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THE SOFT POWER OF SOUTH KOREA GÜNEY KORE'NİN YUMUŐAK GÜCÜ

Öz

Uluslararası iliřkilerde güç olgusu sıklıkla tartiřılan kavramlar arasındadır. 20. yüzyılda yükselen realizm akımı ile askeri ve ekonomik güç olarak anlařılan ‘‘güç’’ kavramı, günümüzde bu anlamının ötesine uzanarak farklı unsurları da bünyesinde ihtiva etmektedir. Bu bağlamda uluslararası iliřkilerde önem kazanan ve en çok kullanılan kavramlardan biri de ‘‘yumuőak güç’’ olmuřtur. Bir aktörün bir başka aktöre normal şartlarda yapmaktan hoşnut olmayacağı bir şeyi yaptırma kabiliyeti olarak tanımlanabilecek yumuőak güç kavramı kültür, siyaset, ekonomi, diplomasi gibi unsurlar aracılıęıyla řekillenmiřtir. Bilhassa uluslararası iliřkilerin günümüzdeki karmařık yapısı, uluslararası aktörlerin ‘yumuőak güç’ potansiyellerini kullanmalarını elverişli kılmaktadır. Günümüzde internet bařta olmak üzere bilim ve teknolojiadaki hızlı sıçrama, aktörlerin yumuőak güç politikaları üretmesini, yürütmesini ve yaygınlařtırmasını kolaylařtırmıř; yumuőak güç kullanımını barıřçıl bir ortam için bir nevi zaruri hale getirmiřtir. Bu çalıřmada öncelikle güç kavramı farklı yaklařımlar çerçevesinde ele alınmıřtır. Ardından güç türlerinden biri olan sert güç kavramı, yumuőak güç kavramının karřıtı olmak suretiyle tanımlanmıřtır. Çalıřmanın ana eksenini oluşturan Joseph Nye’in yumuőak güç kavramı uluslararası iliřkiler çerçevesinde deęerlendirilmiř ve bir yumuőak güç örneęi olarak Güney Kore incelenmiřtir. Yumuőak güç unsurları, yükselen güç Güney Kore’nin sahip olduęu diplomatik, ekonomik, kültürel ve siyasi etkileri bağlamında ortaya konulmuřtur. Güney Kore, bilhassa popüler kültürünü yumuőak gücünün en temel kaynaęı olarak sunmak hususunda başarılıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güç, Yumuőak Güç, Joseph Nye, Kültür, Güney Kore

Abstract

The phenomenon of power in International Relations is among the concepts often discussed. The concept of ‘power’ with rising realism in 20th century was understood as military and economic power; power extends beyond this meaning today and incorporates different elements. In this context, ‘soft power’ has become one of the most important and referred concepts in International Relations. The concept of soft power, which can be defined as the ability of an actor to make another actor to do something it would not likely do itself, is shaped through elements such as culture, politics, economics, diplomacy. In particular, the complex structure of international relations today makes the international actors’ use of their ‘soft power’ potentials convenient. Today, the rapid leap in science and technology, especially the internet, has made it easier for states to produce, execute and disseminate soft power policies, making the use of soft power a kind of indispensable for a peaceful environment. In this study, the concept of power was first discussed within the framework of different approaches. Then the concept of hard power, which is one of the power types, is defined as the opposite of the concept of soft power. The main axis of the study, Joseph Nye’s concept of soft power, was evaluated within the framework of International Relations and South Korea was examined as an example of soft power. Elements of soft power have been laid out in the context of the diplomatic, economic, cultural and political implications possessed by rising power South Korea. South Korea is particularly successful in presenting popular culture as the most basic source of its soft power.

Keywords: Power, Soft Power, Joseph Nye, Culture, South Korea

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Introduction

Power is a variable and controversial concept often used in the social sciences. International Relations also uses concepts such as hegemonic power, economic power, military power, soft power, hard power in relation to power. Therefore, the concept of power has an important position in the discipline of international relations. The approach of International Relations to power has been shaped for many years on the basis of realist theory, in the context of military and economic power. Such a concept of power is accepted as ‘obtaining what is desired by using force’. Indeed, realist thinker Hans Morgenthau has described power as a fundamental tool of international politics. This understanding considers power solely in terms of geography, population, natural resources, industrial and military capacity, technology, and uses methods such as intervention, sanctions, repression, coercion as tools of power. On the other hand, in recent years, elements other than all these ‘hard power’ tools have emerged, and these elements have been introduced into the literature by Joseph Nye as ‘soft power’. As the cold war was moving towards its end, the dominance of realism in the discipline began to loosen as of the 1970s, and intellectual factors in identity, interests and preferences began to gain importance.

In short, soft power, which can be referred as ‘the power to influence others through values, cultures, and elements of attraction,’ is a concept that has been considered and written very much about. In this context, when examining states in International Relations, it will be appropriate to evaluate the digitalizable data of the classical power approach as well as the elements of attraction that cause voluntary obedience. Soft power is more often used by actors, since it is not as costly as hard power. South Korea is among the states that use soft power. The phenomenon of global commercial success and cultural diffusion in South Korea defines a process referred to as Hallyu or the "Korean Wave" whose socio-political significance is mainly related to the concept of "soft power". South Korea, which has felt threatened by its geographical position throughout its history, has recently experienced a serious upsurge, and in particular has raised its cultural exports as an important element of soft power. The study will examine South Korea as an example of soft power and assess South Korea's soft power potentials. In the first part of the study, the concept of soft power and its emergence process will be evaluated. In the second part, the elements of South Korea's soft power will be explained in detail.

1. Soft Power in International Relations

1.1. Concept of Power

In the formation of International Relations as a discipline, the influence of the concept of power is crucial. Realism-idealism, the first debate of the discipline, is also shaped by the concept of power. Realism which became dominant in the discipline has placed power at the core of its explanations. There are two main challenges in defining the concept of power. The first is about the broad scope and ambiguous nature of the concept of power, that necessitates to take into account a large number of elements in the definitions. The second challenge is due to the variable nature and content of power relative to the structure of time and systemic relationships. For example, in periods when the rules of international law and communication technologies are not so developed, the main content of the power consisted solely of military elements, while nowadays the diplomacy and the control over information resources/technologies constitute the basic nature of the power (Özdemir, 2008: 117-118). Robert Dahl describes the power as ‘the capacity of an actor to do things that another actor might not want to do’ (Dahl, 1957: 202-203).

Neo-realists, on the other hand, have emphasis on the international system rather than on the ability of other actors to change their behavior when defining power. In this context, power is defined as the area of movement owned within the framework of systemic constraints and autonomy in the face of the capabilities of others. In other words, the less a state is affected by the restrictive and constricting domain of movement and structures of the international system, the stronger it is (Özdemir, 2008: 128).

Power is like weather according to Nye. Everyone knows about it, but can't understand. As farmers and meteorologists predict weather, political leaders and analysts try to define power and power relations. In another aspect, Nye thinks that power, which he likens to love, is easier to experience than to define and measure. In the sense of the dictionary, the power is the capacity to influence the behavior of others. Hence, Nye's broadest definition of power is ‘the capacity to influence the behavior of others in line with the desired outcome.’ There are three ways to do this: coercion by threat, tricking by money, and luring them with possessed charm (Nye, 2004: 1-2). In order to understand the concept of soft power which is the basis of this study, it is also necessary to know the meaning of hard power.

Joseph Nye divided power into two: hard power and soft power. Hard power includes military power, economic power and technological power. Thinking that military and economic power can change the perspective and position of others, Nye bases hard power on carrots (persuasion) and sticks (threat) (Nye, 2004: 5). So pressure, imposition, exchange, forced acceptance and sanctions are the means of hard power. The first thing that comes to mind when it is called power is usually military power. Having a strong army, warships, missiles, weapons, nuclear power and supporting that power with economic power are the main ways to be a super power. As a matter of fact, developed countries use the technology they produce to convince other countries for their own political purposes. Countries such as the United States, China, Japan are examples in this sense. Although these assumptions about power remain valid during the Cold War, with the end of the Cold War, this perspective began to be questioned. In the new period, it was realized that hard power could not be sufficient in itself, and it was questioned the possibility that the success of the elements described today as 'soft power' would be longer term than hard power. The importance of values such as human rights, sovereignty, self determination and independence has made new assessments necessary.

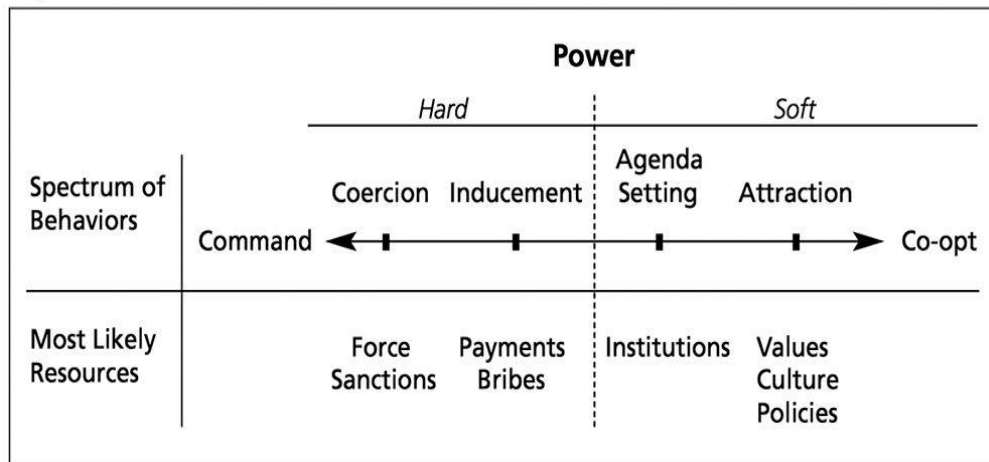
1.1.1. Soft Power

The concept of soft power was first heard in 1990 through the book 'Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power' by Harvard University Professor Joseph Nye. He then covered the concept in more detail in his books. 'The Paradox of American Power' and 'Soft Power: The Path to Success in World Politics' were published in 2003 and 2004, and responded to claims that American power had declined. Nye emphasized that America has an important soft power as well as economic and military hard power. Indeed, while it is a reality of world politics that states resort to power to avoid from undermining of their interests, the post-Cold War period has exposed the evolution of hard power. Hard power is no longer readily available; the impact of increasing technology on public opinion, as a result of the gradual loss of boundaries between people in a globalized world, the public reaction can neutralize hard power.

According to the Collins English Dictionary, soft power is described as 'the ability to achieve the goal without coercion, especially through diplomacy and persuasion' (Collins Dictionary, 2018). Nye describes soft power as 'achieving what is desired with attraction/charm rather than coercion or money' (Nye, 2004). It is possible to say that Nye viewed power as more abstract and result-oriented in terms of its sources. Nye's concept of power, which considers soft power in combination with elements such as cooperation and attractiveness, does not involve coercion, threat, or tricking. For example, the fact that a person wants to follow that culture as a result of his admiration for the moral values, culture and welfare of another country is a soft power achievement for the country concerned (Karabulut, 2016: 380-381). Indeed, in the international arena, elements such as geography, population, natural resources are losing importance, while elements such as developing economy, technology, education are gaining attention.

Culture, foreign policy and political values are three important sources of legitimacy for a country in the context of soft power (Nye, 2004). Although culture is seen by some experts as equivalent to soft power, Nye opposes this approach which reduces soft power to culture. Nye describes culture as "the totality of values and practices that have meaning for a society" (Sancak, 2016: 17). The specific areas that can be a source of soft power can be elaborated as attitudes towards foreign migrants in the country, international students, tourists, book sales, popular sports, Nobel Prize winners, long life, overseas aid, internet access, democracy, being a secular and social state of law, the importance it attaches to human rights and freedoms, NGOs and public diplomacy.

According to Nye, soft power and hard power are related. Because both are tools for actors to achieve their aims. The difference between them is the embodiment of methods and resources. While military and economic power is used for hard power, cooperation, persuasion, attractiveness, common values are at the forefront for soft power. In this context, values, policies and institutions will play an important role. Hard and soft power strengthen each other from time to time. The fact that Eastern European countries, which are weak militarily or economically, become internationally influential by their inclusion in the European Union is an example of this. In addition, soft power is more effective than hard power.

Table 1: Hard Power-Soft Power Behavior Spectrum

Sources: <http://forum.mit.edu/articles/soft-power-and-higher-education/>

Addressing some criticism of the concept of soft power will be useful for our work. The most basic criticism is that the concept cannot be fully theorized. This leads to different definitions and analysis. Furthermore, the inability to measure power sources such as image, culture, values makes it almost impossible to predict outcomes. Soft power can be considered economic, cultural, per capita income, political and diplomatic.

Nye summarizes his understanding of soft power as follows: "the world is entering a new era. Traditional insights should be abandoned. The world has now become economically, technologically and socially interdependent. In a world where interdependence is emerging, relations will now be shaped through soft power" (Karabulut, 2016: 382; cited by Nye, 1980). Today, it is not possible to say that countries that use only hard power or soft power in International Relations are successful. 'Smart power,' a combination of soft and hard power, is an important strategy. As a result of the increasing security risks and threats, countries need a strong military structure, while at the same time participating in alliances to spread influence and gain legitimacy, pursuing a policy of conducting friendly relations. So many successful countries in terms of soft power have been able to turn their power into smart power.

In conclusion, soft power can be divided into roughly 5 categories according to the policy objectives to be achieved.

1. Soft power to improve the external security environment by reflecting the peaceful and attractive images of a country
2. Soft power to mobilize support for other countries' foreign and security policies
3. Soft power to manipulate the way of thinking and preferences of other countries
4. Soft power to maintain the unity of a community or community of countries
5. Soft power to increase a leader's approval rates or a government's local support (Lee, 2009: 207-208).

2. South Korea's Soft Power

South Korea has developed thanks to the diversity in its history and society. In the past, important influences such as the Chinese and Mongol presence in Korea, dubbed a 'hermit kingdom' because of its own internal policies and refusal to submit to the demands of others, included Gojoseon (7th century or earlier periods), Baekje (BC.10-MS. 660), Silla (BC. 57-MS. 935), reached as far as the kingdoms of Goryeo (918-1392) and Joseon (1392-1910) (Milanowitsch, 2018: 35). The country annexed by Japan in the early part of the 20th century was economically, socially, culturally and politically exploited. After World War II, Korean Peninsula divided into two countries as People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and Republic of Korea (South Korea) in accordance with socialism and capitalism. The Korean War, which broke out after World War II, revealed the American presence on the South. Later, South Korea continued to grow with the help of its booming industry and infrastructure with the help of America.

South Korea made a successful entry into international politics in the early 1980s as one of the 'Asian Tigers'. In the early 1990s it was still covered by newly industrialised countries. Then it quickly

became a world leader in areas such as information technology and is now one of the most powerful countries in the world. The country is not classified as a ‘rising power’ as it has no overwhelming superiority in terms of economic or political factors and is not sufficiently developed on issues related to the regional and international leadership role and environmental issues. Instead, it is positioned in the form of ‘middle power’ in the East Asia as a country besieged by rising powers, industrialised countries and North Korea (Milanowitsch, 2018: 33). The country wants to see itself as a player that will be very important in the politics of the region by acting as a stabiliser or center of the great powers for its role in Northeast Asia. In this regard, it has taken an active role in promoting regional integration, making trade deals with its allies, resolving disputes with North Korea and effectively mediating possible tensions between China and Japan.

Table 2: South Koreans' Perceptions of Their Country's International Role and Status (%)

	Leading Role	Bridge Role	Supportive Role	Other	I Don't Know
Great Power	46.7	40.0	13.3	0.0	0.0
Middle Power	19.3	53.2	24.3	1.2	2.0
Small Power	14.8	55.2	27.6	1.5	1.0

Sources: (Lee S.J., 2012)

South Korea is also a constantly developing country in the sense of soft power. Joseph Nye also noted the impressive soft power potential of the country, which has managed to influence others especially culturally. Nye's findings on South Korea in 2009 are as follows:

“South Korea has moved away from being defined by its problematic North Korean neighbour, and is becoming an important middle-ranking power in global affairs. A South Korean is Secretary-General of the United Nations; Seoul will host next year's G-20 summit; and the country has just reached a free-trade agreement with the European Union. ... The traditions of Korean art, crafts, and cuisine have already spread around the world. Korean popular culture has also crossed borders, particularly among younger people in neighbouring Asian countries, while the impressive success of the Korean diaspora in the US has further enhanced the attractiveness of the culture and country from which they came. Indeed, the late 1990s saw the rise of "Hallyu", or "the Korean wave" — the growing popularity of all things Korean, from fashion and film to music and cuisine. As a result, South Korea is beginning to design a foreign policy that will allow it to play a larger role in the international institutions and networks that will be essential to global governance” (Nye, Belfer Center, 2009).

Since the 1990s, South Korea has created institutions for soft power, some of which are private and some funded by corporations. It is an important strategy to implement these soft power elements that the country has in public diplomacy. International cultural cooperation is targeted with institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. Established in 2009, the 47-membered Presidential Council for Nation Branding is the most important initiative to enact an effective public diplomacy strategy. The ten priority considerations in the strategy of public diplomacy are:

- introduce taekwondo as a national sport;
- to send volunteers to various activities to developing countries;
- promote Korean culture under the name Hallyu;
- increase scholarships for foreign students;
- to ensure the employment of talented and educated young people from other Asian countries through the Asia campus program;
- increase foreign aid; highlight image of tech exporting country;
- to strengthen the tourism sector; to ensure better treatment of foreigners and migrants;
- to make the people of South Korea part of Public Diplomacy (Alagöz, 2013).

Founded in 1991, The Korea Herald leads activities such as providing cultural exchanges with other countries, academic exchange programs, film and food festivals. In addition, the Public Diplomacy Forum was created in 2010 and in 2011, the policy unit of Public Diplomacy was established within the forum and the first public diplomacy ambassador was appointed (Alagöz, 2013). One of the first steps

towards supporting cultural policies is the creation of the “Cultural Industry Bureau” in 1994. In 1999, it was followed by the “Basic Law for the promotion of the Cultural Industry”. The Office of Public Diplomacy complements the work of the government and encourages the establishment of institutions that exert more power in this regard (Milanowitsch, 2018: 42). Although public diplomacy work has recently begun, South Korea has been carrying out effective activities. “I love Korea, because” Video Contest, Friends of Korea Communication Network, consist of South Korean celebrity-Honorary Ambassadors of Korea activities, South Korea-related source book called Korea Corner, newspapers, magazines, CDs and DVDs, including training centers, etc. (Alagöz, 2013).

Since 2009, KOCIS (Korean Culture and Information Service) is “responsible for carrying out activities to disseminate and promote information about Korean culture and life and to open and support Korean Cultural Centers. (KOCIS) Korean Institute of Culture and Tourism (KCTI) conducts studies analyzing cultural issues and makes recommendations. An example of this is that “Korea’s cultural diplomacy/cultural exchange approach should strive to build the international image of a country that communicates through culture and promotes diversity. The Korean Art Management Service (KAMS) provides funding to Korean contemporary and traditional arts organizations and practitioners to make the performing arts sector more competitive. Another organization within the cultural sector is the Korean culture and Content Agency, the Korean Game Industry Agency and the cultural content center, which brings together many agencies and is not covered by other agencies such as characters, comics, music, traditional culture, etc. is a Korean Creative Content Agency establishment to promote the culture and content sectors (KOCCA). The Presidential Council has coordinated initiatives of Korean brands worldwide in areas such as global Korea fellowship, volunteering, aids, tourism, and even Taekwondo. The King Sejong Institute is also one of the language-related institutes (Milanowitsch, 2018: 37-38).

South Korea is 15th among 25 countries, according to Monocle magazine’s 2018-2019 soft power assessment ranked. The soft power rate is growing year-on-year (Monocle, 2019). The study will examine South Korea’s soft power by categorizing it in the context of how culture, political values and foreign policy are applied, the three main sources of power that Nye cites.

2.1. Culture As a Soft Power Element of South Korea

Although South Korea has been considered a novice in the soft power classification, its growing cultural impact on the East Asian region reveals that it has emerged as one of the promising regional powers in terms of soft power. Compared to the states like USA, China and Japan, it is low in the sense of military and economic power, but it has a strong culture that produces soft power. Because the Korean Peninsula, which is adjacent to China in the West and Japan in the East, has developed a unique cultural background thanks to this geographical location. Historically, Korean culture has been heavily influenced by China, helping Japan acquire Chinese culture. These three countries have exchanged people, food, products and information for more than a thousand years. So this deep-rooted cultural heritage offers opportunities to spread its influence around the world.

The country wants to be one of the leading states in international relations, even though it lacks the capacity for military or economic hard power. Rather known as a middle power, the country views its cultural elements fundamental to its ultimate goal. Korean popular culture is the core of soft power. In this context, the Korean Wave called ‘Hallyu’ was seen by the government as a political struggle for economic, cultural and national interests and was supported under all circumstances. For the national goals of economic profit and cultural pride, state policies were set and chaebol* companies were followed and supported to gain global competitiveness (Lee, 2017: 25). In 1994, the Presidential Advisory Board stated that Jurassic Park, a Hollywood film, had ensured the sale of 1.5 million Hyundai cars, underlining the need to have weight on the media industry. Since the 1990s there has been a boom in the media industry and developed business strategies such as marketing tactics have been developed in this area. By the late 1990s, President Kim Dae Jung had created the project ‘Basic Laws for Culture Industry Promotion’ and set aside a budget of 148.5 million (Lee, 2017: 26). In 1998, South Korea adopted the cultural sector as one of the main elements of the new century economy. Over the past decade, Korean pop culture has become popular among younger generations especially in many East Asian countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia, Thailand, Vietnam and the People’s Republic of China

* Chaebol (재벌): Business conglomerates based in South Korea such as LG, Samsung, Hyundai, Lotte etc. For more information; <https://namu.wiki/w/%EC%9E%AC%EB%B2%8C> and http://kaisnet.or.kr/resource/download/3_09.pdf

(Luguusharav, 2011: 28). Since the 1997 economic crisis, the government has invested millions of dollars in developing pop culture environments, mainly television series, music groups and video games.

The Korean Wave or Hallyu is a special term that used since 2000s, for the rising popularity of South Korean culture around the world. Thanks to the Korean Wave, Korea achieved a total revenue of US \$ 500 million in 2002 and US \$ 1 billion in 2005, making it a leading exporter of music, film and television programs to Asian countries. This transnational phenomenon has many positive effects, such as attracting large numbers of customers to Korean restaurants and increasing consumption of Korean products, but the role of the Korean language in spreading among foreign audiences is more important. It is possible to say that if a country's language gains wide popularity among other countries, that country is attractive in terms of culture, because language is an important and indispensable part of the country's culture. South Korea is also successful in this sense. The Korean Wave has been a major force in that it has expanded the country's appeal by increasing the popularity of the Korean language. For example, in Japan, Korean-language education institutions have increased and in Singapore, the demand for learning the Korean language has increased dramatically (Luguusharav, 2011: 29). Korean Cultural Centers and Sejong Institutes, which promote Korean language and culture in many parts of the world, were opened and started activity. Although Korean is not a common language, Korean language education is provided in numerous universities and schools around the world. King Sejong institutes were established for the purpose of teaching Korean language and culture. Today there are over 90 King Sejong Institutes worldwide. In terms of the promotion of the country, attracting foreign students to the country and ensuring that these students leave the country with positive feelings and thoughts is one of the key elements of public diplomacy. In this context, it is important that the government has increased and diversified the number of scholarships. South Korea also provides scholarships to foreign students for the purpose of supporting scientific research, artist training, and international scientific exchange, apart from undergraduate, graduate and doctoral training (Alagöz, 2013).

Hallyu is divided into two periods: the first one began in the 1997 and ended in the 2000 and reached East and Southeast Asia, mainly China; the second one began in the 2000 and continues to the present, reaching the rest of the world (Milanowitsch, 2018: 39). In the first stage it was targeted that foreigners become consumers of Korean dramas, movies and music; in the second stage they buy products directly from Korean pop culture and visit Korea; in the third stage, Korean electronic goods and other everyday items made in Korea are demanded worldwide; in the fourth and final stage, the foreign consumers admire Korean culture and prefer Korean lifestyle (Mikanowitsch, 2018: 39). Hallyu is so influential that South Korea, influenced by Chinese culture, today conducts missionary activities in China as a country that can export culture. This transformation started with the democratization of Korea in the late 1980s. As South Korea's democracy and economy matured, so did Korea's influence in Asia a little more than a decade ago. China calls these actions of South Korea as 'cultural aggression' (Hani.co.kr, 2006)

Hallyu has different definitions in different fields: Hallyu in the medical field, Hallyu in the educational field etc. The concept which covers many different sectors from private sector to public sector is more known in the sense of Korean popular culture (tv series, music, cinema). It is a symbol of the rise of Korean popular culture, especially among foreign peoples (Lee, 2017: 18). The series *Winter Sonata* which depicts pure love is one of the most successful and first projects of the Korean wave, reaching great popularity among Asian countries, mainly Japan. The Japanese, who had previously perceived South Korea as a geographically close but psychologically distant country, wanted to take a closer look at *Winter Sonata* and study their habits, their daily lives (Luguusharav, 2011: 30). In this context, this success of the Korean series has led to the birth of an industry called 'K-Drama'. The impact of this sector is so great that it is splashing out on other sectors as well. For example, the chicken and beer eaten by the lead actor of the series 'My Love From the Star' quickly led to the opening of Korean restaurants in many parts of Southeast Asia. The government is devoting serious budgets and supporting the food sector to make Korean cuisine one of the top five cuisines in the world. For this purpose, the Korean Food Foundation and the Korean cuisine Committee were established.

K-Pop is another area that has increased its popularity worldwide. K-Pop's debut in 1992 was when a band called Seo Taiji and Boys introduced the alternative music style that appealed to younger generations. As a pioneer of cultural globalization in Asia, K-Pop has removed high walls of cultural protectionism (Milanowitsch, 2018: 40). There are many famous K-pop bands in South Korea working with a busy schedule. Elements such as dance, choreography, outward appearance have increased the

appeal of Korean pop music and made it spoken around the world. English lyrics, well-composed songs, easily emulated choreographies and mixed rhythms attract larger crowds by day. Super Junior, BTS, Girls Generation are some of these bands. In fact, the most influential name in meeting the entire world with K-Pop has been PSY, who is famous for his Gangnam Style song and video clip. According to Monocle 2012 data, PSY has done far more for South Korea's image than LG Plasma televisions or Hyundai cars (West, 2015). Today it is the South Korean band BTS who contribute very seriously to the South Korean economy, giving concerts in many parts of the world, especially in America and Europe, participating in TV shows, receiving awards and even working in partnership with United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). In addition, artists from different Asian countries are also asked to be included in the music industry. Singers from the United States, Canada, China and Thailand are trained in South Korea and sent to represent K-pop in other countries. Television shows adopt the same strategy.

Before the Korean Wave, Korean-made films were not sufficiently recognized in the international community. The 1999 film, *Shiri* gained international attention by outpacing its rival, *Titanic*; South Korean cinema was further developed in visuals, music and genre elements, and Korean films became known for their authenticity. Korean films, directors, actors and actresses have won and continue to win many awards at international festivals. The films *Chunyangjeon* (2000), *Thirst* (2009), *Old Boy* (2004), *Aktris Unknown* (2001) and *Pieta* (2012) are among the internationally acclaimed films. In 2016, once again, Director Park Chan wook's film *The Handmaiden* was nominated for the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival. His own film festivals also attract international attention (Milanowitsch, 2018: 41). Moreover, *Parasite* won many awards at the 2020 Oscars and a Korean film won an Oscar for the first time. This success of Korean films has also attracted the attention of Hollywood, South Korean-American co-produced films have been shot.

Hallyu is a transnational element in the age of globalization.

- The process of Hallyu's expansion into Asian markets has been described as “the emergence of popular cultural flows within Asia under globalized forces” (Lee, 2017: 19).
- South Korea has benefited from Hallyu, which introduces itself as an element of soft power, in the context of social and economic interests. Economically, Hallyu is estimated to have a share of \$ 7.0 billion based on exports in 2015 (Lee, 2017: 19).

In the sense of national interests, Hallyu's potential as Korea's soft power source is:

- 1) to change the perception of Korea of the foreign people in Korea,
- 2) to create a network to spread Korean culture,
- 3) to produce international celebrities from Korean citizens (Lee, 2017: 20).

As a cultural exchange, Hallyu is active in International Relations, but also in trade and the private sector. In abroad, the Hallyu incentive has been a continuous joint project between state and non-state actors, providing commercial economic profits and cultural gains as national interests. Hallyu projects have consistently been included in the agenda of the Korean governments, although issues related to cultural policies vary by administrations. The most important of the positive effects generated by the Korean Wave is to change or improve other countries' perceptions of South Korea. In many Asian countries, Korea uses the advantages of the Korean Wave, claimed by South Korean National Assembly President Park Hee-tae as “the best envoy to touch the depths of the Korean people” (Luguusharav, 2011: 29). The Korean Wave has caused international citizens to accept Korean culture and integrate it into their own lives. Fans 'intense interest in' Korean idols" and values supported by Korean content have been reflected in fans' lifestyles. South Korean cuisine, music, social traditions, fashions and beauty standards have contributed to the development of South Korea's image as an increasingly positive country. The country's cultural values and activities are one of the key elements of the development of the South Korean economy. With its large audience, Hallyu and Korean modern culture is a kind of Digital Silk Road.

Also in international media, the Korean Wave is maintained through Yonhap News Agency, Arirang TV, and the Korean Broadcasting System (KBS). Yonhap is a news agency with at least 49 offices worldwide. Arirang focuses on Current News, cultural programs, and modern Korean culture including the Korean Wave, which can be accessed on television, mobile phone applications or online. Korean TV channels are also powered by chaebols such as Samsung, LG, Kia Motors, Daewoo (Milanowitsch, 2018: 43).

The Internet has a very serious impact on the spread of the Hallyu wave. In 2010, the president of South Korea and the chairman of the Google Board met and spoke on the spread of Korean cultural content on YouTube. A channel for K-Pop was opened only to increase the popularity of Korean pop music worldwide. The Korean Phonogram Producers Association aimed to spread Korean music in 2009 when 170,000 K-Pop songs were featured on Apple iTunes (Kozhakhmetova, 2012: 37). Also, thanks to interest in the Korean Wave, the country has become one of the most popular tourist destinations in the region. People come to South Korea to visit traditional houses, monuments, as well as the filming locations of cities, movies and dramas by wanting to experience the places they see over the internet or on television. Also, the Korean wave has recreated the images of Korea and Koreans as fascinating, warm and enhanced; while improving the safety of many Koreans in abroad. They face less discrimination and often have easier chances to enter their communities of residence. In regions where the Korean wave is popular, the deeds of Korean celebrities have become symbols of Korea. Therefore, Korean wave stars have become very important soft resources of Korea and are expected to play more active, yet subtle, political roles representing regional and universal interests of Korea (Lee, 2009: 213). Promoting Hallyu abroad has been a constant joint project between state and non-state in South Korea. The actors aim to gain economic profits commercially and cultural gains as a consequence national interest. Hallyu projects have consistently been included in the agenda of the Korean government, although policies differ among administrations. South Korean government indicates its support to Korean Wave by awarding actors / actress as cultural ambassadors. This effort is considered as the state incentive support to its cultural products. For example, Wonder Girls has been selected as Korea’s Food Ambassador, Kim Hyun Joong as UN Social Welfare Program Ambassador, and Hyun Bin as Korean Defense Ambassador (Trisni et al., 2019: 37).

Table 2: Characteristic Of Hallyu Species

	TV Series	Popular Music	Movies
Domestic or Foreign	National Channels	Globalized Internet	Movie Festivals
State or Non-state	Control of State	Out-Of-State Networks	Out-Of-State Trade
Economic or Cultural	Public Goods	Advertisement	International Recognition

With the Korean Wave, the momentum of the country's economy has increased rapidly. Korean companies such as Samsung and LG have sponsored Hallyu activities internationally, encouraging Hallyu fans in many parts of the world to buy their own products as well. Other sectors of the economy that have thrived with the growth of the Hallyu industry include food exports, cosmetics and plastic surgery. The perception of beauty, fashion and wealth in South Korea has changed significantly, especially due to the influence of Western media, particularly Hollywood and Western tourists visiting South Korea. But the country is trying to build its own independent image within Western domination and draw international forces to its influence. Therefore, this goal has been instrumental in the development of a beauty industry called ‘K-Beauty’ today. Another sector is the gaming market. Especially since the 2000s, South Korea has become a center of online games and Olympics, and the total value of games exports has been steadily rising. As of 2013, game exports accounted for 6.3% of the international market share, with revenue of \$ 2.6 billion for the country (Korea Herald, 2014). There is even an Olympic Stadium where e-sports games are currently played. (Nexon Arena) As mentioned earlier, with its hosting of the 1988 Summer Olympics, the 2002 World Cup, the 2011 IAAF Athletics World Championships, and the 2018 Winter Olympics, South Korea has increased its interest in its culture and has been a pioneer in providing the country with a significant capital accumulation in economic terms.

2.2. Political Values and Foreign Policy As an Element of Soft Power in South Korea

In recent times, the South Korean government has understood the value of soft power and has made several determinations about it. First, Korean diplomacy has turned out to be relatively weak compared to its hard power. In terms of economic power, Korea is the 12th largest in the world. Although its economy is relatively strong, the rapidly aging population due to domestic conditions, causes such as rising income inequality limit the country's further growth (Hwang, 2014: 255). Under these conditions, it is becoming more important to achieve strategic objectives through soft power, such as superior justification and persuasion, goodwill and attractiveness, morality, and the power of human resources (Seo, 2007: 80). For this reason, South Korea's soft power policy in this area began by identifying the

lack in the sense of conduct, and international relations has been shaped accordingly. South Korea is a country that has a long history of Economic Development, a consolidated democracy, and a reconciliation with the North, and is spending considerable resources and energy today to position South Korea as a creative, dynamic and open democracy. Apart from these, Confucianism's role in contemporary Korean society and Korea's democratic and capitalist development is undeniable. Confucian values are recognized as both support and obstacle to democracy in South Korea. Therefore, there is still an unstable combination of Western democratic practices and Confucian values in contemporary Korea. Both the negative features of Confucianism (emphasis on collective, authority, or harmony) and positive traits (loyalty to family, individual's commitment to the collective, commitment to education, and dependence on authority) are seen (Kim et al., 2015: 4). This combination is indicative of the specificity of Korean culture.

South Korea, which was governed by authoritarian governments from 1948 to 1987, began to be governed by democratic governments, which had been nominated by elections since 1987, thus aiming to set a democratic example. The process of successful modernization and democratization is the distinguishing element of Korean diplomacy. The country's transitional experiences of successful modernization and democratization attract the attention of most developing countries and seek expert advice on how to improve their economies and political systems. Korean consulting teams visit developing countries and meet with influential leaders, opinion leaders and businessmen to develop systematic and consistent strategies for these countries (Lee, 2017: 12-13).

Multilateral diplomacy through active participation in global institutions and networks, managing the North Korean threat and maintaining a strong alliance with the United States are among South Korea's political priorities. As well as South Korea's growing cultural influence over the East Asian region, its appeal in the international community is also in the context of foreign policy. In the field of diplomacy, especially with intensive development assistance, it produces value without interfering with the countries concerned. To share Korea's development experience with developing countries, it invests in information-sharing programs (Milanowitsch, 2018: 36). The country's official development aid has grown steadily since 1987. In 2005, Korea's total amount of official development assistance reached USD 752 million or 0.1% of the country's GNP, the largest figure ever recorded. In 1991, Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) was established as an institution responsible for providing assistance specifically to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and began providing full-scale assistance for developing countries. Korea announced in 2011 that it would spend 1.6 trillion won (Currency Unit of Korea) or 0.14 percent of the country's gross national income, to provide aid to underdeveloped countries. The country's influence in UN military operations is also immense. In 1999, for the first time in Somalia, military engineers have been sent, and since then 30 thousand troops to 18 countries and 21 regions (Luguusharav, 2011: 31). Apart from the government, the country's leading companies make significant contributions to various social responsibility programs. Samsung Electronics has established engineering academies in South Africa, Nigeria and Kenya to contribute to the upbringing of talented young people from the local population in this area. Hyundai Motor has enacted projects to improve transport infrastructure in India. POSCO builds housing homes for the homeless in Vietnam and Mongolia. Daewoo supports the education of children with limited social opportunities in Peru (Alagöz, 2013). South Korea also aims to expand its involvement in China and Japan, as well as other international activities, by joining large and multinational organizations such as ASEAN and to further its appeal and reputation in the international political arena. Other international organizations of which he is a member or observer are Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, Arctic Council, International Payments Bank, G20, World Agricultural Organization, Conference on cooperation and confidence building measures in Asia, International Atomic Energy Agency, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Criminal Court, World Labor Organization, Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation, IMF, United Nations, United Nations African Union Darfur Mission, UNESCO, UNICEF, World Trade Organization (CIA Factbook, 2018).

The perspective of South Korea's soft power strategy is shaped by its development assistance policies and activities, particularly its humanitarian pursuits, hosting high-profile summits. It has increased its international visibility by hosting major international events such as the 1988 Olympic Games and the 2002 FIFA World Cup, the G20 Seoul Summit and the ROK-China-Japan tripartite summit, leaving its mark in the economic and diplomatic sphere. South Korea's failure to manage troubled relations with its "poor neighbor" North Korea, while attracting the rest of the world with its

economic development, popular culture and soft-power diplomacy, has thus far caused problems in the context of soft power. In order to strengthen relations between the two countries, there have been a number of positive developments in terms of soft power policies, such as bringing separated families together, limited tourism, joint industrial complex, intra-Korean summits, sporting events and cultural exchanges. However, these gains do not receive sufficient support from the North.

CONCLUSION

The concept of soft power in international relations is one of the concepts frequently discussed in recent periods. Nye's handling of the concept of soft power in a variety of ways and introducing exceptions has led to ambiguous areas. What to include in the concept of "soft" has caused problems. Nye defines soft power as 'the ability to achieve what is desired through attraction or charm' and states that soft power is based on culture, political values, and foreign policy. The concept of soft power, which we can assess as 'the impact and attraction a country achieves by its culture, policy and values without using military and economic hard power sources,' appears to be inclusive despite all the question marks. Soft power, which is effectively used by a large force such as the United States today, can be partly effective in developing countries, even in backward countries. Therefore, states that want to be strong need both hard power and soft power. In other words, they must have compelling power to convince other states and have facts such as culture, ideas and values that can shape their long-term preferences. In this sense, South Korea as the rising power of East Asia is an important example.

South Korea is a successful country in the sense of soft power, despite its late start to the work of public diplomacy. Although the country's soft power capacity was limited, it successfully used the facilities at hand and managed to develop its soft power with its intellectual capacity. This has a serious effect on the geography it has. Located in the middle of the Asia-Pacific region, the country has been surrounded by Japan and China throughout its history and has developed into a hot conflict zone of the Cold War because of its strategic importance. In addition, the division of the peninsula into two as North and South, the connection with the Asian mainland remained with the North, scarcity in raw materials and resources are some of her disadvantages. Therefore, the country, which joined the Western alliance and allied with the United States on the one hand, started to engage 'soft power elements' especially from the 1990s.

Today, while the trade wars among the countries carry on, the economic power continues to maintain its potential of being hard power. However, in the case of South Korea, the fact that South Korean large companies offer opportunities such as scholarships and internships and the effect of Korean cosmetic culture under the name of K-Beauty show that soft power can be associated with the economy. Korean Wave has provided South Korea with a serious financial resource in different categories such as animation, broadcasting, cartoons, characters, games, cinema, music and TV series. Economic success in one sector has led to improvement in others. For example, the success of the game industry has given advantages to the creative industry sector such as animation, characters and graphic design. In this regard, it is confusing that the concept of soft power contains sharp definitions.

South Korea is among the countries that want to make its values universally accepted by its soft power. Indeed, East Asia in this sense is like the fighting area of this strategy. It is difficult to grasp the effectiveness of soft power strategies because the data and figures related to this strategy are not able to be measured in contrast to hard power strategies. However, it is possible to say that South Korea has shown a serious success. South Korea's soft power capacity is still very limited, but it must continue to move forward in developing and implementing soft resources to create influence in East Asia and around the world. It is clear that the Korean Wave, as part of the soft power approach, has a positive impact and potential to encourage Korea's cultural diplomacy. South Korea needs to recognize the importance of soft resources and soft power, and invest more in the development of soft power through national and systematic efforts. The concept of smart power, which advocates a strategic, balanced combination of soft and hard power, should become increasingly important in South Korea's foreign policy. South Korea may be successful if it adopts a more consistent and pragmatic "soft, hard power" policy.

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