) a shift from one-way flow of cultural influence to a two-way symmetrical approach to cultural exchange; (b) a shift from top-down (government-initiated) approach to bottom-up (individual-initiated) approach; (c) a shift in the role of the government from tight control to open acceptance and guidance.

6. While presently both academia and journalism predict the inevitable decline of *Hallyu* worldwide with regard to increased anti-*Hallyu* sentiments and slogans the research that this thesis

has engaged in leads to believe that, on the contrary, the Korean Wave shows no serious signs of decline but rather has secured itself a stable position amidst the world's popular culture flows. At a level of utopian sensibility, it can be argued that this seeming calmness is yet to produce the second much more powerful Korean Wave.

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